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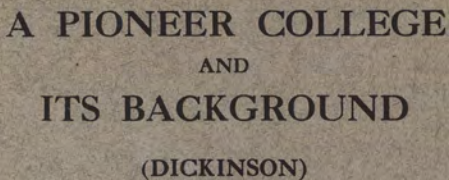
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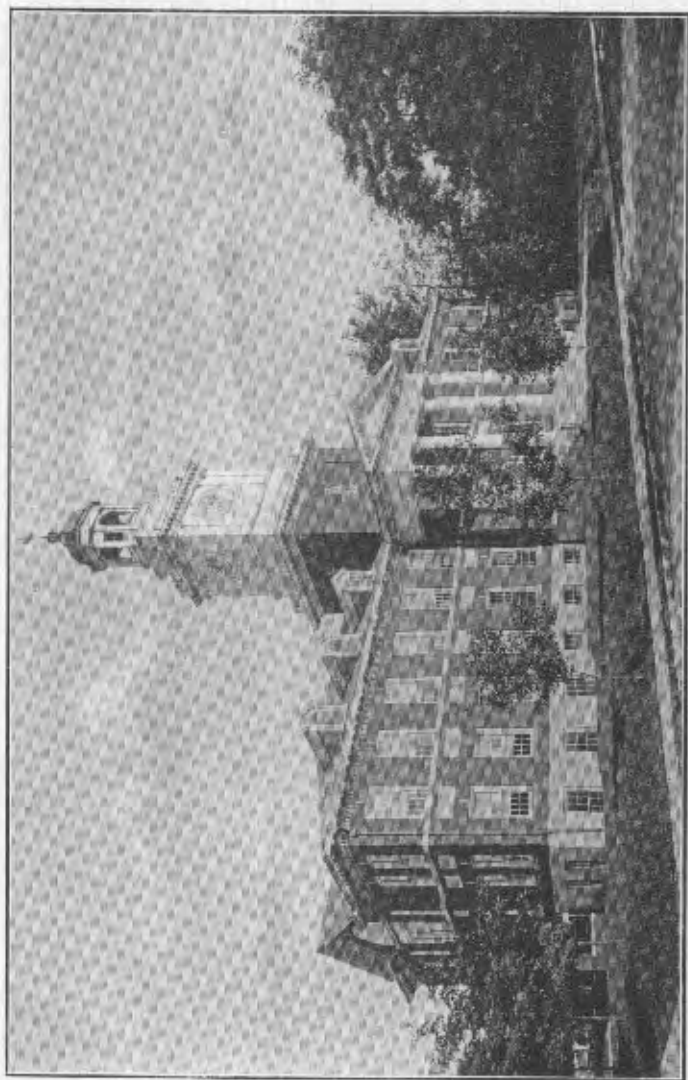
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A PIONEER COLLEGE
AND
ITS BACKGROUND
(DICKINSON)



DICKINSON SCHOOL OF LAW

A PIONEER COLLEGE
AND
ITS BACKGROUND
(DICKINSON)

By CHARLES W. SUPER, '66

*“No life is worth living that does not make the world
wiser, kindlier, better.”*

1923
NEWCOMB & CAUSS, *Printers*
SALEM, MASS.

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To

JAMES HENRY MORGAN

One of the Blue Hen's chickens

President of the college

and one of the most valiant captains

who led the hosts to the bloodless

but none the less glorious victory of 1922

this unpretentious volume is dedicated

by a survivor of the

OLD REGIME

PREFACE

One of the subjects with which every American college student should be at least fairly familiar is the history of the institution of which he was for a longer or shorter period a part. The young man or young woman must be exceptionally lacking in the feeling or reverence, of that sentiment which the ancient Romans called *pietas*, who can tread the same ground, go in and out through the same doors, engage in the same rivalries with ten, twenty or more generations of student-predecessors who have gone forth to make their impress upon their fellow citizens, and yet fails to realize that he has enjoyed a special privilege and entered into a goodly heritage. There is hardly one ex-student in a hundred who has not become a more potent moral force in the world because of such a privilege. If he remained long enough to obtain a degree he will carry with him through the remainder of his life the evidence of an achievement that distinguishes him from the great mass of the citizens of his generation. Although undergraduate life is not without its asperities, they are soon forgotten or but faintly remembered in later life. The most serious wounds inflicted are lacerated feelings, and they quickly heal "without leaving a trace." In

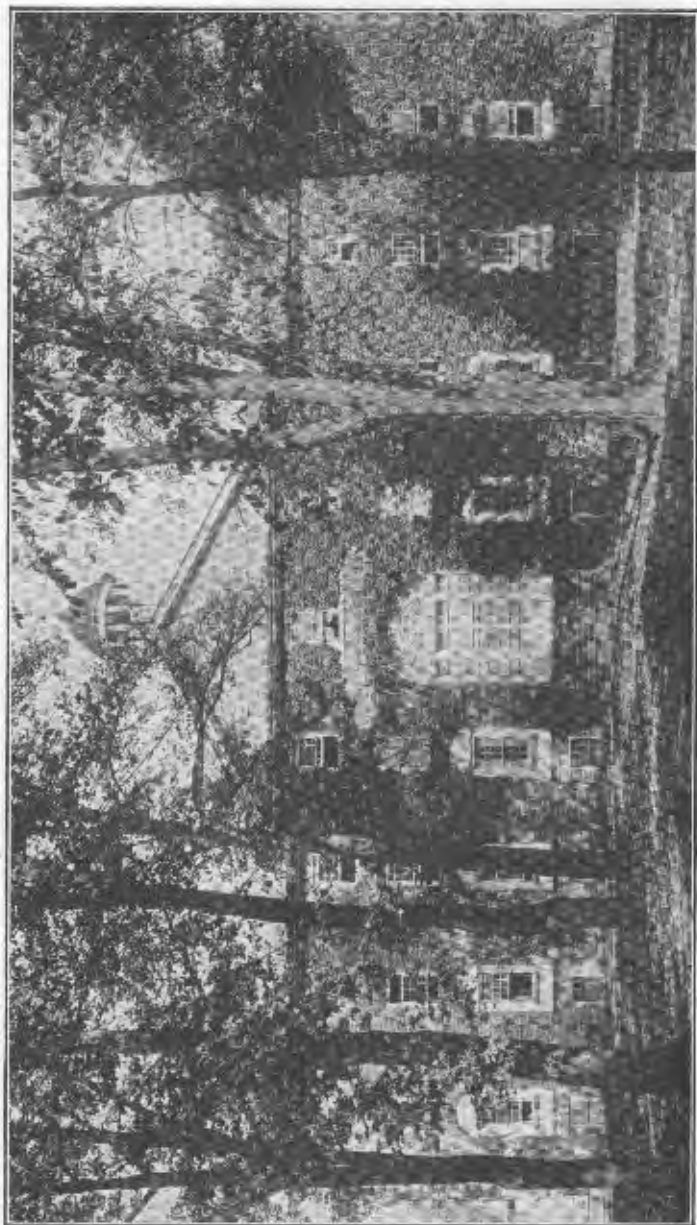
PREFACE

American colleges the most dangerous weapons used are the contents of the dictionary, and they draw no blood. In order to make it comparatively easy for Dickinsonians and others who may be interested to acquire a knowledge of the career of one of the older American colleges, the following sketch has been written *sine ira et studio* by

CHARLES WILLIAM SUPER.

Athens, Ohio.

Independence Day, 1923.



WEST COLLEGE — "OLD WEST" — 1894

A PIONEER COLLEGE AND ITS BACKGROUND

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I

The history of American colleges does not begin with the selection of their trustees, nor with the erection of their first building, nor even with the date of their charter. Their origin is to be sought in the intellectual, moral and religious forces that later found their concrete expression in these visible forms. Educational systems, even the most unsystematic, do not spring up in a night, like the prophet's gourd, nor leap full-fledged from one man's brain, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. They have always been of slow growth; often for long periods they have not grown at all. Every event is, of course, preceded by another of like character, this by another, and so on *ad infinitum*. Albeit, in the genesis and development of American colleges we have a fairly definite starting point on American soil and need not go overseas to seek it. For one thing, we have, in the colonies, a different religious atmosphere from that prevailing in the old country. The social conditions were also more or less different, while economic conditions were widely diverse. It is a question whether the people of New England showed greater zeal in the cause of education, at least in its elements, than

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did the early settlers of Pennsylvania, and whether her learned men were more interested in the cause. But the New England commonwealths exhibit a continuous development, although very slow, while in Pennsylvania, a stagnation, or at least a retardation of interest, supervened, that had a deleterious influence on educational progress. As early as 1683, the Assembly which met in Philadelphia enacted that: "And to the end that the poor as well as the rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred to wealth, Be it enacted, etc., That all persons in this Province and the Territories thereof, having children, and all guardians and trustees of orphans, shall cause them to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age, and that they may be taught some trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want; of which every County Court shall take care," etc. Before the end of the century, or at least in the early years of the next, there were schools, not only in Philadelphia, but as far inland as Berks County. Nor did the immigrants from England and Scotland only establish schools, but likewise some of the early-comers from Germany were men of great learning and inspired with a burning zeal in the cause of education. Let us note briefly the conditions in Penn's colony that led to the establishment of Dickinson College at a time when there were as yet few students. Although nearly a century had elapsed since the transaction between King

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Charles and Penn, most of the population was still in the southeastern part of what afterwards became the State of Pennsylvania. The means of inter-communication were as yet very primitive; nevertheless, quite a dozen more or less successful attempts had been made to found colleges in different parts of the thirteen colonies, all of which are still in existence, although their careers have been widely different. The following is believed to be a complete list of American colleges founded prior to or contemporaneous with that at Carlisle: (1) Harvard, (2) William and Mary, (3) Yale, (4) University of Pennsylvania, (5) Princeton, (6) Washington and Lee, (7) Columbia, (8) Brown, (9) Rutgers, (10) Dartmouth, (11) Hampden-Sidney, (12) Dickinson. The Moravian college and seminary at Bethlehem lays claim to being the oldest college for women within the territory of the Union. It was organized in 1742. A similar institution was put in operation at Winston-Salem in North Carolina thirty years later. Washington College in Maryland was chartered in 1782, and Washington College, Tennessee, the following year. Albeit, the personnel of neither, including faculty and students combined, amounts to more than a hundred individuals. By the end of the century the number of similar institutions had more than doubled. It would be interesting to know the minds of the men who were the initiators of these educational projects. Their largest asset was faith. Not a few of them found, however, that although faith may remove mountains, it will not remove an appetite, nor provide a permanent shel-

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ter. In this respect Dickinson was somewhat more fortunate and its tribulations came later. It has been pointed out in the historical sketch of the Ohio University, that its founder considered fifty thousand dollars an ample income for all its needs *in saecula saeculorum*. When we are prompted to smile at the limited intellectual outlook of these men, we will do well to recall that many of the universities of continental Europe had no equipment except an old monastery. When Schiller was appointed professor of history at Jena, an event that occurred about the time Dickinson was getting under way, the position carried with it no salary. He seems to have been honest enough to consider the honor an adequate compensation, for he admitted that he knew very little history. At Dickinson the first class to receive diplomas was that of 1787; it consisted of nine members. Five years later there were thirty-three. The classes between 1799 and 1803, both years included, numbered eight and five respectively, or twenty-six in all. In 1806 and 1810 there were four men in each. From 1817 to 1821 no classes are reported. The next year there were two members. From 1832 to 1835 no students are reported, revealing a condition of affairs that will be dealt with farther along. The next year there were four graduates. The largest classes up to 1850 were those of 1792 (33), and the same number in 1829. That of '40 fell short by one.

Although Dickinson's record is not "hoary with age," it must be evident to anyone who gives its history a moment's consideration, that it is im-

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possible to write anything approaching a connected story within a briefer space than a large volume. Otherwise, the best that can be done is to draw attention to a few "high spots," like those in a landscape illumined by the first rays of the rising or the last rays of the setting sun. Or the writer may endeavor to combine within himself the functions of the truant wife of Menelaus on the ramparts of Ilium, or that of Satan on the high mountain. He can point out the salient features of the landscape below him and name the chief characters that give life to the scene. The latest Alumni Record* is an octavo volume of five hundred pages of fine print, and contains nothing except the briefest possible list of names and dates, so far as they could be ascertained. The number of graduate alumni is a few more than two thousand. Of the young men who attended college, but who, for various reasons, did not graduate, the list of names is about one-fifth longer. This list does not include the names of the graduates of the Law Department, which, after having been in operation for a number of years, was suspended, but was later reopened and has been doing efficient service up to date. It should also be noted that although Dickinson College has never claimed to be nor aspired to be anything more than a college, its scholastic standard has always been higher than that of not a few institutions that are called by the more ambitious title of university. The list of Dickinson's alumni is not an exceptionally long

* This record, in its present form, is mainly due to the painstaking labor of George L. Reed, a son of President Reed of the college.

