Banners in the Wilderness
in the EARLY YEARS OF
WASHINGTON AND
JEFFERSON COLLEGE
Helen Turnbull Waite Coleman
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS
ONE OF A LIST OF BOOKS IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH A GRANT-IN-AID FROM THE BUHL FOUNDATION OF PITTSBURGH

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To the memory of the founders

JOHN AND CATHERINE McMillan
THADDEUS AND PHOEBE DOD
JOSEPH AND ESTHER SMITH
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Aerial view of present W. and J. campus
Foreword

DURING the Second World War, in the winter of 1943-1944, I visited the campus of Washington and Jefferson College for a prolonged stay.

It was not my first visit, for in 1932 I had been present at the installation of Ralph Cooper Hutchison as president of the College and had found it an earnest and an urbane scene. But in that cold winter of the war I found a difference, a rededication to values the United States has affirmed in all its wars. Here on this old college campus was superimposed a campus martius known as the two Army Schools.

Daily we watched the soldiers march with measured step from class to class, passing the old Administration Building of 1793, to their study hall in the basement of the Baptist Church, and frequently to old North Hall. Those of an earlier day undoubtedly had watched other soldiers go off from there to fight the Civil War. The feeling of history repeating itself was intensified by the music of the Stephen Foster Carillon permeating the damp and misty winter dusk.

My own two sons were away in the Army Air Corps, my home was closed, and I lingered here among the old records of the region in the Walker Room of the College Library, where the soldier students, parted from the business of civilian life, did unaccustomed “homework” in the evening.

One morning just before Christmas, before the sun had come over the eastern hills, I attended with others an early morning Commencement at Old Main. The one hundred nineteen soldier graduates had a scant audience. They made their last farewells, singing together the popular songs of the day, and including in their choice German Christmas carols. Certainly the heartiness of their farewells bespoke a strong comradeship developed in just eight weeks.

After that term I spent more time in the Library and began
to feel the atmosphere of the older scenes in Washington County
history which were the background of the College today. I could
see the Indians go to the hunt from Catfish Camp, and the pio-
nears travelling the rude trails, manning the rough forts, and
tilling the primitive farms of the late 1700's. I liked to visualize
the boy John Watson in the late firelight of the Tavern looking
up to see in the doorway Judge Alexander Addison from Aber-
deen. How little did he dream that this benefactor would give
him books and send him to study with John McMillan, or that
as a result of his brilliant academic career at Canonsburg and
Princeton he, John Watson, would become the first president
of Jefferson College.

McMillan, I could always see (looking as strong as Martin
Luther) stomping up the path to the first Hill Church and turn-
ing in at the home of his friend, physician, trustee, and father of
three Jefferson College sons, Jonathan Leatherman.

Nor was it difficult to bring to life the first communion service
of the Presbyterian Church in 1805, held on the lawn outside the
stone Academy Administration Building, as Matthew Brown be-
gan the work for Washington College; or to see in retrospect the
people of Canonsburg and Washington, in 1853, following in his
funeral procession up the hill to the Washington cemetery, where,
at least, "in death they were not divided."

Everywhere through the early college stories were the patrician
faces of James Ross and James Carnahan and the wide blue eyes
of Andrew Wylie. I could imagine, vividly, William Henry Lee
of Virginia founding the Episcopal Church in the old College
Administration Building, becoming its first Washington rector,
and teaching for twenty years.

At old upper Buffalo I walked on the high plateau where
founder Joseph Smith held his great meetings. At Amity I talked
with Doctor William Lincoln Dodd, descendant of founder
Thaddeus Dod, the first headmaster of the courthouse school,
and of his son, Doctor Cephas Dodd, who rode through the forest
carrying in his saddlebags the first crude vaccine for smallpox.
At Canonsburg I climbed the high staircase to the library of the
Foreword

old literary societies and from the window looked out upon the hills the founders saw.

At Princeton I talked with a descendant of Doctor Jacob Green, who in the early days came from the new Jefferson Medical School at Philadelphia to share his chemistry with Canonsburg. At Charlottesville I visited the house of William Holmes McGuffey, designed by “Mr. Jefferson,” saw his tall ash tree, and read the headstone on his grave:

And I heard a voice from Heaven
Saying unto me “write.”

Looking back over almost a century of history—when Dod and Smith and McMillan were gone—I read of David Elliott (grandfather of Doctor Fanny Elliott Lowes and Doctor John Livingstone Lowes) carrying on the tradition, and I read of Joseph T. Smith who came back to the college of his ancestors from Baltimore in 1902 to close a century of college history with a prayer of thanksgiving.

What the long story has meant to me and what I have tried to say through this narrative is that the value the college founders held, “religion and true learning,” are good values for us today.

Acknowledgments

I wish I could thank all the men and women of Washington, Pennsylvania, and of the College, who have helped me with the research: Professors Henry Willson Temple, Edward Moffat Weyer, and James B. Anderson, of the faculty; Mr. Charles M. Ewing, director of the Historical Collections; and other friends without number: physicians, clergymen, librarians, local historians, indefatigable secretaries, and the personnel of the George Washington Hotel; also the correspondents from other schools and colleges, and historians with their archives, in Baltimore, Charlottesville, and Princeton. The quotation from Hervey Allen’s Forest and the Fort is used with permission of the publishers Rinehart & Company, Inc.

The research proved so interesting that my manuscript became

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too long. Therefore, in the summer of 1953, Doctor Edwin M. Moseley of the Washington and Jefferson College faculty was asked to prepare a condensation of it and to search out the bibliographical references in sources which I had used. These two tasks he performed diligently, drastically, and with great kindness. I have tried now to imitate his brevity. The present revised version has been edited throughout by Agnes Lynch Starrett, director, University of Pittsburgh Press.

I want to thank especially the three presidents of the College under whom I have worked—and their families: Ralph Cooper Hutchison; James Herbert Case, Jr.; Boyd Crumrine Patterson.

HELEN TURNBULL WAITE COLEMAN

Washington, Pennsylvania, 1955
The Setting

ON Friday, October 29, 1790, Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas, stood before the fathers of the Quaker State at their capital and told of his reception the year before at Catfish in the southwestern hills of Pennsylvania. Catfish is the place which for so long has been called affectionately "Little Washington." He had been traveling "with one hundred and seventy persons of his own nation," from Fort Harmar to Fort Pitt, where the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix was confirmed by which Indian land had been ceded to white men. Already, he said, there were at least five taverns in Catfish. There the Indians had been overcome by drink. And as they slept, three rifles and shotguns were stolen which they never got back. "But," Cornplanter said, "it was their own fault."

Thus the pattern begins to emerge out of which the town and the college were to grow: Indian trails; the coming of white men; forts in the forest; adventure; crude hospitality; and frontier justice.

The earliest records of white men at the present Washington, Pennsylvania, date from 1769, when a land office was opened by the Colony of Pennsylvania for land "south of the Ohio and west of the Monongahela." On the land James Hendricks surveyed lots and one of the earliest properties was granted to Abraham Hunter, as "Catfish Camp," on Catfish Run, a small tributary of Chartiers Creek.

The man Catfish (or Tangoocqua to his own people), whose name was given to this early settlement, was another Indian who came and went across the border scene. He was a chief of the Delawares who had a camp, or hunting lodge, near the present site of Trinity High School. His hunting ground covered a large territory between the Alleghenies and the Ohio, which he used by permission from the Iroquois. As long as he was permitted, he tramped the ridges and hunted here and at last disappeared into
Banners in the Wilderness

the mystery of the forests beyond the Ohio. For many moons his name identified these hills; and the creek, or run which still bears it, glints across our quiet meadows and under our bridges.

There were 37 applicants for whom the Survey Orders of 1769 were made out, and in 1774 the first recorded white inhabitant of whom we have any knowledge, William Huston, was living on a tract of land "adjoining Catfish Camp." In April of that year he entertained Captain Michael Cressap and others on their way to the Ohio from Cressap's headquarters where the Redstone joins the Monongahela at "Redstone Old Fort" (now Brownsville). These were among the pioneers who came from the Indian trail which was shown to young George Washington in 1754, and which later became "Braddock's Road," and then the National Road (now part of Route 40).

Then another name appears, known well in this vicinity, David Hoge, from Cumberland County, the "proprietor," who bought Abraham Hunter's land in 1771 and sent surveyors to divide the site of our present city of Washington into numbered lots. His map we can see at the Historical Society in Washington or in Crumrine's History of Washington County. David Hoge built his log cabin in 1781 about a block and a half south of where the present courthouse stands; and although he lived there briefly, if at all, his was the log cabin of destiny. He set aside land for a courthouse and a prison and a house of worship. He assigned two lots to His Excellency General George Washington and Mrs. Washington. There is no tradition that they ever came here to claim them; but a statue of Washington looks down gravely on the townsmen, from the dome of Washington's fourth courthouse. Hoge allotted also "land for the school," and although this donation went through many vicissitudes and delays, it is not far from Hoge's intended grant of land that Washington and Jefferson College stands today.

In the more immediate background of the College are the great names of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, two of the founding fathers of our nation who were among the first to believe in the West, and to create it from the wilderness. For them,
The Setting

in the earliest days of the schools, "the West" was the great Ohio Valley.

Catfish Camp was at first considered by the Virginians part of the district of West Augusta, Virginia, and for an uncertain period was known as Augusta Town. At the time of the erection of Washington County, Pennsylvania, March, 1781, Catfish Camp was appointed the place for the first county election. And by October, 1781, when the first lot was sold, David Hoge's original plat or map had apparently already been recorded. On this original plat a line is drawn through the first writing of the name of the town "Bassett," alias "Dandridge Town," showing that the town was first intended to be named for the Honorable Richard Bassett, a kinsman of David Hoge who was a member of the United States Constitutional Convention of 1787 and later governor of Delaware. Written before the map was recorded, above the name crossed out, is the name it has had ever since, "Washington."

In February, 1810, the town of Washington became a borough and in January, 1924, it became a "city of the third class."
For a long time the forest stood there... Beyond the mountains lay the Valleys of Eden. But to go there was to slip one’s finger out of the handclasp of mankind. To go there was to go lonely; to defy the forest, the Indians, and the lawful king. To go there was to move westward without the baggage or the impedimenta of the past. It was to drop everything, except God, language itself, and the memory of simple numbers. It was to begin all over again, to become a something new and unique in time.

... In the Valleys of Eden, west of the Alleghenies that was where and how new America began.

Hervey Allen
The Forest and the Fort
CHAPTER 1

The Founders
and The Pioneer Schools

1780-1787

The legal roots of Washington and Jefferson College are in three Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania: the Act of January 15, 1802, which established Jefferson College; the Act of March 28, 1806, which established Washington College; and the Act of March 4, 1865, which combined the two under the new name, Washington and Jefferson. But even back beyond those were the frontier log schools and the Acts chartering the academies out of which the two colleges grew.

And so, the early history of Washington and Jefferson is the story of two academies, of two colleges and the men who founded them and finally effected their union, and of many teachers and students. It is the genealogy of a fine liberal arts college, affectionately and proudly known as W. and J. This book carries the story to the time of the union. It begins with the frontier and the log schools.

The Founders

The pioneers came to the wilderness which is now Washington County by Indian trails and by streams, on moccasined feet and on horseback, carrying their few possessions and sometimes their babies in their saddlebags. In small isolated communities they cleared the forest and farmed the land.

During what we may call the first decade, which has been
touched upon in the beginning of this book, between Huston’s cabin of 1774 and the land grants of 1784, came the three men known as the founders of the college. John McMillan, who came first in 1775, again in 1776, and finally in 1778, lived for more than half a century in the West; Thaddeus Dod, who came in 1777 and later in 1779, lived fifteen years in the West; Joseph Smith, who came in 1780, lived twelve years in the West. These three Presbyterian ministers together with the Rev. James Power formed in 1781 the pioneer Redstone Presbytery, which in 1791, under the Synod of Virginia, gave education in Washington County official church approval.

But even before the Synod acted, the three founders had been teaching in their own homes or had erected log cabin schools on their own land. They were alike in their aim to train Christian leaders and to give the early communities “true religion and learning.” All three came from the College of New Jersey which grew from a charter of 1746, and since 1896 has been called Princeton. By the time McMillan, Dod, and Smith were students there the officials at Princeton controlled the Synods of the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey, and Princeton students were educated in the tradition that ministers of the people should know Greek, Latin, Hebrew, moral philosophy, and theology.

John McMillan built a log building and made it a school, according to tradition about 1780. We know that James McGready was studying Latin with him there as early as 1783. The historic log school which is still preserved in part at Canonsburg is the log structure which McMillan rebuilt after a fire of unknown date consumed his first building.

Thaddeus Dod and his neighbors and students built a log building on his farm at Lower Ten Mile, or Amity, and made it a school about 1781. It was Thaddeus Dod who later was chosen as first “Principal” of Washington Academy, which is discussed in the next chapter.

Joseph Smith taught at his home at Buffalo, between Washington and Canonsburg. Some of the more advanced of Dod’s
The Founders and the Pioneer Schools

students went in 1785 to "The Study" to work with Joseph Smith. In the course of time, some of these same students transferred to the log school of McMillan on Chartiers Creek south and east of Canonsburg.

Thus, the oldest schools in Washington County were taught by men who founded its earliest Presbyterian Churches. Education was an enterprise encouraged by the Church and shared by all three of these earnest pioneers.

Both 1780 and 1781 are given as the beginning for Washington and Jefferson; the exact date is uncertain. But all three founders began their informal teaching, along with their ministry, about 1780 or 1781, which was as soon as they arrived "in the West." Some of the studies they taught seem to have been of college level from the beginning, as witnessed by mature students, tutors, and neighbors; some, of necessity, were elementary. Dod's school was considered a classical school, and we have its approximate curriculum from an early date. Smith, as well as McMillan, specialized in theology. They all prepared students for college and the ministry.

There is no place here for priorities of the rival claims that from time to time have been made by those who want to establish one of these log schools as older than the others. All three founders were men of like minds, who worked in harmony like a brotherhood. McMillan is usually mentioned first because he was the first of them to come and because he outlived the other two by more than forty years—continuing all his life to foster the work of education. All three were born Colonials, and as boys lived first in the East, at the time when the young Virginia officer, George Washington, fired the shot on the trail to Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) which started the Seven Years War. They all spent their youth in the shadow of Braddock's defeat and in the electric air of the American Revolution. And it is even true that at times their students moved from one school to the other in a kind of friendly sharing of the training needed to raise up good men for the church and for the service of the new republic.

The schools and the churches of the Western Country were be-
gun in a period of uncertainty after the Revolutionary War and had to counter the skepticism of the times in addition to the recklessness of life on a frontier. The communities which grew up around these earliest schools and churches furnished largely the trustees, teachers, and students who became their strength. The schools and the churches were a kind of defense against the uncertainty and the lawlessness of a raw new land.

**John McMillan**

John McMillan (1752-1833) was dedicated to the ministry before he was born. His parents were farm people of Irish birth (Scots-Irish), who had come in 1742 from County Antrim, Ireland, to Fagg’s Manor in Chester County, Pennsylvania. His father and mother worked hard to give their son an education, and his sisters worked in the fields so that he could go to school. He attended grammar school at Fagg’s Manor and then the Pequea Academy, both in eastern Pennsylvania. It was not until he went to the college at Princeton at eighteen that he fully accepted the will of God for his life. He realized then, he said, “that the divine law was not only holy and just but that it was also good and that conformity to it would make me happy.” He was graduated at Princeton in 1772 under the presidency of John Witherspoon and he had studied theology at Pequea under Robert Smith. Licensed to preach at the age of twenty-two at East Nottingham, under the Presbytery of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, he set out in 1775 for Virginia and the West of the great Ohio Valley.

The West was in the air—and he was twenty-three. It was a glorious journey; he preached at many places as he went along. He slept in rough lodgings and always made new friends. To walk seventeen miles and then preach twice on Sunday was usual for him. He examined the Natural Bridge near Lexington, Virginia, and visited “Mr. Graham” in the Shenandoah Valley. This probably was William Graham, master of the school that became Washington and Lee; they had been in Princeton together. He mentions also in his journal “Mr. Fithian,” probably his classmate who had marched west as a chaplain with the soldiers.
The Founders and the Pioneer Schools

Coming north at last into the section that is now Pennsylvania but remained persistently to him Virginia, for the boundaries between the two were not yet settled, he lodged with a brother-in-law, John McElhenny, who had preceded him to the West; and finally on Saturday, the twenty-fifth of August, 1775, traveled sixteen miles and "preached at John McDowell's... On Monday rode about eight miles to Patrick McCullough's on Pigeon Creek." These two homes, McCullough's and McDowell's, contained the germs of his two churches, Pigeon Creek and Chartiers, in Western Pennsylvania. He served Pigeon Creek for nineteen years, and Chartiers, alone, for forty-seven years and with the help of Matthew Brown for eight more. Familiar names of the earliest settlers stand out across the pages of the Journal he kept for nearly seventy years—as if the wilderness had begun to blossom, shall we say, with the thistle? And to less conspicuous extent with the shamrock and the rose? This was to be his country and his work.

He traveled that year as far north as Pittsburgh and then east again. He was ordained at Chambersburg. In August of 1776 he married Catherine Brown, of Chester County, "a dear child of God," who was both good and beautiful, deeply pious, and congenial to his work. But the colonies were now at war and the Indians were threatening the settlers on the Ohio border; so he had to travel back and forth from Brandywine to the West until December, 1778. Then, after a short sojourn with the future Judge McDowell again, he took his wife and their first child to the Shanon Run at the east branch of Chartiers Creek, a place to be her home for forty years, his for almost fifty-five. "We had neither bedstead, nor table, nor chair, nor stool, nor pail, nor basket," he wrote, a long fifty-four years later. "But we placed two boxes on each other for a table, kegs for seats, and having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread a bed on the floor and slept soundly until morning."

The first rude cabin was enlarged and rebuilt, eventually, and they lived with their seven children on two adjacent home farms bought respectively from Virginia and Pennsylvania and both together called Snow Hill.
Banners in the Wilderness

McMillan, although the youngest of these three founders, is recognized as the leader of the little group of educators, by reason of his executive ability, continuous service, great strength, and long life. Physically he was a large man, six feet tall, at middle age weighing two hundred pounds; he was "swarthy" and had a strong voice. He became a leader, too, among the churches, in revivals and in the Presbyteries. Even in politics he had great influence, when he chose to use it. As Federalist, he opposed the Whiskey Insurrection; and it was he who nominated Albert Gallatin for Congress (later Secretary of the U. S. Treasury under Jefferson). McMillan's protege, James Ross, who was his first assistant and classical teacher at his log cabin school, was Gallatin's successor in Congress.

McMillan was a member of the militia in Captain James Scott's Company of the Third Battalion of Washington County Military, ordered to rendezvous on May 8, 1782; his grave at the Hill Church near Canonsburg is marked with the emblem of a soldier of the Revolution; and he owned a "Donation Farm" in Mercer County, one given by the government to veterans for military service. He himself tells us nothing in his journals of his share in the fight for freedom at the back door of the Revolution in the Ohio Valley. He contributed regularly to Church and School and gathered money for special education, "more than any other man of his generation" wrote President Carnahan of Princeton.

We do not know the exact date he began to teach in his home, or in his log school. But we know he had his commission for education in a pioneer community, even before he came to the West. His preceptor, Robert Smith, had told him: "Some men of piety and talent may go to a country at first, yet if they are not careful to raise up others, the country will not be well-supplied."

And McMillan wrote to Carnahan in 1832: "When I determined to come to this country, Dr. Smith enjoined me to look out for some pious young men and educate them for the ministry... Accordingly I collected a few—and instructed them in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. Some of them became useful and others eminent ministers of the Gospel, viz: James Mc-
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Gready, William Swan, Samuel Porter and Thomas Marquis.”

McMillan’s name stands first among the original trustees of Washington Academy when it was chartered in 1787 and he remained on its Board until 1795. At the time when no land or home could be obtained for the Academy in Washington, he and the Rev. Matthew Henderson, pioneer of the Associated Presbyterian or Seceders’ Church in this vicinity, collected money for the school which was eventually located at Canonsburg. McMillan transferred his own students to Canonsburg at an unknown date, and stood by it as teacher, officer, or friend until the end of his life. He was also among the founders of the Pittsburgh Academy (February 28, 1787) which in 1819 became the first university west of the mountains, and he was instrumental in founding the Pittsburgh Xenia Theological Seminary and the Western Theological Seminary. He is said to have built up the largest church in the region and preached six thousand sermons while he educated about a hundred ministers. He was archetype of the pioneers who made the wilderness their “refuge, opportunity and goal.”

Thaddeus Dod

Thaddeus Dod (1740-1793) came from English stock. His father’s family were New England Puritans whose ancestors had settled in Connecticut in 1645. His own parents were part of a migration of conscientious Connecticut Puritans who moved from Guilford and from Branford to the region around Newark, New Jersey. Woodrow Wilson has described for us the significance of this migration in his History of the American People. Dod was brought up in the hill town of Mendham, in Morris County, New Jersey—or Mendum, as he himself wrote it in his Latinic way.

Like McMillan, Dod had studied at Princeton, graduating in 1773, a year after McMillan, at the comparatively late age of thirty-three. He was a classmate of William Graham, who fathered the school at Lexington, Virginia. Dod had taught for a number of years to earn his way through college and had been associated
with men of scholarship who were well informed in public affairs. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New York after his first trip to the West. He had dedicated his life at the age of eleven, in 1751, when he "took delight" in the word of God and in doctrine. He also took delight in mathematics.

In his brief diary, now in the collection at Washington and Jefferson, we read throughout the thin, tenuous pages, in his fine, silvery script such words as these: "July 25, 1775, Help me to take up my cross and follow Thee . . . I would desire nothing but to be Thine,—and that forever . . . Let no corrupt design lead me astray from the paths of simplicity and truth." His "Covenant with God" he wrote at twenty-four, and this he renewed, again and again.

Dod's was not a false humility. He was the scholar as well as the saint among the college founders. He must have known that he had gifts to dedicate: a power of concentration; classical scholarship, not only through book knowledge but also through a real devotion to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and an uncommon proficiency in literature and the sciences. It was said that he was an excellent mathematician and that if he had a passion for any department of knowledge, it was for the exact sciences. Some time after his student years at Princeton, a younger man of the same surname (spelled "Dodd" by later generations) was nominated for the chair of mathematics; Chief Justice Kirkpatrick, a member of the Board of Trustees, remarked that although he did not know this young man, he was willing to vote for him; he knew Thaddeus to be such a sound mathematician that he believed all who bore the name of Dod had good mathematical heads.

Besides, Thaddeus Dod was a poet—throughout his early diary he broke into verse as spontaneously as, all his life, into Latin, or into Greek and Hebrew, with carefully penned symbols. He had studied music as a science, and later at his churches spoke on the importance of sacred music and introduced "singing without reading the line." In person he was dark and vivid, quick and ardent. He lived as he had determined in early youth, "with his hand on the hope that is sure and steadfast."
John McMillan's Log School, oldest building extant
John McMillan (1752-1833), only portrait extant of any of the founders, Dod, Smith, McMillan

James Carnahan, student and teacher, Canonsburg; graduate and president of Princeton
Of Logick

Logick is the art of knowing reason well in our Inquiries after Truth and Communicating it to others.

The Design of Logick is to teach us the Right Way of our Intellectual Entertainments, and the Improvement of them in our Judgments and Actions.

The pursuit and Acquisition of Truth is of a particular Import toMan, as

This Reasonous reasoning should be guided by

1. The Light and Difficulty of many Truths.
2. The Balance of our Reason.
3. The Disguise in which many Things appear.

The principal Operations of the Mind are four:

Conception, Judgment, Argumentation, and Deception.

"Of Logick," Thaddeus Dod (1740-1793)

Lecture 1st. Introduction and Prolegomena.
This is a very agreeable thing for a man before he comes to apply his Intellect to the Study of Divinity, who must particularly hope that they will be actuated by the noblest Principles, that they will work to devotion their Lives and Talents in the service of the Lord Jesus. He is a good and honest Minister of Truth. They have not any ejection, as if they were in that office, they should be actuated by...
### Middle-Latitude Sailing

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Diary of Thaddeus Dod

In order that I may give that glory to the ever-blessed God that is due from the whole intelligent system and is my most reasonable service, I have thought and found by experience that it is expedient to commit my Exercises and some occurrences of his providence to me in writing. And as God's glory is profusely my design, I pray that his grace may be sufficient for me that I may do all to his glory, that I may not write anything with a design to magnify myself in the eyes of the world. Those of my friends to whose hands these remarks may fall after I am gone to my long home and that I may not keep back anything that may further this grand design.

Thaddeus Dod

I was born near Newark on 7th Day of March, 1740, from thence my parents removed in my infancy to Newbern where the greater part of my life has been spent.
Dod was the messenger who came in 1778 to two of the pioneer forts between the Monongahela and the Ohio—Lindley’s Fort at Lower Ten Mile (now Amity), and Cook’s Fort at Upper Ten Mile (now Prosperity). He accepted the call from the two congregations at Lower and Upper Ten Mile. Like McMillan, he had to go back and forth for the first two years, between his church family in the West and his own family whom he had left at Patterson’s Creek, Virginia.

Dod had married Phoebe Baldwin at home in New Jersey, soon after his graduation from Princeton. She was a girl who developed into a woman of superb courage. The Dod home in Western Pennsylvania was the most dangerous post held by any of our three founders, in the path of the Indian menace, one of the most exposed in the entire Ohio country. It was on a steep rise, with wooded valleys below on every side; and it was comparatively near to Wheeling (Fort Henry), one of the major outposts of warfare on the border.

_Record, 1777-1783_ mentions on August 15, 1781, that after the election of elders, “we set several times when we should have the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper Administered but could not compose our design on acct. of the incursions of the savages.” Jacob Lindley, son of Demas Lindley who was instrumental in having Dod enter the West, and himself a student of Dod and later one of the first teachers of the infant Ohio University, wrote from memory to Dod’s son, Cephas.17 “I have a distinct recollection of my baptism by him (that is, Thaddeus Dod) in the fort.” And he described the wildness of the territory into which Dod had ventured:

In the spring of 1782 I was sent to Mr. Dodd’s latin School to live in the family of Mr. Dodd to do his little errands, do his milking, etc. and to study latin with the scholars then at his school. I know it was in 1782 because it was the same year of Col. Crawford’s defeat by the Indians on the bloody plains of Sandusky. And also the same year in which Richeson (?) was executed upon the gallows, on the hill east of the town, Washington, as the students of Mr. Dodd accompanied me to witness that awful scene. What makes the period more memo-
rable is that on the same day before we returned, about a half mile from our road, the Indians murdered such of the family of Timothy Bean, as were not at the execution of Richeson, with the exception of his son, John who after being knocked down with the tomahawk crept away in the weeds while the Indians were catching theafrighted horses in the field. John's skull was broken but his recovery was sound. Great was the consternation of the settlement on that day.

He continues with an incident even closer to Dod's own experience:

I think it was in the same year, but it might have been in 1783, while Mr. Dodd was preaching in the house of my uncle Caleb Lindley, a messenger announced that the Indians had that morning murdered a family of the name of Heath, on the head waters of Wheeling. The congregation was instantly dismissed. Some dozen young men, among whom were Francis Dunlavy, and I think John Brice, started of Mr. Dodd, upon the run to the fort, which was three quarters of a mile off for such to get their guns as had not brought them with them to church, and then pushed with all speed in pursuit of the Indians. They did not however overtake the Indians, but returned and buried the dead, five in number, and came back to the fort. Such were our sabbath annoyances, and perils, while we worshiped God and experienced his kind protection.

And so the communion service was not held until 1783—with McMillan assisting "in Daniel Axtel's barn."

Apparently in the fall of 1781 a log school building was erected by Dod and his neighbors, while the congregations were still worshipping in their log homes. Jacob Lindley tells us in the same letter of reminiscences written to Dr. Cephas Dodd in 1854: "It was much larger than any dwelling house in the settlement. It was furnished with sometimes three, at other times four, beds for students in attendance." He had no recollection by whom the beds were furnished, although he had often slept in one of them. He names the following students as grouped together in his memory from the spring of 1782: James Hughes, John Brice, Robert Marshall, Francis Dunlevy, David Smith (son of Joseph), and Daniel Lindley, all studying Latin as he himself did, and
The Founders and the Pioneer Schools

Daniel McFarland and Joseph Eddy studying mathematics, particularly the art of surveying. He tells of the coming of two other mathematical students in 1783, also of a Robert Marshall brought in by his father, Colonel James Marshall, an elder in Joseph Smith's church at Buffalo; and in 1783 or '84, of the coming of John Hanna to study Latin. Dr. Cephas Dodd, son of Thaddeus, tells us that the school was the first of its kind in the West, was in operation for three and a half years, and closed in 1785. He speaks of the cooperation of McMillan and Smith in the education of young men.

Dod had the scholar's touch. His students seem to have had remarkable careers. James Hughes and Jacob Lindley both became heads of schools, farther west. Hughes was the first president of the school that developed into Miami University at Oxford, Ohio (for ten years also a trustee of Jefferson College). Lindley was president of the embryonic University of Ohio at Athens (Lindley hall is still honored on its campus). Francis Dunlevy, a favorite pupil of Dod, was in and out of the army during his brief time in school, accompanying Colonel Crawford on his illfated expedition to Sandusky. He did not become a minister, but continued his schooling at Dickinson College, which had been chartered recently at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and with the Rev. James Hoge, Winchester, Virginia. Francis Dunlevy founded two classical schools, became a member of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory and of Ohio, and finally President Judge for fourteen years of the Court of Common Pleas, in the First Circuit of Ohio. One wonders if there were any left in Amity who remembered, in 1839 when the news came back of the death of Judge Dunlevy. Francis Dunlevy had studied his Latin in Dod's first school, and worshipped with him on Sunday mornings before ever a church was built in the forest settlement at Ten Mile. His is the second name on the War Memorial at W. and J., next to the name of Robert Marshall, another Dod scholar who was a veteran of the Revolution.

Some time after the death of Thaddeus Dod, his widow, Phoebe Baldwin Dod, married a pioneer trustee of Canonsburg Academy,
Banners in the Wilderness

James Foster, who eventually became the grandfather of Stephen Foster. James Foster's son, William Foster (father of Stephen), and Thaddeus Dod's son, Cephas Dodd, attended school at Canonsburg together.

Cephas studied theology with McMillan and was ordained at twenty-two, ten years after his father's death. His installation took place in winter, out under the open sky, with the wind blowing through the gaunt trees, "in Joseph Rigs' Sugar Camp," and he was then inducted into his father's former work, as pastor of both the Ten Mile congregations. While carrying this double charge he learned and practiced medicine, "because there were so few to do it," he said. It was Cephas Dodd, together with Elisha McCurdy, who helped Dr. Ebenezer Jennings introduce smallpox vaccination into the West. He was forty-two years a trustee of Washington College.

Anyone who has ever met Dr. William Lincoln Dodd of Amity will realize what a privilege it must have been to know the Dodd family and to study in that early school of Thaddeus Dod.

Joseph Smith

John McMillan was the executive; Thaddeus Dod, the scholar; Joseph Smith, the evangelist. All three took part in revivals, but Smith was accounted the most fiery and eloquent speaker, and the high plateau at Upper Buffalo lent itself naturally to the great meetings, where people came and stayed for days, living in their wagons. This custom persisted under his successors after his death.18

Joseph Smith (1736-1792), the oldest of the founders, came latest to the West. When Redstone Presbytery was founded in 1781, Smith was forty-five; Dod, forty-one; and McMillan, twenty-nine. Smith was tall, blond, slender, and had piercing eyes. He was emotional to a degree we do not usually associate with Englishmen. He was born and brought up on a farm in Cecil County, Maryland, not far from the present Conowingo Dam, near Rising Sun, Maryland, on a road that led to Newcastle, Delaware, and not far from West Nottingham and East Nottingham, which are
The Founders and the Pioneer Schools

across the border in Pennsylvania. The “Nottingham Lots” were established before the state borders of Maryland and Pennsylvania were as clearly marked as they are today and were the very heart of the nursery of Presbyterianism in America.

Smith reached his decision to study for the ministry after he was mature, being twenty-eight years old when he was graduated from Princeton in 1764, eight years before McMillan and nine years before Dod. The College of New Jersey was at that time only eighteen years old. He was licensed to preach by the same Presbytery as McMillan (Newcastle, Pennsylvania), and seems to have acquired considerable knowledge of the original languages of Scripture, carrying with him the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Testament, Leigh's Critica Sacra, and Pool's Synopsis as his companions through life. He had experience in a number of churches in the East; for instance, at Brandywine, Pennsylvania, and at the “Barrens of York.” Finally he came west through the influence of Finley, headmaster of the West Nottingham Academy and later president of the College of New Jersey, and of friends already settled near Buffalo, like Judge Elder; or perhaps, as he himself tended to think, confirmed in his intention by heavenly music which he heard from the Western sky.

Smith's ministry is said to have been one long revival. "I never met a man," said the Rev. Samuel Porter, "who could so completely unbar the gates of hell, and make me look so far down into the dark bottomless abyss, or like him could so throw open the gates of heaven, and let me glance at the insufferable brightness of the great White Throne." And Dr. Cephas Dodd wrote to Smith's grandson and biographer, "Neither you, nor any man on earth, that never heard him can form any idea of his wonderful power." It is said that he kept a cloak at the foot of his bed to throw around him when he rose to pray during the night in a bitterly cold room. He was often heard praying quietly alone in the pulpit of his church. Small boys would look in at the open door and hear his voice with a good deal of awe. But they knew he would be praying for them all, and so put their trust in Joseph Smith.
Banners in the Wilderness

His wife, who had been Esther Cummin of Cecil County, Maryland, "cordially acquiesced in and warmly seconded his views." He had erected for her at Cross Creek "a house adjoining the dwelling house, to serve as a kitchen," and then, seeing the necessity for a school, asked if she would be "willing to surrender it for a while and fall back on their former hampered domestic system." She was immediately willing and glad.

Their four daughters all grew up to marry ministers (one was Mrs. James Hughes); their two sons became ministers. There is no trace left of "The Study," which was the log school of theology of Joseph Smith—or, as it is sometimes called (as are both the others) the "first Latin school in the West."

The churches and homes of the early congregations of these founders who came from eastern Pennsylvania, from New Jersey, and from Maryland literally surrounded the present campus of Washington and Jefferson College: McMillan's home for fifty-five years near Chartiers on the north and Pigeon Creek at the east; Dod's two parishes for fifteen years at Amity and Prosperity to the south; Smith's, for twelve, at Cross Creek to the northwest and upper Buffalo, west of Washington. (See endpaper map.)

As McMillan was to write many years later to Carnahan, "We were in the place where we believed God would have us be."

Associates

Associated with these three "founders" of W. and J., as colleagues and as students, were other important leaders. James Finley (1725-1795) first came to the region as an army chaplain in 1765, but not permanently until eighteen years later, when thirty-four families of his parishioners or neighbors had settled. He had made many journeys, including early travels with the great Whitefield, but his congregation held him in the East. His brother, Samuel Finley with whom he had been associated in the "Nottinghams" of Pennsylvania and Maryland, was an early president of Princeton, under whom Joseph Smith had graduated. James Finley acquired land in Fayette County and sent his son ahead of him. He left a bequest to Jefferson College.
James Power (1746-1830) already mentioned as one of the four founders of Redstone Presbytery, 1781, was the first of the associate founders of the College to settle in the region, and worked there for fifty-four years, almost as long as McMillan. He became a trustee of Canonsburg Academy and of Jefferson College which grew out of it. One of his daughters married a son of Joseph Smith.

John Clark (1718-1791) the oldest of seven founders of Redstone Presbytery, known as "the Nestor of Redstone" and also as the only minister who brought with him his white periwig from the East, became one of the original trustees of Washington Academy, and in his will provided for Jefferson College.

James Dunlap (1744-1818), who had been trained for the ministry by James Finley, became the second president of Jefferson College. These seven complete the role of Redstone Presbytery, McMillan's "first set" of ministers.

McMillan, in his letter to Carnahan, refers to the men who are described next as the "second set of ministers to the West." They were, he said, "raised up in the West." They are included in one or more of the lists of students who attended the log cabin schools of McMillan, Dod, or Smith.

Joseph Patterson (1752-1832) came to America from Ireland when he was twenty-one, before he settled in the West. He was a farmer, a teacher, and a soldier in the Revolutionary army. In 1778, during one of the Indian attacks which characterized the Revolutionary War in this vicinity, he went among the refugees in Vance's Fort, about a mile north of Cross Creek, and urged upon them so effectively to accept the courage and consolation of Christ that Redstone Presbytery urged him to study for the ministry. At thirty-three he began his theological course, primarily under Joseph Smith, and became a vigorous missionary, one of the real sources of the Great Revival. He was a founder, with Elisha McCurdy as leader at the county seat in Washington, of the Western Missionary Society which developed into the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In his old age he worked among the boatmen along the rivers of Pittsburgh, and was by
them greatly loved. He was father of Robert Patterson, the so-called "first student" at Canonsburg Academy when it was founded.

James Hughes (1758-1817) has already been described as the founder of the early Miami University of Oxford, Ohio (1818-1821). He married a daughter of Joseph Smith, and their two sons became ministers.

James McGready (1758-1817) was brought as an adolescent from North Carolina to work on McMillan's farm and to study with him; he studied also with Smith, and became a fiery evangelist, through Virginia, North Carolina, and the wilder regions of Kentucky.

Samuel Porter (1760-1825) had come from Ireland in his twenties with a wife, and with his trade as a weaver. McMillan gave him free board and instruction; a neighbor (possibly John McDowell) provided for his family. He spent his subsequent life in the expanding border country; as did also John Brice (1754-1811), William Swan (1764-1827), Thomas Marquis (1757-1827), and John McPherrin (1757-1822), whose ministerial studies were directed by John Clark.

Every one of them, except McGready, participated in the local schools which grew into W. and J. Swan succeeded James Ross as assistant to McMillan in his log cabin school; Patterson and Marquis served as trustees of Canonsburg Academy and Jefferson College; Hughes, Swan, Porter, and McPherrin as trustees of Jefferson College; Patterson and Brice as trustees of Washington College.

There were other contemporary ministers and teachers who came a little later and therefore are not named by McMillan among this second set.

Robert Marshall (1760-1833) emigrated from Ireland and fought through the Revolution; he came to hear McMillan speak, intending to disagree with him, but was converted instead. He studied with McMillan, and later with Graham in Virginia. Together with McGready, he became an evangelist in Kentucky, and was so carried away by his emotions that he founded a "New
Light Schism,” the so-called “Marshallites” (1803-1811); but he returned finally to the Presbyterian fold and lived to a respected old age. His is the first name on the College War Memorial.

Jacob Lindley has already been mentioned as a student of Dod, a graduate of Princeton, and a founder in 1808 of the school which grew into the University of Ohio at Athens. It should be added that in Athens in 1815 he graduated two in his first class, having himself taught them English, Latin, Greek, mathematics, rhetoric, logic, geography, natural and moral philosophy. So education traveled west across the Ohio.

Elisha McCurdy, ordained in 1799, came as a mule-driver along the Forbes trail to Pittsburgh. He was inspired by both James Hughes and John McPherrin, and his parish at Three Springs (also Cross Roads, now Florence) was the center of the continuous revival in Washington County. So many people were attracted to his services that at one time nine other ministers had to help with his celebration of communion. He was the principal founder, in 1802, of the Western Missionary Society, designed at first to take the gospel to the Indians among whom he himself had lived, and against whom so many of our early citizens had been required to go to war.

As McMillan has so well put it, all these men, teachers and students, believed that they were where God would have them be, and that gave them deep sincerity—in purpose, words, and action.

Students

Although the names of some students, of course, have been omitted from the lists of McMillan, Lindley, and the young Smith, still there are enough to give some idea of the attraction and the effectiveness of the log schools.

The students themselves were pioneers. Some had come as boys or young men, from across the Atlantic to America, seeking opportunity and security. Many of them, again as young members of families or even as youthful heads of their own beginning families, had made the trek west just as their teachers had done. Or if they had not, they were born in the West when it was still a
frontier, and had grown up among the natural hardships of uncultivated land and unfriendly natives. Most of the early students were from Pennsylvania; those who were not came from parts of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, country as sparsely settled as that of Washington County. In almost every case, their parents or they themselves were farmers, a few perhaps successful ones, but the greater number were unable to spend money or spare produce for their sons' education. Those who were old enough had fought in the Revolution, which in the West, meant primarily an increase in number and intensity of Indian raids. Going to school required living cooperatively with their minister-teachers or in the homes of generous neighbors, doing chores, working in the fields, helping to teach the less advanced students. Joseph Smith, the younger, reports a tradition that the ladies of five congregations (Bethel, Buffalo, Chartiers, Cross Creek, and Ten Mile) united in making up summer and winter clothing for some of the students, coloring linen for summer wear in a dye made of new-mown hay, as the first movement made for preparing young men for the ministry.

The men who instructed in beginning subjects, or in the so-called classical course, or in the more vocational mathematics-and-surveying combination, or in theology, very definitely thought teaching a part of their regular duties as pastors to the otherwise schoolless settlements. They seem somehow to have supported their own families and their students through farming and the meager annual income, usually produce furnished them by their congregations.

In the English or lower school there must have been some distinction in instruction as to the age and preparation of the students, but one suspects that the classical curriculum was administered similarly to all students who mastered the elementary disciplines. Jacob Lindley recalled: "Robert Marshall (who was born thirteen years before Lindley) and I recited morning lessons together in the latin grammar, although I was much ahead of him in the language."

The "Great Revival of 1800," was one experience which ex-
pressed and directed the lives of many young men of the day. It began many years earlier than 1800 in Washington County and was to a great extent controlled and directed there by the schools and churches of the County.

The Revival might be called the last extensive group expression of the settlers while they were still frontiersmen. The Indian perils were soon to become history; the log cabins were gradually to be replaced by settled homes and farmsteads; the long rifles and coonskin caps and leather breeches worn with homespun shirts were slowly giving place to newer fashions. And the small towns, such as Washington and Canonsburg, were developing into united communities. From among the older settlers and younger students were arising the men who would become the first trustees of the academies. But civilization—education, the churches, the courts—had a long way yet to go. The Revolution was over, but the United States had not yet a constitution to hold the separate colonies together.

Teaching and studying under the difficulties is almost unimaginable, but as McMillan, Dod, and Smith had come into the West with a purpose, so they passed on this purpose to their students who were motivated and sustained by it in their careers in a wilder West farther on, as ministers and missionaries and educators. The biography of almost every student in these early days mentions a point of "conversion" or an enthusiastic response to "revivals," usually under minister-teachers. Many of the students themselves went onward into the forest as missionaries, perhaps to the very Indians they had been forced to fight, or traveled down through the mountain ridges and out across the rivers "reviving" religion among the frontiersmen settling ever farther westward.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

The schools and churches founded by these first scholar-missionaries were a fortress between the wild disorder of the frontier and the spiritual and cultural pattern they had brought into the wilderness and so distinctively fostered. The develop-
Banners in the Wilderness

ment of the academies which grew out of these early attempts to set up schools paralleled the sturdy development of the United States Constitution and the organization of a new nation. The log school teachers and students and their neighbors on the frontier cleared the way for the establishing of a free nation and the kind of education needed to promote and preserve its institutions.
ONE date given for the founding of Washington and Jefferson College is 1787, the charter date of Washington Academy, the older of the two academies out of which the College grew. But there are those who believe that 1781 is the true founding date, when instruction began in the older log cabin schools of McMillan, Dod, and Smith.

The matter of the age of an institution close to the hearts of the people is always disputable. For instance, Harvard, traditionally one of the first English colleges on the continent, has established 1636, as the founding date, the year John Harvard died and left his books "for a school." Although instruction did not begin until 1638 and the Harvard College was not chartered until 1650, official recorders have selected and perpetuated the founding date of Harvard as 1636, the year when "a college at Cambridge" was first thought into existence.

None of the present organization or physical equipment at Washington and Jefferson existed in the early 1780's, but the kind of education that has developed and has continued consistently and unbrokenly ever since did begin then. Actual teaching was carried on in elementary education (the English Schools), in the classics (the Classical Schools), and in the theology taught by teachers, who, as we have seen, were educated at Princeton. A consecutive line of instruction is traceable from the log schools (1781), through the chartered academies at Washington (1787) and Canonsburg (1794), through the chartered colleges, Jefferson
Banners in the Wilderness

(1802) and Washington (1806), to Washington and Jefferson College, chartered in 1865.

Charter and Minutebooks

On September 24, 1787, in Philadelphia, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed an Act Incorporating Washington Academy in the Town of Washington. All of the old historical accounts of Washington and Jefferson, a rich collection in the College Library, tell us that John McMillan was the prime mover in obtaining the charter, aided especially by two of his elders, Judge James Allison and Judge John McDowell, both members of the State Legislature, and five other ministers, including of course Thaddeus Dod and Joseph Smith.

The Minute Book of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, from November 15, 1787, to June 17, 1856, covers sixty-nine years, nineteen for Washington Academy and fifty for Washington College. These were the first sixty-nine years in which the Constitution of the United States stood every test and became the working principle of democracy. The intricate rolling script of the early United States, page after page, opens up those years, and men who helped to make the Nation and the School step in and out of the Minute Book. We learn again that in the early days of the log schools the town of Washington existed on paper as a plan of David Hoge's, with lots designated for a "place of Worship and Schoolhouse," that gradually a few settlers gathered there to live, until in 1781 Washington County was officially erected and the town was made its county seat.

The Minute Book contains first the oaths by which the original trustees swore allegiance to the Constitution of the United States before it was ratified by a single state, to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and to the duties of the office of trustee. It contains a copy of the Act of Incorporation signed by Thomas Mifflin, speaker, and Peter Zachary Lloyd, clerk of the Assembly.

The First Trustees

The names of the first trustees are the names of twenty-one
substantial people of the community. The minutes show that they were deeply interested in education, but that they were men of so many duties, in the struggle of the region to evolve as part of the new United States, they were not able to devote as much time as they needed to getting the school under way and keeping it in operation. The opening of Washington Academy was only one of the obligations they had to fulfill as founding fathers of the County—indeed of the Nation! They were an impressive group.

Most of them had been prominent in the earliest settling of the region. Six ministers, five Presbyterians and one Baptist, were named in the Act; four of these six were among John McMillan's "first set" of ministers in the Ohio Presbytery: McMillan himself, Thaddeus Dod, Joseph Smith, and John Clark. The fifth was the Rev. Matthew Henderson, who had come from Scotland and was the first minister of the Associate Presbyterian Church in Canonsburg, which dates the origin of its group of settlers as 1775. The sixth, the Rev. John Corbley, the pioneer Baptist missionary in Greene County, at Muddy Creek, often shared the perils of Indian attacks with his close friend, Thaddeus Dod; and in 1782 his wife and three of their five children were killed by Indians.

John McDowell, the senior elder at Chartiers Church, was the neighbor who had received McMillan when he first rode through Chartiers Valley in 1775, helped him to obtain his Virginia farm title, and aided in the maintenance of McMillan's log school by boarding and sleeping some of the students. He had been widely known even before the Revolution in connection with the boundary disputes between Pennsylvania and Maryland. He was to hold, by election and appointment, a number of public offices: justice of the peace in Yohogania County; commissioner of Washington County after its organization in 1781; member of the State Council of Censors in 1783-4; delegate to the Pennsylvania convention for ratifying the Constitution in 1787; member of the State House of Representatives from 1798 to 1802; and finally associate judge of Washington County from 1802 to 1809.
James Edgar had come from the Nottingham region and had been one of the first to welcome Joseph Smith and to urge the Cross Creek and Buffalo congregations to call him. He was the writer of a covenant of faith among his neighbors, before the coming of Joseph Smith. He also attended the ratifying convention, and was commissioned a judge in 1788.

James Allison was later a member of the State Assembly, and was commissioned a judge in 1791. He was the only man to serve on all four boards, both academies and both colleges.

Alexander Wright was less prominent politically than most of his fellow members. He was an active trustee, reappointed at the time of the Washington College charter in 1806, and he did not resign until 1815.

David Bradford was a man of means, at the time of the chartering of Washington Academy, vice president of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, the next officer in rank to Benjamin Franklin. With his brothers-in-law, Judges McDowell and Allison, he became the center of an early political machine.10

David Redick, Bradford's Irish cousin, was the surveyor who laid out the plan of Washington for David Hoge, and he became a prominent lawyer and vice president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

James Marshall (or Marshel) had been one of Washington County's judges soon after its organization in 1781, was acting as sheriff at the time Washington Academy was founded, and also went to the ratifying convention in Philadelphia. He was known as "Colonel" because of his service as an officer during the Revolution and specifically from his rank in the local militia—rather than as "Judge," as McDowell, Edgar, and Allison came to be called.11

Thomas Scott had been in the region longer than any other man on the Board, in fact, longer than most of its white inhabitants, for he had settled on Dunlap's Creek in 1770. He was the first congressman from Western Pennsylvania and the author of the bill creating the District of Columbia as a home for the Federal Government. He and John Neville were the only two
Western men to sign the ratification of the Constitution in 1787. Besides these who signed the minutes of the first meeting held in Philadelphia, other laymen were appointed as original trustees by the Act.

James Ross, originally a protege of John McMillan's from York, his first assistant teacher at the log cabin school, and always a staunch friend and advisor, became a prominent lawyer and a national figure. He was the first senator from Western Pennsylvania, from 1794 to 1803, under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, acting for one term as president of the Senate. He was a framer of the State Constitution as well as a defender of the Federal Constitution; four times the losing Federalist candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; an early enthusiast for a navy to defend our trade at New Orleans; and the first to advocate the Louisiana purchase in the United States Senate. Henry Marie Brackenridge, writing his Recollections of early Pittsburgh, in 1868, says that Ross was not only head of the bar at home but in the United States Senate ranked with Stephen Bayard, Gouverneur Morris, and Breckinridge of Kentucky; he "cannot say that he had ever heard his superior." This was in fact the impression made by Ross on his contemporaries, and his portrait by Sully confirms the description of his "majestic countenance and bearing"—a patrician in the Republic.

John Hoge was the son of David Hoge. He and his brother William were both prominent in politics—David as a Federalist, William as a Republican.

Alexander Addison, in 1785, had come only recently from Scotland via Ireland. He was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen and a candidate for the ministry from the Presbytery of Aberlowe, Scotland. When Redstone did not ordain him he turned to the law, becoming the first president judge of the district, which included four counties.

Of Thomas Crooks little seems to be known. He served as a trustee of Washington Academy until 1795, resigning at the same time as John McMillan and James Ross.

Dr. Alexander Baird resigned at the second meeting, held in
Banners in the Wilderness

Washington, and was succeeded by Dr. Absalom Baird, son of a British veteran, himself a Revolutionary War veteran. He became a leading physician and surgeon, county lieutenant, a brigade inspector, state senator, and sheriff of the county.

James Flannagan (or Fleniken) was a member of the group from New Jersey who in 1773 preceded Thaddeus Dod in the Ten Mile region. He was the father of Mrs. Cephas Dodd.

James Bryce, "Esquire," was a donor of books to Washington Academy and an active trustee. 14

Only a month after the incorporation meeting of the Academy Board, three of the trustees, James Marshall, James Edgar, and Thomas Scott, together with John Neville from Pittsburgh, were in Philadelphia as the four Western delegates to the state convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution. Marshall and Edgar, who voted against ratification, a little later would have been called Jeffersonian Republicans (or Democrats), for like Jefferson they opposed highly centralized government. Scott and Neville voted for it and became strong Federalists, like Ross, Addison, and McMillan. Already, the lines of America's first political parties were being clearly drawn. 15

The first meeting of the Board, held in Philadelphia in November of 1787, was attended by Messrs. Marshall, Edgar, Scott, McDowell, Allison, Wright, Bradford, and Redick. Of these eight laymen, several would have been in the eastern city anyway in their various legal and political capacities. They took the practical step of obtaining land on which the projected academy might be built, and made application to the Secretary of the Land Office for five thousand acres of land as offered by the state under the act incorporating the academy. But the land which they received proved to be an impractical gift indeed.

The state granted the Academy a section of the territory "north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny . . . from the Delaware and Wyandot Indians by the Treaty of Fort McIntosh (Beaver)" which had been designated as donation or depreciation lands for Revolutionary soldiers and their widows and orphans. The assigned property, which turned out to be in Beaver County, too
far away for use by a school designed to educate the young men of Washington, was of continual concern to the trustees. A month after the meeting, Scott and Marshall addressed a letter to Benjamin Franklin as president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania (Redick was vice president at the time) respectfully soliciting the warrant for the land and requesting him to have it “laid off” by the surveyor-general of the State.

This request proved to be more easily made than accomplished, for the donation land had already become a plaything for politicians, who so confused the boundaries of various grants that the Pennsylvania courts three-quarters of a century later were still attempting to settle conflicting claims in the Beaver region. In 1797, ten years later, the trustees were trying to define what lands belonged to Washington Academy and to establish the legal titles so that they would be free to sell any part of the property for the institution’s advantage.

Finally, as funds were needed—in the course of a half century after it was granted—the land, never used by the Academy or its successor, Washington College, in any direct way, was sold.16

At its first meeting in Washington, ten months after the Philadelphia meeting (September 7, 1788), the Board decided to “employ a proper Person” to explore and survey the state lands “in order to make judicious locations” and drew up the first of the many requests for endowment which punctuate the history of American colleges. The request was as eloquent as the need for funds was pressing, exemplifying the sound assumption that an appeal in cultural and moral terms is more effective financially than a statement of economic conditions. The trustees addressed to “the Friends of Science and the Patrons of Literature” a subscription paper expressing their anxiety “to carry into speedy Effect the laudable Intention of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to extend the Sphere of Science and useful knowledge” and continued with impressive eighteenth century abstraction that was indeed a far cry from the frontier climate to which it pointed:

We are well aware that the world of Mankind at this Day are too
sensible to the Advantages resulting to a Community from the Promotion of Literature to attempt an enumeration. Those who in Life have felt the Want of an Academic Education as well as those who have experienced the superior Advantages of it we trust will view with each other taking our Infant Institution by the Hand.

We hope a noble Emulation will end its generous aid to complete that Superstructure of which Legislative Wisdom has laid the Foundation in the Western Extremity of the growing Commonwealth.

We cannot but indulge a pleasing hope that the Day is not far remote when the rising Generation who shall drink at the Fountains of Science which your Hands have assisted in opening in these western wilds will amply remunerate your Liberality by their future usefulness.¹⁷

“Western Extremity” and “western wilds” indeed, but certainly by 1788 more catchwords of tradition and symbols of regional pride than revelations of any sense of inferiority to Eastern culture.

At the very next meeting (November 25, 1788), for example, the trustees composed a letter to Vice President of the Pennsylvania Council Redick and, through him, to President of the Council Benjamin Franklin,¹⁸ refusing politely to appoint a recommended “Mr. Thomas” as teacher unless he should meet their high academic standards. They expressed their high respect for the opinions of “Dr. Franklin and yourself” but qualified: “His Manners, his Temper & principles appear to us from your Judgment beyond a question but you have been both silent on one point, which we think ourselves bound to have well ascertained, that is his literary Accomplishments.” “You know,” they chidingly concluded, “we want not only an amiable and good man, but a Scholar . . . one well acquainted with the Genius of the English, Latin & Greek languages . . . as will be of use and ornament to us . . . a Gentleman to come here as a Tutor in our Academy on the Promise of One Hundred pounds for the first year . . .”

On January 20, 1789, still without money, land, or building, they appointed the most learned among their own number as headmaster to teach the learned languages and sciences and also to superintend the English, or lower school. Thaddeus Dod, the
outstanding scholar of the region, was the universal choice. He accepted, on condition that the appointment be for one year only. He would preach, during the same time, for the congregations of Washington and Upper and Lower Ten Mile. He was offered a salary of eighty pounds a year, from March 1, 1789, and the English teacher was to get forty pounds. The fee for classical tuition was established at four pounds a year; for the English school, at twenty-five shillings.

Dr. James Moffatt, a president of W. and J. (1881-1915), who had access to Dr. Cephas Dodd's personal papers, confirms the statement of historian Joseph Smith that the school was actually opened on April 1, 1789, in the upper room of the log courthouse at Washington, with Dod as its only teacher.¹⁹

On April 10, according to the minutes, David Johnson, formerly a tutor at the University of Pennsylvania, was employed as English teacher, or head of the lower school, at a salary of fifty pounds. David Johnson was the only one of the early teachers in the West who was not a clergyman. He was hired by Trustees Marshall, Scott, and Redick, evidently while they were in Philadelphia. Possibly he was suggested by Benjamin Franklin, but we have no documentation for this. Dod now resigned as a trustee, and Colonel John Canon, proprietor of Canonsburg, was elected to the Board in his place.