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one, and when the friends of other colleges point to much longer lists, Dickinsonians are wont to cite the Fable of the Lion and the Hare, to prove that it is not the number of the offspring that counts, but the quality. Monroe's Encyclopedia contains the following tribute:

"The record of Dickinson's alumni is indeed remarkable. With Bowdoin and Princeton, it is the only other American college possessing the distinction of having graduated both a President of the United States and a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The list of other Federal Judges, of members of the State Judiciary, and of Governors of States, is surprisingly large, while it is doubtful if any other educational institution of similar size has furnished to the country as many as nine Cabinet officers, ten members of the highest legislative body, and fifty members of the lower house. In addition, the Legislature of Pennsylvania began very early to contain a large number of Dickinson's graduates."

Towards the close of the last century the attendance began to rise, with the result that the latest catalogue contains the names of nearly two hundred freshmen, a larger number than the entire student body up to the end of the last century. The largest number reported for any year previous to 1900, was in 1858, when it was one hundred and ten. How widespread was the influence of the small classes, even prior to the year 1800, may be here briefly pointed out, so far as the meager records make it possible. Much evidence to the same effect will appear in later portions of this volume.

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Of the Class of 1790, one member was born in Pennsylvania, one in Virginia, and one in North Carolina; but all died in different parts of Ohio. Of the Class of 1792, one member was born in North Carolina and died in Ohio. Another was born in Ireland but died in South Carolina. One was born in Pennsylvania, but died in New York; while a fourth, born in the Keystone State, ended his days in North Carolina. Of two who were born in Virginia and Pennsylvania, respectively, one died in New Orleans and one in Ohio. Of two others who were born in Pennsylvania, one died in Missouri, the other in Tennessee. This brief statement takes no account of those who were born and ended their days in the Keystone State, although the two events may have occurred in widely sundered localities. It is also worth noting that although the Ohio University was established under New England auspices, that influence did not long endure. Three of its presidents were Pennsylvanians, two of them Dickinsonians, whose combined administrations covered almost one-fourth of its existence and about one-third of its actual operation. Of the graduates before 1800, Jonathan Walker was a Judge of a United States District Court and father of Robert Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk. Francis Dunlevy (or Dunlavy) was a leading member of the Ohio constitutional convention in 1802. At the first General Assembly, which met at Chillicothe, he was elected one of the three district judges. In 1810 he was chosen presiding judge of the first or Cincinnati district. He had been one of the ten members from

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Hamilton, by far the most populous county in the state at that time. He was one of the few men active in early Ohio affairs who might have been said to be liberally educated. Robert G. Wilson, who was really the first president of the Ohio University, must have attracted a good deal of attention in his ministry a long way from home, as he received the honorary degree of D. D. from Princeton, which was not his *alma mater*. It has been pointed out elsewhere in this sketch, that the early relations between New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio were intimate, considering the distance at least between the former and the latter, and the difficulty of passing from one to the other.

Until somewhat recently the opinion prevailed, both in Ohio and Pennsylvania, that the early settlers in the former state were mainly from New England. The facts are against such a hypothesis. The belief probably arose from the fact that the Ohio University was founded by natives of New England and that its lands attracted a considerable number of settlers from the same region; and also from the further fact that Marietta was almost exclusively a New England colony. Moreover, at a somewhat later period, several men in the Connecticut or Western Reserve achieved political prominence in national politics, and thus drew attention to that part of the state. The Ohio University never had a president who was a New Englander, although a few members of the faculty hailed from east of the Hudson. This is no place to relate the history of the Virginia Military lands; suffice it to say that the tract occupied a large part

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of the territory lying between the Scioto and the Little Miami rivers, besides extending a considerable distance north of the present capital of the state. That Dickinsonians who were either natives of Pennsylvania or temporary residents of the state, were present in large numbers, has already been pointed out. Professor Hinsdale, in his "Old Northwest," has shown that, except for the colony at Marietta, the early immigrants came, for the more part, from Virginia and Pennsylvania. He was able to trace the ancestry of twenty-six (26) of the thirty eight (38) delegates who met at Chillicothe in 1802 for the purpose of framing a constitution. This city is more than fifty miles south of the center of the state, while all the delegates save two were from a somewhat broad fringe of counties lying on the Ohio river. At that time the population of what afterwards became the State of Ohio was somewhat less than fifty thousand. Of the twenty-six delegates above referred to, about half were from Virginia, but only three from New England. The same author also traced the ancestry of thirty-three of the forty-seven of Ohio's representatives in Congress up to 1829. The preponderance was no longer with Virginia, which furnished only six members. The contingent from the Keystone State was now nine, while New Jersey, its eastern outpost, furnished six. The same number came from Connecticut. One each were natives of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Kentucky and New York. It is not an unjustifiable assumption that the two middle states dominated the new state,

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and that among colleges, Dickinson and the College of New Jersey "led all the rest."

It is probable that very few of the non-graduates of a college are absolute failures. It is known that a majority of the students who leave college without taking a degree, have a good reason for doing so; nor should it be assumed that every student who withdraws from college by the advice of the faculty is inherently vicious. Dickinson's alumni, up to and including 1796, numbered about one hundred and twenty. Of these more than ten per cent are known to have migrated to Ohio. Albeit, Dickinsonians did not cease to move eastward as well as westward. Of the men whose names are recorded in the Alumni Record nearly one hundred and fifty gave their address as Philadelphia. All the States and the District of Columbia are represented; a few, however, by a single name only. About thirty were domiciled in the Buckeye State, four in Oregon, ten in Washington, and three times as many in California. These data and the quotation from Monroe's Encyclopedia are a shining tribute to an institution which Dr. Holmes would have classed among the freshwater colleges. However, the epithet just cited is worth at least the passing comment that if used by a less important person than the genial doctor it would have passed unnoticed or been "cast as rubbish to the void."

We now return to our enumeration. Ninian Edwards was a judge of the Circuit Court, of the Court of Appeals, Chief Justice of Kentucky, territorial governor and later governor of Illinois, and later still United States senator. Matthew Brown

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was the first president of Washington, and later president of Jefferson College. Callender Irvine was commissary-general of the United States army by appointment of President Jefferson. Alexander Nisbet was for some time a judge in Baltimore, and later president of the Northern Central Railroad. Jesse Wharton was a member of Congress from Tennessee, and later United States senator from the same state. Roger B. Tancy is dealt with in another part of the volume. Including the Class of 1796, at least ten Dickinsonians ended their days in Ohio. Then there is no similar instance until we come to the Class of 1805, which contains the name of George Buchanan, who died in Steubenville, after serving the Presbyterian church for nearly forty years. A considerable number of students from the South entered northern colleges; very few went in the opposite direction. The inviting climate was not considered a sufficient counterbalance to other disadvantages.

II.

It will be in order to give a somewhat detailed account of three Dickinsonians, because of their prominence in the affairs of the state and of the nation. One of Dickinson's most distinguished sons was John B. Gibson, who, moreover, belonged to a somewhat notable family. Judge Gibson's boyhood was passed in Spring township, near Carroll, in what is now Perry county, but which, at the time of his birth, was in Cumberland county. He entered Dickinson College in 1795, or perhaps a year later, when about sixteen years of age. But he probably did not complete the course; for in the Alumni Record his name appears among the non-graduates of the year 1798. During most of his official life he was a resident of Carlisle. For two terms he was a member of the legislature. Then for three years he was the presiding judge of the eleventh district. From 1816 to 1827 he was an associate justice of the Supreme Court. Then, from 1827 to 1851, he was chief justice. Thereafter, like John Q. Adams, he did not disdain to accept a lower position, and again became an associate justice, which position he held at the time of his death. He was a trustee of the college from 1816 to 1829. When he entered upon his last office he was over seventy years of age, but his mind had lost none of its pristine vigor. Judge Gibson was more than a lawyer. He is known to have been somewhat of a connoisseur in painting and was a skillful performer on the violin. He rendered the

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following decision, in an important case: "If anything is self-evident in the structure of our government it is that the legislature has no power to order a new trial either before or after judgment. The power of the legislature is not judicial. It is limited to the making of laws, not to the exposition or execution of them." The misfortunes of the Ohio University began when the legislature of 1843 encroached upon the prerogative of the judiciary.

It was the misfortune of Judge Taney (1795), the successor of John Marshall on the Supreme Bench, to render a decision that may almost be said to have rendered his name infamous. It was, however, not so much the decision itself as the *obiter dicta* with which he accompanied it, that was criticised. As the decision was rendered by a large majority of concurring judges against two dissenting, there is little doubt that it was in conformity with the constitution as generally understood at that time. And a serious civil war was required to reverse it. A dictum from which could be deduced the doctrine that a negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect, was quite out of keeping with the spirit of the age. Judge Taney was essentially a humane man and no time-server. He once defended a Methodist preacher who was accused of inciting the slaves to revolt. During the trial of this man he said: "A hard necessity compels us to condone the evils of slavery for a time; yet while it continues it is a blot upon our national character." He emancipated his slaves and provided for their maintenance. This is not the same man who wrote the majority decision in the Dred

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Scott case. He forgot that while public opinion advances with the increase of knowledge and experience, constitutions stand still. The agitation against slavery that raged around him had embittered his mind against the agitators, who, as he feared, would destroy the integrity of the Union. A deadlock ensued, which it seemed only an internecine war could break. Then once more, as often since the time of Cicero, "*Inter arma leges silent.*" The profound wisdom embodied in Pope's well known lines,

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien
That to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace,"

was never more strikingly exemplified than in Judge Taney's attitude towards slavery. Familiarity with an admitted evil made him condone, then defend and justify it.

For President Buchanan there is room here for but the briefest sketch. He entered public life a few years after leaving college and spent most of the remainder in the service of his country. Like Taney, he was a man of the strictest probity, and like Taney he was a lawyer rather than a statesman. When his legal training came into conflict with a "higher law," it carried the day. A noble man was the victim of circumstances from which he could not escape and which he was unable to control.

The Dred Scott decision was not one of that large number to be found in the reports of the Supreme Court upon which the judges divided five

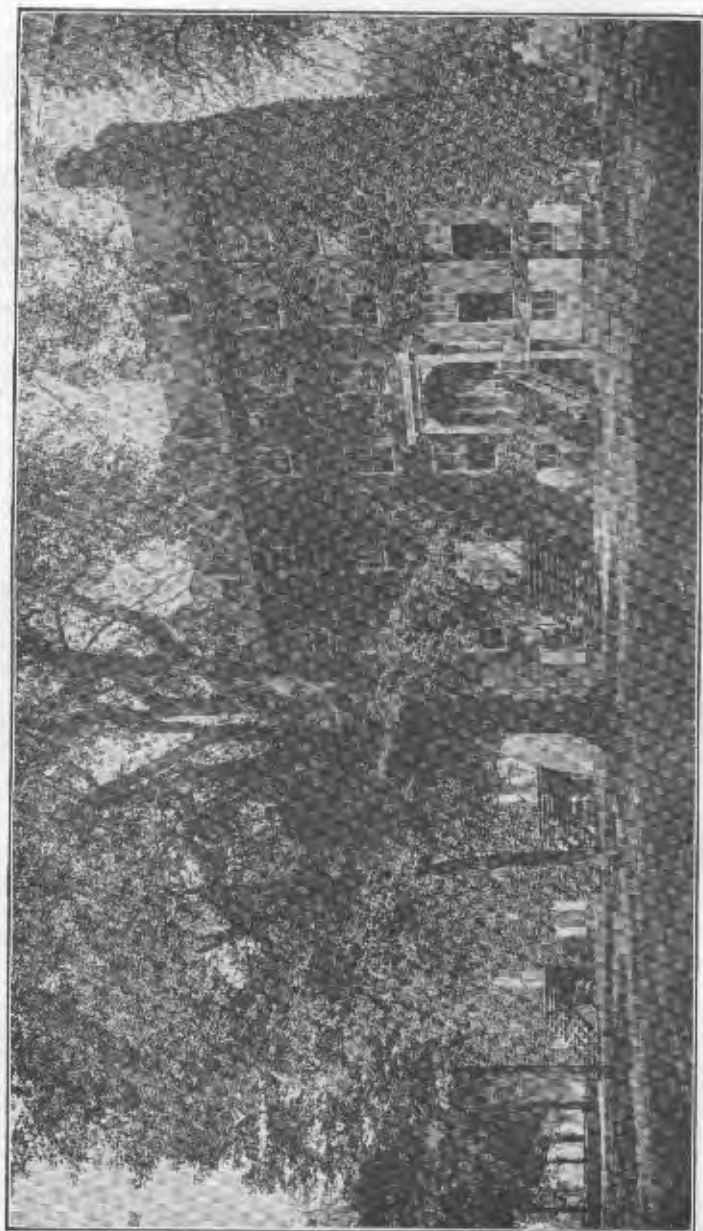
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to four, or even six to three. The judges who concurred with the chief justice were Wayne, Catron, Daniel, Campbell, Nelson and Grier. The dissenting judges were McLean and Curtis, the latter writing the case for the minority. Nor were they all from the South. Besides the two dissenting judges, who were from Ohio and Massachusetts, respectively, Nelson was from New York and Grier from Pennsylvania.