Dod's acceptance of the appointment helped to settle in part the academic direction of the institution, but its physical problems of place and funds were still unsolved. At the meeting when Dod was appointed, the Board decided to apply for a plot of land in the public square of Washington and in the meantime to "hire a house to teach in till one can be erected."²⁰ In March, 1789, according to tradition just one month before Dod's actual instruction began, the Board reported an arrangement to employ the upper rooms of the log courthouse which was about to be finished, but indicated that neither subscriptions nor local land for the Academy had been obtained. McMillan was added to the committee for conferring with the county trustees about a grant of public ground. In June, perhaps further indication of the failure
of those in the community to subscribe adequately or at all, John Hoge reported that "the County Court of Quarter Session Common Pleas & Orphans Court" had recorded officially a decision to donate to the new school "the Fees of the Bench on every Judgment," undoubtedly through the influence of such prominent practicing lawyers as Hoge himself, Addison, Redick, and Ross. In summer, the next year, when Dod ended his term as principal and returned to his Amity farm, the Board was still making plans to erect "a frame school."

At the meeting of July 20, 1793, the Board showed renewed concern for both grounds and buildings for the projected school. It requested that two thousand of the five thousand acres of the state grant for land be located "as David Redick and David Bradford shall direct" and resolved that "a House . . . 30 by 35 of Brick Stone or a frame Building . . . two Stories high" be contracted for and built. Obviously, if a building were to be erected, there had to be land to erect it on. It has since come to light that the trustees were no longer depending on the mere possibility of state aid when they talked about an actual building contract. And on March 17, 1794, the contract was let for a building for Washington Academy.

As early as 1790 Edward Lynch and his wife Annie had donated to the Academy, for a token consideration, lot #229 (now at the northwest corner of Chestnut and College Streets, diagonally across from the present North Campus), but this land was probably considered by the trustees inadequate in size for the new building which they had in mind. On the Lynch land, however, was a small frame house, apparently unused for academic purposes so long as the courthouse stood. It appears several times in the Washington minutes after November 13, 1793. First the house was suggested as an English school location.

There were, of course, few adequate school books, and at one meeting a motion was made by James Ross "that 10 pounds be appropriated from the funds of this corporation, to buy books at cost, to be bought of Mr. Bache, grandson of Dr. Franklin, in preference to any other, if he has the books." It was an ambitious
motion, as Benjamin Franklin Bache's bookshop was in Philadelphia, and the Board had almost no money. However, when John Hoge reported that the local Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas and the Orphans' Court would donate the fees taken at every judgment, the Board hoped to be able to buy the books. Dod was to list the books desired and Colonel Marshall to buy them in Philadelphia.

At the same meeting the Board directed Dod to write out "rules for the school," and at his request passed a resolution that "the greatest attention . . . be paid by the Master that Cleanliness so necessary to Health be preserved in every Scholar in the Academy, and that no Scholar be admitted who may be infected with the Itch or any other Contagious Disease and that if any are now at School so infected, . . . the Master give immediate information thereof."

During the early period, in 1789, Benjamin Franklin sent a personal gift of fifty pounds for the purchase of books, to form the beginning of a school library. This gift was received and set aside. A year and a half after the courthouse fire, Baird, Bradford, and Ross were appointed a committee to furnish Redick with a list of books to be purchased with Dr. Franklin's gift. And on Christmas eve, 1792, Redick "gave in a list of books, purchased with Dr. Franklin's donation, the price of which amounted to 49 L/10/11-1/2."24

C. M. Ewing, curator of the Washington and Jefferson Historical Collection, turned up in the archives a copy of an early newspaper, the Gazette of the United States, Wednesday, April 29 to Saturday, May 2, 1789, containing the following article:

ELOGIUM

Dr. Franklin has had the happiness of living to see science extended under his fostering hand, from one end of Pennsylvania to the other. What hath he not done in the cause of literature and freedom? Was he not a principal agent in the foundation of the first library in Philadelphia? What seminary hath not partook of
his bounty? Hath he not after a constant exercise of his extraordinary abilities, at the very eve of life, exhibited a striking proof of the consequences of good habits, in taking by the hand an infant academy at Washington, the very extremity of the State? Did he not some time ago endow it with fifty pounds? Hath he not within a few days past directed Mr. Redick, one of the trustees of that school, to receive from the State the whole amount of his account for postages during the three years of his presidency, and which amounted to a very considerable sum? Yes, all these things he hath done. But to all these things and as much more as would fill a volume of such things, would be but the dust of the balance to what this great, this good, this ornament of human nature, hath done for man.25

Other books were presented to the trustees, at that time, by Francis Baily Bryce and Company, the local printers, and by Joseph Crukshank. These collections were the nucleus of the Washington and Jefferson Library.

Having promised to serve the Academy for one year, Dod continued for three months into the second year, while David Johnson was taking over. In July, 1790, Dod returned to his farm at Ten Mile. Later, in the winter, the disastrous courthouse fire burned the building, destroying books belonging to both Dod and Johnson. The Academy at Washington was at a standstill. Land and endowment were still needed desperately.

Redick maintained the library in his own home from 1792 to 1803, and during this time the Board made three inquiries into his custodianship. He was absolved from blame, but apparently the books were beginning to be scattered, or worn out. In the historical collections at W. and J. are four or five books which once belonged to Thaddeus Dod, signed in his own script, a gift to the College from his great-great grandson, Dr. W. L. Dodd of Amity; and the five which Director Ewing has identified as part of the purchase made with Franklin's original gift. These are inscribed with the name of David Redick, the librarian, and also with the name, "Washington Academy."
Pursuant to the act of general Assembly, entitled, 'The act for the support and establishment of an Academy or Public School in the Town of Washington,' the following gentlemen appointed Directors by said act and by

Mr. James Mitchell
Mr. James Snow
Mr. James Marter
Mr. James Wilson
Mr. Thomas Wise
Mr. John A. Wilson
Mr. Samuel Redick

The Board proceeded to make out applications to the Trustees of the said School for 3,000 acres of land granted by Act of Assembly for the use of the Washington Academy, which was lodged in the Land Office.

The Board then assembled at the 7th day of September and met to meet in the Town of Washington in Washington County.

Washington Oct 7th 1787

The Board met according to appointment.

Present: Mr. Thomas Snow, Mr. David Bradford, Mr. John Locke, Mr. James Edgar, Mr. John Boe

Dr. John Mitchell.

The Board proceeded to the Deposition of a President, a clerk, and the treasurer. The latter being Mr. James Edgar was appointed and qualified therefor.

The resignation of Mr. Alexander Baird one of the Trustees nominated in the Act of Assembly constituting the Board for the Washington Academy was laid before the Board and accepted. Therefore the Board, upon motion made by the appointment of another Trustee in his room and Alabam Baird was appointed who had immediate Notice and attended.

Mr. Thomas Snow appeared and took his Seat.

The Board desired that a Subscription paper be drafted by a Committee of those who made immediate request of the following VER:

The Objects of Washington Academy amount to carry and do affect the landable inhabitants of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to the science of science and useful knowledge. Have enough been presented to Congress to the friends of science and patrons of literature.

Minute Book, Washington Academy, Philadelphia, November, 1787
Many reasons are given for the difficulties of the Board in getting the necessary support: the shift of interest to Canonsburg as a location for the Virginia Synod school for training ministers, and the great political unrest which culminated in the Whiskey Rebellion.

The 1791 break in instruction at Washington Academy was precisely what was needed to get a similar school well started at nearby Canonsburg. In October of that year Joseph Smith was made chairman of a Synod of Virginia committee for formulating a plan for the education of prospective ministers. He suggested the establishment of two schools: one "in Rockbridge County, Virginia, under the care of the Rev. William Graham, as the president; the other in Washington county, Pennsylvania, under the care of the Rev. John M'Millan."28

Washington, first of all the county seat and secondly already the site of a school with a state charter and with John McMillan active on its Board of Trustees, would immediately seem the logical location of a Synod-approved academy. Too, Washington Academy, with its troubles of that particular year, would have welcomed life-giving official church support. The fact is, however, that the committee of which McMillan was a member had evidently been unsuccessful in getting a township lot on which to build a school, and soon after had the additional discouragement of the burning of even the temporary place of the Academy. Joseph Smith, the younger, suggested that there were two other possibilities for locating the Synod institution: Chartiers, the home of McMillan's own log school, and Canonsburg, where, as we shall see in the next chapter, an English or grammar school was already in operation under the supervision of Samuel Millar.27

Washington Academy trustees were beginning individually to resign from the Board for a number of reasons, some certainly because they were too tied up in local affairs to carry out their duties, some because they considered the project futile in view of its short and difficult history and the pressing disturbances in the surrounding countryside. McMillan did not resign until 1795, when Henderson and Crooks also left; John Canon, who came
upon the Board in 1789, remained there officially until his death in 1798. McMillan and Canon both agreed that the Synod school and Washington Academy should not be one. The Synod reputedly wanted the new institution to be a direct extension of McMillan's old school on its old site and Canon probably wanted it in the town founded by him and named after him.

Some stories go so far as to suggest that McMillan's not joining the Canonsburg Academy Board until the death of Colonel Canon in 1798 was related to a disagreement of the two men over the location of the new school, but this is hardly probable: the original Canonsburg Board included no ministers.

The trustees continued their attempt to find a location within the county seat. John Hoge refused to carry out his father's original marking of a place for the school. The land by this time had been used otherwise. McMillan was acting as president of the Board when Henderson and McDowell resigned. Two of the original founders were removed by death: Smith in 1792 and Dod, the first headmaster, in 1793. Joseph Patterson was elected in place of Joseph Smith.

During the difficulties of the Academy at Washington, David Johnson moved to Canonsburg, nine miles away, and became the first principal of the school begun there, in July, 1791. Others were looking towards Canonsburg as a more hopeful field.

Washington was going through a desperate period. After the courthouse burned the courts were held in the residence of a Mr. Dodd, on Monongahela Street (now Main), across from the public square. The prisoners of the jail were being held in private homes. The Whiskey Insurrection, which was to rise to its climax in 1794, kept the little town in an uproar as it gathered towards its height.

Yet finally, on July 20, 1793, a resolve was taken in Washington: "A house should be built out of moneys subscribed,—30 by 35 feet, of stone or brick, or as the committee should direct." David Bradford was a member of this committee—the insurrectionist was still the respected citizen.28

From every evidence, the actual operation of Washington
Washington Academy

Academy was at a standstill from 1791 until 1796, the tense years between the passing of Hamilton’s Excise Bill and the clearing up of the last legal matters growing out of the Whiskey Insurrection. Still, the Board did manage to meet, however seldom, and as it turned out, succeeded in building the material foundation for a working school which it had failed to establish in the early years. There is an occasional dreary entry in the minutes such as: January 11, 1794, “The Board met.” Then follows a list of seven members, including Federalist Ross, middle-of-the-roader Redick, and Republicans Marshall and Bradford, who must have faced one another self-consciously, with their minds on other concerns in this year of all years. And the minutes end, “The Board adjourned till the next meeting in Course.”

But most of the meetings show a keen awareness of what had to be done financially in order to have a school. It has been suggested that such awareness was heightened by Canonsburg’s success in getting land immediately and the sure promise of a building and apparent community support. Whatever the motivation, the few trustees at Washington who did the work took specific and direct steps to provide the independent physical facilities that previously had been lacking.

*The Whiskey Insurrection*

It is probably true, as has been suggested, that the excitement of the Whiskey Insurrection was the biggest contributing cause for the hiatus in activity and in interest of the Washington Academy. The conflict between agrarian West and financial East, between regional independence and government far removed, had been the cause of many emotional and forceful speeches in Washington County.29

After the Revolution the new state of Pennsylvania dragged out an old colonial law levying a duty on domestic and foreign distilled liquors and took some steps to collect the excise tax by way of supporting its young government. Previously, the law had been enforced rarely with respect to domestic liquor, and when attempts were made to collect the revenue on whiskey in the
Western counties, opposition was spontaneous and even violent. Although the excise itself was small, there was a practical reason for the objection to the tax. Grain, almost the only source of revenue for the Western farmers, could not be transported across the mountains without a road. It could be carried only when distilled into liquor, concentrated, and thus "packed" along the trail in kegs hung across the pack animals like saddlebags. Liquor, then, had become the West's chief commodity of exchange with the East, its very livelihood. Westerners naturally felt that for whiskey to be taxed was regional discrimination by Easterners who dominated the Pennsylvania assembly.

In 1781, when John McMillan, Thaddeus Dod, Joseph Smith, and James Power formed the Redstone Presbytery, certainly those men who had been less than a decade in the West felt strongly that they were a part of it because they had endured the hardships of coming and of staying and of creating a spiritual and cultural entity clearly different from their Eastern backgrounds. Under stress, the regional sense was not always constructive and admirable in its expression: on one occasion when a minister from another tradition attempted to have himself placed at the head of the congregation in Washington, McMillan indignantly pointed him out as an intruder and used even stronger names. McMillan was tried for slander consecutively by ecclesiastical and civil courts, but Senator James Ross, his former aide and student, won his exoneration with impressive argument emphasizing free speech, self-defense, and the discipline that is legal within an organization. Aside from the specific facts of the case, the issue involved strongly a resentment of interference in Western Pennsylvania, a feeling that was even early a strong part of the regional climate.

The fate of a state revenue collector was described by Dorsey Pentecost in a letter sent to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania under the heading "Washington County, 16th April, 1786":

About ten days ago a Mr. Graham, Excise officer for the three western Counties, Washington, Westmoreland, and Fayette, was in the exer-
cise of his office in this County, seized by a number of People and treated in the following manner, viz: His Pistols, which he carried before him, taken and broke to pieces in his presence, his Commission and all his papers relating to his Office tore and thrown in the mud, and he forced or made to stamp on them, and Imprecate curses on himself, the Commission, and the Authority that gave it to him; they then cut off one-half his hair, cued the other half on one side of his Head, cut off the Cock of his Hat, and made him wear it in a form to render his Cue the most Conspicuous; this with many other marks of Ignominy they Impos'd on him, and to which he was obliged to submit; and in the above plight they marched him amidst a Crowd from the frontiers of this County to Westmoreland County, calling at all the Still Houses in their way, where they were Treated Gratis, and expos'd him to every Insult and mockery that their Invention could contrive. They set him at Liberty at the entrance of Westmoreland, but with Threats of utter Desolution should he dare to return to our County.\(^{80}\)

In the following years there were other incidents, perhaps not so vividly recorded. The state, soon giving up any attempt to collect the excise tax, by the middle of 1791 officially repealed the old state act. Ironically, in January, 1791, just six months before, Congress had passed a bill placing a national excise tax on distilled liquors of all kinds.

The national tax was part of Alexander Hamilton's plan, approved by President Washington, for the immediate purpose of increasing the national revenue and for the political purpose of symbolizing the strength of the central government to the people in every part of the country, including the borderland farmers who owned the stills. The new law, in general effect, widened the breach between the Federalist supporters of Alexander Hamilton and George Washington and the Anti-federalist or Republican supporters of the opposition leader, Thomas Jefferson. A specific effect of the law was continual tension and uproar in Washington and the other Western counties of Pennsylvania for the next three or four years.

Demonstrations against the Federal collectors and against those who complied with the law became so frequent that in 1792, at
Secretary Hamilton's suggestion, President Washington issued a proclamation of warning. The warning was ignored as much as the law, and meetings, threats, and fights among neighbors continued as before. Academy Trustee David Bradford, although he held the office of the deputy attorney general of Pennsylvania, spoke for rebellion and independent government and became almost overnight a major general in charge of the incipient insurgents. Other trustees were almost as active as Bradford in urging disobedience to the law and revolt on behalf of regional independence: Allison and McDowell, Bradford's brothers-in-law and political collaborators; James Marshall, who had expressed his opposition to Hamilton in voting against Pennsylvania's ratification of the constitution; the Rev. John Corbley, who realized the needs of his farmer parishioners. Others, although Anti-federalists, when they were faced with violence and bloodshed, realized the wisdom of moderation and concluded that some rights could be relinquished in support of the central government, for mutual welfare. Edgar, who had voted as a Republican in the 1787 ratifying convention, "spoke to an audience of at least two thousand people, with a clearness of argument, a solemnity of manner and a tenderness of Christian eloquence which reached the understanding and penetrated the heart of every hearer," thus keeping most of his neighbors from following Bradford into open insurrection. David Redick, Bradford's cousin, like Edgar was both a Republican and an advocate for supporting the legal constitution. Scott and Ross, on the other hand, were professed Federalists and spoke out for law and order. It was about this time that McMillan was impressed with young Albert Gallatin (of "Friendship Hill" fifty miles south), who in spite of his revolutionary sympathies abroad and his later fame as a Thomas Jefferson cabinet member and diplomat was speaking everywhere for moderation. McMillan himself expressed a very human sympathy with his rebellious neighbors but took his stand emphatically for law, once refusing to administer the communion service until his congregation had signified its intention of complying with federal justice.
The rebellion came to an open climax in 1794 when fifty federal warrants were drawn for the arrest of persons conspicuously connected with the outrages of the past two years. In resistance and protest a mob surrounded the house of General John Neville on Chartiers Creek, six men were wounded and one killed by shots fired in self-defense from Neville's residence. Bradford gathered as many old soldiers and militiamen as he could, supposedly to march to Pittsburgh and drive out the small garrison of federal troops stationed there. Some of his troops are said to have encamped on the grounds of the home of one of the Washington Academy trustees, others on the hillside which is now the campus of Washington and Jefferson. They were somewhat baffled at their own behavior and baffled too by the report that the federal government would call out troops against them. "Call out the militia against us?" one of them reputedly said. "We are the militia. Then we will be fighting ourselves."33

Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, as a matter of fact, did hesitate to call out the militia against the farmers of his state. President Washington then took specific steps against the insurrectionists by asking for fifteen thousand volunteers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to march by the first of September. This number, he and Secretary Hamilton knew, was much greater than needed, but again they took the opportunity to show the strength of the central government. The response to the President's call was quick, and the tension and confusion of the excited people dwindled into fear and exhaustion. Nothing apparently was being accomplished by the series of mobilizations and meetings engineered by Bradford and his coleaders. Bradford found himself more and more alone in his determination to oppose the federal troops. Government forces from four directions under the command of General Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee met in Pittsburgh, having met no opposition along the way. President Washington himself came as far as Bedford, and Alexander Hamilton came to Pittsburgh for the trials of the insurgent leaders. En route to Pittsburgh from Parkinson's Ferry (Monongahela), where the Western residents had held several meetings in the
course of the difficulties, a detachment accompanied by Secretary Hamilton entered the town of Washington and took into custody a number of prisoners to be tried at Pittsburgh.

McMillan's correspondent, James Carnahan, then a student at the academy at Canonsburg, which had opened a few years before, described what came to be known locally as the dreadful night:

Companies of horsemen were scattered in different directions over the country, and as there was no opposition, it was thought the army were about to return. On the night of the 13th of November, a frosty night, about one o'clock, the horse was sallied forth, and before daylight arrested in their beds about two hundred men. A company of Virginia Horse were stationed for several days near Canonsburg, and I give the manner of their proceedings as a sample of what probably occurred in other places. About two o'clock in the morning they surrounded the house where I lodged, and some came in and ordered my landlord, an old man, to rise and guide them to a neighborhood about eight miles distant, where he was well acquainted. He had no horse. They inquired where a horse could be found. He named two or three places. They wanted a guide to the stables. The old man had no servant in the house. Two boys belonging to the academy lodged in an upper chamber. The older one, of an impetuous temper, had talked big in favor of the insurgents, and he believed the horsemen had come to arrest him, and he lay trembling in bed. The younger, more considerate, had always condemned the insurgents. Conscious of innocence, he jumped up and ran downstairs, half dressed, to see what was going on. The horsemen slapped him with their scabbards, and ordered him to show them the stables. He had to go, and run about a quarter of a mile without shoes, frosty as it was. No horse was to be found at the first stable, and then he had to run as far in a different direction, and happily found a horse. The epithet "young insurgent," with additional hard words, were liberally applied, with an occasional slap to quicken his steps. This lad was afterwards the Rev. Dr. O. Jennings, of Nashville, Tenn.34

But Carnahan adds, and others agree with him, that on the whole the horsemen "made arrests and treated their prisoners with as much gentleness and humanity as practicable," although "terror seized mothers, sisters, and wives when their sons and brothers
and husbands were taken out of bed and carried off, they knew not whither."

Again and again the Washington Academy trustees appear in contemporary records as members of committees of defiance, compromise, and submission. Judge Alexander Addison was secretary of a meeting in Parkinson’s Ferry where a committee was appointed to call on President Washington at Bedford. David Redick, along with William Finley of Westmoreland, was a member of the committee which assured President Washington of future peace and submission, too late for him to countermand the order to the troops to move westward. David Redick reported his interview with the President, and was then made one of four commiteemen to assure the President of no future violence and of the needlessness of martial rule. The President had returned to the East, and Redick conferred first with Hamilton and then with General Lee. Senator Ross had earlier been appointed by Washington to a three-man committee with power to confer with individuals and groups in an attempt to quiet the insurrection. Alexander Addison, president of the courts in four counties, charged the grand jury in a speech that showed an understanding of the motives of rebellion and a strong belief in adherence to the law.

Bradford, everywhere acknowledged as the outstanding leader of the rebellion, found himself disappointed and alone and certainly in danger of indictment for treason against the United States, the strength of which as a nation had been tested for the first time and proved real. He left behind him the handsome gray stone house which he had built in the center of Washington in 1787, the very year that he became a member of the Washington Academy Board, and he fled in a progress of dramatic and narrow escapes into a newer West, down the Mississippi to Louisiana, which was still under Spanish rule. He obtained a grant of land on Bayou Sara and became a wealthy planter. Marshall, whose ardor had cooled as the rebellion seemed doomed to failure, sold his lands in Westmoreland County and moved to Wellsburg, (West) Virginia.
Banners in the Wilderness

Among the seventeen prisoners taken in Washington and Allegheny Counties were the Rev. John Corbley, a Washington Academy trustee, and Colonel John Hamilton, sheriff of Washington County and later a trustee of Jefferson College for twenty-nine years. They were made to march on foot to Philadelphia, each of them walking between two guards on horseback with swords drawn, through mud and snow and over the mountains in the coldest part of the year. After their journey of some thirty days, they stood trial, but eventually only two of the prisoners were convicted and all of them were included in the general amnesty granted by Washington.

Needless to say, there was no further opposition to paying the excise tax. The government was shown to exist, the West was proved to be a part of the nation, the Republicans continued to criticize the Federalists, and Jefferson tested the ability of the Constitution to provide for wise change by repealing the tax law as soon as he became President.

Against the background of a national crisis centered in its location and involving as the outstanding figures the very men responsible for getting it on the way, Washington Academy was understandably faced with many difficulties in the beginning years. To a modern reader of the early minutes, the trustees seem to meet too infrequently for the amount of business certainly pressing, or attendance at the meetings seems disturbingly small. As we have seen, there were other regional matters demanding their attention in the late eighties and early nineties. It is remarkable that in spite of the hullabaloo of the county affecting the trustees and affecting the students and the families from which they came the Academy developed at all, but it did make steady if unspectacular progress and it did pass the turn of the century to warrant eventually the establishment of the united colleges in the county seat.

Transition

The campus began to take form with a gift, belatedly, in 1792: four lots at the corner of the present Wheeling and Lincoln
Washington Academy

Streets, from William Hoge, one of the sons of the original proprietor, "for the love he bears to useful learning." Other land was added gradually, with gifts from David Wilson, Colin Reed, Joseph Mc Knight, Joseph Henderson, and Thomas McKennan—until the campus was completed, as it was known for about a hundred years, roughly from 1833 to 1933.

The stone Academy was begun and apparently the foundation and walls were sufficiently completed by the end of 1793, so that the contract for the woodwork could be made in 1794. This contract was signed by the same committee, Baird, Bradford, and Brice (Bradford continuing to serve on the Board until his final departure in 1794). The walls are twenty-three inches thick. The front door, which still hangs, cost two guineas. This building is the fine central structure of the present administration building, moved slightly back from its original location, esteemed as the eighth oldest academic building in the United States still in use for its original purpose.

In 1796 the legislature was petitioned for money to complete this building. Dr. Cephas Dodd believed that the Academy did not reopen until the late spring of 1796. We know very little of the teaching staff during this interval. James Dobbins of York apparently had been teaching a sort of English school in the small wooden schoolhouse now moved to the campus. In May, 1796, he undertook to teach Latin and Greek there and William Little was engaged in April, 1797, to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, beside him, until the new two-story building should be ready. Eventually the frame house which stood beside the stone academy was removed as a fire hazard. At last, in March, 1797, the legislature approved a grant of $3,000 to complete the new building, with a stipulation for the teaching of "ten indigent students, for a period not exceeding two years each."

In 1801, Dobbins was succeeded as principal by Benjamin Mills, who was later known as "Judge Mills of Kentucky," assisted for part of the time by a Mr. Stephenson. Mills served until 1804, possibly until the arrival, 1805, of Matthew Brown, as the first minister of the Presbyterian Church and head of the Academy.
Banners in the Wilderness

With the coming of Matthew Brown (and a little later of his young assistant teacher, David Elliott) new life began. And at last, on July 14, 1806, the trustees met, their only business was to learn, "the Legislature at their last session passed a law incorporating the Trustees of Washington Academy with the power and privileges of a College."
Canonsburg Academy

1791-1802
Dedicated July, 1791. Chartered March 11, 1794

INCORPORATED in the Minutes of Redstone Presbytery for October 18, 1791, is the serious discussion of where to establish the school to train young men for the ministry in the Western Country. Exactly a year later, October 18, 1792, the Minutes read:

The Presbytery unanimously agreed to appoint Canonsburg to be the seat of that institution of learning which they are appointed by Synod to superintend; and that all the young men taken upon the fund for the support of poor and pious youths shall be educated there.

The explanation for the year's delay was "trouble with Indians." The new institution was to be "under the care of the Revd. John McMillan." And although subsequent minutes show that there were attempts to have Washington Academy share the Presbytery funds, by April, 1793, Canonsburg was reappointed as the official school "preparing young men for the Gospel Ministry."

McMillan was in a difficult situation. Beside his two churches he had responsibilities for the Academy at Washington, he had a school in his home to prepare boys for the ministry, and he had assumed a kind of leadership politically, which especially through the Whiskey Rebellion kept him active beyond educational and ministerial duties.

A notice in the Pittsburgh Gazette, in September, 1792, is one of the earliest public notices that the School was ready.
The building for the Academy at Canonsburg is now finished and the institution under good relations. The grammar school is taught by Mr. Johnston; and the English, Euclid’s Elements of Geometry; Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical, with the later application to Astronomy; Navigation, Surveying Mensuration, Guaging, Dialing Conic Sections, Algebra, and Bookkeeping by Mr. Miller; both well known for their attention and abilities. Boarding in the neighborhood to be had at good houses, at the low price of ten pounds, payable principally in produce. The situation is healthy, near the center of Washington County; the funds raised by the Presbytery are to be applied for the support of a certain number of scholars, annually, as directed by the Synod of the district to be appropriated to this Academy. It is hoped the public will regard, with a favorable eye this institution, and give it all the encouragement that it may deserve.

For the new educational venture Canonsburg was in readiness. The town had grown, which in 1775 had consisted of one log hut. Colonel Canon, its proprietor, had laid out lots and marked roads “to Mr. McMillan’s meeting,” to Joseph Smith’s, to Matthew Henderson’s, and to the coal bank, the two mills, and the ferry. Canon was a leading citizen; it was with him General Washington stayed when he came to inspect his property near Canonsburg and Perryopolis. Although Canon had come into Washington County from Virginia during Lord Dunmore’s War, he now was accepted by the earlier Western Pennsylvania settlers as a natural leader. By as early as 1802 the village became a borough, the oldest in Washington County. It is natural to suppose that Canon would have liked the town which he and his Maryland wife had fostered to become the county seat and the center of learning; however, he remained on the Board of the Washington Academy from 1789 until his death in 1798.

Dr. Cephas Dodd, in his records, tells that McMillan and Henderson finally asked Colonel Canon for a lot for the school, just as they had originally asked John Hoge for one at Washington. A decent interval of six months had elapsed since the courthouse fire at Washington, and at this moment of history Colonel Canon seems to have been seized with an inspiration—perhaps the
fulfillment of a deferred desire. He now presented a lot, a little distant from the center of the town as laid out at that time, which adjoined, or contained, the plot of ground on which a little village schoolhouse already stood. This plot had been marked as "two acres and thirty-two perches, of which one half acre with an access of fifteen feet to Main Street was to be reserved for an English school." The land was opposite the rear part of the present Canonsburg High School, across Central Avenue, the "old Pittsburgh road." Besides this gift Mr. Canon offered to advance money for the immediate building of a stone schoolhouse, the cost of which the trustees could return to him gradually.

On a Monday in July, 1791, two months before the Synod met to recommend the school, a conference of ministers and other citizens met in Canonsburg to consider what steps should be taken to found the new Academy. Colonel Canon formally made his offer, and they decided to begin at once and seek a charter from the state later on. Forthwith, a general invitation was sent out "to all friends of learning and of their country" to meet at the English schoolhouse near Canon's mill the next morning at ten o'clock, and then and there take part in the dedication of Canonsburg Academy."

We do not know who attended this first meeting or who followed the three ministers the next morning in the little procession walking about half a mile from the center of the town. David Johnson had been summoned from Washington and was conducting the nucleus of a Latin class outdoors, "under the shade of some sassafras bushes, beside a worm fence," near the old schoolhouse which they would use until a new building was ready. We can readily imagine the bystanders gathering to watch the ceremony, as McMillan seized his two friends and climbed up the bank and interrupted the historic "first recitation." Samuel Millar probably stood somewhere in the background with his younger pupils. We can imagine Colonel Canon standing on the footpath below with Mrs. Canon, Craig Ritchie (an early settler, Indian fighter, and the future treasurer), and Joseph Patterson, whose son was making the recitation. Some say that Judge Allison
Banners in the Wilderness

and Judge McDowell were present. We have no minute book of Canonsburg Academy until 1796, but we know the school on that opening day in July, 1791, consisted literally of six persons: the two students, Robert Patterson and William Riddle; their teacher, David Johnson; and the three clergymen, McMillan, Henderson, and Smith. Robert Patterson himself has left this recollection:

These three ministers, with Mr. Johnston and two pupils, William Riddle and Robert Patterson, who had recited a few lessons to Abraham Scott, took their position under the shade of some sassafras bushes, protected from the rays of a July sun, *corona popula parva circumstante,* the two pupils, with "Corderii Colloquia" in their hands, were just about to read "Quid agis," when Mr. M'Millan addressing his two brethren and the small assembly remarked in substance, as follows: "This is an important day in our history, affecting deeply the interests of the church, and the country in the West; affecting our own interests for time and for eternity, and the interests, it may be, of thousands and thousands yet unborn." And turning to Mr. Henderson, asked him to engage in prayer, seeking the blessings of God on the institution now to be opened. And I must say, the broad vernacular pronunciation of the Scotch language never could be more delightfully impressive than it was then; while everything proper to the occasion appeared to be remembered in prayer, by this good man. The first lesson in the academy was soon recited. Robert Patterson, being the senior, led, beginning the first sentence as above, "Quid agis." After a short lesson was recited, and before they were dismissed, Mr. M'Millan requested Mr. Smith to close the exercise with prayer. Mr. Smith, in conclusion, was as solemn and appropriate as Mr. Henderson had been in the beginning; and the little assembly retired much gratified, and with high expectations, which have been abundantly realized.  

After the dedication, conducted under the high sky of a summer morning and continuing to echo down the years, the school session began.

Other students gathered as time went on. Phillip and Joseph Doddridge came in the first months to the English course (Joseph the clergyman and physician and author of Doddridge's *Notes*; Phillip the lawyer and congressman). While at Canonsburg they
Benjamin Franklin Portrait, gift to Canonsburg Academy, circa 1790
ELOCUENT.

Dr. Franklin has had the happiness of living to see science extended under his fostering hand, from one end of Pennsylvania to the other. What hath he not done in the cause of literature and freedom? Was he not a principal agent in the foundation of the first public school of any note in the State? Was he not the principal agent in the foundation of the first library in Philadelphia? What seminary hath not partook of his bounty? Hath he not after a constant exercise of his extraordinary abilities, at the very eve of life, exhibited a striking proof of the consequence of good habits, in taking by the hand an infant academy at Washington, the very extremity of the State? Did he not some time ago endow it with fifty pounds? Hath he not within a few days past directed Mr. Redick, one of the trustees of that school, to receive from the State the whole amount of his account for postages during the three years of his presidency, and which amounted to a very considerable sum? Yes, all these things he hath done. But to all these things and as much more as would fill a volume of such things, would be but the dust of the balance to what this great, this good, this ornament to human nature, hath done for man.

Gazette of the United States, fifty pounds to "Academy in Washington"

Franklin gift, nucleus of the W. and J. library
roomed with Robert Patterson at the home of the Rev. Boyd Mercer. The Jennings brothers came (Obadiah, lawyer and minister; Dr. Ebenezer who rid the West of smallpox; Samuel, founder of the Washington Medical College in Baltimore; Jonathon, first governor of Indiana) and their stepbrother, James Carnahan, long-time president of Princeton. The flaming meteor that was John Watson came, too. And on through the first decade of life for the Academy, and into the College which followed, hundreds of boys who loved and honored Samuel Millar, their teacher, for his plain goodness; many who followed him and Colonel Canon into future wars for freedom; more who entered the ministry. They had dedicated even better than they knew that summer morning.

Two academies now existed, officially: Washington about nine miles away, with a charter, a Board of Trustees, the history of two years of instruction, but for the moment without teachers, students, or a place of meeting; Canonsburg, not yet officially chartered, but with a plot of ground, a faculty, two students, enthusiastic blessing, and high hope for the future.

Tradition tells us that Colonel Canon was the first president of the Canonsburg trustees. We have no records until an undecipherable date, probably 1795, when "a number of contributors met on the first Tuesday of October" and voted for trustees, as follows: John Canon, John McDowell, Craig Ritchie, Robert Ralston, Thomas Brecken, James Foster, David Gault, and Alexander Cook. The next recorded minute, on January 25, 1796, shows the trustees meeting in Colonel Canon's house and choosing James Allison as president and Alexander Cook as clerk. Subsequent meetings were held at the Academy and at the home of Craig Ritchie, who was elected treasurer in 1796 and served for many years. Other trustees were added, notably James Edgar and Joseph Patterson, who served respectively as president and president pro tem. John McDowell was another early president.

The stone schoolhouse, with two stories, went up apace. McMillan and Henderson collected the money, and by 1796 the proprietor was completely reimbursed for the expenses.
The Academy was chartered by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on March 11, 1794, as the "Academy and Library Company of Canonsburg," seven years after the sister academy at Washington was chartered, but now well in the lead. McMillan's students from the "Latin School," which he and James Ross had taught in the eighties at his home and in the old log school, were transferred to this new Academy. The date and method of this transfer are not certain. A notice in the regional newspaper of 1794 mentioned that "the fund raised by the Presbytery, and to be applied for the support of a certain number of scholars, annually, is directed by the Synod of the district to be appropriated to this Academy." And two years later, as early as 1796, the trustees petitioned the state legislature that if a college should be established west of the Alleghenies, Canonsburg should be its site. The realization came in 1802, when the Academy became Jefferson College.

It may be a matter of practical strategy that a petition for state funds in 1798 made no reference to church support, or it may suggest the trustees' awareness of the rational climate of such eastern leaders in government as Benjamin Franklin, certainly the most influential man in the state of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Jefferson, the idol of the West and later the man after whom the college evolving from Canonsburg Academy was to be named.

In spite of the Presbytery's endorsement of Canonsburg the Academy evidently did not emphasize training for the ministry, but began immediately to offer the subjects that would make possible a real liberal arts college. Even the advertisement which mentions church connections does not emphasize instruction in theology as one of the main offerings, and the first recorded Board of Trustees contained only laymen. The ministers of the Presbytery, however, worked at collecting funds among their congregations; they gladly received any contribution, however small or in whatever form. Joseph Smith, the younger, who when he wrote, had in his hands the papers of the Rev. Joseph Patterson, describes two 1794 subscription lists, one with "about one hundred and twenty names, and the other not quite one hundred."
The sums were in Pennsylvania currency; and a large portion of them did not exceed 3s. 9d.—7s. 6ds., and a few advanced to 10s. and 15s., and still fewer to 11. The grain was delivered in mills, and then sold. The linen was sometimes delivered to the Treasurer, to be disposed of as he could, at 1s. 1¢d., per yard, or 25 cents. One subscription was to be paid in Whisky! [Smith’s capitalization and italics.] All are reported on the papers to have been fully paid; and the amount of both subscriptions reached nearly $350.64.15

No history of Canonsburg should forget the unselfish efforts of these early Presbyterian ministers. The recorded minutes, at least twice, April 25, and October 24, 1798, list sums lent by members of the Board and ministers not on the Board; these loans are most often headed by the notation “Revd. John McMillan—10 paid.” McMillan not then a member of the Board, circulated subscription lists himself and was willing to lend the institution sums that were noticeably greater than those lent by more prosperous laymen. At times Ohio Presbytery pastors seem to have attended and participated in Board meetings even though they were not official members. In October of 1798, a half year after the petition to the state assembly, three ministers became active trustees.16 McMillan, for example, although appointed to the presidency of the Academy, apparently a general supervisory office, in 1798, was not elected to the Board of Trustees until 1799, “in the place of John Canon Deceased.” (When Canonsburg Academy did become Jefferson College in 1802, eight of the twenty-one trustees were ministers.)

The first trustees of the “Academy and Library at Canonsburgh,”17 those listed on the first page of the 1796 minutes and generally assumed to have been on the Board during all or part of the previous half-decade of the school’s operation, are named in order as John Canon, John McDowell, Craig Ritchie, Robert Ralston, Thomas Brecken, James Allison, James Foster, David Gault, and Alexander Cook. Canon, McDowell, and Allison already have been mentioned as outstanding citizens and as members of the Washington Academy Board. Later James Edgar, whose part in the history of the vicinity paralleled so closely the
role of McDowell, also joined the Board. And so the school began.

The other trustees were less significant in the public affairs of the West than these four men and, incidentally, than most of the Washington Academy trustees; but with fewer demands on them as local, state, and national leaders they had more time for their new school and attended Board meetings more regularly. Craig Ritchie, who had come to this country from Scotland and had fought Indians on the Ohio border in his youth, was soon known as Canonsburg's most successful merchant. He devoted his life to raising funds and to expanding the physical plant for the Academy and later for Jefferson College. He did serve as a member of the state legislature, but it was his widely known local business acumen that brought him the friendship of even George Washington, who had Ritchie manage his landed interests in the county named after him. Brecken and Ralston were neighboring landholders in the Cecil Township section. James Foster, who from 1775 to 1781, during the Revolution, fought in various Pennsylvania regiments and soon thereafter settled in the neighborhood of the Canons and the Ritchies, was an elder in McMillan's Chartiers church. His relationship with the early Academy is made interesting by several personal connections: he married the widow of Thaddeus Dod and was the head of the family in which Cephas Dod grew up; he sent young Cephas and his own son, William, to the Academy for their early education. William in turn sent his son, the famous Stephen C. Foster of Pittsburgh, to Jefferson College, where he remained for only a short while, in 1841. The first trustees were men who had attained a comparatively early security in the "healthy situation" of Canonsburg and their efforts imparted to the Academy a wholesome progress.

Besides McMillan, ministers gradually added to the Board included such familiar names as the Rev. James Power of the "first set," Joseph Patterson, Thomas Marquis, and John M'Pherrin of the "second set," and Boyd Mercer, McMillan's successor in 1794 at the Pigeon Creek Church. The secular members of the Board were stable financial administrators, and the ministers helped to keep the academic standards high.
On May 3, 1796, the Presbytery of Ohio, represented by seven ministers, and the Canonsburg Board, represented by seven laymen, agreed to be responsible for paying Johnston and James Mountain as "two Masters to teach the Latin and Greek Languages" according to the first of a series of passages from the extant minutes concerned with hiring teachers and establishing a proper curriculum." Canonsburg Academy was fortunate in a succession of these remarkable teachers whose subsequent lives proved their capacity and genius as educators. It is interesting to note here that the Ohio Presbytery had been formed in 1793 by the Synod of Virginia out of "Old Redstone"; McMillan was a member of it until his death.

Transactions with David Johnson, in effect the principal from 1791 to 1793, occur several times in the minutes, but Johnson seems soon to have gone on to work other than academic, perhaps some official work in the county.

James Mountain, an assistant teacher for a part of a year, principal of the Pittsburgh Academy, 1801-3, was the nephew of Arthur Murray, known as a translator of Tacitus and Lucian, and according to James Carnahan an exceptional "classical scholar" in his own right. Later Mountain studied the law and from 1810 to 1814 served on the Jefferson College Board.

Joseph Stockton, a student-teacher from 1796 to 1798, went on to found an academy at Meadville, the forerunner of Allegheny College, to serve for thirteen years (1809 to 1822) as principal of the academy at Pittsburgh, and to teach at Western Theological Seminary in its first days.

James Carnahan, student at the Academy from 1793 to 1797 and a teacher the following year, later returned to Princeton to complete his education. He made his first journey across the mountains with his fellow student, Jacob Lindley, to enter the junior class at Princeton. Carnahan graduated first honor in a class of ten in 1800, became headmaster of the academy at Princeton in 1813, founded a classical school at Georgetown (now the university in Washington, D. C.), head, 1814 to 1823, and then served as president of Princeton for thirty-one years.
Samuel Millar, McMillan’s stepbrother, was teaching the English school in Canonsburg when the Academy was founded. He joined the Academy staff several times—finally in 1798—and continued as a professor of mathematics at Jefferson College until 1830 and as professor emeritus until his death in 1832. Millar, who had little or no formal education, had come from Ireland as a young man, fought in the Revolution, and struggled shakily with the complexities of business and inheritance. Finally he became, according to one of his students, “a celebrated mathematician and natural philosopher . . . with a benevolent cheerfulness which rendered his instruction extremely pleasing.”

Like Stockton and Carnahan, John Watson, the instructor last named in the Academy minutes, had also been a student at the Academy. He was born in Western Pennsylvania about 1771 or earlier. At the age of nine he was left an orphan to face alone the almost insurmountable hardships of survival in the new land. A Mr. Purviance, the keeper of a tavern and a retail store on the southeast corner of Main and Beau Streets, about one block away from the present site of Washington and Jefferson College, gave him a home and a livelihood and taught him to read and to cipher. Daily the boy worked in the barroom and clerked in the store, and at night he read the books to which Purviance could introduce him. He read so avidly, according to one anecdote, that the lady of the house had to lock out of his reach her novels, not suited to young readers. Another story is that the discovery of the Spectator Papers was a truly exciting childhood experience for him at the age of eleven or twelve. And yet another, that the Latin mottoes at the head of the individual issues led him to dig out the Latin language for himself with the help of only an old dictionary and a copy of Horace. The story goes on that he was discovered reading by the light of the fire late one evening by Judge Addison, a Washington Academy trustee who had a room in the inn where young Watson lived, and so impressed the learned man with his desire for education that Addison provided him thereafter with many books and called him to the attention of McMillan. Watson was soon a McMillan protege, as Ross, and even Addison, himself,
had been before him. He entered Canonsburg Academy, in its first years, as a student and a tutor, and remained there during parts of 1794 and 1795. Then McMillan sent young Watson to Princeton, from which he was graduated in 1797. For years later at Princeton he was known as a remarkable student. He graduated first in a class which included future governors, congressmen, senators, an ambassador, and a cabinet member.

Even before his graduation the Academy had Watson in mind as a regular teacher. The minutes of August 1, 1797, resolved "That on Mr. Watson's arrival he be employ'd as a teacher in the Academy." While he was at the Academy he studied theology under McMillan, was licensed at Cross Creek, in 1798, and received ordination at Miller's Run in 1800. In the first year of the new century, he married McMillan's second daughter, Margaret, and then returned to the East to study for the M.A. at Princeton. His letters to McMillan from the East suggest that in these last years he was slowly dying from tuberculosis, which in those days killed so many young men inadequately housed and clothed in their youth. Before his death Watson was formally elected the first president of Jefferson College. He served in that capacity from April 27, 1802, to November 30, his last day, long enough to see the graduating of the first Jefferson College class of five men who had studied in the Academy before the college charter was granted.

On the same day also William Morehead died, another young minister who had married Jean, the oldest of McMillan's daughters; they had had a double wedding ceremony, conducted, of course, by the girls' father. The two funeral corteges for the young men, thirty and thirty-one respectively, met at the little graveyard back of Chartiers Church.

"A mind pure, vigorous and enlightened," writes Watson's friend, Dr. John Rea, twenty-four years later when Carnahan was president of Princeton and Watson long gone. President Carnahan himself, a lifelong friend, added his comment: "a true scholar, a born teacher, capable of intense delight. I would hardly dare say how highly I estimate his literary and scientific attain-
ments. He could translate with facility French, Spanish and Italian . . . was a good Hebrew and Aramic scholar . . . He esteemed the simple truths of the Gospel of infinitely more value than all human science.” It was John Watson who led in founding the famous Philo Literary Society on August 25, 1797: James Carnahan, his friend, was the leader in founding the Franklin, on November 10 of the same year.

The processes of becoming a college were completed with dispatch at Canonsburg. From that first petition to the legislature in 1796, the persistence of the Canonsburg trustees and contributors made it clearly certain that the college which Watson headed briefly in 1802 would begin. The longer petition drawn up in October, 1798, told why the state should contribute to the Academy and why, furthermore, the Academy should be chartered as a college. The low board and tuition and the already constructed building are mentioned. Washington comes in for the familiar barbs in that Canonsburg Academy is declared to have “been more Successfull, Notwithstanding the want of Public Aid, than any or all of the other institutions in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania” and in that “the Situation is central to all the Western Counties and very little exposed to public resort, or such amusement as have a tendency to corrupt the morals of young men or divert them from their Studies.” The new argument, however, is the impressive one of the Academy’s educational record to date:

In the course of a few years past, twenty one young men, who are now employed in the professions of Divinity, Law, and Medicine, received the rudiments of their Education in this School, nine others have also completed their classical education, and are pursuing the Studies requisite to qualify them for one or other of the learned Professions, Thirty two are at present employed in learning the Languages and acquiring the Knowledge of the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, one Master and an Assistant are employed in Teaching the Learned Languages and another Teacher the other branches, each of the Masters have had a regular and extensive education and are men of fair character.26
Joseph Stockton

Old John Roberts House, Canonsburg (built 1804)
Natural Philosophy. Decemb. 3, 1792

2. What is Natural Philosophy?
A. It is that science which investigates the causes of的现象
Phenomena of nature and makes the truth of probable
things evident to the senses by plain & adequate experience.

2. What do you mean by the phenomena of nature?
A. All the appearances which occur in the natural world, do
not depend on the will of intelligent causes.

2. What is a law of nature?
A. It is a fixed and invariable rule by which the same causes
always produce the same effects in similar circumstances.

2. What is the difference between a natural & intelligent cause?
A. Natural causes are the whole of their power, but intelligent
agents exert any part of their power.

2. What are the rules of philosophizing, to be observed in this
science?
A. They are four. 1. Non-causes are not to be admitted, but
are both true and sufficient to explain the phenomena.
2. And therefore of natural effects of the same kind, the same
causes are to be assigned as for one & the same effect.
3. The qualities of natural bodies, which cannot be increased or
diminished, and agree to all bodies on which experiment
can be made, are to be reckoned as the qualities of all bodies
whatever.
4. In experimental philosophy, propositions collected
from the phenomena by induction are to be deemed
notwithstanding contrary hypotheses, neither capacity or very
big trees, till other phenomena occur, by which they may be.
That the Board was interested in maintaining high academic standards and preparing for a college curriculum is indicated by the minutes of October 23, 1799, the most complete record of curriculum remaining for either Academy.27 There were to be three divisions of study: “the School of the languages” (in Latin, parts of Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Cicero “beside the common introductory books” and in Greek, parts of the Greek Testament, Lucian, Xenophon, and Homer), “the Mathematical school” (arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, “Martin’s Natural Philosophy,” astronomy, and geography), and an unnamed department to be taught by the language instructors (rhetoric, logic, and “Moral Philosophy”).

In comparison to present courses of study, the Canonsburg curriculum, and it can be assumed that the Washington program was similar by 1806, included primarily college-level subjects or texts. From this list, it is more understandable that Academy students frequently went East and entered the junior or senior classes of, for example, Princeton, or simply with further instruction in theology were considered ready for the ministry. The Board, recorded as attending the examinations of students from time to time, decided to publish the names of students “remarkable for their industry and accuracy” and disapprovingly those “marked for their indolence and deficiency” (even reducing some of these to lower classes). Furthermore, it would honor the two top students of the language school and the two of the mathematics school by letting them choose “their place of speaking on the day of public exhibition” and by awarding them “honourary badges” to be worn on that day. As a postscript, the Board showed, too, its awareness of other responsibilities, for it made a rule that every student would be “called . . . to settle off his tuition” before he was allowed to take the examination.28

In terms of performance, curriculum, administration and faculty, and physical facilities, Canonsburg was clearly ready to be named a college several years before Washington. By 1800 the State Assembly began to show some response to the communications of the trustees, for it donated to the Academy $1,000.29
McMillan was elected president of the Board on October 28, 1800, and two days later the Board agreed to draft a third petition "praying for the establishment of a College at Canonsburgh to be signed by the Presdt. and attested by the Secretary (Craig Ritchie.)" In all probability, in light of the petitions which the minutes report more fully, it was not mentioned to the state assembly that in this meeting it was "Ordered that no minister be permitted to preach in the Academy except those of the Presbyterian or Seceding denominations, and the latter only upon their paying one dollar for each day they are permitted to use it." Even young Joseph Smith, half a century later, finds this rule amusing and almost unbelievable and feels that "without any want of Christian liberality, these good men of those days might have found it necessary to protect the Academy from Sectarian attempts at forward and impudent intrusion" from once over-enthusiastic sects "not generally characterized by extravagant irregularities."

In any case, apparently without qualifications or directions as to the nature of the new school, on January 15, 1802, the General Assembly established "a College at Canonsburgh."
Jefferson College
1802-1865

Of the two academies now established less than ten miles apart in Washington County, Canonsburg had its collegiate charter first (on January 15, 1802). Canonsburg Academy, the progenitor, was stepped back to preparatory status and in April, 1802 the Academy teachers became the faculty of Jefferson College. Both Joseph Smith and Thaddeus Dod of the log school period had been dead for almost a decade; but the indomitable John McMillan was much alive. John McMillan was elected president of the Board and professor of divinity; Craig Ritchie, clerk; John Watson, president of the College and professor of moral philosophy and languages; Samuel Millar, professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and geography. Here were three of the faculties of the old universities of Europe from which the liberal arts tradition came to us: the humanities, the sciences, and divinity.

John Watson 1802

John McMillan presided at the first meeting, when the Board determined the nature and the structure of the new institution. He resigned from the Board on April 29, 1802, to honor the policy that no man might serve on both the Board and the faculty at the same time. He was elected professor of divinity the same day. There was hardly a position he did not hold during the first quarter-century of Jefferson College’s existence: president of the Board of Trustees, acting principal of the college, vice principal, professor, college pastor, treasurer in charge of an important seg-
ment of funds—no man during McMillan's lifetime or since can claim such a close and versatile connection with the institution. By virtue of his long life, and his outstanding ability as an organizer and as a preacher-teacher, he was the continuity between the log schools and the colleges.

The first presidents of Jefferson, the teachers, and even some of the trustees, though they were certainly individuals in their own right, form a kind of McMillan dynasty, almost as if the offices were hereditary. The first of these was young John Watson, who was designated by his teacher for the principalship when he was still both student and assistant tutor. McMillan personally directed young Watson's education at the Academy, got him a scholarship for continuing his studies at Princeton, and gave him money for his academic training. The intense, frail Watson, so different from McMillan in appearance and in personality, married McMillan's second daughter, Margaret, and became thereby a member of his real as well as his educational family. Another son-in-law, the Rev. Moses Allen, husband of the youngest daughter, Catherine, served on the Board of Trustees for twenty-five years (1814 to 1839), and a nephew, the Rev. William McMillan, was a trustee for almost a decade (1808-1817). This same William, in whom his uncle was so much interested, was Jefferson's fourth president (1817 to 1822). Between the terms of John Watson and William McMillan, the presidents were James Dunlap, one of the first set of ministers in the Redstone Presbytery organized by McMillan, and Andrew Wylie, who had graduated from Jefferson in 1810, had studied theology with McMillan, and attended the Chartiers Church.

The original Jefferson Board and the Board for years afterward, included men for whom McMillan was the designated leader: elders in McMillan's church, colleagues in his Presbytery, students in his college, men whose lives were tied together in part by the very fact of their relationship or friendship with John McMillan. In a very active and real sense John McMillan was a founding father of Jefferson College and consequently of the united Washington and Jefferson College.
The name, Jefferson, was suggested in honor of Thomas Jefferson, president of the United States, some say by Trustee William Findley (or Finley), congressman from Western Pennsylvania and a Jeffersonian "Republican." Mr. Jefferson, besides his official duties as president of the United States, was occupied with plans for the Louisiana Purchase and for his own University of Virginia. However, he wrote to Jefferson College and sent his portrait and some books. There is a tradition also that Benjamin Franklin had sent books, selected in Paris, to the embryonic Canonsburg Academy, together with his portrait, and that Patrick Henry had sent an early gift of $50 from Virginia, to inaugurate the library.

Five college diplomas were given to students whose work was completed on November 28, 1802. Of these first graduates, one, McMillan's nephew William, became the fourth president of Jefferson College and later president of Franklin College in Ohio; and another, Israel Pickens, became governor of Alabama. Four of the five graduates, including the younger McMillan, became Presbyterian ministers.

President John Watson died two days after these diplomas were presented. McMillan knew that he must continue to carry the management himself and act as principal of the faculty—as he had done all the previous summer during Watson's illness.

James Dunlap 1803-1811

In April, 1803, James Dunlap was elected president. Of the three surviving members of the first set of ministers serving in the Western Country—McMillan, Power, and himself—Dunlap was the oldest. There was no young man available immediately. Scholastically, Dunlap was well qualified; he had graduated from Princeton thirty years before and all his life had been devoted to the classics. Joseph Smith, the historian, wrote of him:

He seemed to have the classics completely in his memory, for he could hear long recitations from Virgil, Homer, etc., without a book in his hand, and then drill the reciting class... walking to and fro, with his hands behind his back... Tradition states that a very difficult pas-
sage in one of the Latin or Greek classics had passed around among some half dozen or more American colleges, without meeting with anyone who could satisfactorily explain it, or render it into our language, when Dr. Dunlap took it up and very promptly disposed of it, to the entire satisfaction of all who were capable of judging.  

His salary was very low. Beside a small income from the church at Miller's Run, where he continued to preach, he received the use of his house and less than $600 a year; out of this he must pay the college tutors. It was what Joseph Smith called "a life of pinching poverty." The Board members often made suggestions as to how he should conduct his classes and also "took the power of employing an under-teacher of the languages out of his hands." He frequently offered to resign, and finally did, at the age of sixty-seven, continuing to teach a few students at Uniontown and elsewhere, finally retiring to the East, to the home of his son, the Rev. William Dunlap, one of his own graduates of the class of 1807.

James Dunlap kept the college alive during eight difficult years, actually raising its standards, and introducing at least one new textbook, Ross's Latin Grammar. He increased its numbers and made no enemies. The boys nicknamed him "Neptune, the queller of the waves." During his presidency the uneasy awareness of the rival neighboring college at Washington was already beginning to be one of Jefferson's chief problems. Dunlap's successor, Andrew Wylie, referred to Dunlap's "spirit" as "in its sensibilities, too delicate for the things,—and when I say things, I mean not the material things,—with which he was in contact." In 1807 occurred the first prophetic outbreak of the "college war," recurring now and again, whenever there was an attempt to unite the two colleges. The initiative for a union usually came from Washington and usually was opposed by Jefferson. These were all matters of distress to the scholar, James Dunlap.