Few facts in the psychology of the crowd are more remarkable and more inconsistent than the hostility of the southern whites to everything that bore the slightest resemblance to recognizing the negro as an equal, and to every word, written or spoken or printed, that broached the question of his emancipation, or even of the amelioration of his condition, on the one hand, and on the other, the fact that the southerner recognized to the fullest extent that his economic well being, almost his very existence, depended on this same negro. There was a great gulf fixed between the two races, which, if the inferior dared attempt to cross, it was at his peril. A man whose livelihood depends on a single donkey, will almost certainly treat the brute as well as he can. The long story of this race prejudice and its bloody ending is perhaps the saddest episode in the history of our country.

III.

In 1800 a double tier of counties was laid out, from the Ohio river to Lake Erie. Within the next ten years a single tier was extended along the New York border as far eastward as Wayne county, which had been laid out a few years earlier. Probably quite a third of the counties of the state are of later origin than 1800. In one of the northwestern counties, Alleghany College was founded, about 1817, Bentley Hall, which is still in use, being the first building erected. As the history of the college is, in some respects, parallel with that of Dickinson, we will follow it a little farther. A preliminary meeting of the citizens was held in June, 1815. At that time Meadville had about four hundred inhabitants, and Crawford county perhaps fifteen times as many. Jefferson College, in the southwestern corner of the state, was founded in 1802, and its near neighbor, Washington College in 1806. Rev. Timothy Alden, a graduate of Harvard and a leading citizen of Meadville, was chosen president of the college, a charter was obtained and as much enthusiasm manifested as if all the president had to do was to get aboard the new craft and call out: "Full steam ahead." Few things were easier to do in many of our states, and is probably still easy in some, than to obtain a charter for a college, this privilege doubtless being considered one of the "inalienable rights" of every free-born American citizen. President Alden was authorized to go abroad—that is, out of the state—to



EAST COLLEGE — 836

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solicit funds. He succeeded in raising about ten thousand dollars. His inauguration took place in July, 1817, "with imposing ceremonies." "Three addresses in Latin, three in English, and one in Hebrew were delivered." Some dialogues were also spoken. However, enthusiasm could not furnish students. There were few from the start, while the few who entered could not remain long on account of poverty; consequently, by 1832 the number of graduates was only twelve. In spite of the herculean labors of President Alden, the college could not be kept going, and was closed. It is a sad, sad story, but by no means the only one of its kind. The next year the annual conference of the Methodist church was held in Meadville. As some of the leaders were seeking a site for a college, it came about that the ill-fortune of the Presbyterians proved to be the good fortune of the Methodists. An agreement was entered into similar to that made at Carlisle, and Alleghany has been under Methodist control for more than a century. It had, however, many difficulties to overcome. But the pertinacity which has always characterized the leaders of said church, carried the day. A few years ago a centennial campaign put Alleghany College firmly "on its feet." Its trustees, like those of Dickinson, never aspired to make it anything else than a college. At the time of the granting of its charter, Alleghany College received from the legislature an appropriation of two thousand dollars. In 1821 it was voted an annual allowance of a thousand dollars for five years; in 1827 a like allowance for five years longer. This seems to have

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been the last legislative grant to the western college. The custom of making such grants was continued until well along towards the middle of the century. In 1838 nine college and more than a hundred academies received state appropriations. However, as increasing sums were needed for the common schools, and bad financeering had depleted the state treasury, most, or perhaps all, the grants were discontinued about this time. In 1786, Dickinson College was granted five hundred pounds and ten thousand acres of land. Three years later it realized two thousand dollars from the proceeds of a lottery. In 1803 the state loaned the college \$6,000, and in 1806 \$4,000 more on mortgage. In 1814 the general assembly extended the time of payment, but in 1819 it forgave the debt and cancelled both the principal and the interest. Other appropriations were made, the last one in 1826, which was for three thousand dollars to continue through seven years.

The first class at Bucknell was graduated in 1851. Lafayette College was chartered in 1826, but was not organized, strictly speaking, until 1832. Here, as at Alleghany, an effort was made to introduce manual training; yet at neither place was it successful. If we draw a straight line across the state from east to west, about the middle, it will pass close to Bucknell and Penn State College. There is, however, no institution of collegiate rank except that at Meadville and a few belonging to the present century north of this imaginary line. West of Carlisle there is none until we come to that at Huntingdon, which is both small and recent.

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In none of the older states is there so large a territory without an institution of collegiate rank. Albeit when we come to the vicinity of Pittsburgh they are almost "bunched together." Of the two colleges nearest the center of the state, Bucknell has for several decades occupied a respectable rank. The same affirmation can hardly be made of Penn state. It could scarcely be regarded as a success until near the close of the nineteenth century. For one thing, there is probably no state in the Union in which so little need for scientific agriculture is felt by the farming community, or in which it received so little attention until quite recently, as in Penn's colony. But something had to be done with the congressional land grant. We are not here further concerned with this aspect of the case; but it may be remarked in passing, that Lancaster county is generally regarded as the richest county agriculturally in the world. Other counties near by or contiguous are little inferior. And they attained this preeminence long before agricultural colleges were thought of in this country. Besides, whether rightly or wrongly, the opinion was long prevalent that Pennsylvania's agricultural college was "run" more in the interest of politics and politicians of a certain stripe or brand, than of agriculture or of any other culture.

That American educators of the eighteenth century not only had a different idea of the functions of a college but also of the order of studies from that now current, is shown by the fact that, in granting the first five thousand dollars to Dickinson College, the legislature stipulated that it should

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receive any number of students not exceeding ten, who were to be taught free, reading, writing and arithmetic. None of the beneficiaries were, however, to be allowed to remain longer than two years. It may also be mentioned here that at Yale, in 1777, arithmetic was studied by the Freshmen; algebra and geometry by the Sophomores; trigonometry by the Juniors. Most of these subjects are now considered too elementary to merit a place in the college curriculum. Dickinson was, however, not the only institution where the three R's were taught. At a comparatively early period in the history of Pennsylvania a few men began to interest themselves in imparting knowledge which they considered practical, and which could be acquired without attending a regular school of any kind. It is, however, a question whether the lack of this knowledge produced "an aching void." Great empires have been built up without a knowledge of writing or the use of what we call "figures." In 1789 Dilworth's "Young Bookkeeper's Assistant" appeared in Philadelphia. Seven years later a similar manual by Benjamin Workman was published in the same city. William Mitchell's "Ready Reckoner" was issued in New York about the same time. William Jackson's "Bookkeeper's Assistant" seems to have been given to the public near the same date and at the same place. James Maginness had a similar work printed in Harrisburg in 1817. Somewhat later a Mr. Bennett conducted a sort of ambulatory commercial college that sojourned temporarily in Philadelphia.

IV.

We will now place before our readers sketches of most of the deceased presidents of Dickinson, with such comments as may seem appropriate. The series begins with Charles Nisbet, who was born at Haddington near Edinburgh, and received his first degree at the university of the latter city in 1760. Even in his first charge his eloquence as a pulpit orator attracted considerable attention. But after the disagreement between the North American colonies and the mother-country became serious, he expressed sympathy with the former, which aroused considerable adverse criticism among his parishioners. His views having become known on this side, had much to do—perhaps everything—with his being chosen for the principalship of the new college. (The term “president” is not applied to the heads of colleges in Great Britain.) Some of his countrymen in America, notably John Witherspoon and James Wilson, the former being president of the College of New Jersey, had kept their transatlantic countrymen informed of the course of events on this side. It is well to recall, in this connection, that Scotland is a small country, especially as that part northwest of the Caledonian Canal hardly counts. In Scotland, as in every other country where the religious revolution gained a firm foothold, it contributed greatly to the general enlightenment. It needs hardly more than a glance at the early history of Pennsylvania to make clear that the latter half of the compound, Scotch-Irish,

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is of secondary importance, at least in so far as leadership is concerned. We have had occasion, more than once, to speak of this fact in the course of this narrative. These men sometimes carried their maxim, *tenax propositi*, to an unjustifiable extreme; but they got results. Both their weakness and their strength of character is formulated in a saying attributed to one of them: "I am open to conviction, but I would like to see the man who can convince me."

Dr. Nisbet, with his family of five, landed in Philadelphia on the 9th of June, 1785. In that city he made a very favorable impression upon all who came into contact with him. He was equally surprised and delighted. He arrived in Carlisle on the fourth of July following. He had been met some miles out of town by a large concourse of men and women and escorted to his new residence with almost regal honors. It is probable that the arrival of the distinguished foreigner had been deliberately planned to coincide with the date that marked the independence of the country nineteen years before. However, soon after the arrival of the new principal his troubles began. Some of the members of his family became ill from the change of climate and the intense heat. Everyone who has had experience with the summer climate of southern Pennsylvania and that of Great Britain, especially with that of Scotland, can testify that the difference is great. In less than four months after the arrival of Principal Nisbet in this country, he handed his resignation to the trustees, with the avowed intention of returning to his native land

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as soon as possible,—partly, at least, with a view to restoring the health of his family. However, nothing came of the move and the writer of the resignation never saw his native land again. Not long after, other troubles assailed him, some of which were due to his own lack of discretion, while others were caused by circumstances over which he had no control. All the remainder of his days he had a somewhat bouldery road to travel. To some of his friends in Scotland he expressed his dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. A few of the reverend gentleman's letters were published on the other side of the Atlantic, and the periodicals containing them sent to this country, where they were republished and produced an effect that can easily be imagined. There is room here for only a few brief quotations. In a letter written at Carlisle in 1790, Dr. Nisbet declared that "no degree of vice can make a man infamous, nor could the highest degree of virtue procure any respect for the owner. Most of the people have as little respect for patriotism as for virtue, and many concurred in the revolution merely to avoid paying their debts. The public men are a lot of mean rogues generally, who mind nothing but vice and riot, and please the people that they may live at their expense, but they have no knowledge, virtue or public spirit."

About a year later he writes: "Laws are made against slavery in a state in which there are hundreds of thousands of slaves, and slaves kidnapped by one master are sold to another." The gross exaggeration of this estimate of the number of slaves becomes at once evident when we read that

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at the first census there were less than four thousand, which number had fallen to below seventeen hundred by the end of the century. Thirty years later there were but sixty-seven. There could not have been less than two hundred thousand slaves, if there were "hundreds of thousands"; hence, if this sweeping indictment were true, about one-half of the population must have consisted of bondsmen. The census of 1790 was not carefully taken, but the figures, 434,373, are almost as likely to be too high as too low. If the scholarly Scotchman thought he was writing the truth, and he certainly did, he ought to have taken the precaution to warn his over-sea friends against making too free use of his manuscript. Those of us who have looked somewhat minutely into the history of this country have learned that there is often more truth in the hard sayings than in the eulogies we are familiar with, upon the virtues and self-denying patriotism of "The Fathers." Albeit, the prudent man will be on his guard against laying undue stress on the reputed contents of a manuscript to which he has not himself had access, either personally or through some trustworthy agent.