Dunlap's graduates averaged six a year; his last class graduated nine. Such ritual as black gowns for the faculty, the granting of honorary degrees (both master's and doctor's), student addresses at commencement, and a formal academic procession were de-
The literary societies, *Philo* and *Franklin*, which are discussed in Chapter VII, were given the official sanction of a college charter and received "a joint book-case," which they shared for many years. Students were forbidden to board at taverns without express permission. At first they boarded in private homes; and later for many years in approved boardinghouses which they called "forts." The earliest administrators seem to have had little need for concern over the students, except to provide a number of them with loans to keep body and soul together, and in winter with money to keep the college buildings warm.

In 1806 the Board asked for state aid and received $3,000. A committee was appointed to collect money for at least a new shell for a college large enough to hold a hundred students. Further contributions from the state of Pennsylvania, as recorded by its treasurer, were as follows:

- Act of 1821, $5,000. (during William McMillan's regime),
- Act of 1826, $4,000. (during Matthew Brown's regime),
- Act of 1832, $6,000. (during Matthew Brown's regime).

The First Board of Trustees

The first Board of Trustees, under whom Dunlap served, as was the custom in Pennsylvania, the state legislature appointed. They were a group of men able and willing to give extensive time to the direction of the College, and in those days trustees considered every bit of college business their concern. Many of their names are familiar as early settlers, as pioneering ministers, as leaders in the affairs of Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution and the critical years following, and as members of the Boards of both Washington Academy and Canonsburg Academy: James Dunlap and James Power of the first set; the Rev. Messers Patterson, Marquis, and McPherrin of the second; the judges Edgar, McDowell, and Allison; early settlers such as Alexander Cook and Craig Ritchie. These are men we have met earlier in the story and will meet again.

One of the more colorful members, who by 1802 was associated
with the historical landmarks of early Washington County, was Colonel John Hamilton, already referred to in the story of Washington Academy as one of the seventeen men made to march by foot across Pennsylvania and stand trial for the Whiskey Rebellion. Colonel Hamilton was leader of an early regiment of militia whose members affectionately gave him the name of "General" by which he was called all of his life. At the time of the Whiskey Rebellion he was high sheriff of Washington County, and like a number of his fellow citizens he was torn between a personal opposition to the tax and an official responsibility to enforce it. He tried to avert or control the Rebellion, acting in part out of an understanding of his neighbors' motives. And because he failed to apply stricter measures he was accused of being one of the chief conspirators. Finally, charges against him were unproved, and the people of Washington, Allegheny, and Greene Counties elected him a State senator for their district. He became an associate judge and ultimately a representative to the United States Congress, where he worked hard and with some success at collecting funds for Jefferson College.  

During the thirty years that Colonel Hamilton served on the Board, the thought that Pennsylvania was the West receded more and more into the past to be recalled now and then dramatically, and the regional institutions such as Jefferson College, no longer part of a frontier, shared in the general problems of early American education.

In the years that followed, as original members of the Board died or resigned, other men recalling the earlier schools in the West and many bearing new names were elected to the Board, impressing upon the older members the passing of time in a new century. Samuel Porter, James Hughes, and William Swan brought the total of McMillan's second set of ministers serving on the Board to six. Elisha McCurdy, the energetic evangelist, was an active trustee from 1814 to 1820; he was elected in the same year as McMillan's son-in-law, the Rev. Moses Allen. In the more than half-century of the independent colleges, the many ministers who joined the Boards of both Jefferson and Washing-
Thomas Jefferson Portrait, gift of President Jefferson, circa 1802
ton might have been for McMillan a roster of a third set and again a fourth set of ministers who served Western Pennsylvania both as preachers and teachers: McMillan's nephew, William, who was on the Jefferson Board in 1808 and became president of Jefferson in 1817, went on to become president of Franklin College at Athens, Ohio, and the Rev. Ashbel Green joined the Jefferson Board in 1824, after he had been president of Princeton for eleven years.  

One should not, however, get the impression that the Board ever was made up primarily of ecclesiastics: on the original Board, only eight of twenty-one members were ministers, and the subsequent appointments were important figures in the total community of which the church was a single facet, though indeed an important one.

The most colorful of those who were not churchmen, perhaps, was General John Morgan (probably like John Hamilton he was given his title out of a combination of affection and respect). He was elected to the Board in 1807 and served on it for ten years. He was a son in the vigorous family which founded and developed the neighborhood's handsomest estate, "Morganza." His father, Colonel George Morgan, who had inherited the land from a physician brother accredited with helping to found the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, came into the Western Country as an outstanding Indian agent for the revolutionary government and became one of its famous settlers and grand gentlemen. A well-known story about "Morganza" says that in 1806, Colonel Aaron Burr invited the Morgans to take part in his grandiose scheme and that later Colonel George and his two sons, George and John, were called to Richmond as witnesses in Burr's trial for treason. It was this son John—born in the East before his father came into Western Pennsylvania and educated at Princeton—who became a trustee of Jefferson.

There were outstanding physicians on the Board, such as Samuel Murdoch, who was a minister before he became a doctor, and Jonathan Leatherman (Letterman) whose son, a Jefferson graduate, achieved lasting recognition as an army surgeon
Banners in the Wilderness

in the Civil War. And there were lawyers, statesmen, merchants, landowners, who with the ministers and physicians reflected in their activities a century of regional and national history.

Between the chartering of Jefferson and the union of the two colleges (1802-1865), the Jefferson Board had only five presidents: McMillan, the judges Edgar and McDowell, and the Revs. Samuel Ralston and William Jeffery. All of them directed the Board ably, but Ralston stands out for his long and effective term of service of forty-one years.

Samuel Ralston was born in Ireland, educated at the University of Glasgow, and came to the United States in 1794, when he was thirty-eight. Reputedly he left home because of his love of peace and his despair over the turmoil and war on the continent which affected the British Isles as well. He came into the Western Country in 1796 and there for thirty-five years served the churches in the vicinity of the Monongahela. He joined the Board of Canonsburg Academy as early as 1798, and as an active member was appointed one of the first trustees of Jefferson. From 1808 until 1850, with the exception of the year 1831, Ralston annually was elected president of the Jefferson trustees. He held this office when he resigned from the Board in 1851, a year before his death at the age of ninety-six. Ralston was a huge man, and even in old age an alert and vigorous man. He became known as a theologian who capably defined and defended the positions of the orthodox Presbyterian Church against a variety of schisms. He was proud of his long life in the Western Country and wrote colorfully about it. He participated in the everyday life of his region, and he defended warmly and academically its institutions. His long life bridged the years from the death of McMillan to the middle of the century when the Colleges, Jefferson and Washington, moved certainly, if at times reluctantly and even stormily, towards a united institution. Fittingly, Ralston preached the funeral sermon of McMillan in 1833, referring to him as "our father," and quoted the words of Elisha, when he thought he saw a heavenly chariot coming for Elijah: "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof," recognition of a
kind that might have been applied to Samuel Ralston at his own death almost two decades later.

We have a charming description of a typical early Commencement at Jefferson College from its earliest historian, the Rev. Joseph Smith. He tells us that the trustees and faculty met at the home of Craig Ritchie and led the procession, the president of the Board of Trustees in front, followed by the secretary and treasurer; thus, for many years, the procession was led by the three very portly gentlemen, Dr. Ralston, Dr. Murdoch, and Craig Ritchie, Esquire. Next came the other members of the Board, two by two, the faculty, the tutors, and last the students in their order—generally on this great day, with powdered hair, and flaunting blue and white ribbons on their arms or across their breasts—looking “awfully sublime” to younger boys along the streets. The crowd, which had been pouring into town for hours, formed a large assembly. Violins played in the taverns as the procession passed. Laughter was heard above “the hum of human approbation,” and, we are told also, an occasional “loud giggle.” The procession went upon its way “past Dr. Murdoch’s and Neil’s Corners . . . and past Mrs. Canon’s beautiful yard, . . .” until it reached the gate in front of the old stone College; then up the steps and in and up to the second story. There it suddenly divided and—to the amazement of the modern reader—we learn that the trustees and faculty had to scramble through a front window, from which the sash had been removed, onto the outdoor stage. Can we wonder that some of the students are said to have been “delirious” at sight of dignified Dr. Ralston scrambling? This was partially concealed, however, by a “tent” made of white sheets, and the gentlemen managed to reassemble worthily on the stage, which was about eight feet above the ground and extended the length of the building. First came the opening prayer and the conferring of degrees, with first and second honors. And then the students took over. The new graduates spoke for hours, with tremendous seriousness, no doubt. But the undergraduates came dressed as clowns and sailors, drunkards, peddlers, negroes. They gave acts from Shakespeare, speeches from Addison; and
although two-thirds of the audience was standing all that glorious day, the historian records that "the crowds were doubled up with mirth—even the trustees unbent." Joseph Smith says that the whole affair was "well adapted to the state of society. It made the college popular. It awakened a desire in many a lad to go to college." He himself saw this "exhibition," as it was then called, for the first time in the early fall of 1812. It was a glorious day and everything was happy and exciting. In 1857 he was still remembering that occasion in the light of very early youth and the clear autumn sunshine of Canonsburg.

Andrew Wylie 1812-1816

When James Dunlap's resignation was at last accepted, in 1811, John McMillan again acted as president for more than a year. The Board's intention to have a young president had been sadly frustrated by the early death of John Watson. But now they realized their wish. Andrew Wylie,\textsuperscript{23} president of Jefferson College from 1812 to 1817, and then of Washington College from 1817 to 1828, was only twenty-three when he took the presidency at Jefferson. He had graduated from Jefferson only two years before, in 1810, with first honors, and had already been ordained to the Presbyterian ministry. He had lived previously in Washington and had attended the Academy there even before Matthew Brown's day. He was one of the most highly educated men of the entire region. He had married a daughter of Craig Ritchie, that staunch treasurer of the Jefferson Board. Wylie was a typical Scot in appearance, sturdy and rugged, with fair skin and blue eyes, and he was a hard worker, a great teacher, and a convinced churchman. His friends and his students were devoted to him.

He followed the curriculum much as it had been given under Dunlap, introducing a book of classical selections, \textit{Collectaneae Graeca Minora}, dispensing with the \textit{Dialogues} of Lucian, and substituting \textit{Mental Philosophy} by Reid and Stuart for \textit{The Epitome of Metaphysics}, of which Dunlap had used an old manuscript copy, probably a relic of his undergraduate days at Princeton. Wylie was moving gradually towards a somewhat more sci-
entific curriculum with the study of chemistry, which was taught by Samuel Millar.\textsuperscript{24}

If John McMillan and Samuel Ralston helped to give the school continuity, Samuel Millar did, too, in a way different but hardly less important. He had come from Ireland when he was a young boy, he had fought in the Revolution, he had studied in the small schools of the new America, and devoted almost fifty-seven of his seventy-five years to teaching. He was a stepbrother of John McMillan. Millar was conducting an English school in Canonsburg when the Academy began, and he was on the staff of the Academy and then of the College from their respective beginnings—actively until 1830 and officially as professor emeritus until his death in 1832. He has been described as shy and gentle, certainly different from his stepbrother, John McMillan, but the students developed for him a warm affection, perhaps of a sort that the sometimes forbidding John McMillan could not demand. Later, Dr. Samuel Carnahan Jennings, minister and educator who received his degree from Jefferson in 1823, recalled him as a “self-made scholar, kindly in disposition . . . rebuking oftener with the pointing of his finger than with sharp words.”\textsuperscript{25}

In 1816 the Board went on, with renewed spirit, according to Joseph Smith's \textit{History}, in their enterprise of erecting a new college building; they purchased from Mrs. Canon her lot,\textsuperscript{26} the most eligible in the town for the site, directed a committee to sell the old building and lot to pay Mrs. Canon, and pledged themselves to the amount of $200 additional, if that amount should be necessary after the proceeds of the sale of the old property and the collections of the extra subscriptions were gathered in.

During this period the classes at Washington College were larger, under Matthew Brown, than those at Jefferson under Wylie, and the project for union of the two colleges was again brought forward. President Wylie, having lived in both places, and loyal to both, felt that union was advisable. He wrote that he “favored it, on condition that Jefferson should have the advantage.”\textsuperscript{27} The Board members of both colleges had been convinced that union could take place only if the schools were retained in
their own respective locations. To Andrew Wylie, more broad-minded and farseeing, “advantage” meant not simply location, but Board representation and administration: “a preponderance and priority on the United Board, and secure the Faculty of Jefferson College, it might be best to concede them the site.”

Wylie’s disagreement with the Board was made publicly dramatic when he resigned from the presidency of Jefferson on April 27, 1817, and on May 19 was announced as the new principal of Washington College to take the place of Matthew Brown. Brown had resigned from Washington College three weeks before, for reasons that are explained in the next chapter (Washington College). The Jefferson Board felt that the young president had acted in bad faith; that he had made a secret arrangement with the rival college; and that he had not given due public notice of his intention to leave. As a matter of fact, he had informed McMillan, Murdoch, McCurdy, and Ritchie (respectively the vice president, secretary, trustee, and treasurer of the Board).

The fault seems rather to have lain with the failure of the committees to unite the Colleges a year and a half earlier. Three trustees from Jefferson, the Rev. Messrs. Marquis and McCurdy and Judge Allison, and three from Washington, the Rev. Messrs. Stephenson, Thomas Allison, and Andrew Guinn (each man selected by the other college), had met at Graham’s tavern, about halfway between Washington and Canonsburg, on October 25, 1815, and had worked out a plan of union by which the site of the united Colleges was to be established at Washington, and in lieu of the site, the Jefferson Board was to choose a majority of the trustees and faculty of the United College. This in fact and after many more attempts finally came to be the pattern for the union.

This movement for union failed in 1815, Washington College claimed, because Jefferson College refused by one vote to ratify the compact. Washington College issued a pamphlet stating that it had begun to secure subscriptions for enlarging the college faculties, on its understanding of the compact. Jefferson responded with a bitter and legalistic pamphlet. There were dissents and majority and minority opinions, on both sides. Wylie
Jefferson was exonerated "from the slightest shade of dishonor, bad faith, immorality, or impropriety of conduct." Sides were taken by adherents of Matthew Brown and Andrew Wylie. The two Colleges had been nearer to uniting in 1815 than they were to be again until the final union was cemented; they now, in 1817, suddenly found themselves further apart.

Wylie was always to be in the position of a stormy petrel between the two groups; he was evidently much happier when he finally left the whole scene and became an Episcopal clergyman and the honored president of the University of Indiana. Thereafter the entire argument was held to be essentially one between the more fundamentalist Jefferson and the more broadminded Washington, rather than a mere matter of local patriotism; certainly it was never primarily a dispute between Matthew Brown and Andrew Wylie.

The question of which Board was right at this point in either the moral or the pragmatic sense is unanswerable, for reasons both endless and apparent. The situation was at the same time simpler and more complicated than the two pamphlets suggest. It was simpler because the fight was first and last a fight over location, just as two towns might contend to be chosen as the site for a new industry or the place for a convention meeting. And it was complicated among other things by a conflict of several years' standing between Matthew Brown and a group on the Washington Board headed by John Hoge. As president of the College and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Brown at Washington was a leader in the community. By the very nature of his two positions, he had an opportunity to express himself on a variety of subjects, political, intellectual, moral, and being the determined man that he was, he took advantage of this opportunity forcefully. He preached several sermons criticizing the manner in which some of the local families lived, and although he did not name them, he incurred their hostility.

When the air of battle cleared, Washington College had Wylie for its principal and Jefferson College was back again under the temporary leadership of John McMillan, who now had lost two of
his proteges, one by death and one by resignation. Both colleges were indubitably hurt and feelings were aroused which passed on from generation to generation and became family traditions.

The whole misunderstanding grew out of a sincere desire to unite Jefferson and Washington, an understandable community pride, a natural sentimental attachment of students, alumni, faculty, and trustees to their own school settings, and complex oppositions, academic and personal, between the respective presidents and certain influential members of their Boards. This was a time, generally, of conflicting ideas—in politics, church, and community life.32

President Monroe paid an official visit to Jefferson on the day after Andrew Wylie addressed him with an impromptu speech in Washington.33 Perhaps unlike the stop at the Globe Inn in Washington the President’s appearance in Canonsburg was a part of Monroe’s planned itinerary to Pittsburgh, for he was greeted with a speech prepared by a committee and, according to one account, read by Matthew Brown, still the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Washington.34 The speech was signed by Craig Ritchie, treasurer of the Board and the outstanding businessman of the town; by William McMillan, soon to be elected principal of the College; by James P. Miller, an undergraduate senior; by Samuel Millar, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; and by William Gibson, a citizen of the town. It was less elaborate in phraseology than Wylie’s at Washington had been and, in a way, less generous, for whereas Wylie referred several times with pride to the “institutions” in the vicinity, the Canonsburg committee took special pains to make clear that Jefferson was the earliest and most important college of the section:

We therefore hail you, sir, upon your arrival at the original seat of literature in the West, with sentiments of the greatest cordiality and respect. This was the consecrated spot which first gave birth to science in this western region. This institution as a college was founded in honor of your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Jefferson, in 1802, and has since been the principal nursery of literature in the western country.35

In the midst of extensive praise of the president and his capabili-
ties, it was pointed out that the aims of the institution, the inculcation of "religion and learning, of piety and virtue," were similarly "essential to the energy and effect of our political institutions, and as greatly subservient to public order, harmony, and liberty."

Monroe answered with praise for the class of colleges to which Jefferson College belonged, in that they combined intellectual and religious instruction, and with comments distinctly prescribed for Jefferson, the college and the man. "I shall always take a deep interest in the prosperity of this institution," he promised; "it is known at a distance among scientific men," he assured. In the officially approved *Narrative of the President's Tour*, the editor of the President's papers referred to Jefferson as "a flourishing university" and mentioned that "the principal of this institution . . . introduced the pupils to the chief magistrate on that occasion . . ." 86

*William McMillan 1817-1822*

Monroe visited Jefferson when there was no elected principal: but three weeks after he spoke, one of the welcoming committee, William McMillan, 37 had accepted an appointment to head the college.

Jefferson in its second decade became a training ground for presidents for other colleges. We already know that after five years of service William McMillan was chosen first president of Franklin College in Ohio and remained there for nine years, and that Wylie, after a term at Washington, became the first president of Indiana University, remaining for twenty-three years until his death. George Junkin, future president and founder of Lafayette College and president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, was graduated in 1813. Others, from among the students at both schools, also later held administrative scholastic positions.

William McMillan, nephew of Founder John McMillan, was a graduate of Jefferson College in its first class, 1802, at the comparatively mature age of twenty-five. He was forty years old at the time of his accession to the presidency in September, 1817.
He began life inauspiciously: his father died before he was born; his mother married again; he became separated from his relatives and ceased to send them any word of his whereabouts, and believing he must be dead, they sent him no money for his education or maintenance, and bequeathed him none. However, the experience of "conversion" renewed his mind as well as his soul, and aroused his ambition and sense of duty. He felt that he must get an education and fit himself to render definite service to the world in which he lived. Recalling what he had heard of the position and character of his uncle, John McMillan of Chartiers Church, he made his way from the far country of eastern Pennsylvania to Washington County, somewhat after the manner of the prodigal son, and was received by his uncle, who never could refuse a student. He was welcomed, fed, clothed, warmed, and sheltered.

Like many another, he was educated almost from start to finish at the expense of John McMillan—and gladly. He studied with his uncle first perhaps at the log school and then more certainly at the Academy, for he is listed among the graduates of 1802 in the first class of Jefferson College, a group of young men who had done advanced work in the precollege Academy. Two years after he was graduated he was ordained a Presbyterian minister and entered a pastorate of twelve years at a church in Two Ridges, Ohio. Trained primarily by his uncle, he had certainly come to feel the strong relationship between learning and religion, and he carried out his responsibility as an educator by teaching for awhile in a classical school at nearby Steubenville, Ohio. From 1817, when he was elected president of Jefferson College, he acted as stated supply for the nearby church at Miller's Run, which seems at that period to some extent to have accompanied the executive position at Jefferson; and this post he held until his death—probably in a more or less advisory, or occasional capacity, after his subsequent removal from Canonsburg to Ohio.

William McMillan was in many ways a logical choice for the vacant principalship of Jefferson: he was an alumnus, he was a nephew and student of the founding father, he had served a suc-
cessful term as a minister, and he was by reputation a careful scholar. But sadly enough, in terms of his personality, his appointment proved unwise.

A classmate of McMillan later described him as "grave, judicious, and edifying," though "not very spirited."\textsuperscript{39} Descriptions of him suggest that he had the sombreness and inflexibility of Dunlap without the dignity or the authority of age, and that he was distinctly lacking in the intensity and enthusiasm of both Watson and Wylie. His inability to understand or to cope with the problems of his student body is somehow pathetic, for the break-up of his childhood home and his earlyaloneness suggest that he had never really had the chance to be a youth himself. It is probably a safe conjecture that the strong personality of the uncle who directed William's early manhood increased the severity with which he approached most human problems and ironically decreased his individual expression. Still, at another stage in the development of Jefferson College, William McMillan might have proved a successful president. Being the kind of man he was, he was unable to solve the problems of the moment, problems which would have come up for any other president to deal with, perhaps adequately, perhaps even less well.

In the late summer of 1822, less than five years after William McMillan had been appointed principal, the faculty of the College laid before the Board an indictment of several students:

Public fame charges Messrs. Morrow, Bushnell, Brown, Lyons, Frazier, Case, and Martin, as being the authors and promoters of meeting, sedition and rebellion in College, and as being the venters and circulators of calumny and slander against the character and reputation of the Principal of this College, and that at different times, and upon different occasions.\textsuperscript{40}

According to the faculty charge, the student, Morrow, had called a meeting of other students and had urged that they petition for the removal of William McMillan on the grounds of disqualification "for discharging the duties of his Office, and communicating that instruction to his Pupils which it was his duty to do." Bushnell, a second student at the meeting, "had slandered the Prin-
Banners in the Wilderness

Principal by falsely representing him as incapable of communicating his Ideas in such a manner as that students could receive advantage from him, especially in the moral sciences." The meeting ended with the passing of the petition. Several students, not named by the faculty, were allowed to testify before the Board, not by way of denying the faculty charges but by way of affirming the student claims against William McMillan. These students further declared that the principal "had not a pleasing address," that he was not "affable" or "popular," that he "did not command . . . respect," and that these were the opinions of "the most respectable students." The criticism was seemingly directed against McMillan alone and his personal inadequacies, but other more general forms of student rebellion were revealed. A student, McLaughlin, accused the Philo Literary Society of exciting the student body "against the authority of the Faculty," and a student, Monroe, admitted the authorship of an article in the Washington Reporter "which in appearance burlesques praying societies, and associations for supporting poor and pious youth for the Gospel ministry." The Board made no attempt to refute the charges against William McMillan. The students who drew up the petition for his removal were reprimanded as "imprudent," and Monroe, the author of the newspaper item, was asked to publish his contention that his article was misunderstood. McMillan resigned, the Board made no objection, and William Smith, the professor of languages, temporarily took over the supervision of the school.

Open rebellion of the students against a principal who was a reverend and pious minister, whether he was a good teacher or not; the instigation of rebellion against the faculty by the literary society members who prided themselves on their lack of "rusticity"; and the ridicule of religious organizations and of the devout students who received aid through the recommendation of their Presbyteries, would have been inconceivable at the beginning of the century. These examples of defiant expression were all indicative of the secularization of educational direction and of student attitudes which do not appear on the minutes of
Boards except at moments of dramatic crisis, but nevertheless develop over a period of time and indeed may be an important line of development. At Princeton in 1807, when three students were suspended quite according to routine for drinking and for insolence to townspeople and to teachers, one hundred and twenty-five students who objected and refused to withdraw their objections were suspended, and eighty of these were permanently expelled. The president of Harvard (who had only recently expelled twenty-nine students) and the president of Yale approved Princeton's strong discipline and expressed hope that further defiance of college rules and of faculty members could be stemmed. Only the University of Pennsylvania permitted expelled Princeton students to admission, condemning the Princeton action as unjustly ruining the future of the students and depriving "the nation of their services."

Perhaps the Jefferson Board, if it had made a statement at the time, would have taken the stand Pennsylvania took, if one may judge from its mild discipline of the rebellious students in 1822. In any case, the eastern schools, despite their officially strong position, soon began to revise the near-monastic concept of self-denying students devoted solely to scholarly pursuits, and within a decade a Jefferson College student body was being heard as individuals with a freedom of expression rather than as unquestioning devotees to a prescribed morality and course of learning.

Certainly the combined weakness and strength of the younger McMillan brought the student feeling of some years to a needed climax, but the attitudes expressed and the very daring to express them were a part of a larger climate suggesting a change in the nature of student bodies and of schools as they moved away from pioneering and the frontier. The Puritan values of diligence, thrift, and self-denial gave actual physical struggle to survive a moral rationalization, but in an easier environment a less demanding discipline was needed. Perhaps, quite unconsciously, students rebelled against the rigidity of a frontier code of behavior as society grew variable and more sophisticated.

One can imagine with what amazement John McMillan must
have received both the rebellion of the students and the softness of the trustees. William McMillan, after all, was his charge, a kind of foster son and a student; to have him resign in the particular circumstances was certainly a sadness and a disappointment. The very next year, however, William moved further west into Ohio and became president of Franklin College, where he remained until his death in 1832. At a younger school, in a younger part of the land, the austerity of McMillan was accepted—as more fitting and perhaps actually necessary.

The resignation of William McMillan reduced the college staff to the aging John McMillan, professor of divinity, the venerable Samuel Millar, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and young William Smith, the acting president, professor of languages.

Smith, who had graduated from Jefferson in 1819 at the rather late age of twenty-five, had been ordained as a Presbyterian minister and appointed to the college staff two years later. He was still teaching at the date of the union, and even after he devoted his entire time to the duties of a church, he continued to hold the title, professor emeritus. Like Millar, he was described as a gentle man and a forceful teacher. Neither of these men was an administrator in desire or in talent, but the constant attachment of students to them gave the college a continuity significant through the years of changing principals and changing Board members.45

Matthew Brown 1822-1845

These unexpected troubles—the sudden resignation of Andrew Wylie in 1817 and the more or less forced resignation of William McMillan in 1822—came to an end with the dramatic appointment of Washington's Matthew Brown as the next president of Jefferson within a few weeks after Professor William Smith took over.

In the next chapter we shall see that Brown had given up the presidency of Washington in the complex situation of the attempts at union, but had remained as pastor of the First Pres-
byterian Church. In his six years as a minister, it became increasingly clear that those who considered it unwise for one man to attend both the local ministry and the college principalship felt essentially that it was undesirable for Matthew Brown to hold any position of prominence in Washington, religious or educational. Despite support from a large segment of his congregation, Brown was depressed by the opposition of the leading families. After the death of his wife, the daughter of an established Washington family, Brown could see no reason to remain in the community and took steps to move farther west. He was offered the presidency of Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, a school founded only in 1819, and prepared to accept the appointment. He applied to the regional Presbytery for dismissal, he went east to arrange his affairs before he moved farther west, and he visited his particular friends in Western Pennsylvania to say good-bye.

Among other friends, Brown called on Samuel Ralston, who for many years was the president of the Jefferson Board, and Ralston, listening to Brown talk, felt instantly that he had an answer to the problems of Jefferson, and of Brown. Acting quickly, he asked the Presbytery to put off Brown's release until the Jefferson Board should again meet, he proposed the appointment of Brown as principal of Jefferson to the Board late in September, and he dispatched a committee on the very same night to Washington to offer Brown the Jefferson principalship. The next morning, Commencement day in Canonsburg, Ralston's committee escorted an understandably breathless and bewildered Matthew Brown to Jefferson College to accept formally its presidency. Before nine o'clock Brown had taken the oath of office, and by nightfall he had conferred diplomas upon the students and made an impromptu baccalaureate address! No wonder Brown himself later said that he had no time to reflect on his decision, but thought that he saw the leading of Providence and accepted its guidance.46

Brown's appointment indeed proved to be providential, for in the twenty-three years of his presidency, Jefferson College enjoyed its most prosperous period. Under his administration, seven
hundred and seventy-two students received diplomas: the annual average of graduates was thirty-five, approximately three times as many members in a class as in any one year before Brown's term of office. The extent to which Brown himself was responsible for the rapidly increased student body cannot be determined, but certainly the new success was not in spite of him. The absolutism of his thinking has been described as having caused strong opposition to him as both preacher and teacher in Washington, and there is no indication that he was a less dominant figure in Canonsburg. For one thing, perhaps Jefferson College welcomed a decisive leader after the disappointment in the younger McMillan against whom the students had rebelled. For another thing, the strong Jefferson feeling about the resignation of Andrew Wylie and his immediate appointment as the head of Washington College led naturally by a kind of paradox to strong support of Brown. If Wylie and the Washington Board were so wrong, Brown and his supporters must be right. Wylie's success at Washington had certainly been hindered, as Wylie himself was to point out, by the community division of feeling over the treatment of Brown. After all, Brown had been in effect ousted from his academic position in Washington and Wylie appointed, only with intense argument and only by a narrow margin of votes. Brown, then, came from the divided community sentiment of Washington to the unified atmosphere of Canonsburg.

The trustees and faculty welcomed Matthew Brown no doubt sincerely, but also with a conscious defiance of their Washington competitors. The students certainly found in him an impressive figure after William McMillan, although his views on student discipline may not have been dissimilar. Like children in the midst of insecurity they welcomed direction. Brown may have learned from his Washington experience the need of compromise if one is going to impose upon others even a segment of his own views. The townspeople of Canonsburg and the trustees of Jefferson were not so powerful politically and socially as their neighbors in the county seat and may have been able to accept more easily the conduct of a forceful religious leader. They had, to be
President Matthew Brown, Washington, 1806-1817; Jefferson, 1822-1845
FAMILY TOUR

(1800)

OCTOBER 30. Washington county. Last night we could find no Inn at a suitable time; and were necessitated to ask Lodging at a private House. This was immediately granted, and we were received with an air of Cordiality that surprised me. I found that this Kindness was the genuine Expression of benevolent Hearts; who made it their Duty and Delight to render others as they, in like Circumstances, would wish to receive—a Pleasure which neither Art nor Apathy has tempted them to forego. But, to my Shame I confess it, I was too dispirited with Fatigue, that the Enjoyment of primeval Hospitality, and the Prospect of arriving at home the ensuing day, could afford me no Pleasure. My Spleen increas’d to such a degree, as to form a kind of impenetrable Gloom around me. Thus encased, like the Tortoise, every Attempt to draw me from my Fortification served only to increase its strength.

Ye Spirits of Cheerfulness and Content, descend from your celestial Abode, and enlighten, strengthen, and warm my heart by your exhilarating Influence; Guard it from the Poison of Guilt, and the pressure of Despondency; nor suffer it to become absorbed in the narrow limits of its own trifling Concerns; which will dry up all the sympathetic Estoics of the Soul, unfit it for every Duty of Life; render me unamiable and unthankful, and finally make Exileence a Curse.

This Country, like Westmoreland, is hilly and luxuriant.

Nature here
Wants, as in her prime, and plays at will
Her virgin Fancies;
and yields her Increase almost spontaneously. The Inhabitants appear to be a sober, rational, and even a courteous People; who prefer Convenience to Parade; and partake those Blessings, which bounteous Providence allot them, without Ambition, Envy; or Stupidity: And, from what Observations I can make, as I pass, I presume that God’s Contentment has chosen Washington county as its favorite Residence.

There is a Seminary of Learning in the Town of Canonsburg, which is in great Repute; and this being the time of a Commencement, the Streets are crowded; and all is Life and Activity. This spot, a few years ago, was the unhallowed Haunt of Savages; the Scene of Desolation, Bloodshed, and Horror!

Now, where fierce Monsters rent their trembling prey,
And yelling Savages, more fierce than they,
With blazing Victim dim'd the dazzling Moon,
And midnight carnage shook the trembling Moon;
Where Indian arrows drank the vital breath,
And mangled Captives invoke'd Death;
Where the fell Tomahawk, and Scalping-knife,
Dispatch'd the tender Husband and the Wife;
Where should'ring Parents, agonizing stood,
Beam'd with their own Offspring's brains and blood;
For Rights secured, the unhallowed Altar mild,
On which their unsuspecting Infants smil'd;
Torture'd, beheld, in all the Death of Woe;
This impious Off'ring to the Shades below!
Where purple Chiefs rejoiced in Feasts of Blood,
Strangers to Nature's Ties, and Nature's God—
Now the bright Sun's kind healing wing's expand, And holy Temples consecrated stand;
Now shines the glorious Gospel from above,
And all is Peace, and Harmony, and Love.

This is a thickly settled Country, in which there are many Churches erected; Seminaries of Education founded, and all the Arts of Civilization introduced. Luxury, and its concomitant Diseases, are almost unknown here. Health, Peace, and Plenty lead in, and accompany the hours; which seem principally devoted to the simple Enjoyments of Nature's Innocence. Few are immensely rich; None are miserably poor. It is a popular Maxim here, that Principles, not Talents or Fortune, set the seal of Respectability.

Two things are particularly unfavorable to this Country. Its principal Trade being to Neworleans, the great Difiance (to which the Influence of those Southern Climes and Northern Constitutions) renders a Voyage thither arduous, precarious, and expensive. The other Difficulty arises from the Failure of the Western Waters in the Fall Season. At

Sally Hastings Journal  

Courtesy of C. M. Ewing
sure, lived for years under the direction of John McMillan, who was a dominant personality indeed, and Brown beside McMillan hardly seemed authoritative.

John McMillan, incidentally, was seventy years old when Brown was appointed; he and Brown seem to have cooperated easily in the final decade of McMillan's life, both in the duties of Chartiers Church and in the religious instruction of the students. Conceivably John McMillan welcomed strong help in the last decade of his life, and conceivably too, after the unfortunate end of his nephew's principalship at Jefferson, McMillan chose to be less active in the direction of the College.

Brown naturally drew to Jefferson College, in addition to those students who normally would have chosen to attend the college, the sons of Washington families which had supported him all along in his fight with a single faction of churchgoers and trustees. A later president of Washington and Jefferson referred to Brown's "unrivalled skill in canvassing for patronage," and Andrew Wylie himself later complained that Washington College under his direction could hardly have prospered when Brown practically stole students for Canonsburg from the doorsteps of the Washington institution.47

Undoubtedly there were larger reasons for the growth of Jefferson College under Brown, reasons to which both individual personalities and local antagonisms were irrelevant. Brown came to Jefferson when Monroe was still president, during the years which have come to be known as "the Era of Good Feeling," and his term continued during the decades when the nation was apparently free of conflict, though the bases for an almost catastrophic struggle were being laid. The eighteen-twenties, the thirties, and the early forties were years of an almost separate growth of the agricultural South and the industrial North and of a comparatively unopposed expansion westward. But after 1845, the very year in which Brown gave up his duties at Jefferson, the illusion of peace was shattered by the Mexican War, and the distinct cultures of two economic cycles moved with inevitable harshness toward the open struggle of formally declared battle.
With hindsight these years may be lamented as blind to the groundwork of hostility being built at the time; still to all appearances, every section of the country did prosper and the people of the separate regions enjoyed the effects of material growth. The growth of party feeling under Jackson, the economic, cultural, and even moral regionalism developing madly under the administrations of the next two decades, the steady expansion westward certain to meet the opposition of other national units with other interests, did not hinder the momentary reaping of benefits to raise economic standards of living and consequently to broaden lives culturally. Southern farmers increasingly became Southern planters who could and wanted to educate their sons, and Northern craftsmen became Northern manufacturers who could afford the luxury of manners and learning. Jefferson, which, for reasons already suggested, had attracted some Southern students, began to attract more; paradoxically, the National Road through Washington made it easier for interested students to reach Canonsburg as well as the county seat. The industrial development of the North and the progressive civilization of the Western frontiers similarly made more students available; Jefferson as the older college of the section was perhaps the better known. More negatively, Jefferson was helped by the difficulties of the rival Washington. These larger circumstances along with the peculiar personality and position of Matthew Brown all figured in the rapid expansion of the College at Canonsburg.

The course of Jefferson College from the coming of Brown up to the Civil War was consistently and surely successful. Canonsburg became a kind of center of education with Jefferson College as the nucleus of several schools. The preparatory school continued to operate and to educate students for entrance into the upper school. In 1817, under the superintendency of Matthew Brown himself, a girls' academy similar in nature to the Female Seminary of Washington was established and operated for some years as a separate institution. Around 1820 the Synod of Pittsburgh had suggested the foundation of a seminary in Washington or between Washington and Canonsburg, and although this
Jefferson College

Proposal did not develop, Jefferson eventually was closely related to other theological schools, one in Canonsburg itself and the other in nearby Pittsburgh.⁴⁹ The former of these, a seminary of the “Seceders” or Associate Presbyterians, moved in 1821 after twenty-seven years in Beaver County, near the Ohio line, to Canonsburg, and until 1834, when it erected buildings of its own, used two classrooms and the library of Jefferson College. The friendliest of relationships existed between the two schools; they shared several of the same professors, notably Thomas Beveridge and Abraham Anderson, who were known and revered by both institutions; and they educated jointly a number of students up to the time of the seminary’s removal in 1855 to Xenia, Ohio.⁵⁰

The religious school in Pittsburgh, Western Theological Seminary, established in 1825 by Presbyterian General Assembly after the model of the Princeton Seminary (“but with such alterations ... as might be necessary to accommodate it to the local situation of the Western Seminary”),⁵¹ was to receive many Jefferson graduates for further training as ministers. Though the Western Theological Seminary was not officially attached, it had constant association with Jefferson, and also with Washington. Joseph Stockton, one of Canonsburg’s early teachers, was one of the two first at Western Theological. David Elliott of Washington was one of its greatest. Matthew Brown and Obadiah Jennings of Washington were two of its earliest “directors” (trustees), and John McMillan, still living, was declared one of its great inspirations. An article in the Western Theological Bulletin for October, 1927, tells us:

This seminary began with the early pioneers of the church. Many received the idea from the primitive theological seminary under the auspices of that wholehearted, heroic old man, Rev. Dr. John McMillan who, with a sacrifice greater than the majority of foreign missionaries have to endure, pitched his tent in the wilderness for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the early settlers.⁵²

A legally established relationship was that between Jefferson College and the Jefferson Medical School of Philadelphia, which by formally drawn up “Articles of Union” was described as a
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branch of Jefferson from 1824 to 1838. This connection had come about through a request of a group of Philadelphia physicians. Wanting to establish a school on an equal basis with the Medical College of the University of Pennsylvania and having as yet no charter from the state legislature, they asked that Jefferson College take their school under its legal auspices and award diplomas to the young doctors. For over a decade, Canonsburg's Jefferson College listed the graduates of Philadelphia's Jefferson Medical School in its catalogues. One of the medical school professors, Dr. Jacob Green, gave lectures in chemistry at Jefferson for approximately ten years. Until 1838, Jefferson kept the privilege of suggesting, annually, ten of its students for free medical instruction. Then the Philadelphia group was granted a state charter and affiliation ceased.

During the administration of Matthew Brown the first of several steps was taken to make education at Jefferson College available to students who might otherwise not have been able to enter college. In 1830 the Board purchased a farm to promote self-help for students and some direction in agriculture. Two years later the College Catalogue described it as accommodating twenty-six students who "nearly supported themselves by two hours' work a day." In 1846, the year after Brown's term ended, the farm was sold without financial loss to the College, because the trustees found it difficult to get funds for expanding the farm, or rather thought it more important to use available funds in other directions.

In the meantime, the farm had become tied up with a system of scholarships proposed to the Board in 1832: for $150.00 a donor could name a student to be educated "with the opportunity of self-support or manual labor," probably on the farm, and for $1,000.00 a donor could endow a permanent self-help scholarship. Ironically, the long-term scholarships, however charitable in intention, set a precedent which came to do considerable financial harm to Jefferson, and a similar practice at Washington College proved just as unwise. Out of eagerness to build up the endowment of the College as well as to attract more students, the
trustees eventually sold scholarships which in some cases were to be usable by members of families into successive generations, even permanently. This lack of foresight into rising costs and more practically into the probability that the money would be spent long before the last students dependent on it entered the college, is indication that the approach of the trustees to their own times had little of the sense of change that even before the middle of the century was to dominate so many American lives.

When one reads the statement of various costs during Matthew Brown's terms there is little wonder that the Board did not foresee in the least the spiraling prices of the late nineteenth century when the increasing industrialization of the nation raised wages and standards of living.

When Matthew Brown came to Jefferson College in 1822, he received $800.00 salary a year, and when he left in 1845, he received $1,000.00 in accordance with an increase granted in 1836. The 1836 statement of salaries mentioned also $700.00 as the amount paid to each of the three professors of mathematics, natural philosophy, and languages. Although the practice had been curtailed considerably and was at the point of elimination, the principal was often expected to pay assistants and student tutors out of his own salary. Samuel Millar, who retired in 1830, received an appointment of "Honorary Professor for life" and a retirement compensation of $300.00. Students in 1829 paid $25.00 tuition, $13.00 for the winter session and $12.00 for the summer. In 1849, room rent in a college boarding place was designated as $6.00 per session, and early in Brown's term it was probably even less. Appropriations of $1,000.00 from the state legislature from time to time must have been large enough to take care of the education of many students for a considerable period, and a "free education" fund of $4,000.00, as established in 1848, must have seemed a generous provision indeed.

Faculty, Curriculum, and Buildings

Academically Jefferson College made impressive progress under Matthew Brown. The faculty and along with it the curricu-
Banners in the Wilderness

lum were gradually expanded, and an excellent group of teachers was connected with Jefferson during his principalship. Many of them were Jefferson alumni, but most of them had additional education or instructional experience elsewhere before they became formally connected with the staff of the college.63

The Rev. James Ramsey, who attended Canonsburg Academy as a young man, headed the Associate Presbyterian Theological Seminary for almost thirty years (1824 to 1852) and at the same time held the professorship of Hebrew at Jefferson.

The Rev. Abraham Anderson, a member of the same denomination, after serving in the War of 1812, had graduated from Jefferson in 1817, studying, it is said, while he walked seven miles to and from college each day from and to his father's farm where he worked. He taught Latin and Greek at Jefferson under William McMillan. He went into the Carolinas as an Associate Presbyterian minister in 1821, but left for a ministry in New York state after his tireless efforts against the institution of slavery in the section where he was first an active preacher. Then, in 1847, he returned to Canonsburg to assist Dr. Ramsey at his seminary. From 1852 to 1855, the year of his death, Anderson served as a Jefferson "professor extraordinary," again a teacher of the ancient languages.

The Rev. Richard Campbell, who graduated in 1821 and taught the classical languages and mathematics in 1826 and 1827, went on to become president of the same Franklin College to which William McMillan had gone as head.

The Rev. John Herron Kennedy of the class of 1820 taught mathematics and natural philosophy for ten years, beginning in 1830 as the assistant and then the successor of Samuel Millar.

Alexander Blaine Brown, Matthew Brown's son who graduated from Jefferson in 1825, assisted Dr. Ramsey as professor of languages from 1841 to 1847, himself held the new chair of belles-lettres, and later became the head of the College.

A department of civil engineering was revived for some eighteen months under the Rev. Robert W. Orr, a Jefferson alumnus of 1833, who was versatile enough to teach "Latin Lan-
guage and Literature" for some seven years during the time the engineering program did not develop.

The energies of Brown introduced new subjects and brought able men to teach them and contributed emphatically to setting the academic standards maintained in Jefferson College during the last two decades of its independent existence.

During the early period at Jefferson College, the curriculum continued much as it had been appointed by the trustees in 1802. The Academy, now called popularly "Jefferson Academy," was retained as a preparatory school, with its list of studies aimed at a still higher classical education. The precollege students were to study the principles of Greek and Latin, a series of introductory readings (parts of Ovid, Virgil, and Caesar, some of the New Testament, and of Lucian), composition, grammar, speaking orations, and arithmetic.

At the college level, Jefferson students were to study for three prescribed years: first, in "the class of the languages" (Horace, Cicero, Xenophon, Homer, Longinus, "Greek and Roman Antiquities," geography, and algebra); then in "the mathematical class" (more algebra, Euclid, practical geometry, natural philosophy, rhetoric, and history); and finally in "the philosophic class" (logic, moral philosophy, metaphysics, and a review of the previous classes). It was recommended that the students continue for one year in the study of the branches belonging to these respective classes; at first the fourth year seems not to have been compulsory. The first bylaws of the College stated that the examination for a degree was to be on the work covered throughout the entire course: *viz.*, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Lucian's *Dialogues*, Xenophon, Homer, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, surveying, navigation, natural philosophy, astronomy, English grammar, rhetoric, metaphysics, and moral philosophy.

Even from the first, the trustees—who took the lead in academic and disciplinary problems and often conducted examinations, as well as taking the bulk of responsibility for administration and finance—described a program as ambitious as that in the Eastern colleges. The later catalogues stated that the curriculum should
Chemistry had been introduced, as we have seen, under Andrew Wylie and was taught by Samuel Millar, with extracurricular lectures by Dr. Jacob Green. The earliest printed catalogue that remains, containing an announcement of the curriculum, is a single printed sheet from the year 1824 to 1825, under Matthew Brown. Most of the information we have comes from the Jefferson Minutes of the Board.

Modern languages were not a part of the program until 1834, when students at their own expense might take French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, with Professor Hadermann. English literature was not mentioned in the catalogues at Jefferson even as an extra, until a later period, in 1840 and 1846, when "Rhetoric" and "English composition" respectively, made a dramatic appearance. This was probably because these subjects were still considered as belonging to the lower schools, and were given in the "English schools," and academies, for preparatory, normal, and business students. It was not until 1841 that Professor A. B. Brown was teaching "Belles Lettres" (probably much as Longfellow taught it at Harvard); and in 1849 rhetoric was to appear in the catalogue as a regular college subject, taught by alumnus Dr. Joseph Wilson, minister at the Hill Church and the father of Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States.

In 1832 qualifications for admission at Jefferson were as follows: "Freshmen on entrance must be able to read Caesar, Sallust and Virgil, must have a thorough understanding of Latin grammar and acquaintance with Greek, and the simpler rules of arithmetic." (Many freshmen were fifteen years old.)

There are a number of reasons why the religious emphasis was not as direct in the College as in the old log schools. Nearly all of the early students planned to become ministers, except the few who were taking up the necessary work of surveying the frontier, and they worked under the close direction of such men of religion as McMillan, Dod, and Smith. Education in these later years was no longer considered a luxury for the few who could partially be spared from the pioneers' struggle for survival. The second and
John Rea (Jefferson, 1802)
Diploma, Bachelor of Liberal Arts, John Rea

Diploma, Master of Arts, Samuel Murdock
third generation students had many intentions and many interests; their families had more time for culture. The colleges of the eastern seaboard were becoming secularized, including Princeton, which continued to be more or less the model for Western Pennsylvania. The classical course was considered a prerequisite for other professions, such as law and medicine, as well as for the ministry. Future ministers now went on to special studies, with such men as McMillan, John Anderson at Buffalo, and William Wylie at Wheeling—even with Ashbel Green in Philadelphia; and by 1821 and 1825 at the theological seminaries at Canonsburg and at Pittsburgh.

The Jefferson College of Brown, then, became a nucleus of active schools in Canonsburg. It attracted students from a wide area and took steps to make education available for those needing financial help. It expanded the curriculum, as we have seen, and it hired capable teachers.

Naturally enough, the Board moved to make the physical plant of the college compatible with the school's needs for students living and attending classes. A second college building, probably projected around 1813, was started in 1816 or 1817 and completed within the next decade, apparently after Brown came to office. A large five-storied structure with many chimneys, dormer windows, and a cupola, it was an impressive addition to the old stone Academy built in John Canon's day. It provided part of the much-needed classroom space, but with the spurt of attendance under Matthew Brown it was hardly adequate.

The great triumph of Brown's regime came in 1832 with the erection of the third college building, "Providence Hall." The College had grown too large for the second building (the structure for so long known as "Jefferson College," which was eventually to be torn down to make room for the new high school at a much later period of history, about 1912). The new building was projected in 1829, completed in 1832, and the trustees held their first meeting in it on March 27, 1833. This building was sped with such felicity and completed with such facility that the entire personnel of Jefferson College went into a justifiable spate of joy
and thanksgiving, which echoes yet. The name was suggested by Moses Allen,⁶⁸ son-in-law of McMillan who acted as president of the trustees for one year (1831-1832), Ralston having temporarily resigned. This red brick building still stands, with its aspiring front stepped-up to a sort of peak at the top (the tower of the earliest pictures is gone) which gives the appearance of a fifth story above the actual three stories and basement. Its main hall is entered on the ground floor and is two stories in height. This was the spacious and sacred “great hall” for the church services of Jefferson College; and from about 1832 to 1890 it was also the meeting place for the Presbyterian Church of Canonsburg. Above this, on the third floor, reached by a fine stairway whose original railings we can touch today, are the “great halls” of the literary societies, dedicated with ceremony in 1832; also their library rooms, exquisite in design. This building originally contained a number of classrooms, the college library, and the refectory.

The only flaw in the whole glorious story of that year of building is that we have no record that John McMillan ever preached in Providence Hall, or attended any meetings there. We know, however, that he did see it, perhaps many times, and certainly at the end, when he returned from his last visit to David Elliott at Washington; for he traveled towards his home by way of Canonsburg, where he died at the house of his old friend and physician, Jonathan Leatherman.⁶⁹ He must have seen it in 1833 as he approached by Chartiers Hill—high and complete, with few houses to interrupt the view.

Within a few months before and after the occupation of Providence Hall, three of the College builders were gone who had been in the front rank since the day of the Academy dedication in July, 1791: Samuel Millar, Craig Ritchie, and John McMillan.

Matthew Brown established the physical and intellectual nature of Jefferson College, which was to continue with little change until the union with Washington in 1865. The gradually scientific direction of the curriculum, the less academic and more social activities of the student body, the slight fluctuations in
number of students and in financial status of the school could all be attributed in part to events which affected the entire nation and influenced its intellectual climate of opinion. The growing industrialization, particularly of the North, the accompanying utilitarian thinking, and the economic conflict with the predominantly feudal South showed their effects explicitly and implicitly on Jefferson as they did on other colleges both east and west of the Alleghenies, both north and south of the Mason and Dixon line. Under Matthew Brown the College had attained its distinctive personality and its first prosperity. The presidents who immediately succeeded him retained this personality, except where the larger issues of the time made themselves felt.

Robert J. Breckinridge 1845-1847

Brown's successor, the Rev. Robert Jefferson Breckinridge, was a good choice as the president of Jefferson. First of all, he was born in Kentucky, a section still considered in the 1840's a part of the new West. For a Westerner to become president of Jefferson was at least some slight indication that the farthest section of Pennsylvania was no longer a kind of borderland, for the newest frontier had gone even beyond Kentucky and Ohio into the current Midwest. Second, Breckinridge symbolized the ambivalence of Kentucky in the North-South struggle, just as Jefferson College particularly was to find itself divided in sentiment among both students and faculty.

Robert Breckinridge's father, John Breckinridge, who had moved to Kentucky from Virginia, had helped his friend, Thomas Jefferson, draft the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, aimed at curbing the growing power of the federal government and increasing the power of the states. He was Kentucky's first senator to Washington and later he served for three years as attorney general of the United States under Jefferson.

In urbanity and gentility Robert Breckinridge was indeed a representative of the family, but in more significant ways he was as different from it as Kentucky was from Virginia in its socio-economic patterns. When he was asked to become head of Jeffer-
son College in 1845, he had served for thirteen years as minister of the Second Presbyterian Church in Baltimore and had become known as a pious, scholarly, and eloquent preacher. He had studied theology in the early 1830's at Princeton, though as an undergraduate he had left Princeton to finish his education at Yale and finally at Union. As a matter of fact, he had not reached his decision to enter the ministry until he was past his thirtieth year, and in the meantime he had studied law and practiced with some success near his home in Lexington. He seemed a happy combination of the virtues which the Jefferson Board demanded: he was a man of polish and of culture, he was a man of devotion, and by background and training he was prepared to understand a student body approximately one-sixth of whom came from the South and the rest from Western Pennsylvania and the states to the west.

The Board was delighted with Breckinridge's acceptance. Immediately plans were made to erect a president's house which might be a fitting place of residence for a Breckinridge. But the new president was not to remain in Canonsburg for long. In February of 1847, just two years later, he resigned, reputedly because he found the winters of the region too rigorous for his health. The Board reluctantly accepted the resignation, but not without protest that it intended to make the position pleasanter for Breckinridge in the future. A motion was passed that "this Board are deeply sensible of the labours of the President and Faculty of the College to build up its reputation by their united labours and that they hereby pledge themselves, to cooperate in all things, pertaining to the usefulness of the institution." Breckinridge received extensive praise for the state of the College under his administration (in 1847, there were sixty graduates). In return he gave to the College a large part of his library, upon the evaluation of which the Board created a Robert J. Breckinridge Scholarship on a six-hundred dollar endowment.

The remaining twenty-four years of his life Breckinridge spent actively in his native state. For six years he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Lexington (the attractiveness and
the possibility of this call may have been a determining factor in his resignation). For his last sixteen years he held a professorship in a newly-formed theological seminary at Danville. He served six years as Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kentucky, at first by the appointment of the governor and then by election under a new state constitution. He spoke on many public occasions; his oration at the dedication of a monument to Henry Clay at Lexington in 1857 was described in the local newspaper as "worthy of his reputation as one of the most chaste, classical and eloquent speakers of the age." 74

As the Civil War approached, like many Kentuckians he was reluctantly forced to take a stand on the issue of slavery. His nephew, vice president under Buchanan, ran for the presidency on a proslavery ticket of northern Democrats, became an officer in the Confederate Army and a member of the Confederate Cabinet. But unlike many of his relatives Robert Breckinridge expressed always his support of the Union. At first he favored African colonization for negroes and was as much opposed to Garrison and abolition in the North as he was to Davis and secession in the South, but when his position became merely an academic one, he threw in his lot with the new Republican party and worked to save Kentucky for the Union. In 1864, he presided as temporary chairman over the Republican National Convention in Baltimore which nominated Abraham Lincoln for his second term. By this time, paradoxically enough, Lincoln was the candidate who could work most effectively for the cessation of the war and for reunion.

These aims, of course, were Breckinridge's own: speaking in the following year as Phi Beta Kappa orator at Union College, he eulogized the magnanimous Lincoln and reflected his understanding in a reference to "the blood of patriots and of traitors—but heroes all." 75

His career after his resignation reaffirmed the opinion of the Jefferson Board that Breckinridge was a highly desirable president, for he was invited to assume the presidency of the finally united colleges in 1865. 76 Predictably for a man of his age and
his attachments, he chose at that time to live out his few remaining years in his native Kentucky.

*Alexander Brown 1847-1856*

After the resignation of Breckinridge, the first reaction of the trustees was to replace him with a name just as distinguished. Dr. Robert Baird, a Jefferson graduate of 1818, who had won some fame as a traveler to Europe and a writer on missions, was offered the position, but refused it. The students petitioned for "a well-known professor from the University of Virginia," perhaps McGuffey, who had already served as president of Cincinnati College and of Ohio University. But the petition seems not to have been acted on, or if it was, certainly not formally responded to by its subject. A few of the trustees and all of the faculty looked nearer home to one of their own number already connected and familiar with Jefferson and the Canonsburg vicinity.

The final unanimous choice of the electing body was Alexander Blaine Brown, a professor at the College and the son of former President Matthew Brown. Matthew Brown was still alive; when Breckinridge resigned, he gave active assistance to Professor Smith in running the college. He had taken McMillan's place as the influential patriarch of the region. In fact, the years from his own presidency until the union, some twelve years after his death, can be considered a kind of Brown dynasty just as the years before his term were decidedly a McMillan regime, for his son and his son-in-law, both men strongly influenced by him, served as Jefferson presidents for a part of that time.

Alexander Brown was thirteen when his father's family moved to Canonsburg from Washington. He entered Jefferson almost at once and graduated four years later, at the age of seventeen. He served an academic apprenticeship away from home, teaching first in Delaware and then at the Princeton Academy run by the same Dr. Baird who declined to accept the presidency of Jefferson. He returned to his father's region to study at the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh. As a young min-
ister he did missionary work in the neighborhood of Winchester, Virginia, along with his brother-in-law, David Riddle, who was to be independent Jefferson College's last president. And he moved into a less developed and more challenging West to set up a church at Niles, Michigan. In 1841, when his father was still president, he returned to Jefferson as the professor of belles-lettres, and in the six years that followed he taught as well rhetoric and history and did some preaching at the Chartiers Church. When Breckinridge resigned, Alexander Brown, evidently seeing the possibility of his own appointment to the presidency and perhaps wanting to relieve the trustees of any sense of obligation to consider Matthew Brown's son, asked specifically that he not be considered for the position.

No one doubted that he was well qualified for the presidency, in his training and in his personality. He was an individual in his own right, hardly his father's precise son. Matthew Brown was a man of well-defined ideas and a determined self-confidence, perhaps just what Jefferson needed after the unfortunately unpopular William McMillan. Alexander Brown was a deliberate and straightforward man, but he was above all gentle and self-critical, a man of reserve and easy refinement, a combination of traits adequate and even desirable for the College now that a firm functioning pattern had been established. Aware, for example, that the students had requested a prominent man to head the institution, he indicated that he approached his installation "feeling more as if he were going to the gallows than to a position of honor." But the students, who already liked him as a professor, soon liked him as their president, and the College prospered under his administration.

There were fifty to sixty graduates each year during the last years of his nine-year term, and in the year of his retirement (1856) the student body numbered two hundred and thirty.

Without any criticism of the successful presidency of the younger Brown, one can declare that the most significant event of his presidency was the negative act of refusal of the Pittsburgh Synod's offered supervision of Jefferson. It must be pointed out
first of all that Washington College, which will be considered in the next chapter, had connected itself in 1852 with the Presbyterian Synod of Wheeling. Although the Pittsburgh body was not a party to the Wheeling-Washington tie-up, after it had observed a seemingly successful year of church and school cooperation, it offered a similar arrangement of “ecclesiastical control” to Jefferson. There was much discussion pro and con locally and in church papers, both northern and southern, about the wisdom of official church direction, but the trustees stood firm in their opposition and made known their reasons in a carefully prepared public statement. An open letter of the Jefferson Board, published in the Presbyterian Advocate for April, 1854, is still important as a reminder of the educational tradition in which the separate colleges were founded and in which the eventual union was achieved.  

First, “fidelity to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania,” which had granted the charter and supported the College from time to time with financial aid, precluded “surrendering the exclusive control of the Institution to any one religious denomination.” Second, “the interests of other religious denominations” which from the beginning had been “concerned with the patronage and control” of Jefferson forbade “management and supervision” by any single denomination.

It is true [wrote the trustees] that the Institution has always been predominantly Presbyterian in its character, from the fact that it was originally planted in the midst of a population almost exclusively Presbyterian, and has always been dependent chiefly on Presbyterian patronage. This character it is expected still to maintain. Its Presbyterianism, however, has never been exclusive or sectarian. At least three branches of the great Presbyterian family, all holding “the like precious faith,” have always been united in its support. For one of these denominations, largely in the majority, to usurp the exclusive control of an institution in which the others are alike interested, in proportion to their numbers, would be a gross violation of good faith and Christian courtesy.

Third, “past and present prosperity of the College, on its exist-
ing basis," as indicated primarily by the number of men it had educated for service "both in Church and State," made a change in "our old foundations" unnecessary even if it were considered advisable, which it was not. And fourth, the demand for a "more sanctified education" was unjust in that "there has always been as large an infusion of the religious element into the educational appliances of this College, as we think is proper or practicable, in a literary Institution." Furthermore, any concern about "the faithful and unperverted use of our funds, in future years" was unwarranted in view of the trustees being in themselves members of "four different Presbyterian denominations"; indeed, "the history of endowments proves that they are as liable to perversion in ecclesiastical as in other hands." With a word of praise for "the patronage and the maternal care" of the Synod, and of appreciation for past help, and with a polite request for future financial donations and for "prayers for a continuance of the prosperity which we have heretofore enjoyed," the trustees professed their unanimous decision "to go forward, on the old basis, on which the fathers of this Institution placed it."

The letter of the Board remains a striking document characterizing Jefferson at its height and reaffirming the classical tradition on which the two colleges had been founded, "a liberal arts education."

**Joseph Alden 1857-1862**

Brown resigned after a presidency of almost a decade, and the Board, as if reflecting its belief in the broad reputation of Jefferson, again sought an already well-known educator. It found him in fifty-year-old Joseph Alden. Alden was a graduate of Union College and of Princeton Theological Seminary, and he had received honorary degrees from his undergraduate school and from Columbia University in New York. He had taught for some seventeen years (1835 to 1852) at Williams College and then for five years more at Lafayette. At the former he instructed at various times in Latin, in English literature, in political economy, and in history, and at the latter he was professor of mental and
moral philosophy. He had received some attention for his standard works in philosophy and in political science. He was born in upper New York state, but his ordination as a Congregational minister at a Massachusetts church, his long professorship at Williams, even a reputed acquaintance with William Cullen Bryant, associated him with the culture of New England just as the attachments and background of Breckinridge suggested in many ways the classical culture of the feudal South.

Almost symbolically, Alden headed Jefferson in the years when its Southern clientele fell rapidly away as the outbreak of civil war crept closer. Jefferson graduated fifty-eight students in Alden’s first year as president, seventy-five in his second, again fifty-seven in his third. The class of 1860, however, contained only forty-five students, and though the next two years each had classes of fifty-three, the Jefferson enrollment was conspicuously on the decrease and the prosperity proclaimed a decade before was noticeably wavering. As often, a situation beyond the control of the college patrons affected drastically the number of students.

Still, for some time the germ of financial failure had been growing in Jefferson. The scholarship plan of 1851 granting future tuition for students in return for present payment was now, too late, seen as unwise. In 1860, the Board rescinded the provision for a perpetual scholarship in exchange for $1,250, but it was able to do so probably because no such arrangement had yet been purchased. The $25.00, $50.00, and $100.00 scholarships were being widely used, and income was therefore being markedly reduced. The combination of a reduced student body and a reduced income per capita from these students who did attend, made a reconsideration of union with Washington highly probable when Alden resigned in 1862.

It has been said of Alden that he was a better teacher than administrator. Perhaps this was the case, but the troubles facing Jefferson could have been handled adequately by no man: scholar, businessman, New Engander, Southerner, or native son. The war was upon Jefferson as upon every college in the land.

It was not that all Southern students withdrew suddenly in a
group, or fled in a night, when Beauregard fired on Fort Sumter—as the traditions in the Northern colleges tend to suggest. Many of them simply did not return to finish their courses; the classes through the eighteen-forties and fifties at Jefferson contain many names of students from the North and the South who did not complete the four years. Once entered upon and continued, and ended, the war prevented young men from coming north, who otherwise might have been expected to come, from all the Southern states. When it was over, many had been killed or disabled; many had to work in the fields to redeem their homes; many had no money and no heart with which to enter college anywhere. A few eventually embarked in Southern colleges, as at the old Washington College at Lexington, Virginia (Washington and Lee), where General Lee had set the example of rebuilding the South as part of the nation again.

In spite of major war and financial stringency, Jefferson did not slacken its standard of scholarship. Among Alden's graduates were numbered his son, William Livingstone Alden, afterwards knighted by the king of Italy (Jefferson's first knight); Henry Wallace, father of a Republican secretary of agriculture and grandfather of a Democratic secretary of agriculture who was also vice president of the United States; Calvin Mateer and Hunter Corbett of China; George Hays, later a president of W. and J.; and the Honorable Boyd Crumrine, historian of Washington County, lawyer and a great teacher of lawyers. And among his professors were Alonzo Linn, amazing teacher of Greek, political economy, history, and ancient languages, and later vice president of W. and J., whose forty-four years of service were equal to those of William Smith—he taught 2,500 students.

Interspersed with the familiar notes in the Catalogue, after the graduates' names, such as "moderator of the general assembly," "senator," etc., we begin to read citations like these: "Major, U. S. Army," "Chaplain, Confederate Army," "killed in battle," "died of wounds." It may have been a momentary joy—as we are told it sometimes was—to meet even as a prisoner, a classmate who had shared the debates of a literary society by the candle
lights of Canonsburg or on the star-swept hills of Little Washington in the peacetime undergraduate evenings of some earlier spring. But it must have been more grief than pleasure to remember how at those meetings eternal brotherhood was sworn.

However, for a time the war went on, and the College went on, too. Jefferson was now to be led in its last era by a brave man, with the tradition of a family already old in its service and forever associated with its honor.

David Riddle 1862-1865

David Riddle, Alden’s successor and Jefferson's last president, was a graduate of Jefferson in 1823 when Matthew Brown headed the faculty. He had married Brown’s daughter Elizabeth. He had worked with her brother Alexander in the Presbytery of Winchester, Virginia, before Alexander himself became a Jefferson president. He had studied at Princeton Seminary, which was traditionally attended by many Jefferson graduates. One of his sons, Matthew Brown Riddle, had graduated at Jefferson in 1852 during the presidency of his uncle Alexander Brown, and after studying at the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh and the University of Heidelberg in Germany, had held a professorship of Greek at Jefferson from 1857 to 1859. A second son, David Hoge Riddle, attended Jefferson for two years under his father’s presidency and was a member of the second graduating class of the combined colleges, W. and J.

David Riddle could hardly have had more reasons for being interested in Jefferson, and he did his job well in the impossible years of the war. He accepted the union of the colleges when it inevitably came in 1865, and he even continued for three years to serve as a professor of philosophy under the new president of the new Washington and Jefferson. When the complications of union and the accompanying hostilities increased, during the late 1860's, he preferred to spend the last years of his life as an independent pastor in Virginia rather than as an administrator or teacher in Western Pennsylvania.
Jefferson College

New Life on Sound Foundation

Thus as academy and as college, for nearly a century, a school at Canonsburg served the nation well, and it is small wonder its alumni and townsfolk approached with nostalgia the union with Washington.
FOUR years after Jefferson College was established at Canonsburg, Washington College was chartered at the county seat. The Board of Jefferson remarked, "as Washington is only seven miles from Canonsburgh, it has been a matter of just surprise to every thinking man, that a Charter was granted."

Matthew Brown 1806-1817

It is true that the academy at Washington might never have evolved into a college at all, or indeed have continued, if Matthew Brown¹ had not been on the scene to devote himself conscientiously to the Academy and to give it the stature of higher education even before it received a college charter.

He was brought to Washington in 1805 by Obadiah Jennings, a graduate of Canonsburg Academy, that "backwoods elder" who won the admiration of learned gatherings in the outside world, and who as a lawyer and as an elder in the Washington church and later as its minister was greatly beloved.²

Matthew Brown came from a church at Mifflin, Pennsylvania; and wanting to build up the Academy, thought at once of a young friend, a school boy member of his Mifflin congregation, David Elliott.³ He sent for this young man to come as his assistant, or "tutor," in the Academy. David Elliott arrived on the scene almost as soon as Brown, in the spring of 1805. Brown handled the Academy half the week, Elliott the other half.

Brown set to work at once, too, with the help of Parker Camp-
bell, leader of the Washington bar, to obtain a college charter from the legislature. This was granted on March 28, 1806, and by the end of the year, Washington College was fully organized. Brown, young, vigorous, and twenty-nine, was installed as first president of Washington College on December 13, 1806.

Matthew Brown, it will be recalled, had come to Washington in 1805 to serve as minister of the First Presbyterian congregation, just one year after the Washington Board proclaimed its hope that the local pastor would always be qualified to serve as Academy principal. He more than fulfilled this hope: he was a graduate of Dickinson College, which was already training many men in the Princeton tradition of the classics and religion; he recognized the instructional needs of the institution; and he showed immediately his ability to choose able teachers. Brown was a determined man in many ways: he had absolute standards of morality and he had absolute standards of education, and these made the Academy almost immediately into a college, ready especially for those who chose to be ministers.

He was a leader of great earnestness, piety, and intellect, subject to alternate moods of mirth and depression. He is remembered as one of the great college presidents and Presbyterian pastors, and next to McMillan himself—maybe because he, too, was associated with both Jefferson and Washington—perhaps the greatest single influence on education in the region.

Matthew Brown collected a sound faculty for the College, and the Board approved his selection. He sent David Elliott, whom he had brought as assistant in the Academy, back to Carlisle to study at Dickinson College, the Alma Mater of which he was always proud. But during his decade as president of Washington, he hired a series of assistants, equally able. Others of the early assistants who came to considerable reputation were Andrew K. Russell, who became a teacher and a preacher in New Jersey and is credited with the founding of Newark College, New Jersey. Thomas McKean Thompson McKennan (Washington 1810), the originator of an honored family tradition in Washington, was a tutor in 1813 while studying law under Parker Camp-
bell, whom he later succeeded as leader of the Washington bar. McKennan was successively congressman, judge, U. S. Secretary of the Interior, and long a trustee of Washington College and preceptor in law for many of its graduates. More than once he was suggested for president of the College, but he resisted all persuasion. James Reed taught as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy during the College's first seventeen years, surviving well an inquiry into "his moral and religious character" which occupied several meetings of the trustees. Another Reed, John, was appointed professor of ancient languages in 1810, setting a precedent with the separation of the study of the languages from the advanced study of the classics as literature. Dr. Isaiah Blair, an outstanding Washington physician, was made honorary professor of medicine and probably gave occasional lectures during Brown's term. George Baird, later a successful Washington businessman and a member of the College Board for twenty years, was the first student appointed as a college tutor.

Washington College and the First Presbyterian Church of Washington have always been close. For nearly a hundred years this church was considered unofficially "the College church." At first the congregation worshipped, occasionally, in the lower hall of the Academy building, later in the second courthouse. There the visiting minister spoke from the judge's bench to the people seated below, where lawyers, witnesses, and prisoners sat at week-day trials. They had organized in 1793 without a regular minister, except for one year, and services then were held irregularly. They had tried unsuccessfully to get Alexander Addison and John Watson as pastor. The first church building was erected in 1806.

Now Matthew Brown was leader of both the school and the church. On the lawn behind the old Academy building, in the summer of 1805, he held his first communion service for the congregation. Other ministers were invited; John McMillan and Thomas Marquis came to take part in the service. The hill was climbed exactly as it is today, the older path going up slantwise from the northwest corner of the green. The college building was
farther to the west than it is now. Across the fields and the trees, the far blue hill in the background rose to meet the cloudless sky of summer. There were, of course, fewer dwellings and fewer roads. Not too many years before, the Indians had stalked these hills. By 1805 all was peace.

The people had assembled from near and far, some of them staying over Sunday for the sacrament with friends in the village. They walked up the hill from the road which is called now College Street. Except for those who are named in David Elliott’s, or James I. Brownson’s accounts, we can only imagine those who were present. Perhaps General Absalom Baird was there; perhaps Mrs. LeMoyne with her seven-year-old son who was to become Dr. Francis Julius LeMoyne; the Allisons, the Reeds, and all the rest; almost certainly Andrew Wylie, with his wide blue eyes, still a schoolboy seventeen years old, although he was not yet a communicant. We can almost see them all and hear the voice of Matthew Brown as he pronounced, for the first time in this place, the words that we know: “As oft as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till he come.”

That was in the beginning, but later matters began to change. The College War of 1815-1817, which has been discussed in the chapter on Jefferson College, disturbed the tranquility of both educational institutions and resulted in the interchange of bitter words between the two colleges and their friends.

After a little more than ten years, in 1817, Matthew Brown felt that he must retire as head of Washington College. The town had advanced beyond the pioneer stage, when time was nearly all consumed in the struggle for existence and in the occasional somewhat primitive emotional outlets which had attended the early revival meetings, the wedding feasts, and the house raisings. Many of the citizens had leisure time for entertainment, such as card playing and dances, for which Matthew Brown rebuked them in his so-called “Serpent Sermon” and other addresses. Those who stood by him seem to have been led by the Reed family, and those who opposed, by John Hoge. An agreement was reached between the church and college, by separate voting, that
one man should no longer undertake both the responsibilities of the church and the college.

Almost four decades had passed since the first Hoge had been granted the Washington land and laid it out as a town. The fights against Indians and against the forest were history; the nation had gained its independence from England; the Western Country had accepted its dependence on the East; frontier families had used their land well and earned the right to comfortable living. Less time could be devoted to survival; time could be found for learning and relaxation. A college for men was at hand; a public library and a female seminary were not far away; the National Pike was to make the local inns stopping places for statesmen and tradesmen and entertainers. The people of Washington were increasingly close to the East in time and in the pace of their lives. What at one time might have been considered improper by the necessary frontier code of self-denial was frequently accepted as an easy part of gracious living, as a natural part of every cultivated man's behavior. Some of the well-to-do people of the congregation were affronted by Brown's condemnation of social acts which to them were enjoyable attributes of culture.

John Hoge, one of the chief landowners of the town and a benefactor of the College, was among those offended by Brown's preachments, and he was not in the least reluctant to make it impossible for Brown to hold both positions of prominence in the town. There were those who resented this action, even within the Washington Board. They said the motion to separate the duties of pastor and principal was a conscious attempt "to wound the feelings of a worthy and successful servant," and the appointment of Andrew Wylie of Jefferson to succeed Brown they contended was unwise in terms of his qualifications and unethical in terms of his responsibilities. But this group, no doubt the source for much of the material in the pamphlet which came from Jefferson College, was defeated in its final stand on both Brown and Wylie. Brown retired and Wylie came to Washington. Most of this we have covered in the chapter on Jefferson College.

Brown was a devoted minister; he decided to remain with the
Church, and he resigned from the College on April 30, 1817. But, as we have seen in the story of Jefferson College, he kept his church for five years after Andrew Wylie succeeded him as president of Washington College. His special admirers have recorded their loyalty to him as an educator, saying that he had entered the desolate halls of the Academy and by extraordinary zeal had built it up into a College which they believed to be the equal of any in the state of Pennsylvania, or in the adjoining states.

As at Jefferson College under Dunlap, at Washington under Brown the curriculum and physical plant flourished and the students were active. Washington and Union, the literary societies, were strong and the faculty and trustees were soon fretting about the students who frequented taverns. Despite small classes at the beginning and even no graduates in 1809, Matthew Brown at the head of the faculty and John Anderson at the head of the trustees made fullest use of the resources until the time came when the graduating classes were larger.

Brown had indeed graduated some exceptional students, such as Thomas McKean Thompson McKennan in 1810; Jonathan Kearsley in 1811; Nathaniel Ewing, future judge, and George Ewing, future alcalde in Texas under Mexican rule, in 1812 (both brothers of “the Major,” John Hoge Ewing, a graduate in 1814); Francis Julius LeMoyne in 1815; and many more. The College, under Brown and after him, continued to spread in usefulness over the growing territory of the United States. Locally, its graduates became “first families,” many of whose descendants are leading families today. The number of graduates at Washington under Matthew Brown averaged five and six a year, increasing from a few in the first years to from seven to twelve in the last four.

The Board of Trustees

The Washington College Board, designated in 1806, the year of the charter, was as distinguished a group as the Jefferson trustees, and perhaps in nonacademic affairs even more widely known.
Of the twenty-one original Washington trustees, only four were ministers: Samuel Ralston, who declined immediately because he was on the Jefferson Board; Joseph Patterson, who resigned before the year was up; Obadiah Jennings, who was active as a lawyer before he entered the ministry and lived eventually in Nashville, Tennessee; and John Anderson, who had come into Pennsylvania from his home in North Carolina to succeed McGready as the pastor of Joseph Smith’s old charge at Buffalo. Anderson worked persistently with his congregation and the missions farther west, and he became active, too, as a trainer of young men interested in the ministry—including his own son, William Caldwell Anderson, who carried on his father’s work as a preacher and a teacher, and was president of Miami University, Ohio, for five years.

The predominantly layman Board of Washington recognized John Anderson’s interest and capability by electing him its second president, and to this college office he devoted himself for approximately thirty-two years. Anderson’s lifework was to teach others, and the Board’s choice was wise indeed.

The other trustees certainly were interested, but like the directors of the Washington Academy they were exceptionally busy men and the College could perhaps attribute some of its difficulties to their divided energies. The first Board had three Hoges—John, William, and David—representing the chief landholding family of the town; two Allisons, father and son, both prominent as lawyers and judges; the physician, Isaiah Blair; and Alexander Reed, who was president of the Board after Anderson for a period of five years, in a half-decade of a lifetime almost too full to believe.

Reed in many ways came to symbolize the new Washington of the nineteenth century, which was growing in importance as a commercial center in a resourceful region. In 1802, just six years after he had come to America from Ireland, Reed opened a general store at the corner of Main and Wheeling Streets in Washington, two blocks away from the site of the present campus. He was the town’s first burgess in 1810, he was treasurer of its Pres-
byterian Church for twenty-seven years, he was commissioner of a company with plans to build a road intersecting the turnpike from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh (thereby getting more trade for Washington), he was chairman of a committee concerned with public education in Washington, and he became a donor and founder of the Washington Female Seminary in 1835.

Travel to and from the West brought many persons through Washington and made the town prosperous, and Reed’s new business moved rapidly toward success. Legend is that Reed himself was responsible for introducing the cultivation of fine wool into the Washington vicinity and that he was the first man in the section to send wool to the Eastern markets; he died in 1842 but he lived to see Washington County with a million sheep. The extension of the National Pike and the ingenuity of Alexander Reed are often said to have been most instrumental in the pre-Civil War prosperity of Washington.

Reed was the center of a family about whom many colorful stories came to be told. His first wife he brought as a bride across the mountains on horseback; his second wife, the widow of a Hoge, was the beautiful Isabel, after whom Belle Street was named to pair romantically with Beau Street. He was the relative of Squire John Reed, who fined General Washington for using “indignant language” when he visited Canonsburg to drive squatters off his land. He was the father of Colin McFarquahar Reed, who built for his New England wife the well-known Washington Reed House, according to blueprints ordered from Massachusetts. (This is now called the Davis Memorial.) Reed resigned from the Board in 1819 to pay attention to other affairs but served it again after 1830 for twelve years until his death. During this second term he succeeded Anderson as president and directed the Board during one of the College’s most difficult struggles to survive.

The Washington Board before the union contained other names that have become significantly tied up with the history and lore of the section. Here, for example, we name a few. Dr. Cephas Dodd, the son of Thaddeus, was at first a minister, then
an outstanding physician. Dr. Francis Julius LeMoyne, himself a graduate of Washington College in 1815, led a colorful and useful life as a doctor. As a humanitarian he was interested keenly in the emancipation of the slaves, maintaining an underground station in the family mansion, now the headquarters of the Washington Historical Society near the campus; he even ran for vice president of the United States on the ticket of emancipation. He was an experimenter: he invented the first crematorium in the United States, still preserved in Washington. He was a philanthropist: he endowed two chairs at the College, one in applied mathematics and one in biology, and he contributed to such different institutions as the Freedmen's School in Memphis, the Seminary in Washington, and the Citizens' Free Library in Washington. The Honorable Joseph Ritner of Washington County became governor of Pennsylvania, and two of the Hoges were respectively Federalist and Republican congressmen. The list continues extensively with names famous in their own right or famous now because of the accomplishments of their relatives and descendants: Anderson again, James Blaine (grandfather of James G. Blaine), the Rev. Mr. Breckinridge, John H. Ewing, several Achesons, more Reeds, and finally the Rev. C. C. Beatty who helped through his endowment to make the union of the colleges possible.

David Elliott, who had been the assistant of Matthew Brown at Washington Academy, returned to Washington in 1829 as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church and became at urging of the trustees president of the college for almost two years during one of its most difficult periods. When he resigned from the presidency after the work at hand was completed, Alexander Reed, president of the trustees at the time, voluntarily gave up his position so that Elliott might continue to serve the College as president of the Board. Elliott joined the Board in 1832 and was its president for thirty-three years, up to the time of the union.

The point has been made several times that the Washington trustees might have been better educators if they had been less involved in political and social responsibilities. This is debatable.
Indeed they should be praised for the part they took in the affairs of the region and the state, which kept the College a real part of the community outside the campus.

On the Boards of both Washington and Jefferson there had to be always a nucleus of men close to the affairs of the respective colleges, for the trustees concerned themselves with many matters that would today be left to the administration and the faculty. The ministers who considered the moral and cultural elevation of their communities a part of their ordained duties again and again proved more efficient in the offices of the Board than their contemporaries who gained a wider historical fame as leaders of the community and indeed of the nation. The untiring service of McMillan and of Ralston at Jefferson, the extended energies of Anderson and Elliott at Washington were pivotal in holding the colleges to their purpose in good years and bad. They were men, too, who could understand the faculty and the presidents; for their purposes were basically similar: to provide the best facilities for the instruction of youth in morality, in mental discipline, and in taste and sensitivity.

Andrew Wylie 1817-1828

Andrew Wylie, as we have read in the chapter on Jefferson College, succeeded Matthew Brown immediately. He presided over Washington College for eleven years. During these years, in spite of the increasingly difficult situation, notable progress was made, academically and financially, and he graduated as remarkable a group of men as were graduated in any period of similar length, in either of the colleges. The National Road, which had been proposed first by George Washington soon after the Revolution, at last reached "Little Washington," about 1820, and the county seat became a station on that great highway. The town grew more cosmopolitan with the increase and bustle of travel, and the students had a chance to see the national figures who broke their journey in the county seat. Through the years the town had seen the Conestoga wagons coming through, and then the pony express and the stagecoach—sometimes five or six
coaches in an evening would stop at a tavern door and as many more at the next tavern, and the next. The number of inns in Washington increased. The shouting of the “pike boys” resounded, as the wheels crunched to a standstill, and the air along the road today called Maiden Street was often filled with the dust kicked up by the hooves of droves of cattle, sheep, and hogs, from the feet of slaves tied two and two in a long procession, from multitudes of private vehicles, and from horses with men riding in on County business.

It must have taken courage for Wylie to assume the presidency of Washington College in the same town where Matthew Brown remained as pastor of the church. David Elliott, later president of Washington, commented on the quarrel when he was an old man: “Looking at it in a mere worldly point of view, it appears surprising that religion was not crushed out and the Church scattered and lost. But the lord said: ‘Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.’” And a president of the successfully united Washington and Jefferson wrote a half century after Wylie’s term, “Men of the highest honor were enlisted on both sides of that controversy, in view of which fact the judgment even of this remote generation should be held in abeyance.”

In this disturbing climate, one is amazed that Washington was so successful. Wylie must have been a real leader to attract so many students and to keep the Board members behind him. During his twelve years at Washington, he and his faculty turned out an average of nine graduates annually, who as a group developed into probably the most interesting alumni produced by the College in the term of any one president.

The College progressed under Wylie materially as well as academically. The trees planted when Brown was president thrived and added beauty to the campus. The wings of the old Academy building, planned and begun under Matthew Brown, were completed in 1818 and 1819, and after many appeals for financial help were paid for with the aid of a State grant of 1821. They were built of local brick and were intended for lodgings for students from distant homes. The ground floor of the old
The financial situation at Washington was somewhat similar to that at Jefferson. The president received from the school $600 a year as salary, from which he must pay his assistant. A professor received $350 per year. A student’s room and board, which in 1789 cost about $30 for the school year of approximately forty weeks had risen gradually. In 1809, boarding alone was estimated at from $1 to $1.50 per week; tuition, $13.33 per year. But it was always low, by our standards today, and increase was gradual. Later, at least by 1833, according to an advertisement issued by the Board of Trustees, the tuition was raised to $20 per year.

Boarding in “the College Club” (presumably the new wings of the building) was said to be:

75 to 87½ cents a week—in the town and vicinity, from one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents. Fuel, Washing and Candles, about $13 per annum. Students are not required to board in the College, but, under the permission of the Faculty, are allowed to select suitable boarding houses in the town and the neighborhood. They are subject, however, to the visitation of the professors at all times. By a standing rule, a certain number of poor and pious youth are educated without any charge for tuition.

There had been through the years the same financial struggle and frugal expenditure at Washington as at Canonsburg. When, in 1811, the faculty asked for tools of instruction they tempered their request: “for the whole, or only such parts of the proposed apparatus as the committee, after consideration, might deem expedient.” Whether the items were all purchased at once, we do not know, but it is interesting to compare that eighteen Windsor chairs were purchased in 1815 for the venerable trustees and faculty at Jefferson, where “stout benches . . . had served their turn up to this date.”

In regard to appropriations of money for Washington College from the State, there is complete record up to 1838, from the account of the State treasurer.
Banners in the Wilderness

Per Act of 1797, $3,000. (already mentioned, under Academies),
Per Act of 1821, $5,000. (during Andrew Wylie's term)
Per Act of 1826, $4,000. (during Andrew Wylie's term)
Per Act of 1831, $2,500. (during David Elliott's term, for the new "English Department")
Per Act of 1834, $5,500. (during David McConaughy's term.)

Final sale of the five thousand acres of land in Beaver County which had been granted to the Washington Academy in 1787 with its charter, was made in 1835 and is mentioned in this same report of the treasurer.

In 1827, Washington adopted a medical school in a distant city.\textsuperscript{44} Jefferson had adopted Jefferson Medical in Philadelphia in 1824. A group of physicians in Baltimore, led by Dr. Horatio Gates Jamieson and the Rev. Samuel Kennedy Jennings (brother of Obadiah, Ebenezer and Jonathan, and stepbrother of James Carnahan), applied to the State legislature for a charter. The medical school already in existence at the University of Maryland objected to the chartering of another medical school for Baltimore, just as in Philadelphia the medical school at the University of Pennsylvania had objected to Jefferson Medical. After two years of sober consideration the Washington trustees voted to repose full confidence in the medical association, agreed to award their diplomas—and the charter was granted.

The Washington Medical University in Baltimore opened in a specially constructed building and graduated some excellent and distinguished physicians, a number of whom made medical history. It is not certain whether this connection was severed in 1833\textsuperscript{45} during the presidency of the Rev. David McConaughy. Washington College kept no list of the medical graduates; the page set up for them is blank in the records. On March 4, 1833, the Legislature of Maryland granted a charter to an institution under the name of "Washington University of Baltimore," and apparently it was at this time that the official connection of the medical school with Washington College was terminated. The final reference to the medical school in the Washington Minutes is that of March 27, 1833: "Resolved, that Mr. McKennan be con-
continued a committee to investigate the controversy relative to the Baltimore Medical College.” Whether this matter has to do with a reported reduction of the course of lectures (Minutes, September 25, 1832) or with a report that the medical school had obtained an independent charter, a fact apparently not certain to the Washington College Board, is not told. The medical school became eventually part of the University of Maryland.

Among Wylie’s own graduates at Washington, two of the most distinguished were Governor Wise of Virginia in 1825 and William Holmes McGuffey in 1826. The former, the Southern student from Accomac County, Virginia, married Anne Jennings, daughter of Obadiah (after they had removed to Nashville, Tennessee, where Jennings was Andrew Jackson’s pastor). This girl, like Mrs. Andrew Wylie, was destined to live her comparatively short married life far from her father’s house, during the threatening of a war more terrible than the colleges had ever dreamed, and to make a home that is still held in reverence. Wise was governor of Virginia in the stormy period immediately before the War Between the States and fought throughout the war as a Confederate general.

An interesting sidelight on Andrew Wylie, as he was remembered by his students, is given in Hambledon’s Biographical Sketch of Henry Wise, written thirty years later: “Dr. Andrew Wylie was the president, and the head and front of the institution. It is said that he was a gentleman, a philosopher, a linguist and a metaphysician; a blue-stocking who loved gallantry and high game in his pupils. He was also a cavalier who loved virtue for virtue’s sake, and his fellow creatures for their own sake.”

McGuffey was probably the greatest man that either of the colleges ever produced, separately or together, and perhaps the greatest single influence on education in American history. His mother was a devout member of James Bryce’s church at Claysville; he received his first impressions of religion through her, and later through James Hughes (both Bryce and Hughes were members of McMillan’s second set of ministers) and through Thomas Edgar Hughes, brother of James and also a former stu-
dent at Canonsburg Academy, at this time headmaster of the "Old Stone Academy" at Greersburg (now Darlington). Tradition tells us that one of these brothers, probably Thomas Edgar Hughes, when riding through the forest near the present town of Claysville, heard a woman praying that her son, William McGuffey, might somehow obtain an education and become a useful servant of God. The minister returned to the cottage from which he had heard the voice and offered to set lessons for the boy. And so, eventually, when his father could spare him from farm work, McGuffey went to the school at Greersburg and lived in the home of the headmaster. At Washington College he lived for a while in the home of its president, Andrew Wylie, who became his close friend. It is said that Wylie lived, at least during part of his term, at what we now call Tylerdale, three miles from the College building, just beyond the recent home of a collateral relative, Mr. James B. Wylie, and that he walked back and forth these six miles, summer and winter, often accompanied by his student, McGuffey. While an undergraduate McGuffey copied out on brown paper the whole of the Principles of Hebrew Grammar, a manuscript now in the College Collections. He went on to teach languages in Miami and Woodward Colleges, was president of Cincinnati University and of Ohio University at Athens, and at last, for twenty-eight years, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia. He died in 1873 at the age of seventy-three.

Living in Charlottesville during the Civil War and Reconstruction period, a Northern man and a nonslaveowner, McGuffey nevertheless shared the hardships of the Southern community with which he had thrown in his lot. He is claimed as "the father of public school education in Virginia," for he traveled through the state with his friend Dr. John B. Minor, founder of the Virginia law school, trying to standardize the rural schools, an ideal in which he followed Thomas Jefferson. He was a friend of the negro people, and when he died his funeral procession was followed by the negro population of Charlottesville, who sang the songs of Zion at his grave, standing beside the learned and loving faculty of the university.
The great achievement of McGuffey was, of course, textbooks which influenced the reading knowledge, and to a great extent the minds, ideals, and characters of American children from 1836 for more than half a century. A vast number of American children read the McGuffey Readers from the First to the Sixth, and learned many things useful and moral as they read. The Readers included the best in literature available. Often they were the only books besides the Bible carried in the covered wagons, across the United States, through the years of the great western expansion. McGuffey was indifferent to money, considering his salary at Charlottesville ample, even affluent; and was always glad that children with small means could buy his books, remembering the kindness shown to him by a public school superintendent in his early days of teaching in Ohio, and by Thomas Hughes and Andrew Wylie. It is said that he received only $1,000 for the thousands of textbooks that were sold, according to the original contract made when he began to write them for his own children; whereas if he had received one cent for every book sold, his estate would have netted one-third of a million dollars.50

And now the College faced difficult times again; for when Obadiah Jennings left the church at Washington for Nashville in 1828, Andrew Wylie made ready to leave also. If the church members had united then and called him as pastor, he probably would have remained and redoubled his efforts. But they did not, and he realized that he would never be the one for whom town and gown would unite. There had been too much writing of letters, too much publishing of political opinions, and too much discussion, all fundamentally based on what one faction of citizens believed to have been the unjust treatment of Wylie’s predecessor, Matthew Brown. Dr. Brownson, writing thirty years later, says that the embarrassments that stood in Wylie’s way were such as “probably no talent, wisdom or energy could have wholly overcome.”51 He became more and more unhappy. McGuffey urged him to follow the Miami trail, as he had done. He wrote in reply, in November, 1827: “I hate all half-way things. Half poetry, half prose, half lady, half dowdy; half horse, half
alligator,—so, as I have been tried with the half civilized kind of folks, till I am sick of them, possibly I shall either go east or west, to get into the region of entire civilization or entire savagism." By the end of 1828 there was no other professor, for Wylie had generously recommended his second in command to a position at Miami, in spite of the fact that he would have liked to take him with him to his next charge. This was John W. Scott (Washington, 1823), already one of the outstanding men in the distinguished group of Wylie's graduates; he had taken a graduate year at Yale and returned to Washington to succeed Professor John Reed as professor of mathematics, a subject which included natural philosophy and sometimes a number of other related courses; in the ninety-two years of his life he was to become one of the great teachers that Washington College produced. Now, foreseeing that the tension here would end in reorganization, Scott resigned three weeks after the president, and followed the well-worn road to Miami—after McGuffey—and after James Hughes, its first president. The Board of Trustees expressed to Wylie their "deep sense of his assiduity, fidelity, and ability with which he had presided over the institution; their regret at the circumstances which made it his duty to dissolve the connection between him and them; the esteem and affection of the Board, entertained for him personally; and their cordial wishes for his happiness and prosperity in whatever situation it might please an overruling Providence to place him." He resigned in December, 1828.

Once more the Wylies left a home and college to which they had come with high hopes—and great gifts; they went to a new field which proved to be the best of life for them: the new University of Indiana, and, in the course of time, the Episcopal Church.

Washington now faced a situation of loss not unlike that which Jefferson had faced in 1817. But Washington had no John McMillan to step into the breach; it had no Craig Ritchie to uphold the courage of the trustees. The Church was empty; the College was empty. The entire town felt the depression; real estate values
diminished. It must have seemed almost like a lost town, with few opportunities for its youth: like Hamlin, when all the children marched away; like our own wartime towns when the young soldiers marched away.

Of course the Scotch-Irish did not give up. The Church and College had the grace to rescind their ruling, adverse to one man's occupying both positions, and asked Matthew Brown to return to take charge of both once more. But they could not recall the past. Matthew Brown was in the midst of his prosperous work at Jefferson; he probably felt, too, that disagreement might break out again if he returned.

The College trustees then called Dr. John Stockton (Jefferson, 1820), the minister at Cross Creek, a successor of Joseph Smith, probably a relative of Joseph Stockton, who had taught at both Jefferson and Pittsburgh Academies. John Stockton was beginning his fifty years as pastor at Cross Creek, to be followed by five years as pastor emeritus. He also refused. Next they called Abraham Anderson (Jefferson, 1817) from the South. He had taught at Jefferson and in the future was to do so again, while the "Seceders' Seminary," of which also he was a graduate, was meeting in the Jefferson College rooms. He too refused. No one wanted to inherit the feud involving pastors within the town, within the dominant church, and within the College.

And then, for a period of about eighteen months, the trustees had almost to close the College doors. John Anderson at Buffalo, who had been president of the Board for twenty-one years, had resigned at the same time as Wylie. He was sixty and had led an exhausting life. Besides he was taking over from McMillan many students in theology. Alexander Reed was elected president of the Board and held on, during the five years of crisis.

Meanwhile there were students who had lingered—loyal and hoping for a continuance of the College as soon as it might be possible. Only one year, 1830, was without its senior class. The little group of seven who were getting ready to graduate in 1829 had no Commencement but they all received diplomas. The class of 1831, after the reorganization, produced three graduates. But
by that time the tide had turned. The Church also continued in its period of difficulty incidental to the loss of Obadiah Jennings. Through the temporary summer ministry of a young nephew of his, Samuel Carnahan Jennings, a revival began there and gradually a clearer air spread through the local thinking, and the trustees gathered new life.

In the spring of 1830, faced by students still waiting in the hope of future classes, the Board elected some active new members: John K. Wilson (one of the commissioners in 1836 for the Washington and Pittsburgh Railroad), who was to serve for twenty-three years; and two who were to serve as long as they could: William Baird, the lawyer, a graduate of the first class of 1808 (son of Dr. Absalom and father of General Absalom), who served until his death four years later; and Francis Julius LeMoyne (class of 1815), now the leading physician of the town and living in the big house on Maiden Street his father had built in 1811. Here was a born leader and a generous giver.

Viewed from today's perspective, and considering the unsettled conditions of the new country, the disturbance appears insignificant though dramatic. Now, it falls back into place among the crises that one expects in the development of any institution. The important fact is that two colleges had been chartered in the first decade of the nineteenth century in a section of the country only recently a frontier, that the colleges continued to exist separately despite limited funds, that their reputation had spread both south (from which many students came) and farther west (where graduates were already establishing a remarkable number of schools modeled after their alma maters), and that ultimately they were to join as one school and to function admirably and significantly up to the present day. In other words, they were institutions of higher learning established early and they were to last long; they were to influence their communities and they were to be affected by regional problems; they were a part of the awareness of the local leaders who were often national leaders as well, and they trained an impressive number of young men who became leaders in their turn.
Washington College

The National Pike

Several times in the story of Washington College we have mentioned the influence of the National Pike on the town and on the college, and just as it seemed necessary to interrupt the story of the Washington Academy to show the effect of the Whiskey Rebellion on education and on social life in the community, now it seems right to discuss in detail the National Pike and its influence on the social life in the town of Washington and on the academic life within the college walls.

A government supported road to the West is said to have been approved by men of every political expression: by Washington, the federalist, Gallatin, the moderate, Jefferson, the republican. Washington knew firsthand from his early explorations and his later visits the difficulty of reaching even the near West. Gallatin, had found his way from Europe to his home, “Friendship Hill,” just below Little Washington, and from there traveled forth constantly to perform his duties in national and international affairs. He had proposed a government supported road even during his first term of a few months in Congress. Thomas Jefferson, both the advisor and advisee of Gallatin, was from the first of his political career the champion of agricultural peoples and Western settlers when their interests needed defense against the Eastern shipping and manufacturing interests. There was admittedly a paradox in the position of a states’-rights man urging a national road rather than either a private or a state road, but the republican stand emphasized the obligation of the central government to its units as well as the maximum independence of the units. Thomas Jefferson strongly urged the passage of an act in 1806 providing for the construction of a road “from Cumberland, Maryland, to the State of Ohio” and subsequently decided with a committee that the road should go through Little Washington and Wheeling rather than through Pittsburgh, a decision which the appeals of some of the men associated with Washington College helped to bring out.

Local interests made strange bedfellows, and eventually John C. Calhoun, the South Carolina statesman, and Henry Clay, the
outstanding Westerner, came to be a familiar sight at the inns of Washington. Clay became the close friend of Thomas McKeen Thompson McKennan, a graduate of the College in 1810, and a trustee, 1818-1852. Clay stopped frequently to visit McKennan on his way between the capital in Washington, D. C. and his Kentucky home. 57

Calhoun and Clay supported jointly a bill for setting aside a $1,500,000 bonus from the federal bank for internal improvements on roads and canals needed to bind firmly the West to the East. Madison, who agreed on the wisdom of the bill, vetoed it because he did not believe that the Constitution would allow for such expenditures without the addition of an amendment. In the meantime, several states, New York and Pennsylvania among them, continued to build canals and roads at their own sizable expense, and the policy of federal help on such enterprises gathered strong congressional support.

Monroe, in a famous statement of 1822, helped to clear up the constitutional problem by distinguishing between the legality both of government appropriations for "internal improvements" and federal cooperation with the states on such projects, and the danger of granting federal jurisdiction solely. Within these limitations, the National Road was extended through and beyond Washington when Monroe was president of the country and when Andrew Wylie was president of Washington College and no successor had as yet been appointed to his recently vacated office at Jefferson College.

Among the visitors in Andrew Wylie's time were at least four famous men whom the students flocked to see and hear. President James Monroe, on September 4, 1817, 58 was welcomed by the young President Wylie of Washington College with dignity and pageantry—an example of Wylie's gift for drama and his interest in the larger world of affairs. Monroe was returning to the national capital from a three months' tour of eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, the New England states, New York, and the section as far west as Michigan and Ohio, where he observed the boundaries of the nation with an eye to reinforcing points of
fortification. His trip was a reflection of threats of British invasion following the War of 1812 and a foreshadowing of the famous Doctrine of 1823 which bears his name. It is interesting to know that he visited Pittsburgh and the neighborhood. Western Pennsylvania was no longer an uncouth frontier.

Several thousand people stood about the streets in Little Washington to see the tall southern president of the United States, a graduate of William and Mary College, a veteran of the Revolution, neighbor of George Washington and of Thomas Jefferson, whose home was on the next mountaintop outside Charlottesville, Virginia. He was fifty-nine years old, tall and stooping, his face deeply lined—a contrast to the twenty-eight-year-old sturdy Wylie. He found "Dave Morris’s Inn, later the Globe Hotel, comfortable in contrast to a succession of forests, wilderness, and Indian settlements between Detroit and the settled parts of the State of Ohio"; and he heard from Andrew Wylie words as easy and as eloquent as he had heard from any official welcomers along the Eastern coast.

In behalf of the trustees, faculty, and students of Washington College, Wylie greeted the president and referred specifically to his school and his section:

As friends of literature and mental refinement, which require for their successful cultivation a state of concord where all the charities of nature, unembittered by party rancor, have free scope for exercise, we cannot but notice, with peculiar satisfaction, every influence calculated to produce such a state. An influence of that happy character we recognize in that liberal policy which dictated, and which everywhere attends, your journey through the different sections of the United States . . . allaying the jealousies of party, and increasing the action of those moral ties which, still more than those of interest, are requisite to bind together this confederated republic.

We are especially sensible of the honor you have done us by visiting this western region, which is but just commencing its ascent in the scale of improvement. Those institutions which are calculated to accelerate this ascent are but in their infancy: yet we believe your Excellency will view them with some degree of interest, especially such as have for their object the cultivation of the mind, since this is
the source to which all those improvements which render a people
great, respectable, or happy, must be referred.\textsuperscript{60}

In reply, Monroe expressed satisfaction with the "prosperity,"
the "patriotism," and "harmony" which he had met everywhere
in his journey, praised Wylie's speech as the sincere and "just
expression of your esteem for our happy Constitution, which
secures to us our civil and religious rights, and is so well cal-
culated to answer every object of the social compact," and spoke
directly to the question of education:

In providing for the prosperity and happiness of a country, a careful
attention to literary institutions and the education of youth ought
ever to occupy a high place. To the youth we must look with an eye
of deep interest—they are the hope of our country—and I cannot omit
mentioning the peculiar gratification I have received from observing
the growth of literary institutions, and the attention which is paid to
the instruction of youth, and which is certainly the best and most
permanent basis on which our privileges, civil and religious, can be
founded.

Wylie's students, who were no doubt in the assemblage that
greeted the president, fulfilled remarkably the hope expressed
by Monroe, for at Washington at the time were future ministers,
lawyers, physicians, a future governor of several states, and a
future attorney general of the nation.\textsuperscript{61}

The reception of Monroe was of course an official occasion,
but the students who lived at the taverns, or even now and then
visited them, received an education in American history and
culture more alive and vigorous than that contained within the
boards of a textbook. A Jackson biographer\textsuperscript{62} reports a meeting
of Wylie with Andrew Jackson in the spring of 1825 at Bryce-
land's Tavern, which had been erected on the main street of
Washington just seven years before. Jackson was en route to
Kentucky from the capital where he had participated in the
inauguration of John Quincy Adams. Reputedly Adams had
defeated Jackson only after getting the support of Henry Clay
with the promise, at Clay's request, of the appointment to secre-
tary of state. Wylie, admittedly a Jackson supporter, as so many
people west of the mountains were, is said to have had the following exchange with the future president within earshot of the surrounding crowd, including to be sure some curious students:

WYLIE: You return, General Jackson, from a boisterous campaign . . . It is more honorable to lose than to win if indeed things were managed as has been reported.

JACKSON: Who can doubt it?

WYLIE: (lamenting that "such men as Adams and Henry Clay would in the face of the nation engage in such a transaction," yet qualifying his condemnation with the thought that "the talents and prominence of Clay [are] sufficient to justify the appointment"): There is, however, another circumstance which, if true, will settle that point: the proposition that is said to have been made to you. Is that a fact?

JACKSON: Yes, sir, such a proposition was made. I said to the bearer: "Go tell Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams that if I go to that chair, I go with clean hands." 63

John Quincy Adams was a visitor in 1843, fourteen years after he had been president of the United States, when the Rev. David McConaughy was president at Washington College. In 1840 the college students could have seen General Zachary Taylor, nine years before he was elected president; in 1841, William Henry Harrison on the way to the United States capitol of Washington for his few months in office before he died; and in 1845, James K. Polk on the way to serve a full term as Chief Executive. And besides the presidential visitors there were statesmen who, though they failed in their aspirations for the presidency, were successful in the number and significance of their contributions to the government, such as Clay himself and Daniel Webster. There were generals who, unlike Taylor and Harrison, continued as military men, such as Winfield Scott and Benjamin Butler. The Marquis de Lafayette, recalling an earlier period of already romanticized history, received the most magnificent welcome of all in 1825 when twenty thousand people reportedly gathered to get a look at him and his son George Washington de Lafayette. And there were even outstanding figures of defeat:
Banners in the Wilderness

Black Hawk, the Indian Chief being led east as if in a triumphal procession, was allowed to rest at the Globe Inn in 1833, and General Santa Ana, on the way to the capital to negotiate in one of the series of steps leading to the Mexican War ending so catastrophically for him, stopped overnight in 1837.64

These are merely a few of the recorded names of individual celebrities; but the wagon trains of persons unrecorded as individuals who endured the struggle in the expansion of the nation must have become as vivid a part of the recollections of the Washington students as any planned or chance sight of persons already well known for one reason or another. Too, they must have recalled to persons still living their own journeys across the mountains when no developed road was accessible—or the journeys which their fathers had described.

The National Pike provided exciting surroundings for the Washington students, it helped to spread the name of the College even when it did not bring it new students, and ironically it perhaps made even more valid the claim of the Jefferson College Board that Washington was too busy a place to be the ideal seat for an institution of learning.65

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Little Washington, which had once been practically on the edge of a wild frontier, was now, as well as a political center of some importance, a seat of culture and learning.

David Elliott 1830-1831

But matters with the College were still strained and difficult. In the meantime, and as if at once, Wylie had left; John Anderson, the aging president of the Board, had resigned; Obadiah Jennings had given up his pastorate at the First Church. The town would lose its school officially, if determined steps were not taken: the crisis, of necessity, somehow led to renewed strength.

In 1829, the Presbyterian congregation of Washington called to its pastorate David Elliott, Matthew Brown's early protege who had been connected with the school in its first days before he went on to study at Dickinson College. The Board rescinded
its separation of the position of local minister and local educator and asked that Elliott accept the college position, too. He agreed to do so only on a temporary basis at a salary of $400 a year, until the College was again secure—but a temporary president was better than none at all. Elliott was well liked at Washington and remembered later as the grandfather of John Livingstone Lowes, for many, many years a distinguished professor of English literature at Harvard, and the beloved W. and J. librarian, Dr. Fanny Elliott Lowes.

Alexander Reed had taken over the job of heading the Board and reorganizing it. In the last year of Wylie's term, four new Board members had been added: the Rev. John Stockton, who had been offered the presidency and refused; "Dr. J. Breckinridge," probably the brother of Jefferson's later president; Andrew Wylie's older brother, William, who had once served on the Jefferson Board; and Reed himself. In the interim of non-operation, Reed strengthened the group.

With these men supporting him, Elliott traveled to Harrisburg for financial aid from the State, he hired a faculty, he expanded the curriculum, he built up, to train teachers and business personnel, a well-defined "English (non-classical) department" and made John L. Gow its principal. He accomplished the remarkable job of increasing the student body from twenty in his first term to almost one hundred and twenty in his third. One feels that somehow the people of Washington were working away their factional sins, for a revival of religion in the First Church and a united effort behind education certainly occurred within the short period of one year.

David McConaughy 1831-1849

With the College in operation after an interval of eighteen months, President Elliott recommended that the school be handed over to the administration of a man willing to devote full time to it. He recommended his friend, the Rev. David McConaughy, a Dickinson graduate of 1795 and at the time of his nomination the pastor of a church in Gettysburg, Pennsyl-
Banners in the Wilderness

McConaughy at first hesitated at the offer of $700 a year, but when the salary was raised to $800, he accepted the position and entered upon his duties, early in 1832.

Washington's president had hardly the energy of Brown nearby at Canonsburg. According to David Elliott, he admittedly "may have lacked some of the qualities desirable in a president," such as "direct personal activity abroad and tactical skill in meeting sudden emergencies connected with the governing of a college." But according to Elliott, too, and to many persons who worked with him and studied under him, McConaughy was a careful scholar, a conscientious educator, a sympathetic advisor of students, a public figure above factional disputes and contests for power, precisely what Washington needed to follow its years of conflict and what any college needs to remain essentially an institution of learning.

McConaughy added new professors immediately: John Holmes Agnew to teach languages in 1831 and 1832, Robert Fulton in 1832; Joseph Ritner, Jr., of West Point to teach civil engineering and French in 1832; William K. McDonald to teach belles-lettres in 1833; Richard Henry Lee to teach languages in 1833 and then belles-lettres and political science.

McConaughy urged the construction of a new building, and immediately received the support of the trustees and the general college patrons: by 1834, the building later known as Old Main was begun, with the plan for an assembly hall and classrooms. The town cooperated by arranging for the vacating of Cherry Alley, a small street in front of the site, thereby allowing an approach to the new construction along a campus walk. By 1836, the handsome three-story building, colonial in style, was ready for use at Commencement. The number of graduates increased from three when McConaughy first came to the College to over fifty in the year of his resignation. In all, three hundred and eighty-eight alumni left Washington under McConaughy, not so great a number as in the same years at Jefferson, to be sure, but an impressive number when one recalls that there was no class at all so recently as 1830.
President Andrew Wylie, Jefferson, 1812-1816; Washington, 1817-1828
President David Elliott
Washington, 1830-1831

President James I. Brownson
Washington, 1852-1853

President James Clark
Washington, 1850-1852

President John W. Scott
Washington, 1852-1865
McConaughy, then, kept the College in students, and he saw that they were educated according to his concepts. Still, David Elliott and the other trustees had their practical problems. The system of selling scholarships, in which Washington became even more enmeshed than Jefferson, obviously created rather than solved difficulties. In every direction funds were sought: professors on vacation were urged to solicit contributions of funds and books for the College, a European agent was appointed with authority to solicit funds abroad, the State land was put up for sale, and new land was requested from the legislature. In 1835, for example, a committee announced that it had obtained "at Pittsburgh, Brownsville, and Uniontown contributions to the amount of about six hundred dollars in money, iron, nails, stoves, etc. etc." Any and everything by way of aid seemed welcome.

Union with Jefferson came up again. In 1843, the Washington Board responded favorably to a suggestion of the Jefferson Board that committees from each institution meet regularly to confer "on such subjects as may be interesting to both." In the same year such groups did meet to discuss the matter of raising tuition, and in the next year both agreed on a price of $15.00 per month. In September, 1847, a standing committee was appointed to confer with Jefferson representatives on the union of the colleges as "of great interest and importance: to the Literary public." Nothing seems to have come about immediately, but in these years relations between Washington and Jefferson trustees were very friendly. In 1847, for instance, Alexander Brown, Jefferson's newly appointed president, was granted an honorary degree by Washington, as if to indicate that the college war was well over and that the unpleasantness concerning Matthew Brown was totally forgotten.

An incident recorded in the Board minutes of November 23, 1846, warranted only a few lines of notice, but it pointed directly to the larger social issue that was to affect the welfare of both schools in a little over a decade. Dr. LeMoyne reported for the committee "to communicate with Prof. Lee in relation to the sale of certain slaves" and indicated that Professor Lee had failed
to provide some requested documents. Mr. Ewing of the same committee said that the documents had been received. When the papers furnished by Mr. Lee had been read, Mr. McKennan moved "that it is inexpedient to prosecute the inquiry any further, unless specific charges against Mr. Lee be made; and that the Committee be discharged."

Professor Lee, a young scholar of the long distinguished Virginia family, had been brought to Washington in 1833 as professor of ancient languages. In 1837 he was appointed professor of belles-lettres, and he continued in this position until 1854, when he was sixty. He was a popular and highly respected teacher; and an item in a Pittsburgh paper in 1853 rejoiced that he would continue to teach for another year, adding that "the broad land does not contain a more perfect gentleman than Richard Henry Lee, Esquire, professor of Belles Lettres." 81 The Washington Examiner announced an address by Professor Lee to the Washington and Union Literary Societies, followed by a presentation to him of "a Beautiful and elegant set of Silver Plate, consisting of a Pitcher, Goblet and Cup" from "the students and alumni of the college and a large number of citizens." 82

The incident of 1846 had evidently to do with the sale of a slave apparently held by Lee as a family retainer in accordance with the practice that still existed in his native Virginia, but strongly disapproved of by men of strong abolitionist sympathies such as Dr. LeMoyne. Reputedly, Lee did not approve the institution of slavery: he had by choice come north to school at Dickinson, and he chose to live in Washington from the year of his retirement until his death in 1865. That the members of the Washington Board took it upon themselves to investigate Professor Lee's reported slave sales emphasizes the difference in climate there from Jefferson, which particularly at this time made a strong appeal to a Southern clientele.