Dr. Nisbet was a scholar of the massive type, but not a profound or original thinker. It may be confidently affirmed that in the former capacity no man connected with the college since his day has been his peer; in the latter, at least a dozen have been his superiors. Dr. Ashbel Green, at one time president of the College of New Jersey, asserted that "Dr. Nisbet was beyond comparison a man of the most learning that I have ever known,

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and in wit a prodigy. I can truly say that I never myself have known an individual that could pretend to be his equal. Everything he had read or seen or heard seemed firmly fixed in his mind and ready for instant use." Other testimony to the same effect is on record. It is said, among other things, that he was "master of nine languages, could converse in Latin with ease, and was so familiar with Latin and Greek authors that, without the use of a book, he could hear recitations in the classics and correct the slightest mistake." The writer, who has given a good deal of attention to linguistics, takes the liberty to doubt the number of languages in the above enumeration. A man may be fairly familiar with a language, yet be far from having mastered it. Dr. Nisbet seems to have been conscious of his limitations, and published little. "A number of productions of his pen appeared in the magazines and reviews of Britain from 1756 to 1783." "The only detached publication which bears his name is the sermon which he delivered when he was inaugurated president of Dickinson College." His large and valuable library, for the time, was given to Princeton Theological Seminary by two of his grandsons. A story is told of Dr. Nisbet that on a certain occasion a student ventured to quote to him a passage from the *Æneid*. When the student stopped, the reverend gentleman said: "Go on, young man. What you have left is as good as what you have taken." He was also reputed to know Thomson's "Seasons" by heart. While the former tradition is highly probable, the latter is doubtless somewhat exaggerated.

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Robert Davidson was a native of Maryland and an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania. He was called from the First Presbyterian church in Philadelphia to a professorship in the college and also to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church in Carlisle. He was president from 1804-9, when he resigned in order to devote himself wholly to the service of his church. But his life spanned only the years from 1750 to 1812. He was endowed with a mind of considerable versatility.*

Jeremiah Atwater was a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale. After occupying a number of positions in New England, he filled the presidency of Dickinson from 1809 to 1815, when he returned to his native state, where he died.

Undoubtedly the most picturesque, and unquestionably the most bellicose, though by no means the most pleasing personality ever connected with the

*It is doubtless a mere coincidence,—at any rate, there was published in New York, in 1803, a Davidson's Virgil. But the reader is given no further information as to who this Davidson was. On the title page he is informed that he has before him "The works of Virgil translated into English Prose as near the original as the different idiom of the Latin and the English will allow, with the Latin text and the order of construction on the same page; and critical, historical, geographical and classical notes in English, from the best commentators both ancient and modern, besides a very great number of notes entirely new. First American edition." And more of the same sort. The work was printed in Pearl street, New York, for five different men, all on the same street. The two volumes contain nearly nine hundred pages, and the writer's set is in an excellent state of preservation. It must have had more than a century of almost unbroken rest in some private library. As a "pony," its saddle-bags are crammed with illuminating information about the bard of Mantua that is as readily accessible as it was in the day the beast was first "trotted out." The volumes will be placed in the college library. No bibliography of Virgiliana accessible to the writer makes any mention of Davidson's work.

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college, was a member of the faculty during Dr. Atwater's administration. He is the only one whose career can be briefly sketched at this place. This was Thomas Cooper. He never asked, as did the Irishman who happened upon a melee among his countrymen, "Is this a private fight, or can anybody join in?" Cooper joined in whenever he came upon a fight, and when there was no "scrap" in sight he started one of his own. With the change of a word he could truthfully say what Simon Dach is reputed to have written to Annie of Tharaw: Strife "is my life, my goods and my gold." Cooper was born in London, educated at Oxford, and admitted to the bar. Later he went to France, where he took part in the revolution, because he always sympathized with those who were "furnenst" the government. He succeeded in making himself sufficiently conspicuous to be attacked by Burke in the House of Commons. He came to America and for a time practised law in Philadelphia. Later he settled in Northumberland county, where Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, had taken up his residence after the mob (always the doughty and daring champion of orthodoxy) had burned his church. Cooper was made a judge of the court of common pleas, and later land commissioner, but was shortly afterwards removed for malfeasance in office. It does not follow, however, that he was guilty; for in those days almost every man who took part in politics was certain to get into trouble. Then he applied himself to the study of chemistry and was appointed professor of physics and chemistry in Dickinson College, a position which he held

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from 1811 to 1814. He was also tried for libeling John Adams in the Reading Advertiser, sentenced to six months imprisonment and to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. At that time there was no free press in the world. Thomas Jefferson esteemed Cooper highly, as would be expected, and procured for him a professorship in the University of Pennsylvania, and later, at the University of Virginia. He was however soon driven from this haven of refuge by the clergy, who were, almost without exception, bitterly hostile to him. In 1819 he went to Columbia, South Carolina, and a year later was placed at the head of the university of that state, which position he held until 1834.

Cooper was credited with having had a good deal to do with nullification, and indirectly with the secession movement. South Carolina was for a number of years so rabidly and fanatically devoted to slavery that her leading men would condone almost any heresy in a man who was a vigorous champion of the "institution" which we need not specify more definitely. Dr. Cooper seems to have been almost as much of a physical as of a mental phenomenon. In his autobiography, Dr. J. M. Sims, as quoted by Thwing, writes: "President Cooper was never called Dr. Cooper, but 'Old Coot.' 'Coot' is the short for 'cooter,' a name generally applied in the South to the terrapin, and the name suited him exactly. He was less than five feet high, and his head was the biggest part of the whole man. He was a perfect taper from the side of his head to his feet." The physical resemblance of Dr. Cooper to a cooter readily suggested the

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substitution of a 't' for a 'p' in the proper name. It can be taken for granted that a man whose name was dealt with in this fashion was not held in much respect. Although finally removed, many people wondered why he had been tolerated so long. Probably only a few men understood the true inwardness of the situation.

Probably the most unpopular president Dickinson ever had, at least among the students, was Jesse T. Peck. Mr. Conway has something to say on this point.* Although not without his good qualities, he was lacking in tact. Then his portable bay-window, his bald pate, his elephantine proportions, and other peculiarities, made him an object of ridicule to which some of the students gave expression in various ways. He sometimes made his large bulk the butt of his own witticisms. One year, when he was at a conference of his own church, he was assigned to a private family to be entertained. When he entered the room in which he was to sleep, noticing that the bed was somewhat frail, he said to his host: "If you don't find me in here tomorrow morning, look for me in the cellar." Dr. Peck belonged to a New York family of considerable note both in civic and ecclesiastical affairs. He was also endowed with no small measure of native ability, as was demonstrated by his later career. He was pastor of a church in Washington, and thereafter served his denomination in California until his elevation to the episcopate, in 1872, which

*In the seventh chapter of the first volume of his autobiography, he tells the story of the trick he played on President Peck. By his own confession he thus does a sort of permanent penance for his misdeed.

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office he held at the time of his death. He was a delegate to the General Conference that led to the schism in the Methodist Episcopal church. He took a prominent part in the debates and made some notable speeches. While in California he was president of the board of trustees of the University of the Pacific, chartered in 1851. He was one of the founders of Syracuse University, chartered in 1870, and president of its board of trustees. He was a delegate to the Ecumenical Council in London in 1883. He was the only president of Dickinson College who rose to the rank of bishop, although the list of its alumni contains the names of about a dozen of these prelates. It was during President Peck's administration that the college bell is said to have disappeared. Some time after its occultation, President Peck happening to be on board a steamboat on the Mississippi, it seemed to him that its bell had a familiar sound. Upon investigation, his suspicions were confirmed, and the bell returned to its accustomed place under the mermaid. This was probably the only time the bell disappeared; the clapper was not so fortunate. One who does not know the risks students will take in order to perpetrate a prank, would say that not only the bell but even the clapper was perfectly safe; that neither could be removed; that it would not even be attempted. A few instances have been reported where irreparable damage has been wrought. A most flagrant case of the kind occurred less than two hundred miles from where these lines are written, and the perpetrators were never found out. To get on the roof was a risky business, especially

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in the night time, but the leap from a tree on the south side was made more than once. The resourcefulness of boys and young men "on mischief bent" is without limits. What the mermaid on the top of the bell-tower was supposed to represent is one of the things "no feller kin find out." No mermaid has ever been seen, even in imagination, out of salt water, much less a hundred miles inland and not much less than a hundred feet above sea-level. If the story of the "Rape of the Bell" be true, the deed was wisely conceived and judiciously executed. It must have been shipped to Pittsburg by railroad and there sold to some steamboat captain, (was it a confederate?) as there was no through railroad to the west before 1851, in which year the Baltimore & Ohio reached the Ohio river. But the river traffic was brisk and bells for steamboats were much in demand. Although the sound of said bell did not differ much from that of many others, as this particular bell had disappeared, it was probably not difficult to establish a claim thereto by its owner. That "devilment" occupied the thoughts of not a few students under the old regime, is made more than probable by the appearance of a book or pamphlet about 1860, entitled "Yale College Scrapes." The fact that the librarian of Yale University has no knowledge of the existence of such a volume is no evidence that its existence is a myth.

Dr. Collins, the immediate successor of President Peck, left behind him the reputation of being a careful financier. The legend remained alive on the campus long after his departure, that now and then, when a student called at his office for the final

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leave-taking, the president would give his parting blessing and sometimes add: "By the way, Mr. X, at different times in the past I furnished you with some postage stamps, for which you have never paid me. I should be pleased to have you attend to the matter before you leave town." For one thing, postage was somewhat higher in those days than it is now. Moreover, the reputation of students in matters financial, is not good anywhere, or at least was not several decades ago. Perhaps no more appropriate parting blessing could be given to many a student than is embodied in the injunction, "Pay your bills promptly." A Dickinson professor once remarked to a group of "boys": "I would rather lend a student a dollar than a dime, as I would not hesitate to ask him for the repayment of the dollar, but I would be somewhat reluctant as to the dime." President Collins seems to have had no such scruples.

The impression prevails among Dickinsonians that President Johnson, who was the immediate successor of Dr. Collins and the head of the college for eight years, after serving as professor of English literature, had an exceptionally hard time piloting the institution over the shoals and through the cross-currents of the war between the states. The *Alumni Record* does not justify this impression. The number of graduates in 1860 was twenty-four. In 1869 there were three less. During each of four intervening years, the number was thirteen. In 1878 the graduating class was represented by one figure, which was the nadir after 1836, the four following years being blank. President Johnson



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President of the College

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was not popular with most of the students. But if they had been asked to give a reason for their somewhat hostile attitude, they would probably have been in the same case with Meletus, when confronted with some of Socrates' questions. If they had been compelled to answer, their answer would have been in the spirit, if not in the letter of the well-known quatrain:

"I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.
The reason why, I cannot tell;
But this alone I know full well,
I do not love thee, Dr. Fell."

Another question to which the writer could never get any answer is: Why was he called "Scotch" by most of the students? President Johnson was a somewhat severe taskmaster, a little disposed to be sarcastic, decidedly puritanic, but not hypocritical as was sometimes alleged. He made no secret of his poverty. But some persons asserted that this was mainly due to a needlessly expensive family. Howbeit, this is a matter about which all judgments are subjective. Probably the most serious evil he had to contend with was a highly inflated currency. President Johnson was somewhat inclined to magnify his office, although perhaps not needlessly so. That he was not affable may be confidently affirmed. Yet he was never brusque or uncivil. The effect of the war on the attendance at Dickinson was very slight compared with some other institutions of similar grade. Yale College, which at that date was the largest college in the country, lost in four years nearly one hundred students, the total enrollment in the last year of the

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war being 438. In one year Princeton dropped from 312 to 221, Dennison (in Ohio) from 63 to 25, Lafayette from 87 to 57. In a few colleges there was an increase in the attendance, a fact that is not easily accounted for. Almost from the beginning of the struggle the southern colleges were virtually all closed, or rather, deserted.

President Johnson published a scholarly textbook on Egyptian Antiquities. His immediate successor was Robert L. Dashiell, the first alumnus to be elected to the presidency. Then followed two alumni of the Connecticut Wesleyan, George E. Reed serving until 1911, and Eugene F. Noble until 1914, in which year the present head was inducted into office, being the first layman to occupy it.