James Clark 1850-1852

When Dr. McConaughy resigned from his position at the age of eighty-two, he was succeeded by the Rev. James Clark, a forty-
two-year-old preacher and scholar, educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at the famous universities of Germany. Speaking upon the occasion of his inauguration in September, 1850, Dr. Clark referred easily and familiarly to Locke and Berkeley, to Kant and Fichte and Schilling and Hegel; then in more specific recognition of local traditions, to Washington; and finally to "the Great Teacher" whom "the learners of old" had recognized and lived with. In his first official words he combined the traditions of learning and devotion which the college had proclaimed from its beginning.

When he felt that this tradition was perhaps to be changed if the trustees fulfilled their talk of putting the College officially under the supervision of the Wheeling Synod, Clark resigned. He seems to have felt that if the College were to make a totally new start in organization and eventually in academic emphasis, it was better that it have a new president.

He had served for less than two years with apparent attachments to Washington's classical purpose and with an eye, too, on the changing needs of the times. He merged, for example, the English or nonclassical department of the College with the preparatory department, in effect changing the character of the latter, which had been primarily concerned with the training of public schoolteachers.

To the very end of his service, the trustees were full of praise for Clark as a person and as an educator, but they as well as he knew the direction in which the college was to be allowed to go and knew, too, the wisdom of his resignation.

James I. Brownson, Pro Tempora, 1852-1853

The financial situation was becoming more and more difficult. In the emergency Dr. James I. Brownson, consented to act as president, July, 1852, and continued in that position until September, 1853. He had graduated from Washington College in 1836, and from the Western Theological Seminary in 1840. He was minister of the First Presbyterian Church for fifty years, before and after his term as acting head of the College. During
all these years he was a close neighbor and advisor of the College, again acting as president in the emergency of 1870. He seems never to have been discouraged. He lived through the age of Jackson and the Civil War and the Reconstruction, all the way to Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. By 1899 he represented the end of an era, just as in 1852, with the synodical connection, he represented the beginning of one. We think of him as pictured at his fiftieth anniversary at the church, an old man with a long white beard, surrounded by parishioners in the quaint, dark costumes of the 1890's. We should think of him, too, as the boy who laughed—and was fined for laughing—in his undergraduate literary society, and as the friend across the street who was always ready to help the College. He was in fact a devoted friend of Presidents Hays and Moffatt, of W. and J., as he had been of two Washington College presidents, David Elliott, his father's friend who had baptised him in infancy, the pastor of his boyhood in Mercersburg, and David McConaughy, under whom he himself had graduated. There are people still living in Washington who knew and loved James Brownson well.

His first term as acting president he described as difficult, but "far more satisfactory than he expected." Let him tell it in his own words, as he told it to the members of the class of 1852, at their Quarter-Century Reunion:

You remember the suddenness and embarrassments of my call to the headship of the faculty. I never sought the position for myself. The vacancy occurred in the midst of a session. The institution had not for some time been sailing over a smooth sea. My hesitation in yielding to the unanimous urgency of the trustees had three very distinct reasons. One was an honest doubt of my ability to reduce the troubled elements to order. Another grew out of the labor and responsibility of a very important pastoral charge. But most serious of all was my comparative youth, joined with the appalling fact that, as a student, I had sat at the feet of nearly all the members of the faculty, and was in years the junior of every one of them. To become the executive officer of the college in these circumstances, however it might appear to others, seemed to myself almost preposterous. On the other side, the
straightened and critical state of the college appealed strongly. Nor was I quite able to resist the urgency of many friends among the trustees, in whose wisdom I had full confidence, such as Messrs. T.M.T. McKennan, George Baird, John H. Ewing, Robert R. Reed, John L. Gow, A. W. Acheson, enforced by the judgment of my lifelong counsellor and friend, the venerable Dr. Elliott, president of the board. I accepted the position only upon the express condition of release as soon as a permanent president could be secured. . . . Meanwhile, the plan of connection with the Synod of Wheeling was established, which extended from the commencement of 1853 until the union of the colleges in 1865. Under the nomination of the Reverend G. Comingo and myself, the Reverend John W. Scott, D.D., became the president under that plan, and continued such until its close. I then devoted, with delight, my whole time to the calling of my heart—the office of pastor.

Entertaining stories are told of Dr. Brownson’s first recitations, for which we cannot stop; also in regard to his appointment of the young valedictorian of the class of 1852, only six months out of college, to the chair of Latin and Greek for the summer session of 1853, in the emergency caused by the death of Professor Nicholas Murray. This young man was Samuel Jennings Wilson, who in a later emergency at the resignation of President Edwards, shared a year of interim, as acting president (each for six months) with Dr. Brownson. These emergencies were met every time with self-sacrifice, by Elliott, Brownson, and Wilson; and they carried Washington College, many times, over its most difficult periods.

In the end, as Dr. Brownson, twenty-five years later, told the members of the class he had graduated in 1852, he “found himself unable to remember one disagreeable incident . . . whether in the classroom or out of it,” and summarized his connection with the students: “Nor is there one member of your class . . . that I have not habitually followed with the thoughts of a friend.”

John W. Scott 1852-1865

During the terms of both Clark and Brownson, the trustees were considering the advisability of a connection with the Wheeling Synod. This step was taken officially in November of 1852
and carried over until the union in 1865. This was the only period when either college was connected officially with a church denomination. One thinks immediately of the Jefferson answer two years later to the Pittsburgh Synod's proposal of church control in Canonsburg and tends to conclude that the arguments against such an arrangement were as applicable to Washington as they were to Jefferson two years later. The Washington trustees had prepared themselves to take the step gradually of making their college officially denominational. In September, 1850, for example, they had been moved to resolve that direct religious instruction was an essential part of the education offered by the college. Still, the fact that within the year a committee was appointed to reopen the issue of union with Jefferson suggests that the thought of church connection was more a matter of expediency than of actual conviction.

Brownson, later writing about the period of Synod supervision, was certainly defensive against any charge of sectarianism; he wrote with implicit apology:

The arrangement was indeed denominational, in the sense of a more positive religious influence, coupled with systematic study of the Bible, and, in the case of Presbyterian students, a like study of the standards of the church. But from this last course all who so preferred were excused, and beyond this also the largest liberty and exemption from sectarian influences known in the other colleges was allowed. Justice to truth demands the statement that, under the lead of a very efficient president and the instruction of a faculty of more than usual ability, the twelve years of this arrangement were not surpassed by any like period in thorough scholarship, and that, too, without the disadvantages of denominationalism, which so many feared.

The president whom Brownson praised for carrying Washington through the dangers of ecclesiastical control without succumbing to the predictable sectarianism was the Rev. John W. Scott, head of the college from September, 1852, until the union with Jefferson in March, 1865. Scott had all of the traditional qualifications for heading a Western Pennsylvania college; he was a graduate of Jefferson in 1827, he had taught at Jefferson
for three years after his graduation, he attended the Princeton
Theological Seminary, he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister
and served his apprenticeship with congregations in Ohio and
(West) Virginia, he was principal of academies at Steubenville
and Wheeling. He was well known in the section as both edu-
cator and minister when the Synod called him to the presidency
of Washington in his forty-sixth year. He seemed to accept and to
approve the Synod’s plans for supporting and supervising the
College, for his inaugural address was an exposition of the synodi-
cal principle of endowment and of requisites of a “proper college”
within the concept of his church.\textsuperscript{90}

The Synod plan had been set forth clearly in a communication
to the Washington Board in the fall of 1852.\textsuperscript{91} The Synod requested
the right to nominate the members of the faculty and of the Board
of Trustees, “as vacancies might occur”; for the present, all mem-
ers of the faculty and Board were to resign within the year,
except for a small designated group.\textsuperscript{92} It was expected that
the faculty heads and most of the trustees would be named again—and
this turned out to be true.\textsuperscript{93} The Synod was to have general su-
 pervision of the College through the visiting committees and by
action on the annual report of the trustees. It was obligated to
keep the College in operation by the annual interest accruing
from an endowment of $60,000, to be created by the sale of
scholarships and by other contributions at its disposal. These
funds were to be raised and handled by a Board of Trust, to be
elected by the Synod and responsible to it. The College property
was to remain in the hands of the trustees, and the Synod pledged
itself not to involve the property, or the trustees, in debt. The
scholarship plan offered “tuition for one student, during the en-
tire course, including the preparatory studies” for $50, “tuition
of all his sons without further charge in the College proper, or
. . . those of any family he may designate” for $100, and “a per-
petual scholarship,” transferable by will, for $200. The plan was
adopted by a vote of twelve to four.

With the plan for creating an endowment dependent on the
sale of scholarships, it is immediately apparent that the Synod
would inevitably fail in the College's financial operation, the
very task in which the trustees felt that it needed help. Ad-
mittedly, the Board of Trust worked hard to sell the subscrip-
tions, for at President Scott's inauguration Dr. Elliott was able
to announce that the goal of a sixty-thousand-dollar endowment
had already been passed. Of course his reference was to amount
subscribed, not paid, and there must have been the usual shrink-
age in the subscription list. Apparently, however, the committee
received a considerable sum in the first drive, for it soon an-
nounced a second drive of similar objective. Still, endowment
raised primarily through scholarships meant that the College
income would remain primarily the interest on the capital if the
majority of its students in the future should be scholarship re-
cipients. The chief complication of the system, of course, was
that the cost of living increased, and the cost of educating a stu-
dent similarly increased, leaving the original sum prescribed for
his education markedly inadequate.

Later, President Scott was to refer to the hard times that had
hit the nation and the very region. And the College itself was to
become a glaring example of a sectional depression. By 1861,
the Board was conspicuously fearful about the College funds: it
argued with the Synod about the appointment of a full professor
of mathematics as "altogether inexpedient, on account of our
financial difficulties," and it had to express to Professor Alrich,
just retired, its regret at the "inability to now discharge their
liability" to him. The minutes covering the twelve years of
Scott's presidency under eccelesiastical control are full of grow-
ing anxieties over finances.

The assurance of Brownson that the Synod did not in effect
destroy the College's purpose of secular learning is typical of the
kind of protesting descriptions that one finds of Washington's
last years as a separate institution. The Washington Weekly
Review of November 25, 1852, in an announcement that the local
college had come "under the fostering care of the Synod of
Wheeling," expressed hope that the new plan would raise the
standard of education and make for a more decided religious
Courtesy of Alderman Library, University of Virginia

William H. McGuffey (Washington, 1826)

Francis J. LeMoyne (Washington, 1815)
T. M. T. McKennan (Washington, 1810)

Boyd Crumrine (Jefferson, 1860),
Washington County lawyer

James G. Blaine (Washington, 1847),
Secretary of State under Presidents
Chester A. Arthur and Benjamin Harrison
Washington Medical University, 1827-1832

Whereas Albertus G. Jamison, M.D., W. S. Sleming, M.D., W. W. Hands, M.D., J. H. Miller, M.D., and S. Beale, members of the Medical faculty of the State of Maryland and practitioners of medicine in the city of Baltimore, have associated for the purpose of establishing in the said city a medical school in which it is proper that full courses of lectures shall be given in all the departments of medical science usually taught in Medical schools, and whereas the members of said association have made a proposal for an arrangement with the Board whereby the degree of Doctor of Medicine may be conferred on such medical students as may be deemed worthy of such distinction:

Therefore resolved, that the Board expressing full confidence in the professional qualifications and moral integrity of the members of the said association, will confer the title of Doctor of Medicine on all such gentlemen as the said members of the said association, or their successors, after thorough examination may recommend.
City of Washington, circa 1854

Courtesy of George Washington Hotel
influence, "not narrow and sectarian but broad, evangelical and liberal." Although, it continued, "the Presbyterian Church had a history in connection with the management of education, to which, with no shame, we may appeal as the index of spirit and action," still it hoped further that "no student shall be refused admittance on account of his sentiments in matters of religion," excepting of course "the profligate, vicious or profane, the atheist or infidel." There is no indication that the College under the Synod denied the provision of the 1806 charter that no "person, either as principal, professor or pupil, be refused admittance for his conscientious persuasion in matters of religion"; "though the public press did not hesitate to suggest a breach of legality of the original charter in putting the management of the institution under a single denomination. Undoubtedly, the impressive response of the Jefferson trustees in 1854 to the Pittsburgh Synod's proposal of a connection was a conscious criticism of the step which Washington had taken without changing its state charter.

Students during the period of synodical supervision were said, as a matter of fact, to be more dissatisfied with the College program and more inimical to the faculty than at any time in Washington's preceding years. In 1862, after a decade of service, President Scott's annual report to the Board mentioned first that "the moral and religious condition of the institution has been encouraging though there has been nothing of special interest during the year" and then that "About the middle of this Season there was an outbreak of disorder of unusual character in which some of the College property was injured," with the result of several suspensions of students. At the end of his communication he mentioned that if there were more students assured for the following year, he would suggest a remedy for the "eclectic manner of attending church which had become customary among our students." In the next year, the concern about the general student irreligiosity came from the Synod itself with a reminder to the faculty "of the great importance to the students in our College, of their being collected for public worship at least once each Lord's day" and a recommendation that the faculty insure
“services statedly during term time in the College Chapel conducted by one of their number.” As to actual religious instruction, there were compulsory classes in the Bible twice a week for every student and a regular course in “Doctrinal Standards of the Presbyterian Church” required of all Presbyterians but optional for the few students who adhered to other churches.

The financial problem of the College probably was in part the fault of the Synod, and the restlessness of the students was partly rebellion against the increased religious emphasis in the curriculum and in the general college atmosphere. But in the last analysis both were more significantly related to the complexities of the prewar years and to the Civil War itself.

Scott was inaugurated in 1853, a year that might be described as a kind of lull before the storm, which those with any political and economic insight must have anticipated despite the optimistic talk in some sections of local prosperity and national expansion. California had recently been admitted to the Union on its own terms as a free state (the frontier had crossed the continent in the three-quarters of a century in which the two colleges developed). In return, to satisfy the South, the Compromise of 1850 was passed, offering a more stringent Fugitive Slave Law. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster still held the national legislators in a precarious balance of power, and the union of the nation was still unquestioned as law. The first American world’s fair was made ready at the Crystal Palace in New York, as if to proclaim the industrial progress of the North on the eve of its open conflict with the South; and the New York Clearing House was established to facilitate the banking of Northern financiers. The nation’s President was Franklin Pierce, a Democrat from New Hampshire who had just defeated General Winfield Scott and the Whigs. Not for another year was the Kansas-Nebraska Act to be passed, or the Republican Party formed, or John Brown captured at Harper’s Ferry. But despite the existence of technical peace at the moment, the antagonisms to be involved in the war were felt and expressed. Uncle Tom’s Cabin, for example, was published as early as 1850, and the entire decade was to be charac-
terized by the taking of public stands on slavery and abolition, states' rights and federal power.

Dr. Scott himself was interested in politics, and as the war years approached, his addresses to the students were more and more concerned with the state of the nation, especially with the evils resulting from slavery and from the theory of states' sovereignty. He seems to have seen, more clearly than many of the speakers and writers of the Civil War period on either side, that the basic cause leading to the war was the belief that the national government was only a confederacy among coequal states. His baccalaureate sermon to the class of 1862 was an analysis of this theme, developing into an invective against the Confederacy, against Southern orators in general, and especially against John C. Calhoun for combining the doctrine of states' rights with the slavery question in order to inflame the Southern states. "The South," he said, "has been united in its reception and the results are now upon us... The Demon of Slavery is the Master Demon... saying to the Demon of Logic, 'Go' and he goeth, and to the Demon of Rhetoric, 'Come' and he cometh, and to the eloquent orator, 'Do this' and he doeth it." Of the thirty young graduates sitting before him, one third were soon to be in the United States army.

Dr. Scott's strong abolitionist stand, which he did not hesitate to proclaim on a variety of public occasions, brought him considerable criticism from certain of the townspeople. Pennsylvania was not a slave state, and slavery had never been a local problem in Washington County. In the first place, slavery was not suited to the soil or to the type of farming in Western Pennsylvania, and even a limited, domestic slavery was not characteristic of the independent, pioneer civilization. Slavery would have been discouraged in any case by the act for its gradual abolishment passed by the State of Pennsylvania in 1780. However, with the proximity to the Virginia boundary, not finally marked out until 1785, there was confusion in legal titles to property of all kinds, and further acts of "explanation and amendment" were passed in 1782 and 1788 with regard to gradual abolition in Washington
and Westmoreland Counties. Owners were required to register slaves at the local courthouse. A registry for Washington County, from 1782 to 1845, contains two hundred and thirty-two entries of slave ownership, with the names of many early settlers connected with both colleges included. But by 1840, only sixty-four slaves remained in all of Pennsylvania, and only thirty-one of these in the West. Even so, the people of Washington were divided on the matter of the right of persons in other states to possess slaves. More immediately, Washington was in a border region, and many of the attitudes of nearby Virginia were not questioned. Furthermore, Washington County had been traditionally the home of states'-righters since the days of the Whiskey Rebellion; Jefferson and Jackson had been its symbolic heroes; and the recently formed Democrats became its predominant party. Scott was right that the tying up of the slavery problem with the states' sovereignty issue simply obscured both questions; still the political connection had been realized.

On the other hand, also by reason of the County's proximity to Virginia, several routes of the Underground Railway for fugitive slaves cut across Washington County, primarily along unfrequented ridges and valleys. Many respected men in the vicinity favored emancipation and helped the slaves in their escape. The complexity of feelings in the region is emphasized by the fact that some of the very benefactors of the fugitives were officially Democrats, members of the party that supposedly favored slavery. Again like Scott, they felt that slavery was a moral question entirely separate from the political question of the federation and its parts. But to the faction of party-line Democrats who did not make the distinction, President Scott and his abolitionist friends were highly censurable.

Even after the war had been going on for some three years and many of the young men of the town had fought and died in it, the Washington Examiner editorialized, in September of 1864: Washington College is now a political school, where students are taught to regard Adams and Jefferson as "virulent infidels," and the Constitution of the United States as a "Christless and Godless instru-
ment." So they were characterized by Rev. John W. Scott, D.D., in his Baccalaureate sermon one year ago, on the Sabbath day. We understand that his late sermon, on a similar occasion, at variance with his usual custom, was unadulterated with Abolitionism. So much is certainly commendable but it would have been piling it on rather thick to have heaped a political Baccalaureate on the shamefully partisan conduct emphasized during the past month in college affairs.\(^{110}\)

The conduct referred to was reputed discrimination in favor of “Abolition students” and the barring of Democratic speakers. The rival *Tribune* offered an editorial in defense of Scott and the College,\(^ {111}\) but the *Examiner* refused to let up in their attack. “The character of a man may be inferred from the dog he keeps,” wrote the editors. “A selfish, coarse-grained, sluggish-minded man, with a heart fitted for tyranny and unmoved by suffering is followed... by a coarse, thick-headed, heavy-jawed... bulldog... leprous, spiritless and lazy. In such state of degeneracy we find Dr. Scott's dog.”\(^ {112}\) In reply to the charge that they resented chiefly having been suspended from Washington College six years before, the editors, one Adam Ecker and one D. F. Patterson, went on to point out that the suspension had been changed to “honorable dismissal,” that after all they were thankful for the suspension in that “it enabled us to receive a diploma from an institution of merit (Bethany), instead of a one-horse college whose diploma is of little worth to any person.” Their charge that Washington was simply an “Abolition institution,” they declared “unrefuted and incapable of refutation.”

This civil war of words was to be sure hardly the most immediate and practical way in which the catastrophic struggle affected the Synodical college and its neighboring institution. Within the four years of the war, the cost of living in America increased at least twofold and perhaps three. The cheap scholarships which both schools had sold were unrelated to any reality of expenses, and as in all times of spiraling costs, the static endowment of the institutions could pay for less and less.

In 1865, Washington had besides its buildings an endowment of $42,689.33, fortunately invested in government bonds which
were profitable as a result of the increasingly high premium "realized upon gold as compared with the value of currency."  
Jefferson had its plant and an endowment of $56,099.39, "fastened for a long term of years in a loan with interest at six per cent."  
And at the same time, with recently improved methods of transportation, the Eastern colleges were suddenly more accessible and provided a new and greater competition. It is not surprising that the Synod was willing to have the question of union with Jefferson reopened, even at the possibility of giving up its control of Washington. Nor is it surprising that the Jefferson trustees suddenly seemed more interested in trying to bring about union with Washington.
CHAPTER VI

Washington and Jefferson College
The Union
1865-1869-1871

MANY forces contributed to the union of the two colleges. Probably no one of these could have brought it about alone; together they won a logical and final consensus. Public opinion and the trend of the times, the rise of the county seat, the social changes incidental to the Civil War, and financial necessity were irresistible.

As we have read in earlier chapters, union had been considered repeatedly during the first half-century of the colleges. It was mentioned in 1807, as early as one year after Washington College received its charter and only five years after Jefferson received its charter. It was especially the center of concern from 1815 to 1817, when the presidents of the two schools dramatically exchanged positions. It was approached tentatively at least twice in the 1840's. The Washington trustees brought it up again in 1852 in their desperate search for a solution to their problems before they turned to the Synod of Wheeling.

By 1865 the public was losing patience with the attempt to finance two colleges so near together, so alike in purpose, both so worthy and so in need of funds. Any differences between the two, to outside observers appeared smaller than they did to those directly concerned with one college or the other. With better roads and better modes of transportation the distance between Canonsburg and Washington seemed much less than it had when
the schools were founded. The classical education emphasized in the early schools had come to be less often selected as industrial civilization progressed. And certainly in Western Pennsylvania much besides the training of ministers was demanded of a college if it was to get public support. Coal and iron and steel were growing, as were also specialized education and vocational courses in such subjects as schoolteaching and engineering and even business. The rise of Washington as the county seat, almost phenomenal, has been discussed in the chapter on Washington College. The town had developed the habit of success and could not be disregarded as a center of business and law and politics; yet the college at its center, where most of its leading men and many national leaders had received their education, was at the danger point economically. In Canonsburg economic problems were as acute. The church was as concerned that a solution be found as were other forces in the community.

Repeatedly, the question of where to locate had been the chief hindrance to agreement on union, always interfering before further practical plans were worked out. The minutes of the Wheeling Synodical Board of Trustees, November 5, 1863, include a long resolution on the advisability of uniting Washington and Jefferson and give an impressive reason for reconsidering the step. "Whereas," state the minutes in somewhat mysterious fashion, "the Synod has been informed that an individual has offered a donation of fifty thousand dollars on condition of a Union of Washington and Jefferson Colleges, therefore resolved . . ." 

The potential benefactor, it soon turned out, was Dr. Charles Clinton Beatty, at the time head of the Young Ladies' Seminary of Steubenville and formerly pastor of both the First and Second Presbyterian Churches in Steubenville. Dr. Beatty had reason to be interested in Washington and in Jefferson, too. His distinguished ancestors had included a grandfather who had come into the early West as a chaplain in the colonial forces. His Clinton ancestors, too, had been both British and Colonial soldiers. One connection was General George Clinton, six times governor of New York and vice president of the United States under Jefferson
and Madison. Beatty was related to the Ewing and Patterson families, many members of which had attended one or other of the two institutions. Although he was born in Ohio, he had been brought up in New Jersey and he had attended Princeton under the presidency of Ashbel Green, who as we already know was acquainted with many of the early settlers of Western Pennsylvania. At Princeton Seminary, where he took his work in theology, Beatty was a classmate of John Breckinridge, whose brother Robert became the president of Jefferson. In 1823, his going to Steubenville had been urged by McMillan's early student, Elisha McCurdy, and by the Pastors Herron and Swift of Pittsburgh, both of whom later sent sons to Jefferson. His predecessor at Steubenville's First Church had been Obadiah Jennings, who left the position to return to Washington and became a loyal trustee at the College there. Beatty himself had served as moderator of the old Synod of Pittsburgh and of the very Synod of Wheeling which was supersizing education at Washington College. His older and beloved half sister was the second wife of Matthew Brown (during Brown's presidency of Jefferson). The trustees who kept and directed the Washington College funds, had their chief office in Steubenville, and Dr. Beatty must have been well acquainted with the members. Dr. Beatty had a remarkable business sense, and he accumulated an impressive fortune for his time and profession. Because of his many ties to Washington and to Jefferson, it was natural that he chose them to be among the recipients of his charity.

But even with his encouraging gift, union did not come easily. That union was highly advisable no one disagreed, neither those who were a part of the academic construction of the two colleges nor the public. But the machinery of union, particularly the choice of a single site, was a matter about which agreement had consistently been impossible for more than half a century, and which has been discussed in the chapters about the colleges.

Canonsburg argued that even though Washington Academy had been chartered first, Canonsburg had been so successful that John McMillan, despairing of the support of Washington citi-
zens, had given his life to promoting the school in Canonsburg. They pointed out, too, that Jefferson had been chartered a college four years before Washington and that certainly Canonsburg was a better location for a college than the county seat where the interests were more commercial than cultural. Those who supported Washington as the site used the same set of facts but with different conclusions. They pointed to the subscriptions and state appropriations they had received. And they claimed that being the county seat was good, and that the National Pike running through Washington west made the town more easily reached by students nearby and by students from the South or the West.

But just as the unwillingness of either group to yield location was persistent, so too was the determination of clear thinking people in both communities that the two colleges should be one. With great parliamentary politeness, covering emotions easily understandable even ninety years later, the argument went on. With each conference, and there were many, formal and informal, the trustees of both colleges clung more strongly to sentiment. Finally, when action by the trustees seemed impossible, and nearly a year after the Synod had given hint of Dr. Beatty's gift, the alumni of the colleges held a joint meeting in Pittsburgh. On September 27, 1864, sixty-nine graduates from Jefferson and sixty-six from Washington met in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh with an impartial presiding officer who was not a graduate of either school. After two days of discussion they agreed unanimously to urge the trustees to unite the Colleges under the name, Washington and Jefferson College. The college was to be undenominational but Protestant and evangelical; it was to be governed by a Board of twenty-one, ten to be elected by each existing Board and one by the newly chosen twenty; the place of location was to be decided by lot—but the location not chosen was to have the preparatory department, a scientific department, and if possible an agricultural department. They hoped that money would be given by the state for the agricultural studies. And finally, spurred to action by their alumni, the two Boards of Trustees agreed to ask the state legis-
lature for a new charter. This charter was granted March 4, 1865. The charter for Washington and Jefferson reaffirmed the early purposes of the separate schools:

That the objects of said corporation shall be the cultivation and advancement of literature and science, and of morality and religion, without regard to sect or creed, by the education of youth of the male sex in classical learning, including ancient and modern languages, in mental and moral philosophy, and in the useful arts and sciences, and to promote and encourage high attainments therein, and in the learned professions...⁶

The charter suggests that several modifications were worked out during the half year following the Pittsburgh meeting. The Board of Trustees was increased to thirty-one: fifteen instead of ten from each of the towns concerned, and the benefactor, Dr. Beatty, who was immediately elected president of the new Board. This office Beatty held for twenty-one years, until his death in 1887. The president of the College, several professors, and the sophomore, junior, and senior classes were to be in Canonsburg. The vice president, some of the faculty, and the freshmen were to be at Washington. Board meetings, Commencements, and special celebrations were to be held alternately at Canonsburg and Washington. And this arrangement the trustees really hoped to make effective.⁷

In June, 1865, the salaries, which had been raised gradually in accord with the increased cost of living, were established as follows: president, $1,500; vice president, $1,200; professor of mental and moral philosophy, $1,200; the other professors, $1,000. All the faculty were given the use of college houses, free of charge. The property of Washington and Jefferson was listed, the curriculum established, steps taken to ascertain the number and character of scholarships that had been issued—and if possible to extinguish them.⁸

The faculty selected for Canonsburg to teach upper classmen were David H. Riddle, D.D., LL.D., who was president of Jefferson at the time of the union, professor of moral and mental philosophy; Samuel Jones, A.M., natural science and history;
Banners in the Wilderness

Alonzo Linn, A.M., ancient languages; Daniel Kirkwood, LL.D., mathematics and astronomy. The faculty at Washington were: James Black, D.D., vice president and professor of ancient languages; George B. Vose, A.B., mathematics and mechanics; Edsall Ferrier, A.M., English literature.

On August 1, 1865, Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, former president of Jefferson, was asked to return and head the united college. It was hoped that his experience and eminence would insure success. The local management felt that he was one of them. It is strange that they should have believed that he would come back; by this time he was the grand old man of Kentucky, older in experience and sorrow than his sixty-five years would suggest. He had been Lincoln’s friend and advisor. Only a little while before, at the Baltimore Convention where Lincoln was nominated for his second term, it was said that “friends of many years, who knew that the old patriot had a ‘rebel’ nephew and two ‘rebel’ sons whom he loved better than life, had found their eyes blurred with tears” when he spoke of his state; they could have guessed even then, five weeks before Lincoln’s death, that Robert Breckinridge would stay with Kentucky in his old age. However, he considered the invitation courteously, even stopped to visit friends in Canonsburg; but in December, 1865, he formally refused the call. Canonsburg and Washington both were disappointed.

It is strange, now, to realize the national setting of these events in the two little Pennsylvania towns: the list of the thirty trustees was published in the Washington Examiner in April of 1865, just three days before the surrender at Appomattox, and the account of the first joint meeting, only three days after the assassination of Lincoln.

But the trustees were men of steadfast purpose. Practically all of them had served as trustees for one or the other of the old colleges; it had been a long pull. They had been elected to establish this union, to them as important as the union of the states, and they were now determined that it should be. They set about at once to find someone else who could fill the new position.
The election fell to Jonathan Edwards, pastor of a church in Philadelphia.

Jonathan Edwards 1866-1869

Jonathan Edwards, D.D., LL.D. (1817-1891), the first president of Washington and Jefferson College, was a graduate of Hanover College, Indiana, a student of its theological department. He had served a number of churches as minister, had been principal of a school in Ohio and president of his Alma Mater, Hanover; he was now forty-nine years old and at the height of his ability. He was not, as has frequently been supposed in recent years, and seems to have been imagined sometimes even during his own life, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, the great New England theologian. On the contrary, there is evidence in the "Crumrine Papers," recently given to the College by President Boyd C. Patterson, that he was not so descended and that he disclaimed it. On one occasion when the students at Canonsburg had spoken of his being an aristocrat, he called the class together and told them that he supposed "no one present was more lowly born than he." At least he bore the same distinguished name and certainly was as sincere a Christian gentleman.

Few events in our college history have been more fully documented than the installation of President Edwards. Few have been fraught with as great a hazard as this experiment of union. The imposing ceremony in the College Hall at Washington took place on April 4, 1866. "The Major," Honorable John Hoge Ewing, preceded by the Washington Band, led the procession, as always; he was seventy years of age, but with twenty-one good years of life ahead of him and at this time in the midst of his fifty-six years as trustee. The parade moved to Major Ewing's house on Beau Street, where the committee received the president elect, and then along Main and Wheeling Streets back to the college. The prayer hall and center platform had been decorated with "arches, festoons, and mottoes in evergreen" by a committee of townswomen and students.

The opening prayer was offered by David Elliott, former presi-
dent of Washington College and for thirty years president of the Washington Board. He prayed for the new school, formed in part from the old one he had held together thirty-seven years before. The good Dr. Beatty made a wise and loving but firm outline of the duties and difficulties lying before the new president. And David Riddle, the last president of Jefferson College, delivered a cordial, reverent, and naturally somewhat emotional address, the welcome of a gracious and sincere man who has stepped down to give place to another. John W. Scott, the last president of Washington College, was not present.

Dr. Beatty, the new president of the United Board, described the process of the union, expressed regret at Dr. Breckinridge's refusal, and praised heartily Dr. Edwards: "a Christian gentleman, a ripe scholar, a thorough teacher, a wise and efficient executive officer." He continued with the wish that "under the blessing of heaven" Dr. Edwards would "build up a college for this section of our land such as is Yale or Princeton to its circle of influence." There were seven discourses of welcome, interspersed with music, before the new president, sworn in by Judge James Patterson Sterrett (Jefferson, 1845), president judge of the fifth judicial district of Pennsylvania, was ready to embark on the inaugural address. Dr. Edwards left few appropriate fields uncovered: he spoke on religious colleges; of the Reformation; of America; of Oxford and Cambridge; of Bologna with its 13,000 students; of "the church the mother of us all"; and he said he favored a "polytechnic course." The audience recognized that this was a gentleman speaking, a good and learned man. But he could not know all the problems and difficulties that were to confront him. In three years he was gone.

There was no railroad between Canonsburg and Washington until 1871. We must believe that President Edwards made the frequent journey by horse and buggy, or possibly by stagecoach. It is supposed that he lived in the comparatively new residence which had been built for Dr. Breckinridge. All of the Browns and Riddles seem to have lived in turn in the original "Matthew Brown house" across the old Pittsburgh Road from the main
building of Jefferson College. We may be sure he journeyed, as he performed all his duties, conscientiously. But he had inherited the old rivalries and financial difficulties. We have a glimpse of some of his difficulties in a letter from which we are permitted to quote, written to President Hutchison of W. and J. on March 19, 1934, by President Edwards' son, the late Dr. Charles Edwards, from Ben Avon, Pennsylvania.

The college then was full of Civil War veterans, generally more mature than many students today. And their military experiences would fill many volumes. President Moffatt was, I believe, a student of that time, (1869); and one of the students, an excellent swordsman, told him of an encounter with a group of Confederates, when he put them all out of combat with his sword....

My father told the trustees that they had estranged the alumni of both institutions by their merger, and they expected him to win back the field for them. I thought there was some confirmation for his ideas, possibly twenty-five years afterwards, at a reunion of Jefferson alumni as I saw the emotion of Dr. Matthew Riddle, and heard a blind judge exclaim, tearfully, "O Jefferson, if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning! ..."

We lived in Canonsburg, and my father made regular trips to Washington, when traveling was not so convenient as now. When finally all the college classes were transferred to Washington, my father resigned and again became a pastor. Our piano was moved in the old-fashioned way, by twenty men. One man declared, "I will do this for Jefferson, but not for Washington!"[12]

The plan of union seemed to be the best that could be devised at the time. Complete union was gradual, and meantime various efforts were made. We have a reference, as of January 30, 1867: "A meeting of the alumni of Washington and Jefferson College, resident in Philadelphia, was held in the West Arch Street Presbyterian Church, that city, to aid in the proposed increase of the endowment fund of this institution. Rev. George Junkin, D.D. (Jefferson, 1813, first president of Lafayette College), was appointed chairman. Rev. Dr. Edwards, president of the United Colleges, made an interesting address. Liberal contributions were made to the fund."
Quoting from the historical sketch given at the Centennial in 1902 by Dr. Samuel Black McCormick (W. and J., 1880, at that time president of Coe College, Iowa, and later Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh):

Very soon it became clear that the difficulties were insurmountable. The number of students, larger at first because of the enthusiasm and because young men were returning from the war, began to decline. Gifts did not come. Complaints began to be made at the slow progress, and in 1867 a financial agent was appointed to gather endowment. Three months' trial showed the lack of public confidence and the impossibility of arousing any interest in the financial work.

The alumni of both colleges had been merged into one association at a joint meeting on August 7, 1866, and at this time they had resolved to raise $50,000 towards an endowment fund; this, regrettably, they did not succeed in doing. A year later, at a convention held at Kittanning on October 21, 1867, they "expressed such dissatisfaction with the results of the union that the Board was constrained to pass a resolution to the effect that the plan of union which had been adopted was the best possible method of meeting the situation and that the results justified its wisdom."

It was obvious, however, that the experiment was already a failure. Alienation, jealousy, and even distrust continued to grow. No money came in from the state for the "agricultural department" at Washington. This project lapsed. By the plan of union, "at least one-third of the income" was to be expended on the departments at Washington, presumably two-thirds at Canonsburg. There was not enough for either.

In April, 1868, President Edwards, in his report to the Board, declared that it was impossible to get endowment or to carry out any effective plans unless there was a radical change—and in this opinion the Board concurred. A special committee was appointed to devise a proper remedy for existing defects of organization. On August 5, 1868, the separate alumni of Jefferson College met at Canonsburg and urged immediate and complete consolidation, pledging allegiance regardless of location. The joint alumni,
meeting in Pittsburgh, also urged consolidation, pledging themselves to stand by the college wherever it should be located, but expressing the desire that it be kept in Washington County. A committee previously appointed by the Board recommended consolidation, too, and proposed that the location be determined, if possible, by the trustees themselves.

On January 19, 1869, the trustees agreed upon the form of a bill to be presented to the Legislature, drawn up by Judge Sterrett of Jefferson and recommending a modification of the charter for consolidation. This amendment was voted on affirmatively by the trustees, both before and after the legislature passed the resolution of February 26, 1869.18

The college was now to be located at one place, whether Canonsburg, Washington, or "some other place within this Commonwealth." If the trustees did not determine the location within sixty days after the passage of the bill, the governor of Pennsylvania was to appoint a commission to do so. The property not used was to be placed in the hands of seven local trustees, to be used as "an academy, normal school or other institution of a lower grade than a college." (The Jefferson College buildings were eventually used for this purpose.) Kittanning, Pittsburgh, Uniontown, Wooster, and Steubenville indicated their desire for the new college,19 but the location was finally limited to either Canonsburg or Washington. Canonsburg offered a subscription of $16,000; Washington, of $50,000.20 And, as the old graduates sometimes say, "Washington was the county seat. It had the lawyers." On April 20, 1869, twenty-seven of the thirty-one trustees met in Pittsburgh and on the eighth ballot Washington finally received the vote with two-thirds majority.

The endowment fund of the consolidated college21 at the time consisted of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson College Fund</td>
<td>$56,099.29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington College Fund</td>
<td>42,698.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Beatty's donation</td>
<td>50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington citizens' subsciptions</td>
<td>50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$198,797.62</strong></td>
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Returning now to Dr. S. B. McCormick's historical résumé in regard to the location at Washington—for he was the chosen historian at the Centennial and his account is as succinct and accurate as any to be found:

This result was necessarily an intense disappointment to Canonsburg, and the Jefferson Alumni. . . . The bitter feeling of regret at Canonsburg, and among the Jefferson alumni, over the loss of the college, only a little assuaged by the provision at once made for establishing an academy in the college buildings, speaks eloquently for the loyalty of that community and of the alumni to their college, and even forbids condemnation of utterances and actions which for some time hindered the progress of the new college.

To read a graphic expression of the students' excited bitterness in those days, let us turn to a satire, called *The Bogus Tract,* a student publication of Jefferson College.

*The Last Resort, by the Class of 1868, Canonsburg, February 22, 1868*

The contemplation of this theme will inevitably involve the mind in a hopeless dilemma:—pity or contempt. To the more imaginative, perhaps a wedding is suggested. A wedding it is, verily. The bride, Washington, crabbed, rickety with years, a decrepit, niggardly old hack, racked with all the piteous pains of physical and moral gout. Behold the scene! They fall into each other's arms, the air grows thick and tough with odors of undying love, while angels weep and grinning devils laugh aloud. But what a wretched farce! Married for money, & both poor as black starvation.

Thus after all these years of courting, this driveling spawn, this united college, is all the product of the marriage, this bibbering corporation, existing on the unsalability of its property, this maudlin academy in the mud, absolutely too worthless to die, these crazy sheds, at once a whitened sepulchre of what might have been a giant institution, & the hovel of the present idiotic pigmy; a movement of misery, emblematic alike of abused advantages, the bright success of the highest hopes & dreams and aims of dotards.

To a scholar and gentleman all these things must have been discouraging. At any rate President Edwards resigned April 20,
1869, the very day and just before the final vote was taken. He accepted a call to the Second Presbyterian Church at Baltimore, where Dr. Breckinridge had been a pastor and from which W. and J.'s next president was to come.

_Pro Tempora_

_Samuel Wilson, 1869; James I. Brownson, 1870_

Samuel Jennings Wilson (Washington, 1852) came from the Western Theological Seminary to be President _pro tem_. He had taught at Washington under Brownson. He filled the office for four months, and his personality was an asset for loyalty. In June the Board reorganized the courses, establishing seven distinct professorships, and fixed the date September 22, 1869, for opening the fall term.

However, further legal difficulties emerged. The former trustees of Jefferson and some of the citizens of Canonsburg, dissatisfied and believing that the act of consolidation was unconstitutional and illegal, sued for an injunction from the Circuit Court and carried it in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Canonsburg now believed that Jefferson's original charter of 1802 did not authorize a repeal or alteration; that the Act of 1869 contradicted the Act of 1865, and did violence to prior contracts. Washington maintained that the Act of 1869 (for consolidation) supplemented the Act of 1865; and that Jefferson College in Canonsburg had surrendered its corporate franchises and therefore had ceased to exist; that the power to alter its charter belonged to the legislature of the state under which it had been incorporated. The Supreme Court of the state, on January 3, 1870, sustained Washington's position and the bill was dismissed.

But further litigation was in store. An appeal was taken from the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to the Supreme Court of the United States by some of the citizens of Canonsburg. This appeal was allowed, because it involved the constitutionality of a state law. And so, W. and J. continued—in suspense and in faith—for almost two years more, from January, 1870, to December, 1871. The decision of the Pennsylvania court
was sustained and the litigation at last ended. The College was free to mend its discords as best it could and to proceed with constructive work.

Meanwhile, James I. Brownson, former president, pro tem, of Washington College, the perennial friend of the best interests of the school, had filled the emergency with a calmness as remarkable as his courage. While the injunction was making many feel that it was inexpedient to elect a president or to proceed with college classes, Dr. Brownson, who had been serving as vice president of W. and J. since September, 1869, now acted as president, from his election in October, 1869, all during that difficult college year, until August 3, 1870.

Only ten students graduated in 1870, seven in the academic department and three in the scientific department, which was now developing beside the classical curriculum in spite of the disorder caused by litigation and suspense. This was the smallest class at either college since 1832; but it produced three ministers, four lawyers, two teachers, and one farmer (the son of Dr. John Eagleson of Buffalo, who had been a member of the Washington Board). It also gave an honorary Bachelor of Arts degree to Marcus Acheson, son of Judge Alexander Acheson (Washington, 1827); he had studied with his father, practiced in Washington and Pittsburgh, and married a daughter of Professor John L. Gow. The old families were not easily discouraged.

Dr. Brownson actually had associated with him at this period four full professors: Alonzo Linn, Samuel Jones (both formerly of Jefferson), Rev. Henry Woods (Washington, 1857, who had married a daughter of Major Ewing), George B. Vose, and J. S. Simonton. The Literary Societies were consolidated at this time, too, as described in the next chapter, another step towards acceptance of union. A committee on buildings and improvements proceeded with its plans. Meanwhile, academies in both cities continued as preparatory schools.

George P. Hays 1870-1881

We can hardly leave the story of the union at this tumultuous
moment of history without foretelling that the work did proceed; that a new president was elected and came to serve, a year and a half before the litigation ended. The College had not been held together, with so much work and faith, in vain. It was now actually to make a new beginning.

On August 3, 1870, the Rev. George Price Hays was elected and the next month began his term of eleven years. He was a wise choice for the unification of sentiments in the vicinity. He had grown up in Canonsburg, and he had studied at Jefferson College under Presidents Brown and Alden. After his graduation in 1857, he had spent two years at the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh training for the ministry. He had experience as a clergyman, a businessman, and an educational administrator. From 1861 to 1868, including the entire period of the Civil War, he had been pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, where Breckinridge had served years before and ex-President Edwards was to succeed him. From 1868 to 1870, he had been fiscal agent for Western University in Ohio. He knew the implications of the local situation, for he had acted on alumni committees for union. He had accomplished a remarkable lot for a young man only thirty-two years old, and he was conspicuously willing to face the challenge of a complex situation.

The students had scattered to other colleges; only seventy-five were left at Washington. People had become too skeptical of the final outcome to give, and it was a time of national as well as local stringency. Part of President Hays' time was necessarily given to financial effort.

When President Hays resigned in 1881 "for reasons of health," the united college had attained security and a certainty of direction. The student body had increased from around seventy-five, just before Hays came, to one hundred and eighty-five when he left. Indicative of the climate of the times was the extension of the scientific department to a regular four-year college course; although the fact that one hundred and fifty-seven of the graduates under Hays received the A.B. degree and only twenty the B. S. emphasizes that Washington and Jefferson Col-
Banners in the Wilderness

lege was continuing in the classical tradition in which the separate schools had been founded. The endowment was considerably increased, the surest sign of a change in public attitude toward the single school: Dr. Beatty gave $25,000 in 1874 to establish the Steubenville chair of Greek, Dr. LeMoyne gave $20,000 in 1872 to endow a chair of agriculture and related sciences (now the chair of biology) and $20,000 in 1879 for the chair of applied mathematics, and Dr. Hays was successful in bringing in other smaller but essential gifts. The $50,000 offered by the city of Washington had been used primarily to enlarge the College Hall (Old Main), and other valuable additions were made to the instructional equipment of the school. The faculty, which had been reorganized in 1869 to include seven separate professorships, was increased in accordance with the new endowments. Even if there were many questions with which the Washington and Jefferson Board could be concerned, uncertainty of survival was not one of them, as some of the members might have feared in 1870.

Interlude

Meanwhile, before we close this chapter on the difficult process of union it would seem appropriate to rehearse one or two pleasant episodes to represent the normal variations of college life, even while so much regrettable litigation was holding the center of the stage of history.

First, let us look at Canonsburg in 1867. How many astrologers, how many travelers, how many star-crossed lovers, have followed their separate stars, until, in the fullness of time, the students of that small college, meeting in its two "habitats," could look up at the same stars, in the skies above small Canonsburg, guided by their professor as yet not greatly known to fame, and still not dream that in a few short years one of the mysteries in the shining vault above them would be named for this same teacher, "one of the great astronomers of history?" This was Daniel Kirkwood, for whom the "Kirkwood Gaps" are named. He taught mathematics and astronomy to the older students at Canonsburg for a little over two years, from August 2, 1865, to December 18, 1867.
While he was there, he published his famous article which called attention to the gaps that exist in the asteroid belt. At that time (1866), only fifty asteroids had been discovered. On the basis of this number, Kirkwood stated his conclusion. To some extent he was an authority also on the "Rings of Saturn."  

Kirkwood was yet another son of the farm, and another son of an Irish immigrant father. He began teaching at the age of nineteen at a country school near York, Pennsylvania. To help an ambitious pupil, he worked his way through Bonnycastle's *Algebra*, and from that starting point pushed on into his field, teaching at various schools, including Indiana University (where Andrew Wylie's long presidency of twenty-two years had ended five years before), and then to the newly-united Washington and Jefferson. "It is not clear," Dr. Pietenpol writes, "whether Kirkwood prepared the major part of his famous book, *Meteoric Astronomy, a Treatise on Shooting Stars, Fire-balls, and Auro-" 

All this, in the sky over Canonsburg. From there Kirkwood returned to Indiana University, where he continued his research in mathematical astronomy, and came to fame. He contributed more than one hundred articles to scientific publications; in 1891 was appointed lecturer in Leland Stanford Junior University in California; and died in 1895, in that state. Here is one whose name is still widely known as an authority in his field, whose discoveries are still fundamental, who without many words, could bid our restless students of that changing era to look up, "through hope, to the stars."

Let us look now at Washington, in 1869, while the college was carrying the burden of unsettled litigation and while Dr. Brownson was carrying it, together with Dr. Beatty and the other trustees, as best they could. At the beginning of his first term as president of the United States, General Grant came to Washington as he had come before, to visit his friend and volunteer
aide-de-camp, William Wrenshall Smith (Washington, 1852). This was an old friendship dating from the most carefree days the General had ever spent. After graduating from West Point in 1843, at the age of twenty-one, he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis, where a classmate, Frederick Dent, lived on a hospitable, slave-holding Southern farm—the old idyllic life of the ante-bellum South. There was a young sister, Julia, just out of finishing school, seventeen years old, who liked to ride—Grant had been the best horseman of his time at West Point—and they cantered along the Missouri roads beside the river in the spring sunshine. The Mexican War interrupted this courtship but Grant returned after four years’ engagement to marry Julia Dent. William Smith of Washington was a young first cousin of the Dents, and a frequent visitor with the family near St. Louis. The memory of this happy period remained with Grant as the epitome of his youth. Both Frederick Dent and William Smith were his friends through life.

The Grants first visit to Washington had occurred on the occasion of Smith’s marriage to Emma Willard McKennan, daughter of the Honorable T. M. T. McKennan, when the Smiths were living at the northwest corner of Main and Beau Streets. The second visit occurred in September, two years later, when Grant’s administration was new and prosperous. They visited the Smiths at their new home, “Trinity Hall” (which was not opened as a school until ten years later). The citizens were about to dedicate their new town hall; (we call it now, “the town hall of 1869,” which was moved to its present location at the corner of West Cherry Avenue and Brownson Way, or Avenue, in 1898, to make room on its site for the fourth courthouse.) They seized the opportunity to invite the President to lay the cornerstone, and he did so on September 18, 1869, in his characteristic, undemonstrative way—in silence. This gave perfect satisfaction. His letter of acceptance had left no doubt of his interest: “It will afford me pleasure to comply with this request—enhanced pleasure—because your County and town were named in express honor of the Father of our Country, . . . whose name is revered by every Ameri-
Daniel Kirkwood, professor of mathematics and astronomy (Canonsburg), 1865-1867


Israel Pickens (Jefferson, 1802)

Henry A. Wise (Washington, 1825)
can citizen who loves his country." The accounts of the ceremony and the reception following it sound homelike and extremely pleasant. The Burgess and Dr. Creigh escorted the President to the center of the town; Major Ewing announced the program.

The visit is recorded in national history, however, because it was at this time that Grant received the famous telegram said to be from James Fisk, with whom, together with Jay Gould, the President had unfortunately become associated in business, asking him to "forbid the Secretary of the Treasury to sell gold." As the scene is described, General Grant was playing croquet with Mr. Smith and other friends; and putting the message in his pocket, continued the game (somewhat after the manner of Admiral Drake on Plymouth bowling green, when he received the news of the Spanish Armada). But pressed for a reply, he answered, "Oh, tell him all right," which message quickly delivered but misunderstood in New York City, caused the panic in Wall Street on September 24, called "Black Friday" (only six days after laying of the Washington town hall cornerstone) and inadvertently started the greatest financial depression the country had ever undergone. Grant therefore did not prolong his stay, as he had intended, for the Washington County Fair (held where the college playing field is located now) but returned at once to Washington, D.C.

The home of a Washington College graduate and loyal friend received two subsequent visits from General Grant in 1873 and 1877, when the college union, like the national union, was no longer a hope, or a theory, or a battleground, but a solid foundation for the long future ahead.

The First Hundred Years

The last year of Hays' term in office, 1881, marked one hundred years since McMillan, Dod, and Smith had brought with them into Western Pennsylvania an intense and vigorous tradition of learning and of faith. Specifically, it was the centenary of Dod's log school, where in 1781 students are known to have studied the ancient languages, read the Bible analytically and feelingly,
learned how to survey the frontier, and fought the Indians. In
this first small school are the problems of the other log schools,
of the academies, of Jefferson College, of Washington College,
and of Washington and Jefferson College.

Indian raids and the struggles for colonial empire, the Whiskey
Rebellion and the growth of a nation, the National Road and
the moving of the frontier westward, the town-gown arguments
of abolitionists and Democrats, and the Civil War—who ever
could separate the problems of Western Pennsylvania from the
problems of America? And who can separate the founding of
schools and college rivalries and the exhausting searches for
public support of education from all of these complexities? If the
story of the growth of a college were a simple story of unhindered
progress and prosperity, that college would be somehow a true
ivory tower untouched by the world to which it belongs and,
alas, out of touch with it. Whatever the development of Wash-
ington and Jefferson may suggest to those interested, it cannot
be charged with irrelevance to the significant things of its
environment.

For the further history of Washington and Jefferson College,
a new historian must be found. We have glanced at the strength
of character, at the difficulties and the human antagonisms—and
the faith with which most of them were met—during the first
hundred years.
CHAPTER VII

Extracurricular Activities

The extracurricular activities of the hundred years which are covered in this history belong to both colleges. Pre-eminent among these activities are the literary societies. They go back to the early days of the academies.

The Literary Societies

The old literary societies combined the enjoyment and benefit a modern college student derives from competitive sports and campus elections, secret rituals and social distinctions, the companionship and loyalty of friends, and the mental stimulation of student publications, writing groups, debating teams, and dramatic groups.

At Jefferson College Philo and Franklin were the oldest. Their rivalry punctuated the four undergraduate college years, and their great annual “Contest” was surpassed only, if at all, by Commencement. Even at Commencement the orations were delivered by literary society members.

Philo, the oldest, was founded at Canonsburg Academy, August 23, 1797, by a group of twelve, in the garret of the old stone building on the Pittsburgh Road. The leader was John Watson, who later was the first president of Jefferson College. Among his associates were Elisha McCurdy, Samuel Tate, James Satterfield, William McMillan (Jefferson’s fourth president), William Morehead (who little more than five years later shared with John Watson an early grave in Chartiers Cemetery), and Joseph Smith, Jr. (uncle of the historian Joseph Smith).

About three months later Franklin, too, was founded at Canonsburg, November 14, 1797, at seven o’clock on a Sunday
evening. James Carnahan, later president of Princeton, was the leader. Among his associates were Cephas Dodd, Thomas Hughes (teacher of McGuffey), and Jacob Lindley (later president of Ohio University)—all names familiar in this history.

These two societies had constitutions similar to those of the Whig and the Cliosophic at Princeton.3

Similar literary societies, Union and Washington, were founded a decade and more later, at Washington College—in 1807 and 1814 respectively—and were modeled after Philo and Franklin at Jefferson.

The founders of Union included Thomas McKennan (later United States Secretary of the Interior); and the organizer of Washington was Francis Julius LeMoyne, physician and civic leader.

These four important societies had in their membership, consistently, men who held notable and successful positions in their lives beyond academy and college days. Society objectives were similar: “to cultivate and promote science and literature with friendship and morality among members”—truly a fine objective for any college or university to hope its students would cherish. An examination of their minutes shows little difference in their character. But some say that Philo and Washington attracted the sophisticated and that Franklin and Union attracted the more devout and formal. Joseph Smith the historian emphasizes in his account of the Philos, “neatness of dress and suavity of manners.”4

Whatever the difference, and it must have been slight, they all were active in promoting intellectual activity as well as fun, and all share honors in support of the good life of their campuses and communities. At the union of the two colleges, Franklin, the so-called “Puritans of Canonsburg,” combined with Washington, known as the “brains of Washington”; and Philo, the “Cavaliers of Jefferson,” combined with Union, “the pious at Washington.”

There were two other literary societies, Jefferson at Jefferson College and Jackson at Washington, but they had short lives and were not nearly so active,5 and so at the unified Washington and
Extracurricular Activities

Jefferson there were at the time of the union two literary societies, "Philo and Union" and "Franklin and Washington." As the united college kept both names of the parent institutions, so did the unified literary societies keep both names of the parent societies.

A glance at the constitution of Philo illustrates the purpose and operation of all the societies. Article III of the Philo constitution reads:

All the duties of the members: The exercises of the society shall be Composition—speaking orations—Reading & Spelling—and Debating: For the performing of which the members shall be divided into three classes taking them in an alphabetical order.

The members of three different classes were to perform weekly in the first three activities, and four members "out of the class which reads and spells on the night of the debate" were to take part in a debate. Compositions read were to be original and should never have been previously submitted for classwork. The same qualification held for orations and for readings, except that an oration might be spoken by a member as many as "three times in society." The reading pieces were limited to five minutes, and the spelling, which was to be on the pieces read, was defined as between three and five minutes. All parts of the program were subject to the approval of the officers. Article III concluded with a definition of a less intellectual duty:

The members in rotation shall perform the services of roomkeeper, whose duty shall be to prepare the place of meeting, make the fire, furnish candles, ink, quills, paper, and perform all other services which may be implied in the nature of his service.

The first places of meeting, to be sure, probably required a firetender and a cleaning man, for according to Smith's account, they met "in the garret of the old stone edifice" and "labored under every inconvenience." "Their seats were benches; their great coats were used for window blinds (probably both for warmth and for the added drama of secrecy); and their table was but a stool." The societies at Washington, too, even a quarter
century after their founding, met in obscure third-floor rooms of the so-called "New College," in the center wing of what is now Old Main. The rooms of both were made gradually more and more comfortable and colorful. In 1831 Jefferson College provided the societies with new rooms in the new Providence Hall. The "elegant" Philos, it has been said, "spared no pains nor expense in adorning and beautifying their room—a costly outfit of chairs, desk, rich tapestry, candleabras, &c." The rival Franklin's, however pious, worked hard to match them. There is an account of the members of both societies convening with the faculty and a few honorary members "on the banks of the Chartiers" and walking in procession to music through the streets of Canonsburg and entering their respective halls for dedicatory speeches.