An incident occurred in 1865 which indelibly impressed itself on the memory of the two occupants of the first room to the right as one enters West College from the east. On the morning of the fifteenth of April they were unusually late in rising, and were still in bed when a student named Strickler, who roomed on the third floor, entered briskly and called out, "Lincoln was shot last night." The first remark made by one of the occupants was, "That was the work of some damned Democrat." Political discussion was little engaged in by the students. President Johnson was the only member of the faculty who was outspoken with his sentiments. Some vigorous anti-abolition speeches were made in the city during the McClellan campaign. At New Berlin, where those three young men had been students before entering Dickinson,

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much more rancor was displayed, some of the students, both male and female, coming to blows more than once. It must be considered remarkable that although Carlisle was for a short time within the war zone, the excitement among both citizens and students was of short duration. Few traces of enemy occupation were to be seen when college opened in the fall of '63. The rise of prices for a while was rapid, yet it does not seem to have caused much embarrassment. A dollar was still one hundred cents. Except after a lost battle, or when a draft was impending, there was little gloom in the Cumberland valley. Bounty-jumping was the favorite theme of jokes. More frivolous than plaintive songs were sung. The chorus of one was: "So fare you well, my Mary Ann, you must get another man, For I cannot jump the bounty any more." The exploits of a man were later reported who had performed this feat thirty times. When board in private families rose to \$2.50 per week, at the lowest, nearly all the students formed clubs and turned the basement rooms into kitchens and "dining-parlors." And while some of the students paid the above named sum for that indispensable commodity familiarly called "grub," others paid much more. At this price, board for a year cost one hundred dollars. In '66 commencement day fell on June 28 and the fall term began on August 30. The college year was reckoned at forty weeks; for the Seniors it was four weeks shorter. They were supposed to employ these weeks in distilling the quintessence from the knowledge they gained during the preceding four years and embodying it

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in an oration to be delivered in the town hall before an admiring crowd. Compared with the present college year there was a marked difference in length. If the "boys" of half a century ago did not devour any more food for the intellect, they at least sat longer at the table than their successors, male or female, of the present day. Originally the rooms in the college buildings were heated from fire-places. In the early days stoves were a rarity and wood was the universal fuel. Even after coal began to be used it was too costly for general purposes except where it could be delivered by canal or later by railroad. In the sixties coal was burned by the students. It was kept in a dry goods box in their rooms, as it was not safe to leave it where it was not under the watchful eye of the owner. The illuminant was petroleum.

V.

But let us go back two or three decades, and follow the careers of a number of Dickinsonians, for they continued to be much in the public eye. John A. Inglis of '29 was Chancellor of South Carolina when the sectional war began to loom above the horizon, and drafted the ordinance of secession. Later Willard Saulsbury of '42 was the doughty and unterrified champion of the minority in the senate of the United States, while Thomas Williams of '25 was chosen to present the articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson. Just before the battle of Gettysburg a Confederate regiment was quartered in the college buildings and on the grounds. But the property was carefully guarded against injury, by order of the colonel, because the college was the *alma mater* of his friend, Dr. Charles F. Deems of the class of '39, the famous preacher and prolific writer and later the pastor of the Church of the Strangers in New York city. It was he who interested the elder Vanderbilt in the university that now bears his name and secured from him not only large benefactions, but also the continued interest of his descendants. It should, however, be said to the further credit of the "rebels" that they did comparatively little damage in Pennsylvania. Charles Francis Adams expressed his doubts "if a hostile army ever advanced in an enemy's country or fell back from it in retreat leaving behind it less cause for hate and bitterness than did the army of Northern Virginia."

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The college buildings at Gettysburg, notwithstanding the great battle fought in and around the village, sustained but little damage except such as would naturally result from their being used as hospitals. Considerable damage was inflicted on the tower of the Theological Seminary. This was, however, done by Union troops who suspected that the Confederates were using this elevated position as a lookout station, and directed upon it a long continued fire of artillery. There was no deliberate destruction of property by either army.

To reckon the burning of the college buildings at Lexington, Virginia, as just reprisal for the burning of Chambersburg is to compare two things between which there is a good deal of difference. Both would be considered dastardly deeds if the destruction of property in war were ever so considered. In this case, however, there was considerable dissimilarity. The citizens of Chambersburg were given the alternative of paying a ransom or of losing their property; the citizens of Lexington were given no such alternative. Besides, it is not probable that many objects of intrinsic value were burned in the northern city, while in the southern city a number of things were burned that can never be replaced. Southern writers also lay stress upon the fact that Chambersburg was not burned by order of the commander-in-chief but by a subordinate upon his own initiative, while the destruction wrought in the Shenandoah valley had the full approval of General Grant. The saying attributed to Bismarck that the people of a conquered territory must be left with nothing but their eyes to

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weep, really originated with General Sheridan, and was not made by the German chancellor but to him. The author of the saying, by his own testimony, at least endeavored to put it into practice in the Shenandoah valley. How terrible a scourge war can be made has been demonstrated only too often. Worthy ends may be achieved in an unworthy way. The college of William and Mary was damaged by Federal troops, and only after long delay was partial restoration made. The buildings of the University of Alabama were burned by the same forces as late as 1865. The justification was often expressed, and by the Allies fiercely condemned in the recent world conflict: "C'est la guerre."

It seems to be a somewhat difficult matter to obtain a full account of the doings in the upper Shenandoah valley during the sectional war. After considerable correspondence, the writer was able to purchase a copy of General Early's memoir of the last year of the "War for Independence," prepared in Toronto in February, 1867. This is what he has to say about the case under consideration:

"At Lexington he (Hunter) burned the Military Institute with all of its contents, including its library and scientific apparatus; and Washington College had been plundered and the statue of Washington stolen. The residence of ex-Gov. Letcher, of this place, had been burned by orders, and but a few minutes given Mrs. Letcher and her family to leave the house. In the same county, a most excellent Christian gentleman, a Mr. Creigh, had been hung because, on a former occasion, he had killed a straggling and marauding soldier for outraging the ladies of his family."

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Another Confederate account states that General Crook, one of Hunter's subordinate officers, had protested against the barbarities of his chief. Was it necessary to defend a righteous cause by such unrighteous methods? Every school history of the sectional war that the writer has examined, makes mention of the burning of Chambersburg; not one has a word to say about the incendiarism at Lexington, Virginia, and Alexandria, Louisiana. If it is right and wise to learn, even from an enemy, is it not equally right to tell the truth about him, so far as it can be ascertained? What is history worth, when it suppresses important facts for any reason whatever?

Of the writer's college mates who became more or less prominent in later years, only a number corresponding to that of the Muses can receive brief mention here. Austin Bierbower was a professor of Greek and Latin, correspondent and editorial writer for several metropolitan newspapers. A younger brother, Vincent, was an editor, a superintendent of schools in Missouri, a judge, a States attorney, United States attorney, State senator in two different States, president of the Senate of Idaho, and later Lieutenant-Governor of the same state. W. S. Smith was a teacher, a merchant, a bank cashier, real estate agent, chief clerk in the United State land-office, and superintendent of irrigation. Louis E. McComas was a member of Congress from Maryland four terms, and later Senator for one term, professor of international law and diplomacy, a justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and for many years

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a leading spirit among the Republicans of his native state. William H. Wahl, after receiving his degree from the University of Heidelberg, was, for most of the remainder of his life, secretary of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, his native city. He was also the author of a number of books and papers. He was moreover a skillful performer on the violin. C. H. Curtis was a prominent official of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, general manager of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, and a successful mine operator in Colorado. A. C. Chenoweth was long identified with engineering projects in New York City. His wife was a daughter of Fernando Wood, four times mayor of that city, and perhaps the most prominent, if not the most favorably known, occupant of that office in the nineteenth century. His brother George was also engaged in large engineering projects, among others on the Northern Pacific Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad. John F. Goucher was the founder of the college that bears his name, and its most liberal benefactor. It is generally admitted to have a higher scholastic standard than any other college for women under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church. For almost his entire life, after graduating from college, Dr. Goucher was "on the road," in the service of his denomination, repeatedly visiting all parts of the world; yet he always paid his own expenses. The number of Dickinsonians elected to the episcopal office was about a dozen. Of these more than half were Methodists. These bishops are not diocesan, although they have the supervis-

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ion of well defined areas. These areas embrace almost the entire world, excepting those parts that are under the spiritual oversight of the Wesleyans, such as Great Britain and Canada., which are not episcopally governed. The number of these bishops is less than half that of the Protestant Episcopal church, but the membership is several times greater; hence their authority is correspondingly greater. As these bishops are chosen in an open General Conference, consisting of about a thousand delegates, there is little opportunity, even if there were a desire, for "logrolling and trading." It is therefore, a reasonable assumption that the most competent men are chosen, although, of course, not all who are competent. Dickinson is probably the only American college that counts among its graduates and non-graduates several men who bore the name of "Shakespeare." Three of them were among the writer's college mates, and two of them attained some distinction in their respective professions.

Two innovations were made by the students in the sixties, one of which has perdured to date; the other came to naught, or rather, it was naught before it came. The project was, however, successfully revived some years later. The first class day, so far as was known at the time, was staged by the boys of '66, in connection with commencement, but in Emory chapel, McComas furnishing the oratory, Super and Buoy the poetry, or at least the "poets." The performance was listened to by a fair-sized audience. The endeavor, somewhat earlier, to start a college paper came to an inglorious end. One

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reason was the high cost of everything that entered into it except the "talent." The other was the jealousy among the students. Some of them claimed that one of the fraternities was trying to "hog" all the best places on the programme. This would not have been an insurmountable obstacle. Lack of money was the reef on which our frail craft was wrecked before it was fairly launched. Although the editor survived for many years, the salutatory to his prospective readers that he had written, long ago dropped into the bottomless pit of oblivion.

In the course of college events about half a dozen of us had succeeded in assembling an orchestra. After some practice indoors and doing some serenading, we decided to furnish mental entertainment to a few of the villagers around Carlisle. The instrumental music was fairly good, as some of the fellows played very well. The declamations were

NOTE.—After the manuscript of this volume was completed, but before it was sent to the printer, the writer was informed of the death of S. L. Graham, the last survivor but one of the Class of '88, of those who completed the full course. Mr. Graham seems to have been the youngest member of the class. The lives of these two alumni were passed in widely different lines. Mr. Graham spent most of his mature life on or near the sea, in the service of his country, ending his days on the Pacific coast. The sole survivor, excepting several voyages to Europe, spent his life on the land. He is prompted to quote here a stanza from the well-known threnody of Moore, although it is not quite appropriate:

"When I remember all
The friends so linked together
I've seen around me fall
Like leaves in autumn weather:
I feel like one who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,
And all but me departed."

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also good, as they were not original. The histrionics were no doubt execrable. The audiences were small, with a regularity that was positively annoying and a monotony that was embarrassing. At one place, probably Newville, where the "show" was given under the auspices of the superintendent of schools and the audience was slow as usual in assembling, he insisted that we wait until more people had collected before beginning our "stunts." If we had taken his advice we would probably be "waiting, still waiting." As we traveled in private conveyances to fill our engagement, one youth and one maiden to a conveyance, the party of the first part, at least, found the journey worth while. When, at the end of the season, we counted up our gains and losses, there were none of the former and probably none of the latter. One evening, when our small orchestra was rehearsing at a private house, a "little Dutchman" appeared on the scene and asked permission to join us. He proved to be a member of the barracks orchestra and played the violin magnificently. Not very long after, when he did not appear at rehearsal, we were informed that he had disappeared between twilight and dawn and that he had not fallen into a well either. And so once more things, including human beings, were not what they seemed.

VI.

We return again to the Shenandoah valley, mainly for the purpose of contrasting the attitude toward the higher education of the Scotch-Irish and the Germans, who were now becoming numerous in eastern Pennsylvania.

It is also worth mentioning that although the most influential trustees of Dickinson were residents of Philadelphia, they looked for guidance to Princeton rather than to the university of their own city. Ambler points out, in his "Sectionalism in Virginia," that preachers from Yale and Princeton were important factors in shaping the social and intellectual forces in that region. The pioneer in this work was Samuel Davies (or Davis) who later became president of the College of New Jersey. In this region Princeton soon became a rival of William and Mary, although the latter had a long start in time and the advantage of proximity. Religious preference was doubtless the deciding factor. In 1747, a Princetonian of the class of the same year, founded a classical academy in Louisa county. During the same year the institution that later became Washington and Lee University was founded by John Brown, also a Princetonian. In 1776, the academy which later became Hampden-Sidney College, was established by Stanhope Smith, a Princetonian of the class of 1769. These are not all the educational institutions that were put in operation in this region by men who had received their education at the two colleges just named. In contrast with their humble origin, that of Dickin-

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son is noteworthy. On the contrary, Ambler makes no mention of any educational institutions in this region founded by Germans until many decades later, although they were quite numerous, as has just been pointed out. In 1853 the Lutherans obtained a charter for a college at Salem, but before it was well under way the sectional war began to loom darkly behind the horizon, and it has had a very feeble support ever since. This was more than a century after the Presbyterians had planted their first college in the Old Dominion. Franklin College was chartered in 1787. Its inauguration was a notable event, for the reason, if for no other, that the aged Franklin honored the occasion with his presence. Although it had at different times men of note in its faculty, it did not for a long time rise above the "grade of a good high school." It should also be mentioned here that, although the Methodist Episcopal church was a large factor in the movement that resulted in the formation of the State of West Virginia, it had no college within this territory until the present century. Most of the students from this region went either to Dickinson or to one of the colleges in southwestern Pennsylvania, or to Marietta, or farther inland to the university at Athens. Most of the minor German sects, that early became numerous in Penn's colony and in the Shenandoah valley, were almost unanimous in their opposition to every kind of education except the merest rudiments. It was not considered necessary for girls to know anything except housewifery. Hardly any intellectual phenomenon is more perplexing in its radical incon-

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sistency than the contempt with which the members of the German churches, as distinguished from the "sects," regarded an uneducated ministry and the meager support they gave to their colleges. Among the quarter of a million German's in Penn's province by the middle of the eighteenth century there must have been not a few who were in comfortable financial circumstances. The fact is, that until in comparatively recent times, large donations for educational and other public objects were very rare. Among Dickinson's first trustees are quite a number who bear clearly German names. Very soon after the first settlers arrived in the colony a concerted effort was made by men professing the Lutheran and the Reformed faiths to establish schools, and some progress was made. But in a few years the movement died out for lack of support.