The Philos called their officers the Archon (the president), the Eparch ("Treasurer, Librarian and Censor"—"he shall inspect the morals, the studiousness, the conduct of the members, and watch over all the interests of the Society"), the Orthographists ("to correct and report to Society all deficiencies in the Orthography and structure of the compositions and translations—To spell the members—and see that minutes of the Society are kept correctly"), and the Clerk (secretary, teller, and the official keeper of secrets—"He shall destroy all useless papers which may lead to a disclosure of the transaction"). Less grandly, Franklin chose a "President, Vice President, Secretary, two Reviewers and two Librarians, and Readers." The equivalent of Philo's "eparch," later described as "a sort of moral censor, grand inquisitor and district attorney all in one," was Union's mysterious sounding "hyparch," with duties ranging from supervision of the cleanliness of his friends to the enforcement of secrecy and Sabbath-keeping. The constitution gave the censor in each organization legal power to question students even about their off-campus behavior: "No person who is indolent and inattentive to study, or the duties of the Academy, or is guilty of any species of immorality, such as swearing, drinking, gambling, lying, &c. shall be, or continue to be a Member." The constitution defined pro-
Extracurricular Activities

Procedure for trials of members and for fines, suspension, or expulsion. *Franklin* offered a Latin certificate to faithful members upon their completion of at first academy, then college work.\(^\text{13}\) The faculty, the administration, and the Board approved and encouraged the Societies even to the point of considering them "integral parts of the institution."\(^\text{14}\)

The literary societies met every week and attendance was good; absence was among the sins punishable by fine. Orations and debates were more popular with the students, quite naturally, than the reading of compositions and spelling bouts, and eventually they occupied the entire time of the meetings. As early as March, 1798, two *Philo* members were elected, after intramural eliminatory trials, to speak before the trustees "on the last night of the singing school,"\(^\text{15}\) and on September 5, 1799, a contest between *Philo* and *Franklin* was scheduled to be held "before the trustees."\(^\text{16}\) Programs by the literary societies at Washington were held on Washington's birthday, and contests between the societies held on both campuses around the time of Commencement were attended by the student body, the faculty, the trustees, and the general populace of the vicinity alike.

The students seemed to have worked on their speeches and debates as systematically as they worked in the preparation of any formal class assignments. They conscientiously gathered books which they might use for reference and kept them separate from the college libraries in libraries that belonged to the society. *Philo*, for example, started out with one book, a pronouncing dictionary, and by 1806, when the two Jefferson Societies had a double bookcase of which they were very proud, the one volume had increased to twenty-four. Gradually, both societies developed sizable and valuable libraries, keeping careful records of their acquisitions and establishing precise rules as to the use and circulation of their volumes.\(^\text{17}\) At the time of the union of the colleges, *Franklin* alone is said to have accumulated three thousand books (the college library had only eight thousand by comparison.) Even after the union of the colleges the societies maintained separate libraries, until 1885, when they merged their
collections with the general college library. The society libraries are an impressive indication that the Jefferson and the Washington students of the early nineteenth century could be excited about the discussion of ideas without formal curricular discipline.

Sometimes speeches and debates were humorous; they were not always academic. For instance, "A Dialogue between a Student and a Tailor," "An Essay on Kissing," "The Pleasure of Having a Clean Pocket Handkerchief" (One society member in the audience was "fined for laughing too loud" at the performance of a fellow student on this occasion). Others were more practical but still not too serious: "Is it right to inoculate for the smallpox?" (decision, "no")—"Is the farmer or student more happy?"—"Whether it is naturally immoral to have more wives than one?"—"Is it right for a student to marry while at learning?" (again, "no")—"Whether the State of Pennsylvania would be better with or without lawyers?" But as the years went on, the topics became more sophisticated and more comprehensive and both the titles and the contents that remain for record show that the students were sensitive to the world around them, regionally, nationally, and even internationally.

The contests at Jefferson as well as the programs in the membership meetings considered almost every problem the national government was to consider in the years up to the Civil War, which was to end at the same time as the formal union of the two colleges:

1804: "Should a Governor, when elected into office, under our present form of government, fill all the offices under his jurisdiction with men of the same political sentiments with himself?"

The people of Western Pennsylvania, a decade away from the Whiskey Rebellion were keenly aware of party differences. Characteristic of United States history in the years after the Hamilton-Jefferson conflict were the development of party politics and the increasing bitter struggle of the Federalists against the Republicans and then the Whigs against the
Democrats to get and maintain control in the government. The men who epitomized this struggle at one of its dramatic heights were Jackson and Clay—Jackson who visited “Little Washington” at least once in 1825 just after his defeat in the presidential campaign against John Quincy Adams, and Clay, who came through frequently on the National Pike between his home in Kentucky and the national capital in “Big Washington.” When Jackson was elected president in 1828, and again in 1832, the system of political spoils implicit in the contest question of 1804 was conspicuously in operation, rationalized by an almost frontier concept of democracy as absolute rule by the winning majority.

1802: “Whether is luxury or war most ruinous to Nations?” (and again in 1818) “Is war naturally lawful?”

Students of Jefferson and Washington or of the academies and schools which preceded them had been themselves involved in the Indian wars of colonization, the Revolutionary War of independence, and the Whiskey Rebellion. Students were keenly aware of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War in the 1840’s when the United States was establishing its trade rights abroad and expanding its territory at home, and they were in time involved in the War Between the States. However broad and philosophical their questions about the nature of war may have been, these questions were seeking a moral rationalization for the official acts of their government and its effect on their own careers.

1808: “Would it be policy for the Americans to join in alliance with France, should a war take place between America and Great Britain?” (This question was clearly anticipatory of the problems of 1812.)

1831: “Should a Republican government support a standing army in time of peace?” (This one as clearly pointed to the problems of expansion westward and the ultimate Mexican conflict.)

1805: “Are the natural talents of men superior to those of women?”

1811: “Should a system of religion, which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, be tolerated by civil governments?”
Banners in the Wilderness

1812: "Should capital punishment be inflicted in a well-regulated government?" (or again, in 1834) "by civil governments?"

1829: "Should Ecclesiastics have a vote in National Councils?"

1833: "Should the power of pardoning those who commit offenses against the laws (the military excepted) exist in a republican government?"

1836: "Should the Government of the United States discourage, by powerful restrictions, immigrations from Europe—not including that of paupers?"

1839: "Should provision be made by law for the maintenance of the poor?"

1855: "Should our judicial officers be chosen by the people directly?"

These were the very questions which the young United States considered and reconsidered, defined and redefined: who should have the franchise? just what is meant by religious freedom? how can immigration be both encouraged and discouraged? how can one guarantee against corruption and unjust political favor? what is the responsibility of the state to the individual? Firsthand experiences led the students' interest to many of these problems. Neither can the students' interest in their debate topics be dismissed as merely academic.

1806: "Would it be policy in the United States immediately to emancipate their slaves?"

1820: "Suitable provision being made for the comfortable settlement of the blacks of this country in Africa, and the transporting them thither, would the Government of the United States, at any time of peace and common prosperity, be justifiable in passing a law, compelling them to colonize?"

1841: "Is our present Constitution more likely to terminate by the encroachment of the Federal Government, than by the consolidation of the powers of the States in the Federal Government?"

This particular set of questions was to affect ultimately the students of Jefferson and of Washington with more directness than any of the others debated. Interestingly enough, the town of Washington, which had so vehemently taken a stand for states' rights in the Whiskey Rebellion, expressed strong abolitionist
sympathies when the example of the states' rights was the morally implicit question of slavery. Washington College was known for its strong abolitionist feeling, and prominent men connected with the College as trustees, teachers, and alumni let their feelings be known. Jefferson on the other hand had come to attract a noticeable and comparatively well-to-do Southern clientele, perhaps in part through its name (though Thomas Jefferson, himself, disapproved of slavery). The College and those people of Canonsburg attached to the College, lamented the growing conflict on the question of states' rights and particularly on its immediate application to the right of states to decide whether or not slaves could be held within their bounds. Some historians have even gone so far as to suggest that union between Jefferson and Washington Colleges was impossible so long as Jefferson had so many fiery Southern students and Washington so many staunch Abolitionists. Certainly, by the middle of the century the Jefferson climate had somehow shown the influence of plantation manners and attitudes, and somehow, too, the climate of Washington College had become more and more Northern and Western. The greatest blow to the security of Jefferson was undoubtedly the Civil War. In the years immediately before the war began, as we have seen in the chapter on Jefferson College, the Southern students did not increase in number as anticipated, or those in attendance did not return from vacations into the section with which they were doomed to be in conflict. These were the years, too, when the development of the National Pike through Washington gave Washington College greater security. Both schools ultimately lost many students in the war itself.

The literary society records show a half century of fretting on the part of the students in both schools over the moral implications and the practical results of a truly confusing fight: those for the slavery of persons were also for the decentralization of the national government, and those for the freedom of persons favored a central government with stronger authority. No wonder the students, like their elders, debated and redebated these questions. The students tried to find out the answers to problems that
taxed the intellect of men on both sides of the issue and, whether they found the answers or not, loyally went off to fight in the war.

Other topics discussed in the societies were less controversial in a political and social sense and more in the nature of metaphysical and moral questions traditionally associated with the philosophy courses taught in the classical curriculum, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. "Can the immortality of the soul be discovered by the light of nature?"—"Are animals, inferior to man in the order of creation, possessed of immortal souls?"—"Is the Deity discoverable by the light of nature?"—"Is utility the rule of moral action?" Or a bit later, in 1832, the topic, "Does a paucity of laws, as among the American Savages, subject man to greater evils than a superabundance of laws, as among the civilized Europeans?" Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Emerson, and others of the century, through their writing brought the conflict between nature and society dramatically before the college students.

A few subjects had to do specifically with education and its methods: "Should emulation be encouraged as a stimulus in education?" or (the very first subject of the Philo-Franklin contests) "Whether the Mathematics or the Languages, Latin and Greek, be more necessary?" foreshadowing the school's later concerns over the maintenance of a truly liberal arts program. Still, most of the topics were of current political interest, even more so in the Washington than in the Jefferson societies.

The Jefferson literary societies record long lists of honorary members, teachers, trustees, clergymen, outstanding townspeople, and men of national distinction. Local persons so honored attended some of the literary society exhibitions. Members of Philo, such as the presidential aspirants John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Horace Greeley, Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren, or members of Franklin such as the historians Bancroft and Prescott, the poet Longfellow, President Buchanan, senators Stephen A. Douglas, William H. Seward, Daniel Webster, and of course Jefferson Davis, may have died without knowing that they had still another honor to list among the many of their lives.
Extracurricular Activities

The literary society records are striking evidence that the world was with the students, although not too much, for they were still able to discuss the world's problems with the combination of logic and enthusiasm and lightness that characterizes youth.

Other Discussion Groups

Other activities and organizations carried the student interest beyond the campus. Ministers, educators, businessmen from nearby and from as far away as Newark and Philadelphia spoke to the students on general college occasions or at the literary society gatherings. The Washington societies often substituted outside speakers for students. The Athaneum of Jefferson College, often called the Athenian Society, existed between 1824 and 1837 "to devise measures for procuring more extensive and accurate information of the present religious, political and scientific world" and toward this end worked to subscribe to a number of periodicals. The papers and magazines it gathered were so popular that the club maintained a librarian "from seven in the morning until dark," charged fines for the removal of magazines from the clubrooms, and at one point had to purchase a lock "to discourage stragglers and thefts." Among the periodicals it obtained were newspapers from Boston, Philadelphia, New York, New Orleans, and Charleston (South Carolina), the Niles Register, the American Quarterly Review, the New York Journal of Commerce, The Saturday Evening Post, and the Christian Advocate. Although the Athaneum was definitely a club, with formal membership including the faculty as well as students, and dues, in 1832 there was an attempt to solicit the interest of all students at fifty cents apiece, but with no success. The group ceased to function probably when the college library was able to merge the Athaneum subscriptions into the regular library periodical list.

The lyceums which are mentioned from time to time were more academic in nature. Like the departmental clubs of present-day colleges, they appealed to the students interested in a particular field of study. Jefferson College catalogues, for example,
list lyceums of natural history and natural science from 1844 until 1860, and there was a more general Washington Lyceum in the town from 1832 to 1839 attended by both faculty and students. At these meetings the members read and discussed material pertinent to their interests, whether specialized or broad. They were simply another opportunity for intellectual discourse, perhaps not so dramatic in their appeal as the literary societies, but still allowing the students to develop intellectually beyond the confines of the classroom.

**Morals and Manners**

Leading extramural occupation were the walking trips, in small friendly groups through the woods and country roads, especially from Canonsburg, and especially at the height of the revival period, to attend the "Sacraments" held in other settlements. The students derived uplift not only from the services, but also from the freedom and the walking—and the talking. Another constant activity was going to church; on Sundays the boys from Jefferson went to Chartiers Church and apparently they stayed nearly all day—for two services. Until 1822 they heard McMillan, and after that, until 1830, alternately McMillan and Matthew Brown. Then when the college church was organized at Jefferson it met in the college hall. Week-night prayer meetings were held in the hall of the *Franklin Literary Society*. Many of the students united with a church while at college, at Canonsburg and at Washington.

Little is known of the early students' clothing and housing, but we do have occasional vivid glimpses. At the beginning of Jefferson College it was ruled that students must be "plain in their dress, neat and cleanly," and within a two-mile radius of the college were to "wear a black gown, agreeable to a fashion prescribed by the faculty." There is no evidence that the students did buy or wear the black gowns, until much later in history, and then only for formal occasions like Commencement. At one early period they wore class uniforms: sack coats of flannel of various colors—green for the freshmen, blue for the sophomores,
and red for the juniors. When a fourth year was added to the college curriculum, the seniors apparently were not required to conform to any particular dress, but were permitted to wear top hats, if they desired. (In most of the old engravings, they did so desire.)

Some of the students at Canonsburg lived at first in the old stone academy building, but at both colleges boarded for the most part in private homes. The rules for housing were negative rather than positive: the rule against frequenting taverns was continually repeated. The faculty at Jefferson, in 1832, was praised by the trustees for "their efforts to suppress intemperance and disorderly public houses in this village and its vicinity."32 The trustees reprimanded students personally for their conduct, sometimes even suspended or expelled them; blamed the tavernkeepers themselves, who would "in any wise, encourage or permit any of the students attending at this college to commit any indecent excess or behave in any riotous manner," even threatening to employ the law against these innkeepers for somehow failing in their duty to keep students from indiscretions.

In 1839 the Washington Board specifically forbade students to board at taverns, except by special permission of the faculty and at the request of parent or guardian. This ruling was repeated, ten years later. In the early petition for a college from the Canonsburg trustees, they stated that students at Canonsburg would be less subjected to the temptations of the world than at Washington. No doubt the taverns were more comfortable than some of the boardinghouses, for students who could afford them. Some students in the earliest days boarded themselves or took the simplest quarters, to save expense. One student wrote home that he had "rented a room on the edge of town for 25 cents a week, paying in addition $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents for board, $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents for coal, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ cents for light;" and remarked that the winter passed happily, for he "had much time for study and no fear of hurting himself with rich diet." And we have many isolated references to students (for instance Carnahan and Obadiah Jennings) boarding in the various ministers' homes. With greater numbers, the ap-
proved boardinghouses came into existence in both cities and the trustees interested themselves in what they offered students. The 1849 Jefferson Minutes contain several items about their "dissatisfaction with the manner in which the work is done" at the current boardinghouse. These were the houses which the students called, regardless of their original name or owner, by such invented titles as Fort Job, Fort Maximus, Fort Slack, and Fort Death.

Washington's birthday was from the beginning a day for celebration at both colleges—next to Commencement the great day of the year. The students celebrated it for a hundred years. They remembered it beside the bivouacs of the Civil War. A letter from a cold army tent where a former student had been stamping to keep warm complains: "A great way to spend the Twenty-second."

In early Washington on that day, for several years, masked students on horseback clattered through the village streets, "singing and shouting, like Comanche Indians." All through the cold February afternoon the horsemen galloped, until the sun slanted red across the snow on the wide hills at the west. The horses' paces slackened; the wind died down with the sun; the scattered riders headed for home. More quietly they trailed down Gallows Hill, down Court House Hill, and in the dusk shadowy figures dismounted and knocked on friendly doors. Darkness gathered, but suddenly a flash of light would break from the oblong of an opened door; and then quickly—another—and another; the neighbors—and the neighbors' daughters—invited the riders in. They had to recognize, underneath the masks, the faces of their special friends and to welcome the student celebrants, at the end of another glorious "Twenty-second." All of this day they forgot "the calculus."

A little later in history, in Washington, the celebration of Washington's birthday took the form of a parade, led for fifty-four years by "the Major," John H. Ewing. A brass band (at least by the time of Francis Julius LeMoyne) headed the parade, as it marched down Campus Hill to College Street, up Beau Street
Minutes of the Philo Society

No. 1. Regular Session. November 31, 1797.

Officers
John Wilson

Ephrath: Caleb McCurdy

Orthographers: Samuel Hele

C.L.K. John McKinley

Proposals
Joseph A. Stockton requests admission into this Society. — John Wilson

Proposed, that the Council and Council be empowers to procure a book or books as may be found necessary for the use of the Constitutions, laws, and
Minutes also a small box for holding the papers and votes of the society. [Signature] and the
1. Administration, oldest building, 1793, used first for Washington Academy, then Washington College

2. Main, 1856, later additions and renovations — 25 classrooms, 14 faculty offices, Chapel

3. Thompson Memorial Library (Mr. W. R. Thompson), reference, reading, stacks, circulation, and valued historical collections

4. Thistle Physical Laboratory (Dr. J. L. Thistle, 1912), laboratories, lecture rooms, classrooms, Radio Station W3RK

5. McIlvaine Memorial Hall (Judge John McIlvaine, 1865), remodeled 1940 — classrooms, biology department, auditorium, Stewart Tower with carillon

6. Jesse W. Lazear Chemistry Hall, 1940 (alumni and friends), 50 rooms and laboratories

7. Gymnasium, 1893 (alumni), playing courts and swimming pool

8. Davis Memorial, remodeled Reed mansion (145 years old), 3 classrooms, 4 offices

9. Mellon Dormitory, 1918, memorial to James R. Mellon (Jefferson, 1865), music room, lounges, etc.

10. Upperclass Dormitory, 1948

11. Hays Hall, dormitory, dining room, lounge

12. Armory, R.O.T.C. activities

13. President's Home, given in memory of the Duncan family

14. Athletic Field (not shown in photo), all outdoor sports

15. First Presbyterian Church
hill, perhaps to the second courthouse, and through history to the third, and to the fourth. One wonders what it played during the War of 1812, probably Yankee Doodle, until it learned Anacreon. The band of 1814 was named “the Washington Blues” and was attached to the Tenth Regiment of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It was not called into battle, but it was very grand; every member contributed a dollar toward “the colors.” LeMoyne, commissioned an ensign, contributed three dollars.

The morning was devoted to pranks and jokes and parodies in the classrooms. The evening exercises led by the Literary Societies were held in the town hall; sometimes this was the occasion of “the Contest.” For this one event the ladies were invited, and not again, until Commencement in September. It was a long time from February until September—and then again, from September to February.

At Canonsburg, there was similar celebration of the Twenty-second. The parade somewhat later was led by Major Calloran, a Jefferson graduate and a Mexican War veteran.

Fraternities

Two of the large national fraternities were founded at Jefferson College. The first, Phi Gamma Delta, was organized in 1848, at a time when there was only one small fraternity group ahead of it, Beta Theta Pi, which had received a national charter in 1842. Phi Gamma Delta was originated by four students: Daniel Crofts, James Elliott, Ellis B. Gregg, and Samuel John McArty. The excellent History of Phi Gamma Delta, three volumes by W. F. Chamberlin, gives a picture of student life at Jefferson more than a hundred years ago; of special interest also is the description of the national home, now at Washington, D. C., which contains the mantel from the house in Canonsburg where the society was founded. Another “national memorial,” since it has been placed under the joint care of Phi Gamma Delta and Phi Kappa Psi, is the McMillan log cabin, on the lawn outside Providence Hall at Canonsburg. The “memorial gates” on Col-
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lege Street at Washington and Jefferson were completed for Phi Gamma Delta's centenary, in 1948.

The second national fraternity to be founded at Jefferson College was Phi Kappa Psi, in 1852. It was organized by two students, Charles P. T. Moore of Virginia (afterwards a student at Union College, and a judge in his native state) and William H. Leatherman (in the second generation called Letterman) of Canonsburg (Jefferson, 1853). The Phi Kappa Psi headquarters in Canonsburg was an old frame building occupied by Hugh Riddle, a restaurant keeper, on the northwest corner of Pittsburgh Road and Central Avenue, called of course "Fort Riddle"; opposite both taverns, it was a central and convenient place for eating "ice cream and tailor cake" after the meetings.

Less accessible than published fraternity histories, and sometimes more vivid, we occasionally find old magazines, in which reminiscences are given from living graduates of some forty years earlier. Such is the Shield of Phi Kappa Psi for May 31, 1895, (to be found in the Library at W. and J.), which revives the innocent mystery and excitement surrounding the early days of the Pennsylvania Alpha Chapter of Phi Kappa Psi. A certain James McPherrin, Jefferson, 1857, "son of John" (can this be a grandson of "the second set" of ministers?), writes the introduction with a note that will sound familiar to any fraternity brother, in any age or place: "Jefferson College was at its best when Phi Kappa Psi was organized, being at that time better than Princeton College."

The magazine gives delightful photographs of the early members in their maturity, all with beards or mustaches. William Letterman, the founder, for instance, has a noble face, with high forehead, level eyes, and classic nose, above the beard; the "honorable brother, Judge Moore of Virginia," has a genial face, quizzical and kind—a long beard, but not to compare with the flowing Stonewall Jackson, Jeb Stewart type, from behind which Dr. Letterman looks out upon the world. The Honorable Erastus C. Moderwell (Jefferson, 1859) tells of his first meeting after college years with Brothers Keady (the Rev. William George) and Ken-
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nedy (George H.)—at Camp Douglas in Chicago. Moderwell was in the process of becoming a major in the Union Army, Brother Keady was a Confederate prisoner. Kennedy, who had been Keady's roommate, was now a United States army captain and in command of the prison guards. The two Northern brothers consulted together, then went inside for a visit with the imprisoned third. Brother Keady, the Confederate prisoner, came back to Canonsburg to be married, in 1869, and to Washington in 1883 to receive a doctorate of divinity. Brother Samuel Calvin Tait Dodd (Jefferson, 1857), as of 1895 an attorney for the Standard Oil Company in New York City, writes in the same magazine that he “would travel far to see Brother Keady do a song and dance act, or dance the Highland Fling” once more, as in 1857. He further remarks that Dan Fisher (the Rev. Daniel Webster Fisher, also Jefferson, 1857), who by night removed grandfather Craig Ritchie's doorstep, presumably on Hallowe'en, was now president of Hanover College in Indiana, and had been the hero of a holocaust on board a cholera ship in New York harbor.

No one needs to tell a member of a fraternity anywhere in this loyal land that it is the fraternity which makes his home while in college and to which he comes back, as an alumnus. He is, for those few days, “forever young”—perhaps a brother to his own grandchild.

Phi Kappa Psi, like Phi Gamma Delta, has a national campus memorial; this is the round stone platform with marble benches on the path that leads up from College Street to Main Hall at W. and J. It was erected in 1909 and rebuilt in 1940; it has a bas-relief showing the two founders in the days of their youth, wearing academic caps and gowns and pointing into the future—a lovely symbol, although perhaps not an accurate representation of two boys in their rough-and-ready college days. Judge Moore himself, in 1894, wrote that the two young founding brothers had been “aided ... by the Almighty Archon who ruleth and governeth all things—when they bade Phi Kappa Psi launch forth on its grand career of charity and love.” The word “Archon” had a strong appeal. Thus, the Pennsylvania Alpha Chapter of Phi
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Kappa Psi, in the days before the Civil War, and in the long years afterwards.37

These excerpts must suffice for all the Pan-Hellenic brothers, expressed in some current form; his words would represent as truly all the fraternities on this campus. According to Baird's Manual, and to research by Professor Anderson of W. and J., they are as follows:38

Active Chapters:  
- Beta Theta Pi 1842
- Phi Gamma Delta 1848
- Phi Kappa Psi 1852
- Phi Kappa Sigma 1854
- Delta Tau Delta 1861
- Phi Delta Theta 1875
- Alpha Tau Omega 1882
- Kappa Sigma 1898
- Lambda Chi Alpha 1919
- Pi Lambda Phi 1948

Inactive Chapters:
- Sigma Chi 1858-'69
- Delta Kappa Epsilon 1858-'65
- Delta Upsilon 1858-'70
- Theta Delta Chi 1858-'72
- Sigma Phi Epsilon 1902-'06
- Alpha Sigma Phi 1925-'35

Other organizations were formed by the students not as inclusive as the Literary Societies, not as exclusive or "secret" as the fraternities, and usually with a religious purpose. The "Society for Religious Inquiry" (named as in many other schools and colleges but probably without any organic connection with other branches) was started at Jefferson in 1833 and at Washington in 1853, although there had been earlier groups there from about 1839 with the same purpose but under different names. This was a kind of religious literary society, at which students read their own essays or listened to the sermons of invited outside speakers.39

A Jefferson College "Bible Society,"40 founded in 1817 and
continuing until at least 1840, was formed with the purpose of distributing Bibles "to the destitute in its own vicinity," and of aiding the funds of the American Bible Society. Within a year and a half of its organization it had distributed 510 Bibles and 44 copies of the New Testament, to needy persons in the region of the school.

"The Brainerd Society" at Jefferson was convened especially for students interested in missions, but it seems to have met frequently with the Society of Religious Inquiry and to have been in effect a section of that larger organization. It was named for young David Brainerd, who had been expelled from Yale, had journeyed through the forests of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and even into Pennsylvania, to do missionary work among the Indians, and had worked himself into an early death from tuberculosis. A Brainerd Society, in whatever college it was founded, represented the wish of later students to carry on David Brainerd's work.

Later, at Canonsburg in 1865 and at Washington in 1866, the "Students' Christian Association" was gathered together as a kind of inclusive group of interested students to hear religious addresses. This organization, or others similar to it, continued for years after the union. The more comprehensive Y.M.C.A. was organized at W. and J. in 1881.

All in all, through the latter period of the life of the two separate colleges, one of the chief extracurricular activities seems to have been listening to addresses, debates, declamations, and sermons. It was a generation of indefatigable declaimers and debaters, nationally, and the colleges followed their generation. We have in the library old volumes of miscellaneous addresses—just as they came to hand—printed and bound together: inaugural speeches in schools, seminaries, colleges, and neighboring churches; anniversary and Thanksgiving Day sermons; sermons from Princeton and Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; sermons by the Hodgeses, and Melancthon Jacobus, D. D.; by William Sprague, D.D. (of Sprague's Annals); a sermon by Matthew Brown for the funeral of Alexander Reed; an address by Alexander B. Brown,
for the Amphisbeteon Literary Society in the academy at Elders-ridge; addresses by ex-President Breckinridge at Union College, New York, or at Lexington, Kentucky. Occasionally an architect or a railroad president would speak. Declamations by the students themselves, needless to say, were a feature of practically every phase of their existence. *The Washington Review and Examiner* announces six addresses, interspersed with music, a poem, and toasts by the junior class, for the celebration of Washington's birthday in 1866, in Providence Hall at Canonsburg.

One sermon which particularly impressed the students at Washington in 1864, was delivered by the Rev. W. D. Howard of Pittsburgh before the Society of Religious Inquiry: *The Domain of the Pulpit*. The world was "like a den of wild beasts," the speaker said, where the many (in particular the slaves of the South) "lay trembling at the mercy of the few." He presented an awe-inspiring future for the young men who would enter the pulpit, "in a wicked and suffering world." The students were in fact looking out in sober earnest upon a suffering world. They were coming at this time towards the end of the Civil War. The emancipation of the slaves in the South had been proclaimed as a war measure, a year and a half earlier, and the Thirteenth Amendment, forever prohibiting slavery, and all of the Reconstruction period, with its moral and social obligations, lay just ahead.

*Athletes*

Organized athletics, of course, did not exist in early days in colleges throughout the country. The histories of other colleges confirm this fact; as at Princeton, where we read of the frequent prohibition of playing ball ("having a catch") on the campus, as considered undignified for students, through all the earlier part of the period covered in this history of W. and J.

Perhaps there was more informal playing of games than we can guess from the scanty records. Any such casual games kept no "Minutes." Dr. James W. Wightman, a former president of Ogden College, Kentucky, in his history of the Jefferson Class
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of 1860, written for its fiftieth reunion in 1910, sums up the more positive, cheerful side of the situation: "We had no gymnasium in our time, more's the pity, for with proper physical training some of us might have been more 'upright' and vigorous in body, if not in mind. Our exercise was in games ('town ball' and 'alley ball' and an Americanized form of cricket) . . . footing it over the hills . . . or down by old Chartiers. . . . Our swimming pool was the spacious mill pond." The Museum at W. and J. does contain a daguerreotype of two of the "Jefferson College Cricket team," in uniforms like those used in England, together with letters, showing that they played against "The Keystone Cricket Club" in June, 1860, and against the "Waynesburg Cricket Club" in July of the same year. The trophy in each event was a new ball. This is the only reference the present chronicler has been able to find to an organized "team" of any sort. The earliest reference found for cricket, after the two colleges were united, comes in 1875.

The first primitive baseball team at W. and J. was not organized until 1867, perhaps an effort to unite the student interests and encourage the joint loyalty; perhaps just baseball beginning; or perhaps both.

The Rev. Henry Wallace, LL.D. (Jefferson, 1859), in writing the history of his class for their fiftieth reunion in 1909 says:

The mortality in the first 25 years was very great. One surprising thing noted by Mr. Moderwell, in his historical sketch of the class 25 years ago, is that 13 of the 30 classmates who began the study of theology were then dead. I quite agree with the reason he suggests: that Jefferson College was sadly lacking in all sorts of athletic sports and gymnastic exercises. Most of our class belonged to the sturdy Scotch-Irish race, deeply religious by nature, and when a young man raised in the free open air of the farm made up his mind to go to college, it was generally to enter the ministry. His deep religious convictions impelled him to study hard, and the change from the free air of the country to the confinement and lack of exercise in the study frequently laid the foundation for disease and untimely death.

A report on the Jefferson class of 1859 may satisfy the interest of any who may wonder what proportion of the entire class died
before its twenty-fifth anniversary; there were fifty-seven graduates, of whom thirty-nine were still living; eighteen had died. Messrs. Moderwell and Wallace and other alumni are altogether correct about the prevalence of tuberculosis among those who studied for the ministry and among others. But, by contrast, a number of this class who had joined the army, North and South, were still living in 1884. And more than half, twenty-nine of the fifty-seven members, were still living forty-three years after graduation, when the Catalogue of 1902 was published, including one missionary who had spent a great part of his life in India. The later catalogues do not give such complete statistics.

Romance

In order that this somewhat formidable chapter, which has concerned itself with the occupations of the students in their hours of freedom from study, may not conclude on the note of "disease and untimely death," the reader is asked to recall that in 1836 the Washington Female Seminary was established appropriately enough on Maiden Street, and flourished for more than a hundred years.

Washington has never been an unromantic town. The names of two of our streets convey a certain municipal acknowledgment of romance, Maiden and Beau. (It is a mistake to accept the prevalent supposition that Maiden Street was originally the "Belle Street," named for the beautiful second wife of Alexander Reed, a widow, Isabella Lyon Hoge Reed; some authorities say that Belle Street became West Wheeling Street, others that it became Franklin Street, named when Mrs. Reed deplored the publicity and suggested that the citizens turn to their unfailing source of wisdom, Benjamin Franklin. No one to date has been found to identify "Belle" with "Maiden." ) Certainly the young ladies' seminary may have inspired the name of Maiden Street. It was already a well-known and popular school when the dust of the old National Road, or toll road, was being reduced by the efficiency of the new "railway cars" and before the soft coal smoke. Maiden Street was therefore clean and bright and young.
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In the late spring afternoons when the red ball of the sun began to set behind the southwestern hills, then the ruffles, the flounces, the little shawls from foreign places, the lace mittens, the Milan bonnets with their flowery wreaths, perhaps also the ivory fans—certainly the schoolbooks to be carried—all these were demurely and sedately displayed, up and down the length of Maiden Street.

The College students were officially forbidden to call on the Seminary girls, unless they were relatives, or “friends of the family,” or perhaps by special permission. And yet the two great events of the year for the young men were the “Contests” and the Commencements, because then ladies were invited to attend. How then did the college students become acquainted with the young ladies? That remains a mystery. Yet they did, and at least one returning class of Washington College is known to have called upon the headmistress at its “quarter century reunion” to thank her for the pleasure that her school had added to their days in Washington.

May we not imagine the young ladies sitting on the steps of the Seminary porch, or on the gray stone steps of the LeMoyne House nearby, whence all the LeMoyne daughters came to school, settling in flocks for a summer evening, as girls will do? They will have had little mats to protect the ruffles and have emitted small girlish squeals, in process of subduing the long full skirts or the floating, billowing hoop skirts in which they approached the Civil War. And may we not also imagine groups of boys strolling down College Street, or Strawberry Lane, to serenade them—as serious history tells us the “Catfish Bards” were wont to do? We might hear them singing “Listen to the Mocking Bird,” or “Carry me back to Old Virginny,” before the boys were off to join Tecumseh Sherman or Wade Hampton at the front. And after that, the songs will have been more slim and sad, like “Tenting tonight”; perhaps just at the very beginning of the war there may have been an occasional shrill outburst of:

There are three men who are going to save us,
Beauregard, Lee and Jefferson Davis,
and at the end of the war, the dirge of "John Brown's Body."

A long time was to elapse before the dances and "proms" of today, but inwardly the idea was the same. "The Prom" is only and always La Promenade.

Two neighbors, Alexander Reed and Dr. Francis Julius LeMoyne, who had served together on the Board of Washington College through its crisis in 1828 and 1829, were largely responsible for the founding of the seminary. The "Reed House" of many years ago, built by the first Colin Reed for his New England bride, now belongs to the College and is called the "Davis Memorial." And the present building of the Washington County Historical Society on Maiden Street was Dr. LeMoyne's home, built by his father in 1811. We can visit the garden today and even some of the furnishings, in process of restoration, as the youngest of the LeMoyne daughters, Mrs. Reed, had it during her hundred and one years of life there. The seminary was housed in various buildings to the east of these two old landmarks.

Somehow the girls and boys had occasion to become acquainted, and had time to learn to be good friends; and many a maiden has looked up from her books to know that the "beau" of the college at Washington was the one with whom she would go through life—whether he was off to Ohio—or to China—or just to live on Maiden Street. It seemed to be a good arrangement. It is not necessary for anyone to show cause for having an excellent girls' school and a good college for men, in or near the same town.

There was usually a "female seminary" at Canonsburg also; not any one with so long a life; but several excellent schools in the course of history. One was opened in 1817 by Matthew Brown. Another, "Olome Institute," was opened in 1844 by Mrs. Olivia French, who continued it until 1866; the Jefferson students called the girls there "the Seminoles." Another was begun by Professor William Smith of Jefferson College, together with his daughter, in 1861. After the union with Washington, Jefferson Academy, formerly a part of Jefferson College, was opened to girls living in Canonsburg. Dr. Fanny Elliott Lowes,
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for so long the librarian at W. and J., attended this academy and made her initiatory speech on the stage of the great hall of the Franklin literary society. Many of the Jefferson College students found their mates—or met their matches—at Canonsburg, and came back as soon as possible to claim their true love. As Henry Wise in the early days of Washington came back to Anne, the daughter at the Jennings manse, on his long road to the War Between the States, so also Joseph Smith of Jefferson, 1837, to the daughter of Dr. Leatherman, on his way to almost seventy years in the ministry; so also William Alden (Jefferson, 1858) to Agnes, daughter of Dr. McClure of Canonsburg, on his way to knighthood in Italy. Beau and Maiden Streets are with us today, somewhat old and gray in parts, but we can still say that Washington—or any other college town—would not be the same without romance.

Alumni Associations

There was one other activity (also cheerful, and certainly more "collegiate" than romance) to which the students could look forward: a lifetime of service with the alumni associations, as they emerged from undergraduate life into maturity. Jefferson's College Association was formed in 1833, soon after the opening of Providence Hall, in the realization that increased facilities would mean increased responsibilities. As Jefferson in prosperity, so Washington in the reorganization due to adversity: the Washington College Alumni Association was formed in October, 1835, Dr. LeMoyne its prime mover, with the immediate objective of raising money for the new building, now Old Main. The seniors were expected to attend their first alumni meeting just as naturally as they took part in their last Literary Society meeting, as a part of the Commencement week.

It would be pleasant, if space permitted, to recapture from the old files in the Historical Collections some of the atmosphere of those early Commencement weeks. They are too many and must lie unread in the dust of history. But they are indeed characteristic. On September 27, 1841, for example, on the evening
before Commencement, the Washington alumni, including the graduating class, were addressed by a loyal and famed alumnus, at that time president of Ohio University at Athens, the Rev. William Holmes McGuffey. On September 24, 1845, the same association met. Judge T. M. T. McKennan was in the chair, thirty-five years out of college, and the Rev. William Snodgrass from the Fifteenth Street Church in New York City, thirty years out of the College and a long journey from New York, the Honorable John Hoge Ewing, thirty-one years out, and others spoke eloquently. Together, they made "plans for the advancement of the institution," which are probably alive somewhere in the college of today.

The Jefferson alumni meeting in 1845 had for speaker Dr. Robert Baird (1818), who had lived many years abroad, had married a French girl, and knew "the free countries of Europe" of which he spoke; like Dr. Snodgrass, he came all the way from New York City for this occasion. The Jefferson Commencement of 1860 was marked by a sober address by the Rev. James Junius Marks (1830), apparently the same who spoke to the literary societies the evening before. He had just returned from what he called "two healthful years" in Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey; but the burden of his talk to the forty-four seniors, whose average age was twenty, was to bid them think of this as "the day in which the toga of manhood is laid upon us, and the great and solemn future begins to creep over us, and we go forth into the darkness and the mystery." It seems strange that these older men tried so hard sometimes to frighten the boys instead of welcoming them into the adventure of life, with all its hardships. But it is encouraging that the students of that day (like Hunter Corbett and Boyd Crumrine) did not frighten easily. There is no evidence to show whether they enjoyed it thoroughly or not. Perhaps they did. This particular ceremony took up a long August morning.

The Semicentennial

The most enjoyable ceremony, of all that are recorded, was the Semicentennial of Washington College in 1856, which the
students in residence must have shared as it was convened during five days of a pleasant June. All the notables were there to speak to the whole community. For this, the committee of alumni had been preparing for a year; and its chairman, we may be sure, did not hold his position as a sinecure, for he was the Honorable John Hoge Ewing, at that time only sixty years of age. The committee “fulfilled its duties with great energy and liberality,” and the program was carried out in full. Two hundred alumni were present from Sunday morning until late Thursday night, and the “Washington Brass Band” enlivened the occasion whenever possible and seemly. This was in the early part of President Scott’s administration when hopes ran high for the Synodical connection. Two “chaste and able” sermons occupied the Sabbath. A “brilliant reception at President Scott’s hospitable mansion,” in honor of the graduating class, was held on Monday evening. A sermon to the assembled alumni, to the annual joint meeting of the two literary Societies, and to a large attentive congregation was delivered on Wednesday evening, and the alumnus who spoke was assisted by two others. Wednesday morning, Commencement day, was more like our modern class days. The nine graduates all spoke; English, Greek, and Latin Salutatories were given by eight of them and a Valedictory was delivered by John Watson Hughes. The procession had assembled at eight-thirty in the morning, headed by the Brass Band (which is always capitalized, no matter what else is not). The Alumni Association was represented by members of every class, ascending the rostrum of the college hall and greeted by “enthusiastic plaudits,” on Wednesday afternoon. This was a full day. In the evening the Washington and Union literary societies met, together with everyone else, apparently, who was able to listen to one more sermon; and at the close of the meeting the buildings were suddenly illuminated so that light streamed out like magic across the campus, much as it does today, except that in the windows of the “Great Portico” of Main Hall, the light shone through “beautiful transparencies and mottos,” such as: “Science comes from God and leads to him.” “Fireballs” were thrown by the students,
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up into the air, and a balloon "ascended until its light was lost among the stars." How nice to know that it was not raining on that June night and that the stars over Washington shone down, so that no one present would ever forget the lighted campus on Commencement night of 1856. It is a perennially beautiful thing to remember, the light searching out the graduates, all together for the last time, and thinking, as one college son expresses it, "For we have yet a little while to linger, youth, and you and I."

On Thursday—and of what a week was this the climax—came the Semicentennial itself. Time would fail us to describe the addresses of that day. No one will be surprised to read that a recent district attorney described the late Judge McKennan, as "just as Aristides"; that Dr. Brownson, "by no fault of his own," gave the Historical Address, all the way from the Ohio Company and Braddock's defeat to the Synod of Wheeling; that David Elliott's son, a physician who had studied medicine with Dr. LeMoyne and at the University of Pennsylvania, gave a delightful reminiscence filled with happy memories, which was dismayingly entitled, An Address Commemorative of Certain Deceased Alumni of Washington College, Pa.

The Semicentennial had come, but not yet gone. On Thursday evening the alumni sat down for "The Banquet," with trustees and faculty and other citizens; it was an "elegant and sumptuous repast, served in the very best style of the town and the season." The town? All who have visited Washington know its hospitality. The season? June—which must mean strawberries and all the rest. Among the "officers of the table" were the great Judge from Brownsville, Nathaniel Ewing (1812), the second-oldest living graduate; the Rev. John Stockton (1820), now in the fortieth year of his fifty years at Cross Creek; and Dr. James P. Henderson, M. D. (1825), son of the Rev. Matthew and Rebecca Patterson Henderson. There were fourteen more speeches, "toasts." Nathaniel Ewing registered his thanks to Judge Thomas McGiffin, with whom he had lived and studied forty-eight years before. The "melodious streams of music" (undoubtedly from the unwearying Brass Band) contributed to the "transports" of
the occasion. All this last celebration was held by the courtesy of the public school board in the new (first) "Union School House," completed just in time the year before, in 1855, the predecessor of "North Hall," and doubtless, from the old pictures, very much like it. By this time, the forebears, being practically out of words with which to express their emotions, wisely turned to business, and Dr. Brownson called the alumni association to order, to express their thankfulness—and their thanks to all concerned—and finally to adjourn.

The Semicentennial had come, and gone. It was, one must suppose, the greatest celebration Washington College had ever had, filled with the most innocent, pure, and untainted happiness it had ever experienced—with no foreboding of the financial and legal difficulties soon to come upon it, or of the Civil War coming to change its accustomed world—until at last time should bring it, and Jefferson, safely and together, in spite of all their problems, through another fifty years. Nor could they know that the united colleges would come rejoicing, in much the same spirit of thankfulness and guileless gaiety, to the Centennial Anniversary, in 1902.

Washington and Jefferson now has passed its Sesquicentennial as this volume goes to press, and is still contributing to scholarship and the good life, as the founders of the two little schools one hundred and fifty years ago and those who fostered their union hoped it would.
"A Fountain of Life"

I CAN think of no better way to close this informal story of the origin of Washington and Jefferson College than by quoting a few sentences from the prayer of the venerable Rev. Joseph T. Smith (Jefferson, 1837), offered at the Centennial in 1902, a prayer which seemed to send the College on its way, much as McMillan's "heaven-recorded prayer" is said continually to have re-established Jefferson College almost a hundred years before, and as David Elliott's had so often inaugurated Washington's new beginnings.

Joseph Smith was as typical a graduate of that first half century as any we could find—more typical than the average, if such an expression can be used. Modest, rather undistinguished among "great" men, but an invaluable graduate of Jefferson College and a loyal supporter of W. and J. His own life constituted a chain that carries us along through some hundred years of the College history. He was born in 1818, three years after the battle of Waterloo, and died in 1906, twelve years before the First World War. His life covered nearly all of what historians call technically the nineteenth century, 1815 to 1914. Through all its perturbations he went right on being Joseph Smith—about whom nobody made much to-do, and whom everybody loved—faithfully pursuing his calling. He had the kind of conviction and serenity that put him above the vicissitudes of this world and made people turn to him in trouble. He gave his long life in service for others and had good, happy, useful children and good, happy, useful grandchildren. He was not related to Joseph Smith, the founder, or to Joseph Smith, the historian, and as an undergraduate is said to have felt a boyish amusement and a little indignation when his contemporaries insisted that with such a name he must be a relative of the founder. Later, to avoid confusion he took the middle name of Tait, from the Greek professor, Samuel Tait, with whom he studied theology.
Smith came up to Canonsburg like any other student, from his home in Mercer County where he had gone to school at the Mercer Academy, in the spring of 1833, the same spring in which the trustees celebrated their first meeting in Providence Hall. That was the year in which McMillan died, and as he did not die until November, and was active to the end of his life, we may hope that Joseph Smith, at fifteen, saw or met John McMillan. Certainly he knew the McMillan tradition.

He married Elizabeth, a daughter of Dr. Jonathan Leatherman, and thus became a brother-in-law of Dr. Jonathan Letterman, Jr., who established the army's field hospitals in the Civil War; and he must often have gone in and out of that house where McMillan had so often visited his old friend. Since Dr. Jonathan Letterman, Jr., married a daughter of Craig Ritchie—as did also Andrew Wylie—Smith was associated with these families, too. One of his sons was the more widely known Dr. Ritchie Smith, also a Presbyterian minister. A grandson, Dr. Joseph T. Smith III, a well-known physician in Boston, still has some pieces of the massive silver service which the Army of the Potomac gave to his great-uncle, Dr. Letterman.

Smith's work was typical, too. After studying theology he became pastor for seven years of his home church; then for eleven years, of the Second Presbyterian Church in Baltimore (the church of Presidents Breckinridge, Edwards, and Hays); then professor at the Theological Seminary in Danville, Kentucky (not too far removed from the tradition which might have been Matthew Brown's, and which in general was that of President Breckinridge). The Civil War diminished this seminary almost to the vanishing point; and so Smith returned to Baltimore to another church, the Central Presbyterian, where he remained for some forty-nine years, growing more and more venerable and becoming a tradition himself. There he is remembered to this day. He was moderator of the General Assembly in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1887.

He was forty-nine years old when he came up to Washington to celebrate his thirtieth Jefferson class reunion, and to remind
his old friends "the time is short"—more than halfway through his own rugged, quiet, cheerful eighty-eight years' journey in this world. There are delightful touches of humor as well as of gentleness and sincerity in the class history he wrote for that occasion, just as there are in Dr. Samuel Jennings Wilson's, for his class at Washington. We find a similar guileless charm in the writings of these two men. Smith's little book, *Eighty Years*, a history of the Baltimore Presbytery, a good, concise narrative, has this same appeal. In his various "historical" papers that remain, he speaks of the many friends of other denominations that he made in Baltimore, of how through them he became "more broadminded" and how it was an Episcopal clergyman who first recommended him to the Second Church in Baltimore.

So when at last he came up from Baltimore to the Centennial in 1902, he was "minister emeritus" at the Central Church, after some forty years there—eighty-four years old, sixty-five out of college, the oldest graduate present, and very venerable indeed. In his own life he had known so much of the history of the two colleges and of the united college, in his own spirit he expressed so much of their spirit that his words seemed vivid with the hundred years that had passed since Jefferson College received its charter. He was accorded what was called "the high place of honor," preaching at the First Church in Washington on the opening day of the Centennial, Sunday, October 12, 1902. His text was "The glory of young men in their strength," the same text that President Riddle had used for his last Commencement address at Jefferson College, in 1865. His "bearing" impressed the alumni, as well as his words and prayers; his talk, they said, was "full of courage and hope." He walked with President Moffatt at the head of the procession on Wednesday morning, the last day of the festival, along the old road, down Wheeling Street to College Street, and up Beau Street to the nine-year-old gymnasium—all in the bright October sun. After him walked alumni from near and far; fifty-six recipients of honorary degrees—nine recipients were absent, including Hunter Corbett of China; Joseph Wilson and James Woodrow, the Episcopal Bishop of
Chicago; McLaren (Jefferson, 1851); and Bishop Greer of New York (Washington, 1862), at that time still rector of Saint Bartholomew's. Dr. Samuel Black McCormick (1880) was there, from Coe College, Iowa, later to be chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh; Dr. Ross Stevenson (1886) from New York, later to be president of Princeton Seminary; Dr. Arthur Ewing (1887) from Allahabad, India; Calvin Mateer (Jefferson, 1857) from China; his classmate Wallace from Mexico; Elterich from China; Irwin from India; Wallace Radcliffe from Washington, D. C.; Judge Acheson, Judge Ewing, Judge McIlvaine, Matthew Brown Riddle, and David Hoge Riddle (all graduates); Judge Buffington of Pennsylvania; Judge Kirkpatrick from Lafayette College; Charles Beatty Alexander and Henry VanDyke from Princeton; and many, many more. A thousand men were served at dinner on Monday night by turns, in the Chapel and adjoining classrooms in Main Hall; the streets were decorated; the campus was illuminated.

Many of the addresses were collected in a Centennial volume; but somehow the words that seem to have impressed the alumni most were not addressed to men. They were the very simple words addressed spontaneously to God, by the oldest man in the gathering, when at the last session Joseph Smith gave thanks for the hundred years that were past, and commended to God the future. His prayer was written down in shorthand by someone present, as it was spoken, and so we are able to recapture the feeling of that day, and to let it close the history of the first hundred years. We quote from it, in part:

We thank Thee that Thou didst separate our fathers . . . from the nations . . . and that Thou didst raise up from among them wise men to fashion a new thing in the earth, a government of the people . . . with none to molest or make afraid. "Thou hast not dealt so with any nation."

. . . While we thus present our common thanksgiving for common mercies, some of us are gathered here from our wide dispersions, to present an offering apart, while we tell of Thy special goodness to us and to our fathers. We thank Thee that while the place where we
stand was a wild wilderness, the home of savage beasts and more savage men, Thou didst lead hither a company of chosen men to transform the wilderness into a garden and plant these institutions of learning and religion which have been well-springs of blessing to successive generations.

... We thank Thee that Thou hast made this college a fountain of life and blessing not only to this land, but to the wide world...

We pray for the young men here, and for those who shall succeed them, that with all their getting, they get wisdom, and learn that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom...

And so, with thanksgivings for all the mercies of the century past, and prayers for enlarged blessing in the century to come, we commend us to Thee and to the word of Thy grace.
An Act to incorporate and endow an Academy or Public School in the Town of Washington.

Sect. I. Whereas the Education of youth has ever been found to be of the most essential consequence, as well to the good Government of States, and the Peace and Welfare of Society, as to the Profit and Ornament of Individuals insomuch that from the Experience of all Ages it appears that Seminaries of Learning when properly conducted have been public blessings to Mankind so that much of the happiness and prosperity of every community depends on the proper Instruction of Youth who must succeed the aged in the important business of life. And as an Academy or Public School in the Town of Washington for the Education of Youth, is likely to contribute to the Welfare of the Community and this House cheerfully concurring in so laudable a Work, Therefore

Section II. Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and by the authority of the same, That there shall be, and hereby is erected and established in the Town of Washington in the County of Washington in this State, an Academy or Public School for the Education of Youth in useful Arts, Sciences and Literature, by the Name, Stile and Title of Washington Academy.

Section III. Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the first Trustees of the said Academy shall consist of the following Persons to wit: the Reverend John McMillen, the Reverend Joseph Smith, The Reverend Thaddeus Dodd, The Reverend John Clark, The Reverend Matthew Henderson, the Reverend John Corbley, James Marshall, Esquire, James Edgar, Esquire, John McDowell, Esquire, Alexander Wright, Esquire, James Allison, Esquire, Thomas Scott, Esquire, David Bradford, James Ross, David Redick, John Hoge, Alexander Addison, Thomas Crooks, James Flannagan, Doctor Alexander Baird, and James Brice, which said Trustees and their successors to be elected as herein after mentioned, shall forever hereafter be, and they are hereby ever established and declared to be one Body Politic and Corporate in Deed and are to all intents and purposes with perpetual Succession, by the name and title of “Trustees of the Academy of Washington in the County of Washington” by which name and Title they and their Successors shall be competent and capable in Law and in Equity to take and hold to them and their Successors of the said Academy any Estate in any Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Testaments, goods, Chattels, Monies, or other effects by the Gift, Grant, Sale, conveyance, assurance, will, devise, or bequest of any person or persons whatsoever capable of making the same,
and the same messuages, Lands, Testaments, Hereditaments and estates, real or personal, to grant, convey, assure, demise and to farm, let out on Interest or otherwise do for the use of the said Academy, either to build, rebuild, or enlarge or otherwise alter the School house for the Accommodation of the Scholars at the aforesaid Academy or to erect and make any new Building in such Manner as to them or at least seven of them shall seem most beneficial to the Institution and to recover the Rents, issues, profits, and Interest of the same, and to apply the same to the Benefit use and support of the said Academy and by the same name and title as aforesaid to sue, commence prosecute and plead and be impleaded in any Court or Courts before any Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices in all and every manner of Suits, complaints, pleas Causes Matters and Demands of whatsoever Nature, kind or form they may be, and all and every matter and thing thereunto etc., in as full and effectual a manner, as any other Person or Persons body Politic or Corporate within this Commonwealth may or can do and to hold enjoy and exercise all such powers Authorities and Jurisdictions touching and concerning the Premises which shall be incidentally necessary thereto, in every Case matter or thing relative to the management or in any wise necessary for the Good Government of the aforesaid Academy.

Section IV. Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the said Trustees and their Successors shall have full Power and Authority to use one common Seal with such Device and Inscription thereon as they shall think proper under and by which all Deeds, Certificates and Acts of the said Corporation shall pass and be authenticated, and the said Seal to break, alter and renew at their Pleasure.

Section V. Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid that any seven of the said Trustees shall be a quorum to transact all the Business of the said Academy, particularly of making and enacting ordinances and by-laws for the Government of the said Academy of electing Trustees in the Room of those who shall be removed by death or resignation, of electing and appointing Masters and Tutors of said Academy, of agreeing with them for their Salaries and removing them for misconduct and Breaches of the Bye Laws of the Institution, of appointing a Secretary, Stewards, Managers, and other necessary officers, for taking care of the estate and managing the Concerns of this Corporation, and shall determine all Matters and Things although the same be that particularly mentioned herein, which shall occasionally arise, and be eventually necessary to be determined and transacted by the said Trustees. Provided always, That no Ordnance or bye laws shall be of force which shall be repugnant to the Laws of this Commonwealth and that all their Laws & proceedings be fairly and regularly entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose.

Section VI. Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no misnomer of the said Corporation, shall defeat or annul, any Gift Grant, Devise, Bequest to the said Corporation provided the intent of the Parties shall sufficiently appear upon the face of the Gift, Grant Will or other Writing, whereby the Estate or Interest was intended to pass to the said
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Corporation, nor shall any User or Nonuser of the Rights, Liberties, privileges, jurisdictions and authorities hereby granted to the said Corporation create or in any wise cause a forfeiture thereof.

Section VII. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid. That no Sale or Alienation of the real Estate of the said Corporation, which shall have been made by the said Trustees or their Successors bona fide for a valuable consideration in case the Possession thereof pass immediately to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, and continue in them, him or her heirs or assigns, shall be invalidated for want of proving that seven of the Trustees of the said Corporation consented to such Sale or Alienation, unless the same be controverted within the Space of seven Years from and after the sale and Delivery of such Real Estate to the Purchaser or Purchasers thereof.

Section VIII. Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That five thousand Acres of Land together with six percentum allowance for Roads be laid off and surveyed within the unappropriated Lands of this Commonwealth, be, and they are hereby granted to the Trustees of the Washington Academy in the County of Washington, to have and to hold the same to them their successors and assigns forever. And on the application of the said Trustees, or of any Person duly authorized by them, to the Secretary of the Land office of this State, he shall and hereby is required to grant and issue such and so many warrants to be directed to the surveyor general, requiring him to survey or cause to be surveyed, for the Trustees of the said Academy, such and so many Tracts of Lands with such number of Acres in each Warrants as shall be applied for at each application in such Places not otherwise appropriated, by Acts of Assembly of this Commonwealth as shall in the whole amount to the said Quantity of Five thousand Acres with the usual allowance, and the Surveyor General shall receive and enter all such warrants in his office and issue copies thereof directed to his deputies in the different Counties and Districts within the State, and the said Deputies shall duly execute the same, and make returns thereof and thereupon such Proceedings shall be had, and Patents or Grants of Confirmation for the same shall be issued and granted to the Trustees of the said Academy in like manner and form and having like force and effect as the like proceedings and Patents have been and are conducted and granted in case of private persons making applications for and taking up Lands under the Laws of this Commonwealth in such Cases made and provided.