It would seem that the young men of German ancestry who went to college, had no desire to make the fact known. In the sixties no word of "Pennsylvania Dutch" was heard around Dickinson College, although a considerable portion of the young men must have been fairly familiar with it. Yet, of not one could it be said, "Thy speech betrayeth thee." Although there was a German state printer until 1856, the office was virtually a superfluity. Virginia and Ohio, and probably other states, printed their laws in German until far along in the nineteenth century. A considerable number of persons, especially women, could read the German Bible and a hymn-book with some degree of comprehension, but they could read nothing else. The case with the men was somewhat better; they could

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and did read German newspapers, or at least one. Few of them, however, could read understandingly an act of the General Assembly. Philadelphia was, for a long time, the port of entry for most of these immigrants. They made their way westward and southwestward by various routes. Few of them, however, left the state after they had entered the Cumberland valley. For a long time the settlers along the border between Pennsylvania and eastern Maryland did not know in what state they were. Those farther west were in a similar case, as a good deal of the territory now in the Keystone State was claimed by Virginia. It was almost childish for the various governments to quibble and even threaten to go to war over land when it was so enormously plenty. The two southern States could, of course, justify their contention by pointing to their prior occupation. Many of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" never lived in Pennsylvania. The activities of Otterbein and Boehm were at first confined entirely to the Germans of the first and second generation who had settled in southeastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and to a less extent in Virginia. Albright was at first a Methodist, but his illiteracy and his limited knowledge of English were not relished by his confreres. What is known as the United Brethren church was organized in or near Frederick, Maryland. There is still a Dunkard meeting-house on the battlefield of Antietam. The Menonites in the Shenandoah valley have been mentioned elsewhere. After Philadelphia, Baltimore was the port of entry for most of the Germans. As long as farm products were



DEAN MERVIN G. FILLER
Of the College of Liberal Arts

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mainly transported by wagons it was sometimes hauled to Baltimore even from the Cumberland valley. In 1790 Baltimore had a population of about thirteen thousand, but by the end of the century it had almost tripled. In 1800 there were few Methodists in Pennsylvania; they were more numerous in Maryland and Delaware. At present there are more than twice as many Methodists in Delaware as all other denominations combined. Probably the same claim would hold good for Maryland. They are now the strongest religious body in Pennsylvania, next in order being the Presbyterians. No account is here taken of the Roman Catholics. A philosophical history of the various religious movements in southeastern Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, would throw much light on the psychology of the people. A good deal of material is available in the records of the various denominations, but as it is written mainly from the inside by partisans, it needs an interpreter. It is the popular belief that "revivals" were mainly due to preachers who held to the Arminian creed. This is an error. Otterbein was a Calvinist. Jonathan Edwards, the most vigorous American defender of Calvinism, was also one of the most powerful revivalists. It is said that at one of his meetings he described the after-life of the damned in such lurid colors, that the effect produced upon his audience was so great as to necessitate the closing of the services.

How long this singular state of affairs existed, or how it came into being, the writer does not know; but certain it is that in his time it was a rare thing for a student to go to any member of the

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faculty for advice or counsel or aid. He who did so was fairly certain to find himself stigmatized as a "faculty pup." This aloofness was not due to the faculty, every member of which always seemed willing to be interviewed and to grant any reasonable request. When a student was summoned into the presence of any member of the faculty it was taken for granted—often jocosely—that he was, according to the language of the Prayer Book, one of those miserable offenders who had either done those things that he ought not to have done or had left undone what he ought to have done.

For about a century and a half after the founding of the Quaker colony there was very little sectional feeling among the different commonwealths. This fact must have obtruded itself more than once upon the readers of this sketch. As early as 1793 there were students in Carlisle from six of the states south of Mason and Dixon's line. There exists also evidence to the effect that even before the end of the century some of the prospective students were deterred from entering the college because of the arduous toil imposed upon those who had been so (un)fortunate as to enter earlier. It has been remarked that when a man pays money for a tangible commodity, it is his aim to get as much for his outlay as possible; but when he pays for an education, or for what is regarded as such, he is generally willing to accept as little as the seller may choose to give, and will even protest that he is getting too much. It is almost as natural for a student to *kick* as it is for the quadruped whose name in English is spelled with four letters, the

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chief difference being that one uses his head, the other his heels. There is probably no word in the English or the German language that has wandered so far from its original Latin signification as *studens*. The familiar "student" and "studious" still remind us of their Latin ancestry. But who can discover the nexus between these terms and *studens*, except in athletics?

Nearly all students pass through the same mental metamorphosis during their four years in college. As Freshmen they are rather fresh. But if any of them manifest undue bumptiousness, they are soon taught better manners by their fellows. At Dickinson no student has ever been made to feel his inferiority in class or social rank, as at Harvard, for instance, in its earlier period. When the student enters his second year the Sophia which he has gained becomes blended with a certain measure of Moria, which somebody has expressed by the compound Sophomore. During that year he is really a first rate fellow, both in his own estimation and in that of his companions below him and above him. During his third year his stock of Moria has greatly diminished and that of his Sophia much increased. When he becomes "a grave and reverend Seniors smiling o'er a verdant past," he has almost ceased to be a typical student.* The past is behind him and the future close in front. At Dickinson, at least within what may be called the historical period, as distinguished from the half-

* "When we first came on this campus we were Freshmen
green as grass;
Now we're grave and reverend Seniors, smiling o'er the
verdant past."

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mythical period, the only penalty or penalties for serious infractions of the rules and regulations have been suspension, or dismissal, or degradation in rank, or small fines, which are however rarely personal. Every student is loyal to his fellows, and however he may dislike him, will never betray him. No college faculty will ever attempt, or at least in extremely rare cases, to convict a student upon the testimony of a fellow student, even of a peccadillo. When it is necessary to resort to extreme measures it is essential to call upon the civil authorities, which is a rare occurrence. Taking college students as a whole, they are capital fellows. The writer has known very few cynics or young men who harbored a permanent grouch.

College discipline has been a problem ever since there were colleges, but the problem was solved, in so far as it was solved at all, differently in England and America on the one hand, and the Continent on the other. The continental student, after he was admitted to the university, was left almost entirely to his own devices, while the English and American student was always more or less under surveillance. In the continental universities the theological students are carefully guarded and segregated, while such is not the case in the United States. We are here, however, concerned only with the college and not with the university student. The young American goes to college for a fairly definite object, at least outside of New England, but he has not always a definite idea as to how it should be attained. There is, however, a marked difference between the methods by which

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the goal should be reached, ranging all the way from strict honesty to deliberate dishonesty. It is well known that at the present day many of the wealthier students depend mainly on cramming for a few weeks before the time for final examinations, to the great pecuniary benefit of the poorer students who have the knowledge and need the money for which it can be cashed in. This custom has never been in vogue at Dickinson. It is claimed by the Southern colleges that student honor is higher among them than it is in the North. There is more than a grain of truth in the claim. The writer does not know much at first hand about college honor in the twentieth century, but he can testify that fifty years ago it could have been improved in certain places.

It is not surprising that the students, or at least a considerable portion thereof, were unruly; it would have been surprising if such had not been the case. The internal history of American colleges until some years after our sectional war is, to a considerable extent, a record of strife with the faculty or among themselves. These conditions may have been inherited from their transatlantic peers, or they may have been a parallel development. The history of higher education in England, where it has almost from time immemorial been less turbulent than on the continent, is to a considerable extent a record of roistering, when it is not something worse. It can, however, be truly said that the large number of prominent men, compared with the entire population, who came forth from American colleges until about half a century

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ago, was due in great measure to the limited number of studies in the curriculum, which necessitated a greater measure of concentration than the wide range of choice now permitted. Too much thought is given to finding something easy, then something easier still. It is moreover doubtful if undergraduates spent as much time to no purpose under the old regime as they do "in these last times." What is called "deviltry" is for the most part spontaneous and requires little premeditation. Conversely, the large part of the non-academic activities of the twentieth century demand forethought and fore-preparation and are apt to become all-absorbing, at least for the nonce. A fundamental article of the pedagogical creed of the olden time seems to have been that the more wearisome a study can be made the more efficacious it will be. This is a parallel case to the peasant belief that the "nastier" a medicine tastes the more potent it is.

It is probable that all colleges, until within the memory of men still living, held their chapel exercises at six o'clock in the morning. This was a decidedly unpopular hour, especially in the winter. A student now and then appeared in chapel *en deshabelle*, going to bed again after the services. In order to put an end to this practice the faculty decided to hold one recitation before the exercises. An old citizen who lived near the college told the writer that the language sometimes used by students when passing her house in the dark hours of the early morning, while engaged in adjusting their toilet, indicated a decidedly undevotional state of mind. According to the reports of the army sur-

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geons who examined the recruits for oversea service, somewhat more than one-third of them were morons; in other words, their mentality was about that of a boy or girl of fifteen or sixteen. The average man is prompted to regard these "scientific reports" a good deal as he regards the story of the roc's egg—greatly exaggerated. There is, of course, some truth in them. Would anybody affirm that no moron ever gets into college, or even into the faculty?—if he has "a cousin in the consistory or a friend at court."

When a group of students has a grievance against the faculty, or against any member thereof, the attorneys are all, or nearly all, for the prosecution. The defendant is usually without counsel. As the talk progresses the grievance augments. Few students seem to be aware that an instructor who insists on honest work is not doing so for the teacher but for the learner. The "victims" of this tyranny usually see this for themselves,—but not until after they have been some years out of college. Nevertheless, no wise man will take it for granted that students are always in the wrong. In this respect there is less and less cause for complaint. If an instructor is not fairly satisfactory to his students, they can usually change their course or their teacher.

VII.

Let us now take a rapid survey of eastern and southern Pennsylvania, as the country appeared to Dr. Cutler, the founder of the Ohio University. In July, 1788, he made the journey to the Ohio country in a sulky. Setting out from his native Connecticut he entered Pennsylvania near the mouth of the Lehigh river, and we will follow him only in so far as his observations pertain to said State. He passed through Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading and Harrisburg. He writes that the last named town contained about one hundred good houses, "all built in less than three years." "Many of them were of brick and three stories high. Half the people are English." He also mentions that there were as yet no churches. On the third of August he arrived in Carlisle. "Roads mostly good, but now intolerable; very level." He found Carlisle to be a larger town than Reading and mentions that it contained two hundred and eighty houses, "large and well built." Here he came across a family on their way to Fort Pitt. They had a coach and three wagons. Dr. Cutler notes that "just before we came to the town we saw on our left the barracks. They are built of brick in four ranges, one at the end." They appeared like colleges, "an immense pile of buildings exceeding anything in this part of the country." He makes no mention of a college. Shippensburg was a new town containing about one hundred and fifty houses, all on one street. (In America, at least

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in the United States, newness is a wholly relative term.) The road to the foot of the mountain was "excessive bad." From this place he went over the Blue Mountains into Horse Valley, then into Path Valley, ascended the Tuscarora Mountain and came down into Ahwick Valley. Here he found much work being done on the roads. He also met a packer with ten horses loaded with ginseng, two barrels to a horse. Ginseng at Fort Pitt was two shillings a barrel; at Carlisle it was five. (How many of the present residents of Carlisle know what ginseng is, or at least have ever seen the plant?) Fourteen miles from Bedford our traveler crossed the "Juniata branch of the Susquehanna river on a good long bridge." "Bedford is the poorest county in Pennsylvania." The town, however, was fairly well built, some of the houses being "tolerable good." (Bedford county was laid out in 1771 and Westmoreland in 1773; but before the end of the century there were eight counties where there were only two at this time.) At this place our traveler overtook Judge Symmes, well known in Ohio pioneer history, and especially in that of Miami University at Oxford, the younger sister of the institution at Athens. Judge Symmes was a native of Long Island but at that time a very wealthy resident of New Jersey. With him were several members of his family. His outfit consisted of six heavy wagons and a chair, thirty-one horses, three carpenters and one mason. The company had been on the way three weeks.