Section IX. Be it further enacted by the authority aforementioned That all and every the Tract and Tracts of Land hereby directed to be surveyed for the use of the said Academy, shall be so done at the Charge of this State and the President or Vice President in Council are hereby authorized and empowered to draw Orders on the Treasurer of this State to pay and defray all the Charges arising thereupon.

Signed by Order of the House
Thomas Mifflin Speaker
Enacted into a Law at Philadelphia on Monday the twenty fourth Day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven.

Peter Zachary Lloyd
Clerk of the General Assembly

B. Act Approved April 6, 1791

An ACT to confer on certain associations of the citizens of this commonwealth the powers and immunities of corporations, or bodies politic in law.

WHEREAS a great portion of the time of the legislature has heretofore been employed in enacting laws to incorporate private associations, and it would not only be made advantageous to the public, but also convenient to individuals, who are desirous of being so incorporated, that the same might lawfully be effected without an immediate application in all cases to the General Assembly of the commonwealth; Therefore,

SECT. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That when any number of persons, citizens of this commonwealth, are associated, or mean to associate, for any literary, charitable, or for any religious purpose, and shall be desirous to acquire and enjoy the powers and immunities of a corporation, or body politic in law, it shall and may be lawful for such persons to prepare an instrument in writing, therein specifying the objects, articles, conditions, and name, style or title, under which they have associated, or mean to associate, and the same to exhibit and present to the Attorney-General of the commonwealth, for the time being, who is hereby required thereupon to peruse and examine the said instrument, and, after such perusal and examination, to transmit it, with a certificate, thereon endorsed, testifying his opinion touching the lawfulness of the objects, articles and conditions, therein set forth and contained, unto the Supreme Court of this commonwealth; and the said court is hereby also required thereupon to peruse and examine the said instrument, and to transmit it, with a certificate, thereon indorsed, testifying also the opinion of the said court touching the lawfulness of the objects, articles and conditions, therein set forth and contained, unto the Governor of the commonwealth; and if the said Attorney-General and the said court shall certify their opinion, as aforesaid, to be, that the objects, articles and conditions, in such instrument set forth and contained, are lawful, then the said Governor (but not otherwise,) shall transmit the same to the master of the rolls, with an order, thereon endorsed, requiring him to enrol the same, at the expense of the applicants; and upon the enrolment thereof, the persons so associated, or meaning to associate, shall according to the objects, articles and conditions, in the said instrument set forth and contained, become and be a corporation, or body politic in law and in fact, to have continuance, by
the name, style and title, in such instrument provided and declared.

SECT. II. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That as often as the corporations established by virtue of this act, and the successors thereof, respectively, shall be desirous of improving, amending or altering the articles and conditions of the instrument, upon which the said corporations, respectively, are as aforesaid, formed and established, it shall and may be lawful for such corporations, respectively, in like manner to specify the improvements, amendments or alterations, which are or shall be desired, and the same to exhibit and present to the Attorney-General and Supreme Court, who shall in like manner, successively, certify their opinion to the Governor of this commonwealth, touching the lawfulness of such improvements, amendments and alterations; and the same being certified, as aforesaid, to be lawful, shall in like manner be directed by the Governor to be enrolled by the master of the rolls, at the expense of the applicants; and upon enrolment thereof, shall be taken and deemed to be a part of the instrument, upon which such corporations, respectively, were formed and established, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had originally been made a part thereof.

SECT. III. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the corporations established by virtue of this act, and the successors thereof, respectively, shall have full power and authority to make, have and use one common seal, with such device and inscription, as they shall respectively deem proper, and the same to break, alter and renew, at their pleasure; and by the name, style, and title, by them respectively provided and declared as aforesaid, shall be able and capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in any court or courts, before any Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices, in all manner of suits, complaints, pleas, causes, matters, and demands whatsoever, and all and every matter or thing therein to do, in as full and effectual a manner, as any other person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, within this commonwealth, may or can do; and shall be authorized and empowered, and they are hereby respectively authorized and empowered, to make rules, by-laws and ordinances, and to do every thing needful for the good government and support of the affairs of the said corporations, respectively. Provided always, That the said by-laws, rules and ordinances, or any of them, be not repugnant to the constitution and laws of the United States, to the constitution and laws of this commonwealth, or to the instrument, upon which the said corporations, respectively, are as aforesaid formed and established.

SECT. IV. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the corporations established by virtue of this act, and the successors thereof, respectively, by the name, style and title, by them respectively provided and declared, as aforesaid, shall be able and capable in law, according to the terms and conditions of the instrument, upon which the said corporations, respectively, are as aforesaid formed and established, to take, receive and hold all and all manner of lands, tenements, rents, annuities, franchises and hereditaments, and any sum and sums of money, and any manner and portion of goods and chattels, given and bequeathed unto them, respec-
tively, to be employed and disposed of according to the objects, articles and conditions of the instrument, upon which said corporations, respectively, are as aforesaid formed and established, or according to the articles and by-laws of the said corporations, respectively, or of the will and intention of the donors. Provided always nevertheless, That the clear yearly value or income of the messuages, houses, lands and tenements, rents, annuities, or other hereditaments, and real estate of the said corporations, respectively, and the interest of money by them respectively lent, shall not exceed the sum of five hundred pounds.

SECT. V. And whereas bequests and legacies may be made to public institutions, of which such institutions may not derive the benefits intended, from a want of due information: Therefore, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when any last will and testament is brought to be recorded in any of the registers offices of this state, which shall contain any bequest or legacy to a public corporate body, the register is hereby enjoined and required, that, within six months, he shall make known, by letter, addressed to the corporate body in whose favour such bequest or legacy is made, the nature and amount of the same, together with the names of the executors of such last will and testament.

C. Contract

Academy and Library Company
of the Town of Canonsburg

March 11, 1794

Whereas in and by an Act entitled an Act to Confer on Certain Associations of the Citizens of this Commonwealth, the powers and immunities of corporations, or bodies politic in law, it is provided that when any number of persons, citizens of this Commonwealth are associated or mean to associate for any literary, charitable or for any religious purpose and shall be desirous to acquire and enjoy the powers and immunities of a corporation or body politic in law, it shall and may be lawful for such persons to prepare an instrument in writing therein specifying the objects, articles, conditions, and name, style, or title under which they have associated or mean to associate, and that after the same has been examined, approved, and enrolled in the manner in the said recited act prescribed, the persons so associated or meaning to associate shall according to the objects, articles, and conditions, in the said instrument set forth and contained become and/or a corporation or body politic in law and in fact to have continuance by the name, style, and title in such instrument provided and declared: And whereas sundry citizens of this Commonwealth, inhabitants of the County of Washington have associated themselves for the purpose of establishing an Academy and Library at Canonsburgh, in the County aforesaid, and are desirous to have and enjoy the benefits of the said recited act. NOW THIS INSTRUMENT WITNESSETH that the following are the objects, articles and conditions of the said association.
That is to say (1.) That until the first election under the act of incorporation, John Canon, John McDowell, Craig Ritchie, Robert Ralston, Thomas Bucker, John Tod, James Foster, David Gault, David Johnston, and their successors shall be the Trustees of an Academy and Library to be established in the town of Canonsburgh in the County of Washington aforesaid and under the style, name, and title of the Trustees of the Academy and Library of the Town of Canonsburgh shall have and enjoy all the power, privileges and immunities of a corporation body politic in law and in fact, according to the said recited act of the General Assembly and the objects, articles, and conditions, in their instrument contained. (2.) That the said Trustees and their successors have and may at all times and hold gifts, grants, devises and bequests any estate real, personal, or mixed, for the use of the said Academy and Library; provided that the annual income of such estate including the interest of money lent shall not exceed the sum of $500.00. (3.) That all persons contributing to the establishment of the said Academy and Library shall on their request be included in the association and act of incorporation, and shall yearly and every year on the first Tuesday of October, elect by ballot nine persons, inhabitants of the said county of Washington to be Trustees of the said Academy and Library. (4.) That the trustees shall have power to make and declare all necessary and proper bye-laws and rules for the good management and preservation of the said Academy and Library; provided that such bye-laws shall be submitted to the Court of Common Pleas of the said county of Washington for the examination and approbation thereof; and that the same shall not be in any wise contrary to the constitution and laws of the United States, and of this state. (5.) That for the immediate purpose of superintending the said Library the contributors shall annually on the day of electing Trustees choose thirteen persons whose duty it shall be to expend the monies previously appropriated by the Trustees for the purchase of books; to receive all books presented to the company; to take care that the books belonging to the Library be well and safely kept, and where loaned that they be duly returned according to the rules in that behalf by the Trustees established. (6.) That until the first choice under the act of incorporation Robert Bowland, Daniel McCoy, Walter Buchanan, Mathew Boluiland, James Allison, John Allison, John Messer, William Messer, Andrew Monrow, Thomas Speers, William Canon, William Marshall and Samuel Miller, shall be the superintendents of the said Library. In Witness whereof the subscribers on behalf of themselves, and the other contributors to the establishment of the said Academy and Library, have hereunto set their hands and seals this 30th day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety three. John Canon, John McDowell (Seal) Craig Ritchie (Seal) Tho. Bracken, James Foster, David Johnston, Robert Rallston, John Tod, Mathew Bowland, John Mercer, William Mercer, William Marshall, Daniel McKay, Samuel Miller, W. Buchanan, James Allison, Tho. Speer, Andrew Munro, Wm. Speer, John Sutherland, John Martin, John Struthers, Jr., Abraham De Haven, Arthur Patterson, John Donnell, Robert Bowland, William Cannon, Jr.
I have examined the preceding instrument containing the articles of the Trustees of the Academy and Library of the town of Canonsburgh and am of the opinion that the objects, articles and conditions therein contained are lawful. Philadelphia, January 13, 1794 Jared Ingersoll, Atty. Genl. We the justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania hereby certify to his excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, Governor of the said Commonwealth that we have perused and examined the foregoing instrument and that it is our opinion that the objects, articles and conditions therein set forth and contained are lawful, witness our hands January 23, 1794. Thomas McShean, Edward Shippen, Jasper Yeates, Wm. Bradford.

By the Governor A. T. Dallas, Secretary. Inrolled the 19th of March, 1794.

This indenture made the twenty seventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety four between Samuel Meredith of the City of Philadelphia in the Com.

D. Charter of Jefferson College

Act of January 15, 1802

An Act

For the establishment of a College at Canonsburg, in the county of Washington, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The establishment of a College at Canonsburg, in the county of Washington, for the instruction of youth in the learned languages, in
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the arts and sciences, and in useful literature, would tend to diffuse information, and promote the public good; therefore,

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That there be erected, and hereby is erected and established, in Canonsburg, in the county of Washington, in this Commonwealth a College for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences and useful literature; the style, name and title of said College, and the constitution thereof, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, as is hereinafter mentioned and defined. That is to say, the said College shall be under the management, direction and government of a number of trustees, not exceeding twenty-one; and the first trustees of the said College shall consist of the following persons, to wit, Revs. John McMillan, Joseph Patterson, Thomas Marquis, Samuel Ralston, John Black, James Powers, James Dunlap, and John McPharrin, James Edgar, John McDowell, James Allison, William Findley, Craig Ritchie, John Hamilton, Joseph Vance, Robert Mahon, James Kerr, Aaron Lyle, Alexander Cooke, John Mercer and William Hughes, Esqs.

SECTION 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said trustees and their successors, to be elected in the manner hereinafter mentioned, shall forever hereafter be, and they are hereby erected, established and declared to be, one body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, in deed and in law, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, by the name, style and title of "The Trustees of Jefferson College, in Canonsburg, in the county of Washington," by which name and title they, the said trustees and their successors, shall be competent and capable at law and in equity, to take to themselves and their successors, for the use of the said College, any estate in any messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, moneys or other effects, by the gift, grant, bargain, sale, conveyance, assurance, will, devise or bequest of any person or persons whomsoever or wheresoever: Provided, the same do not exceed in the whole the yearly value of five thousand dollars, and the same messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments and estate, real and personal, to grant, bargain, sell, convey, assure, devise, and to farmlet and to place out on interest, or otherwise dispose of, for the benefit of the said College, in such manner as to them, or a majority of them, shall seem most beneficial for the institution; and to receive the rents, issues, profits, incomes and interests thereof, and to apply the same to the proper use and support of the said College; and by the same name, to sue, prosecute and defend, implead and be impleaded, in any court or courts of law or equity, and in all manner of suits or actions, whatsoever and generally, by and in the same name; to do and transact all and every the business touching or concerning the premises, as fully and effectually as any natural person or body politic or corporate, within this Commonwealth may or can do, and to hold, enjoy and exercise all such powers, authorities and jurisdictions, as are customary in other colleges in the United States of America.

SECTION 3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
there shall be a meeting of the said trustees at least once in every year, at
the town of Canonsburg, at such time as the said trustees, or a majority
of them, shall appoint, of which notice shall be given, either by public
advertisement in one of the public newspapers of the town of Washington,
in the county of Washington, four weeks before such meeting, or by notice
in writing, signed by the clerk or other officer, whom the said trustees for
that purpose may appoint, and to be left at the dwelling house of each
trustee, at least ten days before the time of such intended meeting; and if
at such meeting eleven of the said trustees shall not be present, those
present shall have power to adjourn the meeting to any other day, as fully
and effectually, to all intents and purposes, as if the whole number of
trustees for the time being were present: but if eleven or more of the said
trustees shall meet at the said appointed time, or at any other time of
adjournment, then such number so met shall be a board or quorum, and
a majority of them shall be capable of doing or transacting all the business
and concerns of said College, not otherwise provided for by this act—and
particularly of making and enacting ordinances for the government of said
College, of filling vacancies in the board of trustees occasioned by death,
resignation or otherwise, of electing and appointing the principal and pro-
fessors of said College, of agreeing with them for their salaries and stipends,
and removing them for misconduct or breach of the laws of the institution,
of appointing committees of their own body to carry into execution all and
every the resolutions of the board, of appointing a treasurer, secretary,
stewards, managers and other necessary and customary officers for the taking
care of the estate and managing the concerns of the corporation; and a
majority of the board of quorum of the said trustees at any annual or
adjourned meeting, after notice given as aforesaid, shall determine all
matters and things (although the same be not herein particularly men-
tioned which shall occasionally arise, and be incidentally necessary to be
determined and transacted by the said trustees): Provided always, That
no ordinances shall be of force which shall be repugnant to the laws of the
United States, or of this State.

SECTION 4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
That the head or chief master of the College shall be called and styled the
principal of the College, and the masters thereof shall be called and styled
professors; but neither principal nor professors, while they remain such,
shall ever be capable of holding the office of trustee. The principal and pro-
fessors, or a majority of them, shall be called and styled the faculty of the
College, which faculty shall have the power of enforcing the rules and
regulations adopted by the trustees for the government of the pupils, by
rewarding and censuring them and finally by suspending such of them as
after repeated admonitions shall continue refractory, until the determina-
tion of a quorum of trustees can be had; and of granting and confirming,
by and with the approbation and consent of a board of the trustees, signified
by their mandamus, such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, to such
pupils of the College, or others, as by their proficiency in learning or
meritorious conduct, they shall think entitled to them, as are usually granted
and conferred in other colleges in the United States of America: and to
grant to such graduates diplomas or certificates under their common seal, and
signed by the faculty; all persons of every religious denomination, shall be
capable of being elected trustee, nor shall any person, either as principal,
professor, or pupil, be refused admittance for his conscientious persuasion
in matters of religion: Provided, He shall demean himself in a sober, orderly
manner, and conform to the rules and regulations of the College.

SECTION 5.  And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
whenever a vacancy shall happen, occasioned by disqualification, resigna-
tion, or decease, of any clergyman hereby appointed a trustee, such vacancy
shall be filled by the choice of another clergyman of any Christian denomina-
tion, and so as often as such vacancy shall happen, whereby the number of
eight clergymen hereby appointed trustees shall never be lessened nor aug-
mented; nor shall any misnomer of said corporation defeat or annul any
gift, grant, devise or bequest to or for the use of the said corporation: Pro-
vided, The intent of the parties shall sufficiently appear upon the face of
the gift, grant, will or other writing, whereby any estate or interest was
intended to pass to or from the said corporation; nor shall any disuser or
non-user of the rights, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions and authorities
hereby granted to the said corporation, or any of them, create or cause a
forfeiture thereof: and the constitution of the said College, herein and
hereby declared and established, shall be and remain the inviolable con-
stitution of the said College forever, and the same shall not be altered or
alterable by any ordinance or law of the said trustees, nor in any other
manner than by an act of the Legislature of the Commonwealth.

SECTION 6.  And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
the said trustees shall cause to be made for their use, one common seal,
with such devices and inscriptions thereon as they shall think proper,
under and by which all deeds, diplomas, certificates and acts of the said
corporation shall pass and be authenticated, and the same seal, at their
pleasure from time to time change and alter. The business of the said
corporation shall and may be transacted and performed by the majority
of a meeting of at least eleven of the trustees appointed by this act, and their
successors duly elected, notified, called and convened as aforesaid, and not
otherwise. If any trustee shall accept or take any charge or office under the
said trustees, other than that of treasurer or secretary, his place shall thereby
be vacated, and the trustees at their next meeting shall proceed to supply
such vacancy by election.

SECTION 7.  And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
from and after the passing of this act, all the property belonging to Canons-
burg Academy, of whatsoever nature the same may be, whether real, per-
sonal or mixed, which hath been given, conveyed, devised or bequeathed
to the trustees for the benefit and use of that institution, shall be vested,
and hereby is vested, in the trustees of the College aforesaid, and their
successors in office; subject always, nevertheless, to the uses, trusts, ends
and purposes for which the same property was originally given, conveyed,
devised or bequeathed.
Banners in the Wilderness

SECTION 8. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the trustees hereinbefore appointed, and their successors, the principal and professors and every of them, now appointed or hereafter to be appointed, in the manner and form hereinbefore directed and required, before they enter upon the duties of their offices, shall, before some one judge of the court of common pleas, or before some justice of the peace of the county of Washington, take and subscribe the oath or affirmation as directed by the eighth article of the constitution of this Commonwealth, and the act of Congress of the United States passed the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine; and the trustees are hereby enjoined and required to provide and keep a book wherein their secretary shall well and truly record the certificates of the aforesaid qualifications.

E. Washington College Charter

March 28, 1806

An Act for the establishment of a College at the town of Washington, in the County of Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania.

Whereas the happiness and prosperity of every community, under the direction and government of Divine Providence depends much on the right education of the youth, who must succeed the aged in the important offices of Society; and the most exalted nations have acquired their pre-eminence by the virtuous principles and liberal knowledge instilled into the minds of the rising generation; and whereas by the petition and address of the Trustees of the Academy of Washington, in the County of Washington, it appears that they are placed in a condition to extend their plan of education, by having the learned languages, the arts and sciences, and literature taught upon a more enlarged system than generally obtained at Seminaries in the country, that their funds are fully adequate to such undertaking, and that the Institution of College at the town of Washington, in the County of Washington, for the Instruction of youth in the learned languages, and others branches of literature is likely to promote the real welfare of this state, and especially the Western thereof: and as it is the evident duty of all ranks of People to promote and encourage, as much as in them lies, every attempt to disseminate and promote the growth of useful knowledge: Therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and house of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That there be erected and hereby is erected and established, in the town of Washington, in the County of Washington in this State a College for the education of youth in the learned and foreign languages, the useful arts, sciences and literature; the style name and title thereof to be "The Washington College."

Sec. 2nd. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Trustees of the said Academy shall be, and they are hereby declared and appointed to be the first Trustees of said College.
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Sec. 3d. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said College shall be under the management, direction, and government of said Trustees and Successors which said Trustees and their successors to be elected in the manner hereinafter mentioned, shall forever hereafter be, and they are hereby erected, established and declared to be one body politic and corporate with perpetual succession, in deed and in law—to all intents and purposes whatsoever, by the name, style, and title of the Trustees of Washington College, in the town of Washington, in the County of Washington," by which name, and title, they the said Trustees and their successors, shall be competent and capable, at law and in equity, to take to themselves and their successors for the use of the said College, any estate in any messuages, lands tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, monies or other effects, by the gift, grant, bargain, sale, conveyance, assurance, will, devise or bequest of person or persons whatsoever; and the same messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments and estate, real and personal, to grant, bargain, sell, convey, assure, demise and to farm let, and place out on Interest or otherwise, to alter, improve or dispose of, for the use of the said College in such a manner as to them or at least seven of them, shall seem most beneficial to Institution; and to receive the rents, issues, profits, income and Interest of the same, and to apply the same to a proper use and support of the said College; and by the same name to sue, commence, prosecute, and defend, implead, and be impleaded, in any courts of law or equity and in all manner of suits or actions whatsoever, and generally by and in the same name, to do and transact all and every the business touching or concerning the premises, or which shall be incidently necessary thereto, as fully and effectually as any natural person or body politic or corporate within this commonwealth, have power to manage their own concerns, and to hold, enjoy and exercises all such powers, authorities, and jurisdictions, as are customary in other colleges in the United States of America.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said Trustees shall cause to be made for their use, one common seal, with such devices and inscriptions thereon as they shall think proper, under and by which all deeds, diplomas, certificates and acts of the said corporation shall pass and be authenticated, and the same seal, at their pleasure, from time to time, change and alter.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be a meeting of the said Trustees, at least once in every year, at the town of Washington, at such time as the said Trustees, or a majority of them, shall appoint, of which notice shall be given, either by public advertisements in one of the public newspapers published in said town, at least four weeks before such meeting, or by notice in writing signed by the Secy or other officer, whom the said trustees may appoint for that purpose, and to be left at the dwelling house of each Trustee, at least ten days before the time of such intended meeting; and if at such meeting, seven of the said Trustees shall not be present, those present shall have power to adjourn the meeting to any other day, as fully and effectually to all
Intents and purposes, as if the whole number of Trustees, for the time being, were present; but if seven or more of the said Trustees shall meet at the said appointed times, or at any other time of Adjournment then such number so met shall be a board or quorum and a majority of them shall be capable of doing and transacting all the business and concerns of the said College, not otherwise provided for by this act, and particularly of making and enacting ordinances for the government of said College, of filling vacancies in the Board of Trustees, occasioned by death, resignation or otherwise, of electing and appointing the Principal and professors of the said College, of agreeing with them for their salaries and stipends, and removing them for misconduct or breach of the laws of the Institution, of appointing committees of their own body, to carry into execution all and every the resolutions of the Board, of appointing a Treasurer, Secretary, Stewards, manager, and other necessary and customary officers for the taking care of the Estate and managing the concerns of the corporation; and a majority of the Board or quorum of the said Trustees at any annual or adjourned meeting after notice given as aforesaid, shall determine all matters and things, although the same be not herein particularly mentioned, which shall occasionally arise and be incidentally necessary, to be determined and transacted by the said Trustees: Provided always, That no ordinances shall be of force, which shall be repugnant to the laws of the United States or of this State.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the head or chief Master of the said College, shall be called and styled, the principal of the College, and the masters thereof shall be called and styled Professors, but neither Principal nor Professor, while they remain such shall ever be capable of holding the office of Trustee, the principal and professors or a majority of them, shall be called and styled the "Faculty of the College," which faculty shall have the power of enforcing the rules and regulations adopted by the Trustees, for the government of the pupils, by rewarding or censuring them, and finally by suspending such of them, as after repeated admonitions shall continue disobedient and refractory, until the determination of a quorum of the Trustees, can be had, and of granting and confirming by and with the approbation and consent of a board of the Trustees, signified by their mandamus such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences, to such pupils of the College, or others who by their proficiency in learning or other meritorious distinction, they shall think entitled to them, as are usually granted and conferred in other Colleges in the United States of America, and to grant to such graduates, diplomas, or certificates under their common seal, and signed by the faculty, to authenticate and perpetuate the memory of such gradation: all persons of every denomination among Christians shall be capable of being elected Trustees, nor shall any person either as Principal, or professor or pupil, be refused admittance for his conscientious persuasion in matters of religion: Provided, he shall demean himself in a sober, orderly manner and conform to the rules and regulations of the College, and whenever a vacancy shall happen by the want of qualification, resignation or decease
of any clergymen hereby appointed a Trustee, such vacancy shall be filled by the choice of another clergymen of any Christian denomination, and so toeties quoties such vacancy shall happen, whereby the number of clergymen hereby appointed trustees, shall never be lessened.

Sec. 7th. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no misnomer of the said corporation, shall defeat or annul any gift, grant, devise or bequest to or from the said corporation: Provided the intent of the parties shall sufficiently appear upon the face of the gift, grant, will or other writing, whereby any estate or interest was intended to pass to or from the said corporation, nor shall any disuser or non-user of the rights, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions and authorities, hereby granted to the said corporation, or any of them create or cause a forfeiture thereof.

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that from and after the passing of this act, all the property belonging to the Academy of Washington aforesaid, of whatsoever nature the same may be, whether real, personal or mixed, which hath been given conveyed, devised or bequeathed to the trustees for the benefit and use of that Institution, shall be vested and hereby is vested, in the Trustees of the College aforesaid, and their successors in office, subject always, nevertheless, to the uses, trusts, ends and purposes, for which the same property was originally given, conveyed, devised, or bequeathed.

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no sale or alienation of the real estate of the said corporation, which shall have been made by the Trustees aforesaid or their successors bona fide for a valuable consideration, in case the possession thereof pass immediately to the purchaser or purchasers thereof and continue in him, her or their heirs and assigns, shall not be invalidated for want of proving, that seven of the trustees of said corporation consented to such sale or alienation, unless the same be controverted within the space of seven years from and after the sale and delivery of such real estate to the purchaser or purchasers thereof.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Trustees herein before appointed and their successors, the Principal and Professors and every of them now appointed or hereafter to be appointed, in the manner and form herein before directed, and required, before they enter upon the duties of their offices, shall before some one judge of the court of common pleas, or before some justice of the peace of the County of Washington, take and subscribe the oath or affirmation as directed by the eighth article of the constitution of the Commonwealth, and the Act of Congress of the United States passed the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and the trustees are hereby enjoined and required to provide and keep a book, wherein their secretary shall well and truly record the laws and proceedings of said trustees.

Charles Porter, Speaker
of the House of Representatives.

James Brady, Speaker
of the Senate.
Banners in the Wilderness

APPROVED—the twenty-eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and six.

Thomas McKean.

F. Charter

Washington and Jefferson College

Act of March 4, 1865

An act to unite the colleges of Jefferson and Washington, in the county of Washington, and to erect the same into one corporation, under the name of Washington and Jefferson College.

WHEREAS, By reason of the multiplication of incorporated seminaries of learning in this State, and in adjoining States, and of the enlarged and growing demand for the highest attainable excellence in such institutions, the close proximity of the two colleges, of Jefferson, at Canonsburg, and of Washington, at Washington, in the county of Washington, has been found to impede the advance of education, and to discourage the friends and patrons of those colleges in their efforts to sustain and endow them:

AND WHEREAS, For these, and other good and sufficient considerations, the trustees of those colleges have agreed upon a union thereof, and have besought this General Assembly to give thereto the sanction and aid of a legislative enactment; therefore,

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the colleges of Jefferson, at Canonsburg, incorporated by an act of Assembly, approved the fifteenth day of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and two, and of Washington, at Washington, incorporated by an act of Assembly, approved the twenty-eighth day of March, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and six, shall hereafter be one corporation, in fact and in law, under the name of Washington and Jefferson College; which corporation, by said name, shall possess and enjoy all the capacities, powers, privileges, immunities and franchises which were conferred upon, and held by, said colleges of Jefferson and Washington, and the trustees thereof, with such enlargements, and subject to such changes therein, as are made by this act.

SECTION 2. That all the real and personal property, of every nature and kind whatsoever, now held and possessed by, or in trust for, said colleges or corporations of Jefferson and Washington, severally, with all endowment funds, choses in action, stocks, bequests and devises, and other rights whatever, to them and each of them belonging, or in any wise pertaining, are hereby transferred to, and vested in, the corporation hereby created; and all the several liabilities of said two colleges, or corporations, by either of them suffered, or created, including the scholarships, heretofore granted by, and now obligatory upon, each of them, are hereby imposed upon and declared to be assumed by the corporation hereby
created, which shall discharge and perform the same, with diminution or abatement.

SECTION 3. That the objects of said corporation shall be the cultivation and advancement of literature and science, and of morality and religion, without regard to sect or creed, by the education of youth of the male sex, in classical learning, including ancient and modern languages, in mental and moral philosophy, and in the useful arts and sciences, and to promote and encourage high attainments therein, and in the learned professions, by conferring upon those found worthy thereof, the degrees of merit and honor heretofore known and conferred, or which may hereafter be adopted and conferred, by like institutions in any of the United States of America.

SECTION 4. That the said corporation shall consist of a Board of Trustees, of thirty-one persons, all of whom shall be citizens of the United States of America, and at least sixteen thereof shall be also citizens of this Commonwealth; they shall be chosen and have perpetual succession in the manner following, to wit: Within thirty days after the passage of this act the present Board of Trustees, of each of said colleges of Jefferson and Washington, shall meet at some convenient place, upon ten days' notice, and choose fifteen persons, duly qualified, at least eight of whom shall be citizens of this Commonwealth, to be trustees of the college hereby erected, of which election a record shall be made, and a copy thereof, duly certified, and with the corporate seal thereto affixed, shall be transmitted to the first meeting of the new board, to be by them filed and recorded; thereupon the secretaries of said meeting shall cause notices to be given, by mail and by publications in one or more newspapers published in the county of Washington, and in the city of Pittsburgh, to and of the persons so chosen, and designating a convenient place and day, within twenty days thereafter, for the first meeting and organization of the new board, and for the transaction of such other business as shall pertain to the establishment and interests of the new college hereby erected.

SECTION 5. That upon the assembling, at the time and place appointed, of at least a majority of the thirty persons so chosen, (or if a majority do not then and there convene, then upon such majority convening on some other day, to which a less number assembled may adjourn, at the same, or some other place,) they shall, after having taken and subscribed the oath or affirmation hereinafter prescribed, choose one of their number to be President of the Board, and another thereof to be Secretary; thereupon they shall choose some other citizen of the United States, not a resident of the county of Washington, to be the thirty-first Trustee, and transact whatever other business relating to the college, they may deem to be required of them; all vacancies occurring thereafter in the board shall be filled by the concurrent vote of a majority of the members present at any stated meeting duly convened and constituted but the existence of one or more vacancies in the membership shall not invalidate any act of the board which shall be otherwise lawful and regular; at all subsequent meetings of the board, any number not less than ten shall be a quorum com-
petent for the transaction of any business, by the concurrent vote of a majority of the members present.

SECTION 6. That before entering upon the discharge of any official duty, each of the trustees of said college shall take and subscribe in a book an oath or affirmation that he will according to the best of his knowledge and ability, while holding the office of trustee, be true and loyal to the interests of Washington and Jefferson College, and to the constitution and government of the United States of America, and of the State of Pennsylvania; at the first meeting of the board, said oath or affirmation shall be administered by some judge or justice of the peace to the members then in attendance; thereafter, the same may be administered by the President or any other duly qualified member of the board.

SECTION 7. That stated meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held at least once in each year, at such times as the board shall by standing rule appoint, which meetings may be adjourned from time to time, and from place to place; special meetings may be held at such other times as occasion may require, upon call by the President or any three members; at least ten days' notice, previous thereto, shall be given of all meetings, in such manner as the board shall by standing rule prescribe, and all meetings shall be held in some of the college buildings to be designated unless otherwise specially ordered; but no business shall be transacted at any special or called meeting other than such as shall pertain to the object or objects thereof, as made known by the call.

SECTION 8. That all the property, funds and interests of the corporation and college, shall be under the care, control and management of the Board of Trustees, who may from time to time commit the collection, keeping and disbursement thereof to such committees, officers and agents, as they shall deem requisite and proper, prescribing to them severally, by standing rules or otherwise, their powers and duties; at least once in every year, a detailed account or accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the corporation or college funds, and of the amount, management and condition of all the property and rights of the corporation shall be submitted by the proper officers and agents to the Board of Trustees, which after examination and correction, if necessary, and approval, shall be entered upon the minutes at length, or in such part or parts as shall be ordered.

SECTION 9. That the Board of Trustees shall, from time to time, as required, appoint a President and a Vice President of said College, and such other professors or instructors therein, and of the departments thereto pertaining, as they shall deem necessary and proper, each of whom shall be a citizen of the United States of America; they shall hold their places at the will of the board, and shall receive for their services such salaries or compensation and emoluments as the board may, from time to time, determine, or as may be agreed on.

SECTION 10. That the course of instruction and studies to be pursued in said college, shall be such as to conform to its objects, as declared in the third section of this act, and shall be divided into four periods or classes,
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denominated the Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior classes, each to comprise such studies as are pursued in the best colleges in the United States, and as the President, Vice President and Professors shall from time to time prescribe, with the approval of the Board of Trustees, which course of studies shall extend not less than three nor more than four years; Provided however, That students who have previously pursued any of the studies of those classes may be graduated at the end of a shorter period, and students found to be deficient may be required to remain for a longer period.

SECTION 11. That in addition to the aforesaid collegiate periods, or classes, and the studies appropriate thereto, there shall be as integral parts of said college, a scientific department and a preparatory department. The scientific department shall be such as to afford facilities for instruction in the higher branches of the English education, and in such of the modern foreign languages as are most useful and common, in natural sciences, belles lettres, mathematics, civil and military engineering and the mechanic arts, so as to qualify students therein for the various business avocations of life; and the degree of S. B. shall be conferred upon the graduates of said department, although they may not have pursued such a course of study in the college as to entitle them to any other degree. The preparatory department shall be of high grade, and shall include such studies as will qualify those seeking instruction therein for admission to the Freshman class of the college, or to the scientific department.

SECTION 12. That there shall also be established in connection with and as a part of said college, an institution to be known as the Department of Agriculture and Art, the leading object of which shall be to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts: Provided, An adequate fund for the establishment and endowment thereof shall be obtained from the State of Pennsylvania, or otherwise, and graduates therein shall have conferred upon them a suitable degree.

SECTION 13. That the studies of the Senior, Junior and Sophomore classes of said college shall be pursued at or near Canonsburg, in the county of Washington, and those of the Freshman class, and of the Scientific and Preparatory departments and of the Department of Agriculture and Art, at or near Washington, in said county, and in appropriating the income derived from the endowment funds of said corporation, a sum equal to at least one-third, and not exceeding one-half part thereof, shall be exclusively devoted and applied by the Board of Trustees to the use, support and benefit of the class, and departments at or near Washington, in addition to the income which may be derived from the fund or funds pertaining to the Department of Agriculture and Art, which shall be wholly and inviolably appropriated thereto: Provided, however, That nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to divert any gift, grant, devise, or bequest, or the income or profits thereof, from the specific departments, professorships, studies or classes intended according to the true intent and meaning of the deed, last will and testament or other writing, giving or founding the same.
SECTION 14. That the President and Vice President of the college, besides doing the duties pertaining to their offices as such, shall each be a professor of, and give instruction in, such studies as shall be committed to him by the Board of Trustees. The President and the professors of the studies of the Senior, Junior and Sophomore classes, shall be charged with the instruction, government, and discipline of the students in those classes, and the Vice President and professors or instructors in the studies of the Freshman class, and of the departments aforesaid, shall be charged with the instruction, government, and discipline of the students or pupils therein subject in all cases to the direction and control of the Board of Trustees; the President shall also have the general charge and supervision of all the classes and departments, and may as often as occasion shall require, take to his counsel and assistance, in matters of study, government and discipline, the Vice President and any or all of the professors; suspensions or expulsions from the college or any of its privileges or departments, shall be subject to the revision, modification or reversal of the Board of Trustees; and no person shall be excluded therefrom on account of the religious sect or denomination to which he belongs or adheres, provided he shall demean himself in a soberly, orderly manner, and conform to the lawful rules and regulations of the college.

SECTION 15. That the President and Vice President, and professors of the college and its departments, shall be known as the Faculty. All diplomas or certificates of degree, which to students shall be awarded, upon examination and approval by the Board of Trustees or a committee thereof, shall be signed by the Faculty, and have the common seal of the corporation thereto affixed.

SECTION 16. That the said corporation shall have the right to hold, free from taxes, State or municipal, such lots or parcels of land as may be needful and convenient for buildings for the college, and for residences for the President, Vice President and professors, with the appurtenances: Provided, The same shall be so used, and shall not in the aggregate exceed twenty acres, and should the department of Agriculture and Art aforesaid be established, then an additional quantity, not exceeding two hundred acres, if used therefor, shall be in like manner free from taxation.

SECTION 17. That no gift, grant, devise or bequest to or for the use of said corporation or college or any department or part thereof, shall be adjudged to be null and void, or fail to have effect, by reason of any misnomer thereof, in the deed, will or other writing giving or granting the same, provided, the intent of the donor, grantor, or testator, shall sufficiently appear by the same or some other writing duly authenticated, nor shall any such gift, grant, devise, or bequest be declared void because the deed, last will or other writing, conveying, giving, or confirming the same, was not made more than one calendar month before the death of the donor, grantor, or testator, and no non-user or unintentional misuser of the corporate powers and franchises conferred by this act, or any of them, shall work a forfeiture thereof.

SECTION 18. That from and after the organization of the corpora-
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A supplement to "An act to unite the colleges of Jefferson and Washington, in the county of Washington, and to erect the same into one corporation under the name of Washington and Jefferson College," approved the fourth day of March, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

G. Act of February 26, 1869

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That as soon as the necessary preliminary arrangements can be made, and suitable buildings provided, the several departments of Washington and Jefferson College shall be closely united and located either at Canonsburg, Washington, or some other suitable place within this Commonwealth, to be selected and fixed in the manner hereinafter specified.

SECTION 2. The location of the college shall be determined by the Board of Trustees, by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the members present at a regular meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, if they can agree; and if they cannot agree within sixty days after the passage of this act, the question of location shall be referred to a commission of five gentlemen, who shall visit Canonsburg and Washington, and such other places as they may deem advisable, inquire into the condition and value of the college property, receive offers of donations and contributions to the college, hear those who may be interested and desire to say anything on the question submitted to them; and, after obtaining all necessary information within their reach, and taking into consideration all the advantages and disadvantages of each locality, and everything that may have a bearing upon the future prosperity and welfare of the college, and the advancement of liberal education, they, or any four of them, shall report to the Board of Trustees in writing, where, in their judgment, the united college shall be located: and thereupon the Board of Trustees shall proceed with as little delay as possible to carry into effect their recommendation. In determining, or endeavoring to determine, the location of the college, the Board of Trustees shall proceed in the same manner and consider the
same matters, as above provided for in the case of the commission.

SECTION 3. The commission, if resorted to, shall be chosen by the Board of Trustees, but a vote of two-thirds of the members present at a regular meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, shall be necessary to a choice. And at the same time five alternates shall in like manner be chosen to supply the places of any who may decline to serve; said alternates to be called on in the order in which their names may stand on the list, as arranged by the board; and in case a vacancy occurs in said commission by resignation or otherwise, the Board of Trustees shall fill the same without delay, by selecting a principal and alternate, in the manner above specified.

SECTION 4. A committee of three, consisting of the President of the board, one member of the board from Canonsburg or vicinity, and one from Washington or vicinity, to be appointed by the President of the board, shall, as far as may be convenient, attend the meetings of the commission, and assist them in obtaining such information as may be desired. The expense of the commission shall be paid by the treasurer of the college, upon the order of said committee.

SECTION 5. If the united college is located at Canonsburg, it shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to designate and set apart sufficient real estate of the college in Washington, for the use of an academy, normal school, or other institution of lower grade than a college, to be located there, and managed by a board of seven directors, to be selected by said trustees; which directors so selected shall have power to fill vacancies in their number. And if the college shall be located at Washington, it shall be the duty of said trustees to designate and set apart sufficient real estate of the college in Canonsburg, for the use of an academy, normal school, or other institution of lower grade than a college, to be located there, and managed by a similar board, similarly chosen. And in addition thereto, the said trustees are hereby authorized to appropriate personal property of the college, consisting of libraries, apparatus, and furniture, now connected with that department of the college, for the use of such academy, normal school or other institution of lower grade than a college. And in the event of the removal of the college from both places where it is now located, the provisions of this section shall be taken and held to apply to each of said localities.

SECTION 6. It shall be lawful for any incorporated college or institution of learning within this Commonwealth, to unite with Washington and Jefferson College, and consolidate their property funds for educational purposes, on such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon.
Mr. Justice Clifford delivered the opinion of the Court.

Jefferson College was incorporated on the fifteenth of January, 1802, by the name of the Trustees of Jefferson College, in Canonsburg, in the county of Washington, for the education of youth in the learned languages and the arts, sciences, and useful literature. By the charter it was declared that the trustees should be a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, in deed and in law, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and that the constitution of the college "shall not be altered or alterable by any ordinance or law of the said trustees, nor in any other manner than by an act of the legislature of the common wealth."

Washington College was incorporated on the twenty-eighth, of March, 1806, by the name of The Trustees of Washington College, for the education of youth in the learned and foreign languages, the useful arts, sciences, and literature, and was located in the town of Washington, seven miles distant from Jefferson College, in the same county.

Experience showed in the progress of events that the interests of both institutions would be promoted in their union, and the friends of both united in a common effort to effect that object. Application was accordingly made to the legislature for that purpose, and on the fourth of March, 1865, the legislature passed the "Act to unite the colleges of Jefferson and Washington, and to erect the same into one corporation under the name of Washington and Jefferson College." Enough is stated in the preamble of the act to show that the application was made to promote the best interests
of both institutions, and that the legislative act which is the subject of complaint was passed at their united request and to sanction the union which their respective trustees had previously agreed to establish.

Inconveniences resulted from the provisions contained in the thirteenth section of the act, which impliedly forbid any change in the sites of the respective colleges, and also provided that the studies of certain classes of the students should be pursued at each of the two institutions, and to that end prescribed certain rules for appropriating to each certain portions of the income derived from the funds of the institution, and the manner in which the same should be expended and applied by the trustees. Such embarrassments increasing, the legislature passed a supplementary act providing that the several departments of the two colleges should be closely united, and that the united institution should be located as therein prescribed. Measures were also prescribed in the same act for determining the location of the united institution and it appears that those measures, when carried into effect, resulted in fixing the location at Washington, in the county of the same name.

Certain parties are dissatisfied with the new arrangement, and it appears that, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1869, three bills in equity were filed in the state court, praying that the last-named act of the legislature may be declared null and void, as repugnant to the ninth article of the constitution of the state, and to the tenth section of the first article of the Federal Constitution. Different parties complain in each of the several cases, but the subject-matter of the complaint involves substantially the same considerations in all cases. Those complaining in the first case are the trustees of Jefferson College. Complainants in the second case are certain members of the board of trustees of Washington and Jefferson College, who oppose the provisions of the act of the twenty-sixth of February, 1869, and deny that the board of trustees, even by a vote of two-thirds of the members, as therein required, can properly remove the college or dispose of the college buildings as therein contemplated.

Objections are made by the complaints in the last case to both the before-mentioned acts of the legislature, and they claim the right to ask the interference of the court, upon the ground that they are owners of certain scholarships in Jefferson College, as more fully set forth in the bill of complainant, and they pray that both of the said acts of assembly may be declared null and void for the same reasons as those set forth in the other two cases.

I. Examination of these cases will be made in the order they appear on the calendar, commencing with the case in which the trustees of Jefferson College are the complainants. They bring their bill of complaint against the two colleges as united, under the first act of assembly passed for that purpose. Service was made and the respondents appeared and pleaded in bar that the complainants, as such trustees, duly accepted the act of assembly creating the union of the two institutions, and that having accepted the same they, as a corporation, became dissolved and ceased to exist, and have no authority to maintain their bill of complaint.
Appendix I

A part from the plea in bar they also filed an answer, but as the whole issue is presented in the plea in bar it will not be necessary to enter into those details. Opposed to that plea is the replication of the complainants, in which they deny the allegation that they, as a corporation, became dissolved or that they ceased to exist as alleged in the plea in bar, and renew their prayer for relief.

Both parties were heard and the Supreme Court of the State entered a decree for the respondents, dismissing the bill of complaint. Decrees for the respondents were also entered in the other two cases, and the respective complainants sued out writs of error under the twenty-fifth section of the judiciary act and removed the respective causes into this court for re-examination.

Whether the act of Assembly in question in this case is or not repugnant to the constitution of the State is conclusively settled against the complainants by the decision in this very case, and the question is not one open to re-examination in this court, as it is not one of federal cognizance in a case brought here by a writ of error to a state court. Nothing, therefore, remains to be examined but the second question presented in the pleadings, which is whether the supplementary act of Assembly uniting the two institutions, and providing that there should be but one location of the same, for any purpose impairs the obligation of the contract between the State and the corporation of Jefferson College, as created by the original charter; or, in other words, whether it is repugnant to the tenth section of the first article of the Federal Constitution.

Corporate franchises granted to private corporations, if duly accepted by the corporators, partake of the nature of legal estates, as the grant under such circumstances becomes a contract within the protection of that clause of the Constitution which ordains that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts—(Dartmouth College vs. Woodward, 4 Wheat, 700).

Charters of private corporations are regarded as executive contracts between the government and the corporators, and the rule is well settled that the legislature cannot repeal impair or alter such a charter against the consent or without the default of the corporation judicially ascertained and declared—(Fletcher vs. Peck, 9 (Cran-136. Terrett vs. Taylor, 9 Cran., 51)

Of course these remarks apply only to acts of incorporation which do not contain any reservations or provisions annexing conditions to the charter modifying and limiting the nature of the contract. Cases often arise where the legislature, in granting an act of incorporation for a private purpose, either make the duration of the charter conditional or reserve to the State the power to alter, modify, or repeal the same at pleasure. Where such a provision is incorporated in the charter it is clear that it qualifies the grant, and that the subsequent exercise of that reserved power cannot be regarded as an act within the prohibition of the Constitution. Such a power also, that is the power to alter, modify, or repeal an act of incorporation, is frequently reserved to the state by a general law applicable to all acts of incorporation, or to certain classes of the same, as the case may be, in which case it is equally clear that the power may be exercised whenever it appears
that the act of incorporation is one which falls within the reservation, and
that the charter was granted subsequent to the passage of the general law,
even though the charter contains no such condition nor any allusion to
Ames on Corp. (9th ed.), sec. 767, p. 787.)

Reservations in such a charter, it is admitted, may be made, and it is
also conceded that where they exist the exercise of the power reserved by
a subsequent legislature does not impair the obligation of the contract
created by the original act of incorporation. Subsequent legislation altering
or modifying the provisions of such a charter, where there is no such reserva-
tion, is certainly unauthorized if it is prejudicial to the rights of the cor-
porators, and was passed without their assent: but the converse of the
proposition is also true, that if the new provisions altering and modifying
the charter were passed with the assent of the corporation, and they were
duly accepted by a corporation vote as amendments to the original charter,
they cannot be regarded as impairing the obligation of the contract created
by the original charter.—(Mumma v. Potomac Co., 8 Pet. 286. Dartmouth
Locks and Cabals 7 Mass., 185 McLaren v. Pennington, 1 Paige Ch., 107,

Private charters, or such as are granted for the private benefit of the
corporators, are held to be contracts because they are based for their con-
sideration on the liabilities and duties which the corporators assume by
accepting the terms therein specified, and the grant of the franchise on that
account can no more be resumed by the legislature, or its benefits diminished
or impaired without the assent of the corporators, than any other grant of
property or legal estate, unless the right to do so is reserved in the act
of incorporation or in some general law of the state which was in operation
at the time the charter was granted.—Cooley on Const., 279. Binghampton

Apply those principles to the case under consideration and it is quite
clear that the decision of the state court was correct, as the fifth section of
the charter, by necessary implication reserves to the state the power to alter,
modify, or amend the charter without any prescribed limitation. Provision
is there made that the constitution of the college shall not be altered or
alterable by any ordinance or law of the trustees, "nor in any other manner
than by an act of the legislature of the commonwealth," which is in all
respects equivalent to an express reservation to the state to make any
alterations in the charter which the legislature in its wisdom may deem fit,
just, and expedient to enact, and the donors of the institution are as much
bound by that provision as the trustees.—(Railroad v. Dudley, 14 N. Y.,
354. Plant Road v. Thacher, 1 Kern, 102.)

Suppose, however, the fact were otherwise, still the respondents must
prevail, as it is admitted that the complainants accepted the act passed to unite the two colleges and to erect the same into one corporation, which supports to every intent the respondents' plea in bar, and utterly disproves the allegations of the complainants' replication denying that the complainant corporation was dissolved before their bill of complaint was filed.

Doubts have often been expressed whether a private corporation can be dissolved by the surrender of its corporate franchise into the hands of the government, but the question presented in this case is not of that character, as the act of the legislature uniting the two colleges did not contemplate that either college as an institution of learning should cease to exist, or that the funds of either should be devoted to any other use than that described in the original charters. All that was contemplated by the act in question was that the two institutions should be united in one corporation, as requested by the friends and patrons of both, that they might secure greater patronage and be able to extend their usefulness, and carry out more effectually the great end and aim of their creation.

Authorized as the act of the legislature was by the reservation contained in the original charter, and sanctioned as the act was by having been adopted by the corporators, it is clear to a demonstration that the act uniting the two colleges was a valid act, and that the two original corporations became merged in the one corporation created by the amendatory and enabling act passed for that purpose, and that neither of the original corporations is competent to sue for any cause of action subsequent in date to their acceptance of the new act of incorporation. (Revere v. Copper Co., 15 Pick., 351. Att'y Gen. v. Clergy Society, 10 Rich. Eq., 604.)

II. Sufficient has already been remarked to show that the case of the dissenting trustees of the new corporation, which is the second case, is governed by the same principles as the preceding case. They admit that the act of the legislature uniting the two colleges in one corporation was duly accepted by the original corporators, and they also admit in effect that it is a valid law.

Express provision was therein made that the two colleges should be united in one corporation by the name of Washington and Jefferson College, and that the new corporation should possess and enjoy all the capacities, powers, privileges, immunities, and franchises which were possessed and enjoyed by the original institutions and the trustees thereof, "with such enlargements and subject to such changes therein as are made by this act."

Accepted as that act was by the trustees of the original institutions, they not only ratified the reservation contained in the fifth section of the charter of Jefferson College, but they in express terms adopted the changes made in the amended charter uniting the two institutions in one corporation.

Viewed in the light of these suggestions the present case stands just as it would if the reservation contained in the original charter had been in terms incorporated into the new charter uniting the two corporations into one corporation, which the complainants in this case admit is a valid act of the legislature. Such an admission however, is not necessary to establish that fact, as the act was passed by the assent of the two corporations and in
pursuance of the reserved power to that effect contained in the original charter of the corporation to which the complaining corporators in the preceding case belonged.

Grant that the power existed in the legislature to pass the act uniting the two institutions and it follows that the supplementary act which was passed to render the first act practically available is also a rightful exercise of legislative authority, as it is clear that substantially the same reservation is contained in the act providing for the union of the two institutions as that contained in the original charter by virtue of which the act was passed uniting the two institutions in one corporation.—(Bailey v. Hollister, 26 N. Y., 112 Sherman v. Smith, 1 Black, 587.)

Tested by these considerations the court here is of the opinion that the decision of the state court in the second case is also correct.

III. Plans of various kinds were devised by the trustees of Jefferson College and put in operation for the endowment of the institution; and, among others, was the plan of establishing what was called the scholarships, whereby a contributor on payment of twenty-five dollars became entitled to tuition for one person for a prescribed period, called a right to a single scholarship; or, on payment of fifty dollars, to a family scholarship; or, on payment of one hundred dollars, to tuition for thirty years; or on payment of four hundred dollars, to a perpetual scholarship, to be designated by whatever name the contributor might select.

Contracts of the kind were outstanding at the respective times when each of the two acts of the legislature in question was passed, and the complaints in the third case are owners of such scholarships, and they bring their bill of complaint, for themselves and such other persons owning such scholarships as may desire to unite in the bill for the relief therein prayed. They pray that both of the before-mentioned acts of the legislature may be declared null and void as repugnant both to the state and Federal Constitution, but it will be sufficient to remark, without entering into any further explanations, that the second question is the only one which can be re-examined in this court.

What they claim is that the acts of the legislature in question impair the obligation of their contracts for scholarship as made with the trustees of Jefferson College before the two institutions were united in one corporation. Reference must be made to the charter creating the union as well as to the original charters in order to ascertain whether there is any foundation for the allegations of the bill of complaint.

By the first section of the act creating the union it is provided that the new corporation "shall possess and enjoy all the capacities, powers, privileges, immunities and franchises which were conferred upon and held by said colleges of Jefferson and Washington and the trustees thereof, with such enlargements and subject to such changes therein as are made by this act." Section two also provides that all the real and personal property held and possessed by or in trust for the said colleges, with all endowment funds, choses in action, stocks, bequests, and devises, and all other rights whatever to them belonging, are thereby transferred to and vested in the new
corporation; and the further provision is that “all the several liabilities of said two colleges or corporations by either of them suffered or created, including the scholarships heretofore granted by and obligatory upon each of them, are hereby imposed upon and declared to be assumed by the corporation hereby created, which shall discharge and perform the same without diminution or abatement.”

Undoubtedly the corporate franchises of the two institutions were contracts of the description protected by that clause of the Constitution which ordains that no state shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts, but the contract involved in such an act of incorporation is a contract between the State and the corporation, and as such the terms of the contract may, as a general rule, be altered, modified, or amended by the assent of the corporation, even though the charter contains no such reservation and there was none such existing in any general law of the state at the time the charter was granted.

Persons making contracts with a private corporation know that the Legislature, even without the assent of the corporation, may amend, alter, or modify their charters in all cases where the power to do so is reserved in the charter or in any antecedent general law in operation at the time the charter was granted, and they also know that such amendments, alterations, and modifications may, as a general rule, be made by the legislature with the assent of the corporation, even in cases where the charter unis conditional in its terms and there is no general law of the state containing any such reservation.

Such contracts made between individuals and the corporation do not vary or in any manner change or modify the relation between the state and the corporation in respect to the right of the state to alter, modify, or amend such a charter, as the power to pass such law depends upon the assent of the corporation or upon some reservation made at the time, as evidenced by some pre-existing general law or by an express provision incorporated into the charter.

Cases arise undoubtedly where a court of equity will enjoin a corporation not to proceed under an amendment to their charter passed by their assent, as where the effect would be to enable the corporation to violate their contracts with third persons, but no such question is here presented for the decision of this court, nor can it ever be under a writ of error to a state court. Questions of that kind are addressed very largely to the judicial discretion of the court and create the necessity for inquiry into the facts of the case and for an examination into all the surrounding circumstances—(Hascall v. Madison University, 8 Barb., 174).

Beyond doubt such a question may be presented in the circuit court in the exercise of its jurisdiction, concurrent with the state courts, as such a writ only removes into this court the questions, or some one of the questions, described in the twenty-fifth section of the judiciary act.—(Ward v. The Society of Attorneys. 1 Collyer New Cas., 877.)

Considerations of that kind must, therefore, be dismissed, as the only question presented for decision is whether the acts of the legislature men-
tioned in the bill of complaint impair the obligation of the contracts for scholarship made by the complainants with the trustees of Jefferson College.

Decided cases are referred to in which it is held that the trustees of such an institution, where the terms of the charter amount to a contract and the charter contains no reservation of a right to alter, modify, or amend it, cannot consent to any change in the charter made by the legislature which contemplates a diversion of the funds of the institution to any other purpose than that described and declared in the original charter. All or nearly all of such decisions are based on a state of facts where an attempt was made to take the control of such an institution from one religious sect or denomination and to give the control of it to another and a different sect or denomination, in violation of the intent and purpose of the original donors of the institution—(State v. Adams, 44 Missouri, 570.)

Questions of that kind, however, are not involved in the present record, nor do the court intend to express any opinion in respect to such a controversy. Charters of the kind may certainly be altered, modified, or amended in all cases where the power to pass such laws is reserved in the charter or in some antecedent general law, nor can it be doubted that the assent of the corporation is sufficient to render such legislation valid unless it appears that the new legislation will have the effect to change the control of the institution or to divert the fund of the donors to some new use inconsistent with the intent and purpose for which the endowment was originally made.—(Railroad v. Canal Company, 21 Penn St., 22.)

Consent of the corporation, it is conceded, is sufficient to warrant alteration, modification, and amendments in the charters of moneyed, business, and commercial corporations, and it is not perceived that the question presented in this record stands upon any different footing from such as arise out of legislation of that character, as the principal objection to the legislation in question is that the removal of Jefferson College to the newly selected location exposes the complainants, as owners of the scholarships, to increased expense and to additional inconvenience.—(Allen v. McKean, 1 Sum, 299.

They do not pretend that the effect of the new legislation will be to lessen the influence and usefulness of the college or to divert the funds to a different purpose from that which was intended by the donors, nor that it will have the effect to change the character of the institution from the original purpose and design of its founders. Pretences of the kind, if set up, could not be supported, as the whole record shows that the two acts of assembly were passed at the earnest solicitation of the patrons of the two institutions as well as at the request of the respective boards of trustees.

Even suppose that the consent of the corporation is no answer to the objections of the complainants, still the decree of the state court must be affirmed, as it is clear that the reservation in the charter fully warranted the legislature in passing both the acts which are the subject of complaint.—(People v. Manhattan Co., 9 Wend., 351. Roxbury v. Railroad Co., 5 Cush., 424. White v. Railroad, 14 Barb., 554.)

Suggestions may be made that the reservation even in the original
charter is not expressed in direct terms, but the terms are the same as those employed in the charter which was the subject of judicial examination in the case of Com. v. Bonsal & al., 3 Whart., 566, which was decided more than thirty years ago by the supreme court of the state. Provisions was made in the charter in that case that the constitution of a certain public school should not be altered or alterable by any law of the trustees or in any other manner than by the act of the legislature of this State.—When incorporated the charter of the school provided that the trustees should be chosen by such persons, as had contributed or should contribute to the amount of forty shillings for the purposes of the corporation. Pursuant to the petition of the trustees the legislature passed an act which repealed that clause of the charter and provided that all the citizens residing within the limits of the township should be entitled to vote at all such elections, and the supreme court of the state held unanimously that the act of assembly was a valid act, even though it was not accepted by the corporation.

Reference is made to that case to show that the clause in the charter of Jefferson College, called the reservation, furnished complete authority to alter, modify, or amend the charter, and certainly it must be conceded that that case is a decisive authority to that point.—(State v. Miller, 2 VRoom, 521, Story v. Jersey City & al., 1 Green, N. J., 13.)

Controlled by these reasons the court is of the opinion that the act uniting the two colleges in one corporation was a valid act even as against the complaints in the third case.

They complain also of the supplementary act, but they hardly contend that the legislature, in passing the act to unite the two institutions, parted with any power which was reserved in the original charter of Jefferson College to enact any proper law to alter, modify, or amend the act providing for that union. Extended argument upon that topic does not seem to be necessary as there is not a word in the act which favors such a construction or which gives such a theory the slightest support.

Proper care was taken by the legislature to protect the rights of these complainants by incorporating into the act uniting the two colleges a provision that the new corporation should discharge and perform those liabilities without diminution or abatement. Such contracts were made with the trustees and not with the state, and it is a mistake to suppose that the existence of such a contract between the corporation and an individual would inhibit the legislature from altering, modifying, or amending the charter of the corporation by virtue of a right reserved to that effect, or with the assent of the corporation, if, in view of all the circumstances, the legislature should see fit to exercise that power. The decree in each case is affirmed.
APPENDIX II

Trustees, Administrators, and Faculty

A. Principals and Presidents of Jefferson College
   1802–1865

Rev. John Watson; chosen August 29, 1802; died November 30, 1802.
Rev. James Dunlap; chosen April 27, 1803; resigned April 25, 1811.
Rev. Andrew Wylie, D. D.; chosen April 29, 1812; resigned April, 1816.
Rev. William McMillan; chosen September 24, 1817; resigned August 14, 1822.
Rev. David R. Riddle, D. D.; chosen November 4, 1862; in office at the Union.

B. Principals and Presidents of Washington College
   1806–1865

Rev. John W. Scott, D. D.; elected November 10, 1852; in office at the Union.

C. Presidents of Washington and Jefferson College
   From the Union in 1865

Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, D. D.; elected President pro tem April 20, 1869; time expired August 4, 1869.
Appendix II

Rev. James I. Brownson, D. D.; elected President pro tem February 1, 1870; time expired August 3, 1870.
Rev. George P. Hays, D. D.; elected August 3, 1870; inaugurated September 21, 1870; resigned June 3, 1881.
Rev. William E. Slemmons, D. D.; President pro tem 1918 to 1919.
Dr. Simon S. Baker; elected January 26, 1922; inaugurated March 29, 1922; resigned May 13, 1931.
Rev. Ralph C. Hutchison, Ph.D.; elected November 13, 1931; inaugurated April 2, 1932; resigned May 7, 1945.
Boyd C. Patterson, Ph. D.; elected March 24, 1950; inaugurated June 10, 1950.

D. Trustees of Jefferson College 1802–1865

Appointed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, January 15, 1802

Rev. Joseph Patterson; resigned September, 1805.
Rev. Thomas Marquis; resigned September, 1817.
Rev. John Black; died, 1802.
Rev. John McPherrin; resigned September, 1804.
Rev. James Power; resigned September, 1806.
Rev. James Dunlap; resigned April, 1803.
Alexander Cook, Esq.; resigned October, 1802.
James Edgar, Esq.; resigned September, 1805.
John McDowell, Esq.; died, 1809.
James Allison, Esq.; died September, 1807.
William Finley, Esq.; died April, 1805.
John Mercer, Esq.; resigned September, 1814.
Craig Ritchie, Esq.; died, 1833.
Gen. John Hamilton; resigned April, 1831.
William Hughes, Esq.; resigned December, 1817.
Joseph Vance, Esq.; resigned September, 1810.
Robert Mahon, Esq.; resigned September, 1824.
James Kerr, Esq.; died, 1835.
Aaron Lyle, Esq.; resigned April, 1822.
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Elected

Rev. Thomas Moore; elected April, 1802; resigned April, 1814.
Rev. Samuel Porter; elected October, 1802; resigned September, 1811.
James Allison, Jr., Esq.; elected October, 1802; resigned September, 1817.
Rev. John Riddle; elected April, 1803; resigned April, 1805.
Rev. James Hughes; elected September, 1804; resigned September, 1814.
Rev. William Swan; elected September, 1804; resigned September, 1824.
Dr. Samuel Murdock; elected April, 1805; resigned April, 1817.
Rev. John Anderson; elected April, 1805; resigned September, 1808.
William Rhea, Esq.; elected September, 1805; resigned December, 1827.
Gen. John Morgan; elected September, 1807; resigned September, 1817.
Rev. William McMillan; elected September, 1808; resigned September, 1817.
Thomas Briceland, Esq.; elected September, 1809; died, 1819.
James Mountain, Esq.; elected September, 1810; died, 1814.
Rev. William Wylie; elected September, 1811; resigned April, 1818.
John McDonald, Esq.; elected April, 1814; died, 1831.
Rev. Elisha McCurdy, D. D.; elected April, 1814; resigned September, 1820.
Rev. Moses Allen; elected September, 1814; resigned March, 1839.
Abner Lacock, Esq.; elected September, 1814; resigned September, 1817.
Rev. Michael Law; elected September, 1817; died, 1822.
Richard Johnston, Esq.; elected September, 1817; died, 1837.
Benjamin Williams, Esq.; elected September, 1817; died, 1860.
Andrew Munro, Esq.; elected September, 1817; died, 1841.
John Reed, Esq.; elected September, 1817; in office at the Union.
Joseph Clokey, Jr., Esq.; elected December, 1817; died ——.
Samuel Logan, Esq.; elected December, 1817; resigned September, 1837.
Rev. Robert Johnston; elected April, 1818; resigned September, 1835.
Dr. Jonathan Leatherman; elected April, 1820; died, 1844.
Rev. Elisha P. Swift, D. D.; elected September, 1820; resigned August, 1852.
Rev. Thomas D. Baird; elected April, 1822; died, 1838.
John Phillips, Esq.; elected April, 1822; died, 1845.
Rev. William Wilson; elected September, 1824; resigned April, 1833.
James Gordon, Esq.; elected December, 1825; in office at the Union.
William McCreary, Esq.; elected April, 1826; resigned March, 1839.
Dr. D. S. Stevenson; elected September, 1831; died, 1849.
William Patterson, Esq.; elected March, 1832; died, 1835.
Daniel Houston, Esq.; elected September, 1833; died, 1863.
Appendix II

Hon. Robert C. Grier; elected September, 1835; resigned February, 1855.
John Hays, Esq.; elected September, 1835; in office at the Union.
Hon. H. H. Leavitt; elected March, 1837; resigned October, 1847.
James McClelland, Esq.; elected September, 1837; resigned March, 1853.
William Park, Esq.; elected March, 1839; in office at the Union.
James McCullough, Esq.; elected September, 1841; in office at the Union.
William McDaniel, Esq.; elected September, 1844; in office at the Union.
Dr. John V. Herriott; elected September, 1844; resigned August, 1853.
Rev. James Sloan, D. D.; elected September, 1845; in office at the Union.
William Marks, Esq.; elected September, 1845; died, 1858.
Thomas Nicholson, Esq.; elected October, 1847; in office at the Union.
Rev. William M. Paxton, D. D.; elected August, 1851; in office at the Union.
Rev. William P. Breed; elected December, 1852; resigned August, 1856.
William S. Calohan, Esq.; elected March, 1853; in office at the Union.
James K. Moorehead, Esq.; elected August, 1853; in office at the Union.
James P. Sterrett, Esq.; elected July, 1855; in office at the Union.
Rev. James Alexander, D. D.; elected August, 1856; in office at the Union.
William Hall; elected August, 1858; in office at the Union.
James Veech; elected August 6, 1861; in office at the Union.
John E. Bell; elected August 4, 1863; in office at the Union.
Rev. James C. Campbell; elected August 3, 1864; in office at the Union.

E. Trustees of Washington College
1806–1865

Elected March 28, 1806

Rev. Obadiah Jennings; resigned September 28, 1808.
Alexander Wright; resigned September 26, 1815.
James Allison; resigned September 27, 1809.
John Hoge; resigned April 28, 1808.
James Brice; resigned April 30, 1824.
Samuel Clark; resigned September 28, 1808.
Rev. Joseph Patterson; resigned December 26, 1806.
Andrew Swearingen; resigned September 27, 1810.
William Hoge; resigned April 27, 1810.
Parker Campbell; died July 30, 1824.
David Bruce; resigned September 28, 1808.
Isaac Jenkinson; resigned September 28, 1808.
David Cook; resigned September 26, 1815.
Joseph Pentecost; died March 22, 1823.
James Allison, Jr.; resigned April 2, 1830.
John Simonson; died December 2, 1809.
Rev. John Anderson; resigned September 27, 1831.
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Alexander Reed; resigned October 7, 1819.
Samuel Ralston; declined to serve April 28, 1808.
Isaiah Blair; resigned ———.
David Hoge, resigned September 28, 1808.

Elected Later

Rev. Andrew Gwin; elected December 26, 1806; resigned May 8, 1818.
William McKennan; elected December 26, 1806; died January, 1810.
Rev. Cephas Dodd; elected April 28, 1808; resigned May 6, 1850.
Rev. William Speer; elected April 28, 1808; resigned October 7, 1819.
David Shields; elected September 28, 1808; resigned April 2, 1830.
James Asherbrooke; elected September 28, 1808; died September 29, 1825.
Hugh Wilson; elected September 28, 1808; died April 13, 1832.
Rev. Philip Dodridge; elected September 28, 1808; resigned September 26, 1816.
Daniel Moore; elected September 27, 1809; resigned April 2, 1830.
David Morris; elected September 27, 1809; resigned September 24, 1823.
Rev. Thomas Allison; elected April 27, 1810; resigned April 30, 1823.
Rev. Joseph Stephenson; elected April 27, 1810; resigned April 26, 1825.
Thomas McGiffin; elected April 27, 1810; died February 5, 1841.
Rev. Robert Anderson; elected September 27, 1810; resigned September 29, 1825.
Rev. Obadiah Jennings; elected April 28, 1812; resigned April 22, 1828.
George Baird; elected April 28, 1812; resigned, 1832.
Alexander Murdoch; elected September 26, 1815; died August, 1837.
Rev. Thomas Hoge; elected September 26, 1816; resigned April 29, 1818.
Thomas M. T. McKennan; elected April 29, 1818; died July 9, 1852.
Rev. Charles Wheeler; elected October 7, 1819; resigned March 26, 1834.
Hon. Thomas H. Baird; elected October 7, 1819; resigned April 2, 1830.
Rev. John Graham; elected April 30, 1823; resigned April 2, 1830.
Hon. John Kennedy; elected April 30, 1823; resigned May 2, 1842.
James Blaine; elected September 30, 1824; died February 1, 1848.
Rev. William Wylie; elected April 26, 1825; resigned September 24, 1833.
Hon. Joseph Ritner; elected April 24, 1827; resigned November 9, 1852.
Talbot Jones; elected September 25, 1827; resigned August 4, 1832.
Rev. John Stockton, D. D.; elected April 22, 1828; resigned March 27, 1839.
William Baird; elected April 2, 1820; died October 6, 1834.
Francis J. LeMoyne, M. D.; elected April 2, 1830; in office at the Union.
Alexander Reed; elected April 2, 1830; died September 9, 1842.
John K. Wilson; elected April 2, 1830; resigned March 29, 1853.
Rev. J. M. McCluskey, D. D.; elected August 27, 1832; resigned November 9, 1852.
Rev. David Elliott, D. D.; elected March 31, 1832; resigned November 9, 1853.
Appendix II

Rev. William C. Anderson, D. D.; elected September 25, 1832; resigned November 9, 1852.
Isaac Leet; elected September 24, 1833; resigned March 30, 1842.
Hon. John H. Ewing; elected September 24, 1834; resigned November 9, 1852.
Robert R. Reed, M. D.; elected March 26, 1835; resigned March 29, 1853.
John L. Gow; elected September 28, 1836; resigned November 9, 1852.
Rev. D. Deruelle; elected September 25, 1838; resigned September 24, 1845.
Rev. E. S. Graham; elected March 25, 1841; resigned ——.
Hon. A. W. Acheson; elected March 30, 1842; resigned November 9, 1853.
Rev. A. D. Campbell, D. D.; elected September 27, 1842; resigned November 9, 1853.
Joseph H. Kuhns; elected September 27, 1842; resigned November 9, 1853.
Rev. H. G. Comingo; elected September 26, 1843; resigned November 9, 1853.
George Baird; elected March 26, 1844; resigned November 9, 1853.
Rev. John Stockton, D. D.; elected September 24, 1845; resigned November 9, 1852.
Rev. John Kerr; elected September 24, 1846; resigned November 9, 1853.
Alexander Murdoch; elected March 26, 1850; resigned November 9, 1852.
Rev. Thomas Hanna, D. D.; elected March 26, 1850; resigned March 27, 1853.
William McKennan; elected July 13, 1852; resigned November 9, 1853.

Elected under the Union with the Synod of Wheeling

Hon. John H. Ewing; elected November 9, 1852; in office at the Union.
Rev. H. G. Comingo; elected November 9, 1852; died in 1861.
Thomas McKennan, M. D.; elected November 9, 1852; in office at the Union.
Rev. James Kerr; elected November 9, 1852; resigned, 1856.
Alexander Murdoch; elected November 10, 1852; resigned September 20, 1853.
Rev. Robert Hays; elected November 10, 1852; in office at the Union.
Rev. C. V. McKaig, D. D.; elected March 29, 1853; in office at the Union.
David S. Wilson; elected September 20, 1853; in office at the Union.
George Baird; elected November 9, 1853; died November 2, 1860.
John Kerr; elected November 9, 1853; in office at the Union.
Banners in the Wilderness

Rev. James I. Brownson, D. D.; elected November 9, 1853; in office at the Union.
Hon. A. W. Acheson; elected November 9, 1853; in office at the Union.
Rev. David Elliott, D. D.; elected November 9, 1853; resigned March 29, 1865.
Rev. A. D. Campbell, D. D.; elected November 9, 1853; died, 1862.
Rev. Samuel M. McClung; elected November 9, 1853; in office at the Union.
Rev. Joseph Donahey; elected June 19, 1855; resigned June 19, 1858.
Rev. Rev. A. D. Campbell, D. D.; elected November 9, 1853; died, 1862.
Rev. Rev. Samuel M. McClung; elected November 9, 1853; in office at the Union.
Rev. Rev. A. D. Campbell, D. D.; elected November 9, 1853; died, 1862.

F. Faculty of Jefferson College

In Order of Election

Rev. John Watson, President and Professor, Languages and Moral Philosophy, 1802———.
Rev. John McMillan, Professor, Divinity, 1802———.
Samuel Miller, A. M., Professor, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1802-1830.
Rev. James Dunlap, A. M., President and Professor, Languages and Moral Philosophy, 1803-1811.
Rev. William Smith, D. D., Professor, Languages, 1821———.
Rev. Richard Campbell, A. M., Professor, Languages and Mathematics, 1826-1827.
Rev. John H. Kennedy, A. M., Professor, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1830-1840.
Samuel Miller, A. M., Honorary Professor, Mathematics, 1830-1831.
Jacob Green, M. D., Professor, Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Natural History, 1832-1841.
Appendix II

C. J. Hadermann, Esq., Professor, Mathematics and Modern Languages, 1834-1836.
William Darby, Esq., A. M., Professor, History, Geography, and Astronomy, 1838-1841.
Rev. A. B. Brown, A. M., Professor, Belles-Lettres and Adjunct Professor, Languages, 1841-1847.
Rev. Henry Snyder, A. M., Adjunct Professor, Mathematics, 1841—--; Professor, Mathematics, 1843-1850.
S. R. Williams, A. M., Professor, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, 1843-1852.
Rev. Robert W. Orr, A. M., Professor, Civil Engineering and Natural History, 1844-1845.
Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., Principal, 1845-1847.
John D. Vowell, M. D., Professor Extraordinary, Physiology and Comparative Anatomy, 1846—--.
Rev. William Smith, Vice-President, College, 1847—--.
Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, D. D.; Professor Extraordinary, Rhetoric, 1849—--.
Robert Patterson, A. M., Professor, Mathematics, 1850-1854.
Rev. William Ewing, A. M., Professor Extraordinary, History and Modern Languages, 1852—--.
Samuel R. Williams, A. M., Professor Extraordinary, Natural Science, 1852-1854.
Samuel Jones, A. M., Professor, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, 1852—--.
Rev. Aaron Williams, D. D., Professor, Latin Language and Literature, 1852-1859.
John Fraser, A. M., Professor, Mathematics, 1855—--.
John B. Stilley, A. M., Professor Extraordinary, Civil Engineering, 1855—--.
Banners in the Wilderness

Rev. A. B. Brown, D. D., Professor, English Literature, 1856—
Rev. Joseph Alden, D. D., LL. D., President and Professor, Mental and Moral Philosophy, 1857-1862.
Alonzo Linn, A. M., Professor, Political Economy and History, 1857—
M. B. Riddle, D. D., Adjunct Professor, Greek, 1857—
C. M. Dodd, A. M., Professor, Latin, 1861—
Dr. J. V. Herriott, Professor, Anatomy and Physiology, 1861—
Rev. William Smith, D. D., Professor Emeritus, Greek, 1861—
Alonzo Linn, Professor, Greek, 1861—
Rev. David H. Riddle, D. D., President and Professor, Mental and Moral Science, 1862—

G. Faculty of Washington College

In Order of Election

James Reed, Professor, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1806-1823.
Dr. J. Blair, Professor, Medicine, 1806—
John Reed, Professor, Languages, 1815—
John W. Scott, Professor, Mathematics, 1824-1828.
Rev. David Elliott, D. D., Principal pro tem, 1830-1831.
J. Holmes Agnew, Professor, Languages, 1831-1832.
John L. Gow, Esq., Professor, English Literature, 1831-1836.
Robert Fulton, Professor, Languages, 1832-1833.
Joseph Ritner, Jr., Professor, Civics, English, and French, 1832-1833.
William K. McDonald, Professor, Belles-Lettres, 1833-1837.
Rev. David Ferguson, Professor, Languages, 1837-1844.
Louis B. Williams, Professor, English Literature, 1839-1840.
Rev. Robert Milligan, Professor, English Literature, 1840-1852.
Rev. Nicholas Murray, Professor, Languages, 1844-1852.
John L. Gow, Professor Extraordinary, Municipal Law, 1846-1849.
James King, M. D., Professor Extraordinary, Physiology and Hygiene, 1846-1849.
Rev. James W. McKennan, Adjunct Professor, Languages, 1851-1852.
Rev. James I. Brownson, D. D., President pro tem, 1852-1853.
Rev. John W. Scott, D. D., LL. D., President, 1852—In office at the Union.
Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., Professor, Languages, 1852-1853.
Rev. James W. McKennan, D. D., Principal, English Department, 1852-1854.
Appendix II

William J. Martin, Professor, Natural Science, 1854-1858.
John W. Acheson, Professor pro tem, Languages, 1858-1859.
William H. Brewer, Professor, Natural Science, 1858-1860.
Rev. James Black, D. D., Professor, Languages, 1859—In office at the Union.
Dr. Alexander Muckle, Professor, Natural Science, 1861-1862.
Rev. William J. Brugh, Professor, Natural Science, 1863—In office at the Union.
APPENDIX III

Students

In the limited space of this volume we cannot mention all the graduates of a hundred years, or even the prominent leaders, but in addition to the names already given throughout the narrative—chiefly educators, ministers, lawyers, soldiers, pioneers, and others—we may submit the names of a few students characteristic of those who have contributed to the fame of the two colleges.

Walter Lowrie (Jefferson, 1837), representative for all the many missionaries who went from Jefferson. He was murdered by pirates in the China Sea.

The Honorable John White Geary (Jefferson, 1839), hero of the Mexican War and the Civil War; mayor of San Francisco during the Gold Rush; governor of "Bleeding Kansas" during the "Free Soil Debate"; governor of the Charleston, S. C., district during the "Reconstruction Period"; twice governor of Pennsylvania.

Stephen Collins Foster, a brief-time student at Jefferson in the summer of 1841. It was his only college and chosen by him as the college of his grandfather, father, and older brother, Morrison Foster. His tradition still lingers and his family is still known at W. and J. It is ironic that he whose words and music have gone around the world lacked the $2.00 necessary for joining a literary society at Jefferson College.

Elliott S. Riggs, M. D. (Jefferson, 1863), physician and pioneer surgeon. There were many like him—from both colleges.

James Gillespie Blaine (Washington, 1847), parliamentarian; long-time speaker of the House of Representatives, advocate of Pan-American friendship; frequent candidate for president; secretary of state, and for eleven weeks acting president of the United States during the illness of President Garfield after his assassination. It was at this period Blaine wrote to Judge McKennan his regret for his inability to attend the Centennial Celebration at Washington, Pa., saying, "I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were and are not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the Beautiful River (Monongahela), in Protestant and Catholic Cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves."

With regret we must leave all the others who make up the gallant list, unrecorded. Biographical data are available, however, in some of the older catalogues of W. and J., especially the Biographical and Historical Catalogue of Washington and Jefferson College, 1802-1902. Even there are some inaccuracies, such as dates of graduation; the author has found this to be so from examination of other contemporary reliable sources.

At the time of the union of the two colleges in 1865, the Historical Catalogue of 1889 tells us that Jefferson College had graduated 1,950 students, of whom almost half were ministers; Washington College, 877, of whom a slightly lower proportion, between one-third and one-half, were ministers. Broken down further, the catalogue divides these statistics into groups, as follows:
Appendix III

Jefferson:                      Washington:
Ministers                     Ministers 340
Lawyers                       Lawyers 215
Physicians                    Physicians 115
Other Occupations             Other Occupations 207
                                    1,950
                                    877

Among these were:
Missionaries                  Missionaries 13
Soldiers                      Soldiers 124
Chaplains                     Chaplains 17

The statistics, alone, of course, cannot give any impression of the amazing contribution these graduates of the two colleges have given to the growing nation and to the world. It cannot show that many of the ministers were also college presidents or professors; that most of the soldiers were lifetime physicians or lawyers or businessmen; that all chaplains were ministers, at home; that many of the lawyers were judges or statesmen or public officials; that there was scarcely a year when a Washington graduate did not appear in the Senate or the House as a delegate for Pennsylvania or some other state; that Jefferson was an incredible maker of college presidents; in short, that there was no field of endeavor—the arts, education, religion, the professions of medicine and law, or business—which was not generously represented by graduates of these two old Western Pennsylvania colleges.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I
The Founders and the Pioneer Schools
1780-1787

1. "Charters of Washington and Jefferson College," compiled by Charles M. Ewing for Washington and Jefferson College Historical Collections. (To be indicated hereafter as W. and J. C. H. C.) See also Appendix A.


3. Thaddeus Dod, Hoc Dierum or a Daily Journal (1740-1770), entry under the year 1781. The original of the Dod diary is in W. and J. C. H. C.


5. Ibid., The Journal of John McMillan, Appendix A, p. 207. The original of this part of the McMillan Journal is owned by John Alden Wragg and his wife, Helen Allen Wragg.

6. Ibid., Appendix A, p. 205.

7. Ibid., Appendix C (Letter from the late Rev. Dr. McMillan to President Carnahan). McMillan's letter was to James Carnahan, a student at Canonsburg Academy prior to 1798 and later president of Princeton, 1823-1853. The original of this letter is not available, but a copy dated March 26, 1832, was published in The Presbyterian Advocate, January 29, 1845, p. 1. Joseph Smith included in his History of Jefferson College, pp. 413-417, a copy of a McMillan manuscript almost identical with the letter of Carnahan except for a few omissions. The Smith copy, dated January, 1832, was perhaps a first draft of the letter sent three months later.

8. Ibid., p. 178.

9. McMillan referred often to these men he trained for the ministry as the "first set," those who came earliest under his teaching, and the "second set," those who came in a later generation.


13. Graham's school at Liberty Hall was the forerunner of Washington College in Virginia, which was parent of Washington and Lee University.


15. Dod's manuscript, "Covenant with God," also 1764, is in W. and J. C. H. C.

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17. Jacob Lindley to Cephas Dodd, ms. letter, February 12, 1855, W. and J. C. H. C.
19. Ibid., p. 55.
20. "... a district of country now, perhaps, partly included in Adams County." See Smith, Old Redstone, p. 57.
21. Ibid., p. 76.
24. Samuel Finley was president of Princeton from 1761 until his death in 1766; Joseph Smith was a student under Finley. See Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Princeton 1746-1896, p. 45.
25. Guthrie, op. cit., pp. 48-50. See also Smith, Old Redstone, p. 226, in which Power is called "the first ordained minister that ever settled, with his family, in Western Pennsylvania." Power arrived in the West in 1776. See also Elliott, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 275 ff.
29. Elliott, op. cit., pp. 60-61. For other accounts of western revivals, see The Western Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence, Vol. I (1803) and II (1804), passim, W. and J. C. H. C.
31. Smith, Old Redstone, pp. 359 ff. According to Smith, on p. 360, McGready moved with his family from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, though it is uncertain whether he was born in Pennsylvania or Ireland. This is, of course, the same McGready who "read" McMillan's copy of Ovid.
33. For a brief account and full bibliography of James Ross, see The Dictionary of American Biography, XVI, p. 178. (To be indicated hereafter as D. A. B.) At the age of eighteen, after studying at Pequa, Ross went to Western Pennsylvania to teach Latin and Greek at the Canonsburg school of McMillan, his family's close friend. He gave up teaching to study law at the suggestion of H. H. Brackenridge—and thereupon began Ross's distinguished career in the affairs of Pennsylvania and the nation. He was a member of Pennsylvania's constitutional convention (1789-98), a U. S. Senator (1794-1803), and until 1808 an active leader of the Federalist party. After his retirement from politics upon the increasing popularity of the Jeffersonian Republicans, Ross devoted himself to his law practice and his land invest-
ments with his headquarters at Pittsburgh.
34. Smith, Old Redstone, pp. 439 ff.
35. See D. A. B., XI, pp. 275-276, on Lindley's varied connections with
the predecessor of Ohio University.
36. Elliott, op. cit., with special reference to Chapter III.
37. Smith, Old Redstone, p. 78.
38. See Note 29, this chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Washington Academy
1787-1806

1. Minute Book of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, 1787-
1856, in W. and J. C. H. C.
was officially founded in 1636 by a grant of the Massachusetts Bay Colony,
and its first Board of Overseers was appointed in 1637. In 1638, the endow-
ment was increased by a bequest from John Harvard, for whom the school
was named the following year, when instruction actually began. Twelve
years later, in 1650, Harvard College was chartered and a Harvard Corpo-
ration was formed for the running of the school with the Board of Overseers.
Several dates could be declared the official starting point.
3. Smith, History of Jefferson College, p. 18, also Minutes of Washington
Academy.
6. Delaware was the first to ratify, December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania ratified
December 11, 1787. The first entry in Minutes is September, 1787.
7. Pennsylvania Archives, Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Sep-
tember 24, 1787.
9. Buck, Solon J. and Elizabeth H., Planting of Civilization in Western
11. D. A. B.
15. Most of these men had political careers which are discussed in the
book of the late Dr. Ferguson, op. cit.
16. W. and J. C. H. C. See also Daniel Agnew, A History of the Region
of Pennsylvania North of the Ohio and West of the Allegheny River, pp.
176-178.
Banners in the Wilderness

17. Minutes, op. cit., September 7, 1788.
18. Ibid., November 25, 1708.
19. See also Charles M. Ewing, Documentary History of Washington Academy.
20. Minutes, op. cit., March 6, 1789.
21. Ibid., June 11, 1789.
22. Crumrine Papers, W. and J.C.H.C.
23. Minutes, op. cit., July 11, 1792.
24. Ibid., December 24, 1792. The W. and J. C. H. C. still contains five volumes which it has identified as purchased by Franklin's gift: Jeremy Bentham, A Fragment of Government, being an Examination of What is delivered, on the Subject of Government in General, in the introduction to Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries (1776); Torbern Bergman, Physical and Chemical Essays, II (translated by Edmund Cullen from the Latin, 1784); John Bonnycastle, Elements of Geometry . . . of Euclid (1789); James Ferguson, The Art of Drawing in Perspective Made Easy (1778); and The Philosophical Dictionary: or, The Opinions of Modern Philosophers on Metaphysical, Moral, and Political Subjects, I (1786). Also in W. and J. C. H. C. are four books which were owned and autographed by Thaddeus Dod: John Clark, Europii Historiae Romanae Breviarium: cum Versione Anglica, in qua Verbum de Verbo exprimitur: etc. (1785), (also autographed by Cephas Dodd); Jonathan Edwards, The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin defined; Evidences of it's Truth produced, and Arguments to the Contrary answered (1758); The Works of the Reverend Dr. Edward Young, in four volumes (1770), (second volume only); Herman Witsius, The Oeconomy of the Covenants between God and Man, comprehending A Complete Body of Divinity. In two volumes (1761-1762).
25. Colonial Records xvi, p. 67, April 30, 1789. The Supreme Executive Council was the executive branch of the Government of Pennsylvania from 1776 to 1790, made up of twelve members representing the eleven counties and the City of Philadelphia. Each man served a three-year term. The president and vice president were elected from their number annually. Franklin was president from 1785 to 1788; Redick was elected to the Council in 1786 and was made vice president in 1788. The gift, more than $600, at that time would buy a substantial number of books, a creditable library for a frontier academy.
27. His name was spelled both Millar and Miller on various documents and in the newspaper.
29. Leland D. Baldwin, Whiskey Rebels, pp. 96-98. This, the definitive book on the Insurrection, is filled with interest for alumni of the College.
34. Carnahan, op. cit.
Notes

35. Earle R. Forrest, History of Washington County. See also Baldwin, op. cit., p. 265.
36. Ewing, Documentary History.
37. Minutes, op. cit., January 11, 1794.
38. Cephas Dodd, W. and J. C. H. C.
40. Ibid., July 14, 1806.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

Canonsburg Academy

1791-1802

2. Alfred Creigh, History of Washington County, p. 221.
3. Files of the Pittsburgh Gazette in the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.
17. Canonsburg Academy and Library Contract.
19. McMillan’s characterization of the generations of Presbyterian ministers who came to the West.
20. These were the men who followed the first set, and were often their students.
22. Allegheny College Minutes.
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23. Millar is praised extensively: Samuel Carnahan Jennings, Recollections of Useful Persons and Important Events within Seventy Years p. 100; Smith, op. cit., pp. 28-29 and 121-124, note; John H. Kennedy, Obituary of Samuel Miller, A. M. (N. D.)
24. Minutes of ... Canonsburg Academy, August 1, 1797.
25. W. and J. C. H. C. includes a file of original letters from Watson to his father-in-law John McMillan: one from Princeton in 1796 and five from various other places in 1802.
27. Loc. cit.
32. Minutes of ... Canonsburg Academy, April 27, 1802.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

Jefferson College
1802-1865

1. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College, 1802-1865, April 29, 1802.
2. Edgar was Board president 1802-1803; McDowell, 1803-1804; Ralston, 1809-1850; Jeffery, 1851-1865. See also Appendix II.
3. Minutes ... of Jefferson College, 1811.
6. Portraits of Jefferson and Franklin were stored in the attic of the old Roberts House on Central Avenue in Canonsburg from the time of the Union of Washington and Jefferson. In the 1930's they were sent to Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia.
7. Franklin died in 1790; the portrait was presented to the Academy by a descendant.
8. The library at Canonsburg was unusual for a frontier school, and many gifts did come from the South and from the East. During the process of union several items were lost and are not now in the W. and J. collection.
10. Ibid., p. 65.
11. Ibid., p. 70.
12. Minutes ... of Jefferson College, 1803.
13. Ibid., 1806.
of $210, "which although given for the purpose of building a College, should, in the meantime, be appointed to defray the current expenses of the College."

15. Green was acting president of Princeton 1802-1803 and president 1812-1822.


17. Dr. Murdoch, who served from 1805 to 1817, was a graduate of Dickinson College. He turned from theology to medicine when he developed physical difficulties with his voice. He practiced successfully in Canonsburg and in Washington from about 1800 to 1834, when he established a drug-store. He was elected a burgess of Canonsburg at the time of its organization as a borough in 1817. His father-in-law was the Rev. Matthew Hudson. Crumrine, *op. cit.*, passim.

18. Dr. Jonathan Leatherman was on the Board from 1820 until his death in 1844. Three of his sons were Jefferson graduates: Jonathan and Craig Ritchie, 1845; William H., 1853. They spelled the name Letterman.

19. See Appendix II for list of Board members and their terms of office.

20. Samuel Ralston, letter to Jacob Green at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, February 17, 1850, on the state of Jefferson College, on a controversy over baptism, and on the possible sponsorship of a Philadelphia Medical School. *W. and J.C.H.C.*


28. *Minutes . . . of Washington College*, October 25, 1815. See also "Report of a Committee of the Board of Washington College respecting the union of that College with Jefferson College. . . . Published by order of the Board of Trustees of Washington College," *W. and J.C.H.C.*

29. "Report of a Committee of the Board of Jefferson College, in answer to the publication of the Washington Board. . . . Published by order of the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College," *W. and J.C.H.C.*

30. Letters between Brown (June 30, 1806) and Hoge (July 2, 1806), *W. and J.C.H.C.*

31. The faction opposing Brown was led by the Hoge family; that supporting him by the Reed family.

32. Ferguson, *op. cit.*


According to one tradition, the speech was read by James Ross, but it is more likely that a member of the committee read the speech.

35. Washington Reporter, September 25, 1817.
37. Minutes ... of Jefferson College, 1817.
38. Ibid., 1802.
39. David Elliott, Historical Sketches ... Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, mss. See also Letter for the Rev. John Rea. W. and J.C.H.C.
40. Minutes ... of Jefferson College, August 13, 1822.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
45. Brownson, op. cit.
46. Smith, op. cit., p. 109, “I thought I saw in it the finger of Providence, and I became passive in his arms.”
47. Minutes ... of Washington College, Dec. 9, 1828.
48. The existence of this institution is traditional in source. Rather than an established school, there may have been merely tutoring for girls available through the efforts of Brown and an assistant, Mr. Williams. According to Crumrine, op. cit., p. 454, the first female academy in the vicinity was Edgeworth Ladies’ Seminary, started at Pittsburgh in 1825. Other well-known schools for girls were Steubenville Female Academy, founded in 1829 by the Rev. and Mrs. Charles C. Beatty, and Olome Institute, founded at Canonsburg in 1844 by Mrs. Olivia J. French.
49. About 1810, the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod decided to reorganize its seminary at Service, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, into “The Eastern Hall” at Philadelphia and “The Western Hall” at Canonsburg. The seminary at Canonsburg was opened around 1821 and held its classes in Jefferson College until its own building was finally completed in 1834 or 1835. For several years the Seminary’s two professors were Dr. James Ramsey, who was elected a professor of Hebrew at Jefferson College in 1824, and Dr. Abraham Anderson, who had been professor of languages at Jefferson from 1818 to 1821. Many young men who intended to enter the ministry of the Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church received their literary education at Jefferson before they went on to study theology. In 1858, three years after the Canonsburg seminary was removed even further westward to Xenia, the Associate Church was joined with the United Presbyterian Church.
50. In 1930, the Xenia Seminary was combined with the Pittsburgh Seminary, which had been founded in 1825 under the auspices of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, to form the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary of Pittsburgh, under the direct supervision of the American Synods of the United Presbyterian Church.
51. Princeton Theological Seminary had been founded in 1813; Western Theological Seminary was officially established in 1825. The first classes of
Western met in 1827 with two instructors and four students, but the school grew rapidly.

52. The 1952-1953 catalogue of Western claims "a direct line of descent from these pioneer schools" of Dod, Smith, and McMillan.

53. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, June 2, June 28, June 29, 1824; December 27, 1825; June 27, 1826; and January 7, 1827, for the initial steps in the establishing of Jefferson Medical School, which is still an active institution in Philadelphia—not connected with W. and J.

54. Jacob Green was a son of Ashbel Green, the former president of Princeton who became a member of the Jefferson Board of Trustees. See Appendix II and Note 15, this chapter.

55. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, September 30, 1830. The Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Jefferson College, August, 1831, contains a fuller description of the farm arrangements. The catalogue of 1832 is the first to mention a specific number of students on the farm. Students on the farm seem to have worked in a kind of cooperative arrangement, but students who lived in private homes or in the dormitories in Canonsburg were allowed to work individual pieces of ground in exchange for board at "The Refectory." W. and J.C.H.C.

56. Ibid., January 4, 1832.

57. Catalogues of Brown's term, W. and J.C.H.C. Most of them include a statement of student costs. The catalogue of 1832, the year of the scholarship statements, for example, says: "The price of Boarding in private families varies from $1 to $1.62½ per week; on the Farm it is 62½ cts.; and in the College about 75. Coal is 2½ cts. per bushel; and washing $2.50 per session. The College expenses amount to $25 per annum, which includes Tuition, fuel, Janitor's services, Library, repairs, and all contingent expenses."


59. Ibid., September 29, 1830.

60. Ibid., 1830.

61. Ibid., March 24, 1840.

62. Ibid., June 13, 1848.


64. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, April 25, 1816.

65. Ibid., April 28, 1829; January 6, 1830; September 26, 1832.


68. Ibid., September 6, 1832.

69. Guthrie, op. cit., p. 198.


71. The Biog. and Hist. Catalogue lists during Breckinridge's administration 42 graduates in 1845, of whom 5 were born in Southern or border states predominantly sympathetic with the South in the war to come; 37 in 1846,
of whom 4 were Southern; and 65 in 1847, of whom 13 were born below or almost on the Mason and Dixon line.

72. Ibid., June 9, 1847. Breckinridge's resignation was formally accepted at this meeting.
73. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, February 9, 1847.
77. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, October 14, 1847, mentions a committee appointed "to confer with students in relations to sundry petitions" and March 31, 1848, the "discharge" of the same committee.
79. Ibid., p. 8.
80. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, March 29, 1854; Presbyterian Advocate, April, 1854.
82. Ibid., March 28, 1860.
83. Ibid., November 4, 1862.
86. Minutes . . . of Jefferson College, 1862-1865.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V
Washington College
1806-1865

14. Several sermons and addresses by Brown are in *W. and J. C. H. C.*
15. Note his address to the graduates of Washington College, May 1, 1811, and its implicit criticism of “opulence.”
17. *Ibid.*, distinguished presiding judge of the 14th Judicial Pennsylvania District 1838-48; ruling elder, Presbyterian Church, 1833-74; oldest living graduate at the time of the Semicentennial, 1856; lived in Uniontown, Pa.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 288: studied medicine under his father and at Jefferson Medical College; practiced medicine, Washington, Pa., 1822-1879; candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; candidate for vice president of U. S.; trustee of Washington College 1830-1865; endowed the chairs of agriculture and applied mathematics at Washington College as an undergraduate, founded the band “Washington Blues” and the Union Literary Society; built the
first crematory in this country and was its third subject; one of the founders of the Female Seminary, of the Alumni Association of Washington College, of the Citizens Library; and of the Fire Department.

24. The presidents of Washington Board were John Hoge, 1806-1807; John Anderson, 1807-1831; Alexander Reed, 1831-1832; and David Elliott, 1832-1865. Appendix II lists the membership.

25. Archer B. Hulbert, Braddock's Road, Historic Highways.


27. Cephas Dodd, 1779-1858, was a pupil at Canonsburg Academy and a theological student of John McMillan. His notebook is in W. and J. C. H. C.


29. Ritner served as governor of Pennsylvania from 1835 to 1838. He was on the Washington Board from 1827 to 1852.

30. Ferguson, op. cit., gives an interesting account of the Huges in Congress.

31. See Chapter VI, The Union.

32. David Elliott was acting president of Washington College from September 28, 1830, to November 7, 1831. He became president of the Board in May, 1829, and the early part of 1831, the College was actually without a faculty, though it did not formally cease to operate.


36. Minutes . . . Washington College, June 24, 1816; May 22, 1818; February 18, May 18, 1819.


38. Pamphlet containing Dr. McConaughy's Commencement Address of September 26, 1832, and "Exposition of the state of the College, with courses of study, by the Board of Trustees, February 1, 1833." W. and J. C. H. C.


40. McConaughy's Commencement Address and "Exposition."


43. Taken from the account of the State Treasurer, in The Educator, a paper published at Lafayette College in 1838, listing gifts to all the colleges that received state aid.

44. Minutes . . . Washington College, 1825-1837.

45. Ibid., April 24, 1827 (resolution accepting the medical school as a part of Washington College); March 10, 1828; March 21 and July 11, 1830; September 26, 1831 (lists of students granted M. D. degrees under the charter of Washington College); March 21, 1832 (blank space left of list of M. D. recipients, never filled in). The Minutes of September 25, 1832; November 26, 1832; and March 27, 1833, indicate but do not clarify difficulties at Washington Medical School and the concern of the Board of Washington Col-
lege over these difficulties.


49. Author's conversations with the late Mr. James B. Wylie.

50. Copies of Wylie's letter recommending McGuffey as a teacher for Miami; and of letters written later from Indiana University, *W. and J. C. H. C.*

51. Brownson, *Historical Address*.

52. Letters to McGuffey, November, 1827.

53. *Minutes ... Washington College*, 1828.

54. Searight, *op. cit.*

55. *Ibid.,* p. 25.

56. *Ibid., passim*.

57. Murals, George Washington Hotel, Washington, Pennsylvania, by the famous Western Pennsylvania artist, Malcolm Parcell, show persons who stopped in Little Washington along the National Road.


59. The Globe Inn was at the corner of Main and Strawberry Streets where the DeNormandie Building now stands. There was a tavern here as early as 1797 which in 1798 became *The Sign of the Globe* under David Morris, host for thirty-six years.


61. John Scott Horner (Washington, 1819), became secretary and acting governor of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa territories, and Henry Stansbury of the same class was attorney general 1866-1868, under President Johnson.


64. Other notable travelers who passed through Washington along the National Road: 1774, George Rogers Clark; 1797, Louis Philippe of France to visit Dr. Absalom Baird (conversation in Latin); 1833, Black Hawk, defeated Indian Chief (Jefferson Davis his captor); 1837, General Santa Ana of Mexico; 1840, General Zachary Taylor; 1841, President Elect William Henry Harrison; 1843, ex-President John Quincy Adams; 1845, President Elect James K. Polk; Daniel Webster; General Winfield Scott; General Benjamin Butler; President Andrew Johnson of Tennessee; Jenny Lind, “the Swedish Nightingale”; Showman Phineas T. Barnum; and Davy Crockett.

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66. Ibid., February 26, 1830.
67. D. A. B., III. Trustee until his death in 1841, a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman.
68. Minutes . . . Washington College, December 7, 1830. The English schools combined business and normal schools as distinguished from liberal arts.
69. Ibid., November 7, 1831.
71. Minutes . . . Washington College, 1832.
72. Ibid., September 23, 1834.
73. Ibid., March 13, 1834.
74. Ibid., September 25, 1832; March 27, 1833; July 30, 1836; September 28, 1841.
75. Ibid., September 26, 1837. Request not granted.
76. Ibid., September 30, 1835.
77. Ibid., March 29, 1843.
78. Ibid., September 26, 1848; March 26, 1844.
79. Ibid., September 27, 1847.
80. Ibid., November 23, 1846.
81. Ibid., March 29, 1853.
82. Washington Examiner, September 30, 1854. Copies of Professor Lee's Address, W. and J. C. H. C.
83. Addresses at the Inauguration of James Clark, D.D., as President of Washington College, September 24, 1850, W. and J. C. H. C. The pamphlet, besides Clark's inaugural speech, includes an address of introduction by David Elliott, president of the Board.
86. Brownson was pastor from 1849 to 1899.
90. Addresses and Proceedings at the Inauguration of Rev. John W. Scott, D. D., as President of Washington College, September 20, 1853, W. and J. C. H. C. This pamphlet, besides Scott's inaugural speech, includes addresses by David Elliott as chairman of the Board of Trustees and by the Rev. C. VanRensselaer as a representative of the Synod of Wheeling.
91. Minutes . . . Washington College, November 9, 1852.
92. Ibid.
93. See Appendix II.
94. Minutes . . . Washington College, November 9, 1852.
95. Addresses and Proceedings, op. cit.
96. See the manuscript reports of Scott to the Board of Trustees, W. and J. C. H. C. The final report, 1864, refers to a loss of students and lowering of standards due to "the excitement of the times, and the paucity of regular Professors." Several reports urge the Trustees to fill the vacant professorial positions.
Notes

97. Minutes ... Washington College, January 29, 1861.
98. Ibid., March 27, 1861.
99. See the Washington Weekly Review of December 30, 1852, W. and J. C. H. C., for a letter signed "R. P.," perhaps Robert Patterson, one of the editors of The Presbyterian Banner, criticizing synodical control.
100. See "Clippings," W. and J. C. H. C., for several items pertinent to the Synod's administration of Washington College.
101. Minutes ... Jefferson College, March 29, 1854.
102. Scott's report of September 2, 1862.
103. Minutes ... Washington College, November 5, 1863.
104. Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Washington College, 1862-62, pp. 11, 13, 15, 16. Students could be excused from studying "the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church, if their parents or guardians shall request it in writing, on the ground of conscientious scruples."
105. Address of President John W. Scott, W. and J. C. H. C.
106. "The Times, and Signs of the Times ... August 31, 1862 . . .," W. and J. C. H. C.
108. "List of Negroes Registered pursuant to the Late Act of Assembly for redress of Certain Grievances in the Counties of Westmoreland and Washington," mss., W. and J. C. H. C.
110. See files of Washington Examiner.
111. See files of Washington Tribune.
112. Washington Examiner.
114. Ibid.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

The Union
1865-1869-1871

1. Minutes ... Washington College and Minutes ... Jefferson College, 1807, 1815, 1816, 1817, and 1840, passim.
2. Minutes ... Washington College, November 5, 1863.
3. "Beatty, Charles Clinton (1715-1772)," D. A. B., II, 100. See also this same Charles Beatty's "Journal of two months' tour, with a view of promoting religion among the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania and of introducing Christianity among the Indians to the westward of the Allegheny Mountains; to which are added remarks on the languages and customs of some particular tribes among the Indians" (London, 1768).
4. For detailed information on Beatty, see James I. Brownson, Memoriam, Rev. Charles Clinton Beatty, LL. D., and his wife Hetty Elizabeth Beatty.
5. In W. and J. C. H. C. is an article, no date or newspaper given, re-
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printed from *The Presbyterian Banner* on "Proceedings of the Convention of Alumni of Washington and Jefferson Colleges," 1864, listing the names of those present and giving the minutes of the meeting. *See also* the letter of Dr. M. W. Jacobs to the Jefferson Board reporting this meeting, and the acknowledgments of the meeting in the Minutes . . . Washington College, October 12, 1864.


7. David Riddle's report to the Board of Trustees, April 3, 1866, manuscript, *W. and J. C. H. C.* His final baccalaureate, "The Glory and Duty of Young Men," 1865, is in pamphlet form in *W. and J. C. H. C.*


11. Ibid., pp. 20 ff.


13. Minutes . . . Washington and Jefferson College, July 31, 1867: the Alumni Association expresses "regret . . . that nothing efficient has been done to secure an increase of the Endowment fund of the College" and offers its "willingness to cooperate heartily in any measure that may be devised looking to that end."


15. Ibid.


18. Ibid. *See also* Appendix.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.


23. Dr. Wilson was professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History of Western Theological Seminary from 1858 until 1883, the year of his death. He served on the Washington and Jefferson Board from the union in 1865 until 1883. *Biog. and Hist. Catalogue,* p. 368.

Notes to 1871. See also Appendix I. He was a leading citizen in the community.

25. Dr. Brownson had been president pro tem of Washington, 1852-1853.


28. For example, the "college set of casts of fossil animals and plants" of Professor Henry A. Ward of Rochester, New York (Minutes... Washington and Jefferson College, December 24, 1879) and "apparatus in the Scientific Department" to be paid for with $469.70 "contributed by the First Presbyterian Sabbath School of Washington, Pa." (Minutes... Washington and Jefferson College, June 24, 1872).

29. Ibid., June 9, 1869: Mental and Moral Science (to be taught by the president); Rhetoric, English Literature, and Political Economy; Natural Science; Greek; Latin; Astronomy and Mathematics; Mechanics and Engineering.

30. The Catalogue of Washington and Jefferson College... 1880-1881 lists nine "faculty of instruction" in addition to the "secretary of the faculty," "librarian," and "registrar."

31. The Columbia Encyclopedia (under this entry).

32. Minutes... Washington and Jefferson College.


NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

Extracurricular Activities

1. W. and J. C. H. C. includes minutes and constitutions of all the societies, except the short-lived Jefferson and Jackson.

2. For a full account of early Philo and early Franklin, see Smith, op. cit., Chapter VII. W. and J. C. H. C. is fortunate in having very good files of the literary society minutes of both colleges.

3. Files of the minutes of Philo and of Franklin, W. and J. C. H. C.


6. Smith, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

7. See Smith's description of the halls of the two societies, op. cit., pp. 147, 171.

8. Ibid., p. 172.


10. Reminiscences of the literary societies occur in many of the reunion histories; so much a part of the students' lives, the societies became a vivid part of their memories.
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14. Minutes . . . Jefferson College, September 24, 1822. The Laws of Washington College, 1831 states: “The Literary societies now existing, are integral parts of the institution, and shall be under the protection and control of the Faculty, and their property under the guardianship of the Board.”

15. Philo Minutes, March 30, 1798.

16. Ibid., September 5, 1799.

17. Innumerable lists of books owned by the societies are in ledgers kept for this specific purpose, now in W. and J. C. H. C.

18. Note a distinction between orations and debates. The clearly humorous titles were often the subjects of extemporaneous speeches demanded of the members.


20. Smith, op. cit., pp. 177-179, has conveniently compiled a list of the titles debated in the annual contest between the two Jefferson College societies.

21. The hill just south of Washington overlooking the town is still called Gallows Hill, where a man was hanged for robbery as early as 1782.

22. The negative side of this debate, held March 25, 1857, is in W. and J. C. H. C. in a kind of notebook belonging to Samuel C. T. Dodd (Jefferson, 1857). Dodd’s notebook includes, too, several poems, evidently written by himself, and his valedictory address to the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity.


24. W. and J. C. H. C. has letterbooks of Union and of Washington in which were kept replies from the honorary members invited to join. The impressive roster of signatures in these volumes suggest that the honorary invitations were in part a means to autograph-collecting. The Union Literary Society Letter Book includes letters from J. Q. Adams, James K. Polk, Horace Greeley, H. Clay, Thaddeus Stevens, Horace Mann, Sam. Clemens, Daniel Agnew. The Washington Literary Society Letter Book has letters from H. Clay, John Tyler, James Buchanan.


26. Ibid., April 27, 1826.

27. Ibid.

28. See Catalogues in W. and J. C. H. C.
Notes


30. The Laws of Jefferson College, 1802, states, p. 7., that “every student shall attend public worship on the Sabbath, at such times and places as shall be directed,” to be exempted upon “conscientious” request only by a “public act” of the trustees. The Laws of Washington College, 1807, contains a similar statement. Laws in the following years are only slightly revised. Both schools required daily attendance at “worship in the college hall.”


32. Ibid.


34. William Fosdick Chamberlin, The History of Phi Gamma Delta, p. 76.


36. Letterman (Jefferson, 1853), who became a physician and practiced medicine in Texas from 1856-1881, was a brother of the more famous Dr. Jonathan Letterman (Jefferson, 1845).


38. The fraternities active at Washington and Jefferson in 1952-1953 are: Beta Theta Pi (Gamma, 1842), Phi Gamma Delta (Alpha, 1848), Phi Kappa Psi (Alpha, 1852), Phi Kappa Sigma (Delta, 1854), Delta Tau Delta (Gamma, 1861), Phi Delta Theta (Pennsylvania Gamma, 1875), Kappa Sigma (Beta Delta, 1898), Alpha Tau Omega (Alpha Pi, 1901), Lambda Chi Alpha (Gamma Zeta, 1919), and Pi Lambda Phi (Omega Kappa, 1948).


41. For a complete account of David Brainerd (1718-1747), see D. A. B., II, 591-592. Brainerd’s religious enthusiasm at Yale, where as a student he was outspokenly critical, identifies him as an early New Light. Yale’s denial of a degree to Brainerd, according to some interpreters, led to the founding of Princeton as a virtually New Light school.

42. W. and J. C. H. C. contains the written challenge of the Jefferson College Club to Waynesburg, June 15, 1860, and a challenge from Waynesburg to Jefferson, July 12, 1860. See, too, a picture of two members of the Jefferson Cricket Team, 1861.

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Minutes of the Jefferson College Bible Society, 1817-1840.
Minutes of the Jefferson College Athenaeum, 1824-1837.
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SECTION IV. AUTHOR’S CORRESPONDENCE

Dr. Walter A. Groves, President of Centre College, Kentucky.
Dr. Robert W. Miles, Minister of First Presbyterian Church of Lexington, Kentucky.
Mr. William Riddle, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
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Dr. and Mrs. Laurrie Dodd Sargent of Washington, Pennsylvania.
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Miss Louise Smith, Englewood, New Jersey.
Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary.
Princeton Theological Seminary, through Dr. Hutchison.
Princeton University.
University of Maryland Medical School.
Washington and Lee College.
Western Reserve University, through Dr. Hutchison.
Western Theological Seminary.
The William Holmes McGuffey Museum at Oxford, Ohio, through Dr. Hutchison.

SECTION V.
WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE
HISTORICAL COLLECTION

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Manuscripts and Papers of Rev. James D. Moffatt, President of Washington and Jefferson College.
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Addresses, Pamphlets, Sermons, presented by Miss Isabel Clark to the Library of Washington and Jefferson College in 1944.

The entire Washington and Jefferson College Historical Collection was made available and studied. In addition to the items listed above, the author read many speeches, letters, documents, and catalogues which were of invaluable aid but which were too numerous to list here.
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