Proceeding, the reverend gentleman writes that Buffalo Mountain was on his left. He found the

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roads in this region all good, except where they were new. At a place called "The Glades" the streams began to flow westward. Not far away our diarist preached to a large congregation for a Mr. Finley, who was ill. The woods were full of horses—three or four hundred—but no houses were near the place where the congregation had assembled. The Reverend Mr. Finley had two congregations eight miles apart. They were doubtless Presbyterians. Dr. Cutler crossed the Youghiogheny at a place he calls Summerall's, then the Monongahela, which he considered a fine river, at a ferry which he calls Devour's Crossing. Washington was then new, with stumps in the streets. The court house and the jail, those ubiquitous concomitants of civilization, were in the center. "Fine country all around." In the vicinity of the present town of Wellsburg there were "fine gardens, mills, tanneries, etc." The remainder of the journey was made by water on the river, which is big but generally narrow, obstructed by no shallows along the state which bears its name, and is rarely out of service. Our diarist makes brief comments on the taverns at which he stopped, and notes whether they were kept by Irishmen or "Dutchmen." At one place he came across an extremely handsome woman and could not believe that she was "Dutch" until she herself informed him that she was born in Germany. Our traveler generally found the stopping places bad or very bad. But as there was rarely more than one within reach, it was generally a case of "eat and sleep here or go without either." In midsummer there was generally a place

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to sleep but not always "food for man and beast." At this time there was not a turnpike in the whole country. The first road of this kind was that between Philadelphia and Lancaster. It was finished in 1796 and was regarded as a masterpiece of road-building. It was, in fact, "the wonder of America." Having now arrived at the southwest corner of the state, let us take note of some of the happenings in that region during the next few decades.

Although American colleges, until well along towards the end of the nineteenth century, were small affairs, they generated a large amount of strife; some of them more than others. Those in the Keystone State had their full share. If it be true that the University of Pennsylvania had three hundred students a dozen years before the outbreak of the revolutionary war, it was not only the largest institution of its kind in the country, but probably the most turbulent. The fact that it was located in the City of Brotherly Love and among people who were pacifists on principle, did not have a pacifying effect. Dickinson seems to have had little peace for almost fifty years. As early as 1787 an academy was started in the court house at Washington by three Presbyterian ministers. When it was burned down in 1790 they transferred their school to Canonsburg, seven miles distant. This hegira had an unfortunate effect, for it became the nucleus of Jefferson College. It seems to have been the only college to receive the name of the "Father of American Democracy." This was afterwards shared with the "Father of his Coun-

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try." Although Washington College and Jefferson College were only a few miles apart, the trustees, with the pertinacity of their religion, refused to unite for more than fifty years. The absurdity of this aloofness becomes all the more glaring when we reflect that both concerns were under the tutelage of the same religious body and that the students were necessarily few in numbers. The magnet that ultimately drew the two colleges together was the conditional promise of a considerable sum of money by a member of one of the boards. Since then their joint history reads like the last chapter in a popular novel, in which the reader is told that the hero and the heroine "lived together happily ever afterwards." For a number of years conditions in "that corner" appear to have been much like those at Dickinson, except that there being two boards of trustees and two faculties the penchant for logomachy was largely gratified without involving the student body, although they doubtless had their own troubles.

A later writer, when dealing with the Whiskey Rebellion that broke out in the aforesaid region, declares that the belligerents were, for the most part, of native stock, but that they had inherited two traits from their European ancestors: fondness for ardent spirits and a proclivity for theological controversy. He adds that they believed in the injunction, "Quench not the spirit," but connected it with the clause, "Stint not the spirits," provided they could be taken in liquid form. Although that part of the Keystone State is somewhat rough and rugged, the native inhabitants are now neither the one

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nor the other; on the contrary, for almost a century its citizens have been among the most orderly and prosperous in the Union. It should be noted that the whiskey for which these men showed such a marked predilection that they were ready to fight for the privilege of making and consuming it in unlimited quantities, was at least ten years old, and far less deleterious to health than the modern product that can be made "between two days," and which is known by the expressive but not elegant name of "rotgut." Evidently these pioneers could not see the consistency between fighting Great Britain for imposing a tax upon them to which they had not consented and quietly submitting to a tax imposed by their own government to which they had not consented either. The authorities found, for the ten thousandth time, that, in the words of Edmund Burke, it is as hard to tax and to please as to love and be wise. The only tax which a man saw paid willingly (and we may fittingly substitute *sees* for *saw*) so far as he was himself concerned, was the tax paid by the other fellow, whether by his neighbor or by someone whom he had never seen and never expected to see. It is well, however, to keep in mind, when dealing with the western insurrection, that it was not the only one with which the government had to contend, although in the other cases it was not deemed necessary to call upon the Federal government; at any rate there was no answer to the call. The Fries Rebellion, or the Hot Water Rebellion, as it was sometimes designated, made a good deal of trouble in some of the eastern counties. Owing to the par-

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ticipation of women armed with pails of hot water the conflict partook somewhat of the nature of the *Batrachomyomachia* with which the students of Greek literature are familiar,—that is, a few of them are. The Fries Rebellion proved that “the “Dutch” were quite as little disposed to pay taxes as their fellow citizens in the western part of the state. On the whole, the Pennsylvanians were perhaps less prone to take up arms against Great Britain than those of any other colony. Many of them were pacifists from conviction, while others were pacifists for different reasons. All of our school histories have much to say about the sufferings of the troops at Valley Forge; few tell their readers that there was no scarcity of food and clothing within easy reach, and that the farmers preferred to sell these commodities to the British for gold, rather than to the Colonials for promises. Doubtless many of the farmers agreed with the Irishman who, when twitted with being a coward, replied, “I would rather be a coward all my life than a corpse for five minutes.”

The scene of the last post-revolutionary conflict in which Pennsylvanians engaged was much nearer to Carlisle than either of the others. In fact, if President Van Buren had not remained obdurate, soldiers from the Carlisle barracks would have been in Harrisburg in their war paint. This so-called Buckshot War seems not only to have been fought without buckshot but without weapons of any kind more dangerous than sharp tongues. The casualties were about as numerous as those reported by

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Dietrich Knickerbocker in his veracious History of New York.

There does not seem to have been much hostility or even ill feeling between the younger men of Carlisle, at any time, and the students. At any rate, very little was perceptible in the sixties. Neither does there appear to have been a prescribed list of penalties for offenses, as there was at Harvard, for example, where it was very long. Nor was there ever any disposition to make any distinction of rank, and perhaps not in the country generally, except in the South and at Harvard, where the social status of the parents fixed that of their sons. The lower class men were also regarded as inferior to the higher. Some of these regulations and penalties were still on the statute books of the college when C. W. Eliot became president. It is probable that Pennsylvania, owing to the heterogeneous character of its population and to the impress of its founder, was, for a long time, more nearly a democracy than any other State in the Union; for, be it remembered that a democracy and a republic are not the same thing. Notwithstanding the influence of Roger Williams, Rhode Island, in time, became perhaps the most reactionary state of the original thirteen. It is not probable that the young fellows at Dickinson were more obstreperous than they were elsewhere, although there is a strong likelihood that the demoralizing effects of the revolutionary war perdured decades after its close. Besides, in a small town a peccadillo could easily be magnified into a serious crime or an unpardonable sin. What was lacking in most

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colleges was a disciplinarian like Dr. Nott at Union, who understood boys and young men as few persons understand them. Although Union was often spoken of as "Botany Bay college," because of the number of outcasts assembled there, it does not appear that it turned out more men who became "hard cases" than other institutions. Nott seems to have governed young men mainly by placing confidence in them. Experience has proved that a "trusty" from a penitentiary will seldom disappoint a warden. Albeit, the days of Nott and Arnold are gone forever. When the entire student body did not exceed several, or at most, ten score, a considerable amount of oversight and personal influence was altogether practicable. But when the student body runs even into the thousands it is impossible. The problem is also rendered more complex by the fact that many of our colleges of former days have expanded into universities, and many of our college towns have grown into cities. Under such circumstances, personal oversight is out of the question. Less stress is laid upon repression and more, perhaps too much, upon fostering non-academic activities in order to direct the superfluous energies of young people toward moral ends, or at least towards ends that are innocuous. Something of the sort was absolutely necessary. If student life has lost something of its piquancy and picturesqueness, it has gained a good deal in wholesomeness.

It was probably not a unique condition of affairs that although the Dickinson boys engaged in occasional logomachies they never resulted in fisticuffs.



DEAN WILLIAM TRICKETT
Of the College of Law

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American students, like their English predecessors and contemporaries, never resorted to the German mode of vindicating their honor. A German students' duel is about as deadly as a knockdown with fists, but it is much more elaborate and a great deal more bloody. English-speaking students unconsciously accepted the truth of a dictum uttered by a Swiss soldier to a Frenchman with whom he had a quarrel. When the latter declared proudly, "We French fight for honor; you Swiss fight for money," the former replied, "Each of us fights for that of which he has the least." A certain student whose name appears in the *Alumni Record* as retired in 1860 (and it might have been added, on advice of the faculty), threatened to "lick" the writer of these lines at the first favorable opportunity, for insulting him. But he has not yet carried out this threat. The probable reason is that, as he afterwards entered the Christian ministry, he changed his mind. Moreover, he attained some distinction in his calling.

VIII.

Probably the most widely, although not the most favorably known of Dickinson's alumni was Moncure D. Conway. Through his friendship with Andrew Carnegie he also became a liberal pecuniary benefactor to the college, Conway Hall being a perpetual reminder of the fact. The list of his books is a long one. His birthplace was Stafford county, Virginia; the year of his birth was 1832. In his early boyhood his father, followed by most of his family, left the church to which he belonged and "jined de Methodis'," to the surprise of some of his neighbors and to the dismay of others. Young Conway was only fifteen years old when he entered college, but he was under the tutelage of an older brother. He was first admitted to the Sophomore class, but four months later was advanced to Junior. He writes in his Autobiography that the faculty of his day was not surpassed in ability by any in America. This was not the immature judgment of an undergraduate, nor of a man whose intellectual outlook never widened after he had received his diploma; but of a man of large experience and profound scholarship. Besides, he put it on record after more than fifty years of reflection. Although nominally a Methodist college, the professors had been chosen without regard to denominational preference. Mr. Conway considered Robert Emory an ideal college president. "When he called on my brother and me, I cannot remember what he said, but after he left we were ready

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to die for him." He regarded Professor Allen as an abler man than Whately, whose "Logic" the class was using, although Allen was only temporarily in charge of the class, owing to the death of Professor Caldwell. Allen was a native of Maine and an alumnus of Bowdoin College. For many years afterward he was president of Girard College. Spencer F. Baird, who was soon to be admitted to the company of the Immortals, both on account of his connection with the Smithsonian Institute and by his original contributions to science, was the beloved of the faculty and the ideal student. It would not be easy to praise a man more highly than Conway praises Baird and his charming family. Mr. Conway also writes that "Dr. McClintock made Greek studies interesting, and Professor Crooks had much skill in teaching Latin." Another passage from this Autobiography is interesting and instructive by reason of the inside view it gives of Carlisle's population about the middle of the century. After writing somewhat in detail of the distinguished men who lived in the city during his college days, he continues: "To me it was a revelation to find so many great men and refined ladies belonging to a sect that in Fredericksburg was in dismal contrast with the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches." Everyone who has the slightest interest in the "Old College" and in "Old Belleaire" should read the earlier portions of this autobiography. Few persons have the time to read the entire two volumes. The author thinks the majority of the students were from the South, and notes that a few of them occasionally went on

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sprees, but he opines that there were no drunkards among them.

Mrs. Dillon, a daughter of President Johnson who died in 1868, herself also recently deceased, in her partly autobiographical romance named above, dilates with almost pathetic fondness on the charming circle of which the college was the center. In later visits she made disparaging comments between the students of her girlhood days and those of the twentieth century. The latter, she declared, were neither so chivalrous nor so handsome as the heroes of the earlier time. On a few points comparisons of the past with the present may be made in favor of the former. It seems to have been assumed by both American and British teachers, until near the close of the last century that one had no need to study his mother-tongue. A great deal of attention was given to spelling in both the public and private schools; hence, when a student entered college he was supposed to have done with the spelling-book. Even dictionaries were somewhat of a rarity. The Southern students excelled in the graces of speech. It may also be said of them, and hardly less of their confreres from the North, that their English was less punctured with what may be called slang and which pervades current English to a lamentable degree, although there were no girls among the students. Athletics and war have given to most European tongues a piquancy and picturesqueness, perhaps also a vulgarity, that is altogether without precedent. As the sciences, broadly speaking, except mathematics, received comparatively little at-

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tention, much time was left for reading after the recitations had been prepared, and it was generally well used. The writer is in position to know that a new book was often discussed by the students, to which attention had not been drawn by any member of the faculty. Are twentieth century students ever "guilty" of wasting their time on a book for which they cannot expect credits? There were comparatively few monthly magazines, and probably far fewer newspapers, including all daily and weekly publications, than are issued at present. At this day more people, far more, read in order not to be put to the trouble of thinking than for the purpose of stimulating thought. There were very few non-academic activities, and none that were official. There was virtually no systematic instruction in English composition, but an occasional essay or oration was required. Skill in writing cannot be taught by any pouring-in or smearing-on process; the *urge* must come from within. It must be a fountain of living water. On the other hand, men who were on familiar terms with both the earlier and later generation of students will not agree in all respects with Mrs. Dillon's panegyrics. Although the students from the South almost without exception displayed a certain kind of gallantry—and there may have been no change in this respect in the intervening years—in their intercourse with the gentler sex, that was lacking in some of their peers from the North, the latter were no less gentlemen in reality. A man may make a brilliant appearance in a drawing-room and be a rake none the less.

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In view of the disparaging contrast made by Mr. Conway in his autobiography between the Methodist people and the two older religious bodies, it should be noted that this difference was not due to colleges but to other causes. Most of the southern states made a brave start toward higher education during the closing years of the eighteenth century, but few of them got more than a start until after the close of the sectional war. William and Mary never advanced far, and the University of Virginia, notwithstanding the fostering care of Mr. Jefferson, long remained a small college, although its faculty contained some men of large mental caliber. In 1846 it had only about 150 students. The early Methodists, like the Quakers and the Moravians, were in favor of schools but not of colleges. As early as 1779, John Dickens, a former Eton boy, interested himself in the establishment of an academy in North Carolina. Coke, although an Oxford man, can hardly be said to belong to American Methodism. At least one Methodist college was founded in the eighteenth century. In 1786 Asbury writes that Cokesbury College is now "fit for covering," with a debt of nine hundred pounds hanging over it. After it had burned down, he writes that it represented a sacrifice of about ten thousand pounds. "Would any man offer me ten thousand pounds per year to do and suffer what I have done and suffered for that house, I would not take it. The Lord called not Whitefield nor Methodists to build colleges. I wish only for schools; Dr. Coke wanted a college. I feel distressed at the loss of the library." Evi-

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dently, while not approving of the project, he gave much thought and labor towards its realization. He interested himself in the planting of schools in half a dozen southern states; the fact that most of them were failures proves that such institutions were in advance of public opinion.

Bishop Asbury formulated a system of higher education for his church that was intended to cover the entire country, but it was put into operation very slowly for obvious reasons. Although the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians had a long lead of the Methodists, they did not maintain it. The former have no outstanding college in Pennsylvania, and perhaps none in the West or South. Kenyon was one of the early educational projects in Ohio, but it was feebly supported, and probably never had two hundred students. The college at Wooster belongs to the post-war period. Albeit, the financial resources of these two denominations probably exceed those of any others. As several men among the early Methodists were educated in colleges under the auspices of other denominations, they certainly did not cast in their lot with the Methodists from mercenary motives. Albeit, probably more Methodists went into other religious bodies than took the reverse course.

Beginning with the third decade of the nineteenth century, there was a veritable "uprush" of enthusiasm among the leading spirits of American Methodism, both in the North and in the South. In about a dozen years almost or quite a dozen colleges and academies, including Dickinson and Alleghany, were chartered or taken over, and a

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number of academies started. Some of these eventually went out of existence for lack of support, but most of them still survive. Were not Bishop Asbury's educational ideas sound? Universities are of limited use unless there are also preparatory schools. A dozen, or perhaps a score of young people go to a preparatory school for one who goes to a college or university. Spain has had her universities from "of old," yet Spain is one of the most illiterate countries of Europe. The University of Lima was founded several decades before Harvard, but who was ever benefited by the University of Lima?

There is at present no known reason for the choice of the name Cumberland; but after the name of the county had once been decided upon that of the county-seat followed as a matter of course. Why English names were given to the first American counties in Pennsylvania is easily explained; but why a certain name should be selected rather than others is not clear. Three northern counties furnished a number of immigrants who were as much Scotch as English: hence Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland. From the beginning of the strife that ended in the parting of the mother and daughter, names were rarely brought oversea. If there is any doubt as to how and by whom the name *Cumberland* was brought into Pennsylvania, there is none whatever as to the person who brought the name of the college to Carlisle. The charter specifies that: "In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by His Excellency, John Dickinson, Esq.,

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President of the Executive Council (Governor of the State), and in commemoration of his very liberal donations to the institution, the said college shall forever hereafter be called and known by the name of Dickinson College." The term "forever" was doubtless inserted in the charter because its framers were convinced that no benefactor would ever appear on the scene with a donation that would surpass the first in amount and thus make a change advisable. This little word throws an interesting sidelight on the mental horizon of representative Americans at the close of the Revolution. Dickinson's gifts comprised two hundred acres of land in York county, five hundred in Cumberland county, and a selection of books from his library. The land donated was estimated to be worth rather less than a pound an acre at the time the donation was made. For the first two centuries after the first settlement of this continent by white men, not much money was needed to buy much glory, when it was given for the founding or enlarging of a college or a "university," as has been shown elsewhere. Besides Dickinson we need only mention Harvard, Yale, Brown, Rutgers, and the Ohio University. After this primitive period it required at least half a million dollars to accomplish the same result. Perhaps, however, the earliest donations were relatively more liberal than those of later date, considering the financial ability of the donors. What crude, almost childish, ideas about financing an institution of learning men had, even after the middle of the nineteenth century, is strikingly shown by the fact that shortly after 1850 the management

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of Dickinson College authorized the issuance and sale of four-year scholarships for twenty-five dollars. A scholarship for ten years could be purchased for fifty dollars, and one for twenty-five years cost one hundred dollars. Whatever may have been the necessities of the case, it was wretched financiering. When these scholarships began to be offered for tuition, students brought in no money except a small fee for incidentals and for subjects not in the course when they were issued. More than one college in Pennsylvania was forced to close permanently because it had been built on sand, generally called scholarships, and the floods in the shape of debts wrecked it. Others changed hands, but not always did they change financial wisdom for shortsightedness. Farther west the wrecks were even more numerous. The growth of Carlisle was for a time comparatively rapid. In 1795 it was the choice of the House for the capital of the state. In the following year it was again voted on, but was defeated by Lancaster, owing to the repeated disagreement of the Senate. The places voted for shows that Pennsylvania consisted chiefly of a few corner lots.

The second name on the original list of forty trustees is Henry Hill. It may be passed over as unimportant. The third name is that of James Wilson. Like his friend, John Dickinson, he was somewhat reluctant to take the final step that led to the break with the mother country. Mr. Wilson was also a Scotchman by birth. At the University of Edinburg he was a favorite of High Blair because of his marked ability. After coming to this

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country he read law with Mr. Dickinson, and for a time practised in Philadelphia and later in Carlisle. In 1777 he removed to Annapolis, and a year later settled in Philadelphia. When the Marquis of Chastellux was in that city he was surprised at the size of Mr. Wilson's library and the extent of his learning. Of the fifty-five delegates to the Constitutional Convention, Wilson is generally regarded as the best prepared by his knowledge of history and of the science of government for the work before that body. No other member, except Madison and Morris, spoke so often and so well. Soon, however, party spirit began to run high, as it always does in time of political and social upheaval, and Wilson was much berated for never being on the popular side, a railing accusation that was hurled time and time again at Dickinson. He was, however, appointed one of the first Justices of the Supreme Court by Washington, a position which he held at the time of his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-six. In his later years he became involved in financial difficulties through sundry land speculations, and in order to avoid arrest was obliged to exchange circuits with Judge Iredell. That he was guilty of illegal acts does not appear to have been established. His body was laid to rest at Edenton, North Carolina, where it remained for one hundred and eight years; then his remains were brought to Philadelphia and interred by the side of his wife.

The fourth name on the original list of trustees is William Bingham, who was also a Philadelphian. Although an Episcopalian, he subscribed four hun-

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dred pounds to the funds for the college, a sum that seems ridiculously small when we consider that he was regarded as the wealthiest man in his native city, and perhaps in the state. Mr. Bingham was a United States Senator for one term, beginning with 1795.*

The fifth name on the list is that of Benjamin Rush, M.D., also known as the American Hippocrates, the American Sydenham, and the Father of American Medicine. He was born in 1745 and received his degree from the College of New Jersey at the age of fifteen. After graduating at the University of Edinburg, he settled in his native city, where he resided to the end of his days. What was called "medicine" in those days was a comparatively simple matter, and Dr. Rush being of an active temperament and greatly interested in the public welfare, took a leading part in the affairs of his native city and even of his native state. His

*"Americana" for April 23, 1923, contains a brief biography of William Bingham and also a portrait. Among other enterprises in which he was engaged, he was the founder of Binghamton, New York. The brief passage quoted from said article shows the wealth and sagacious foresight of the man, but no mention is made of his philanthropy. What he would have done had he lived longer is a matter of conjecture, as he died at the comparatively early age of fifty-two years. "Of other titled and blue-blooded persons allied to the Bingham children by marriage several readable chapters might be written. Much information about them may be found in Burke's Peerage. Senator Bingham's remote descendants—they are all now English or French—have profited enormously by his land purchases, and it is interesting to know that seventy or eighty years after his death they began to get large sums from Pennsylvania oil fields, as well as from lands in Mount Desert." The Bingham estates furnish a fine text for a sermon, or indeed for several, on the *unearned increment*. It may also be added that considerable portions of this book appeared in the above mentioned fine quarterly a few years ago.

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radical views on the effects of alcohol on the human system have given him a unique place in the history of American medicine, and in fact of medical science in general. There is still in existence one of his letters, in which he expresses confidence that "Dickinson College will one day become the sun of light and knowledge in the western part of the United States." Dr. Rush's west was, or is, one hundred miles inland from Philadelphia.

It seems to have been the custom of the first trustees, and of their successors for many years afterwards, to draft into service almost all the prominent men far and near. The names of two Blaines, Ephraim and Robert, appear among the early members of the board. The forerunner of the clan in this country was named James. With his wife, Isabella, and their son Ephraim, he came to America from the north of Ireland shortly after 1745. He was evidently a man of means. After sojourning for some time at Lancaster and Carlisle, the little group moved into what is now Perry county, and founded the village still called Blain. Members of this large family remained in the same region for many years and often visited Carlisle. Albeit, the boys who went to college betook themselves to Washington, where James G. received his diploma in 1847 at the age of seventeen. The distance from western Perry county to the southwestern section of Pennsylvania is not a long one, and the journey, in those days, would not be considered difficult. We have seen that Dr. Cutler passed over much of this route. There are said to have been four boys named Ephraim Blaine at Wash-

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ington College at the same time. Evidently the family was not only in comfortable financial circumstances, but also patrons of the higher learning. There was, however, one prominent Cumberlandian whose name does not appear among Dickinson's trustees, namely Robert Whitehill. He resided a few miles west of Harrisburg and from 1774 to the date of his death, 1813, was almost constantly in the public service.

It is impossible, at this time, to discover the ultimate cause of the irregular attendance of the students at Dickinson for almost five decades after the beginning of operations. These conditions have been referred to more than once in this volume. To put the case succinctly, the proximate cause was the almost uninterrupted strife between the students and the faculty; what is not known is why the strife should be more acrimonious at Carlisle than elsewhere, as it seems to have been. Although students in Scotland were by no means all lambs, it is probable that Principal Nisbet found an exceptionally large number of wild goats in his cis-Atlantic flock. At times the college was closed, at least no students are reported. The tradition or report was brought to Carlisle by an elderly man in the sixties, that James Buchanan had been suspended, having also been one of those students who had not received their diplomas in regular order. The same man also reported that Mr. Buchanan, some years later, in a speech to the members of his society, exhorted them to conduct themselves decently and in order. In this case, the young man who later became President, did but

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follow or anticipate the example of most college graduates. Rarely does an "old college boy" address a body of undergraduates without warning them against wasting their time as he had done, and exhorting them to act more wisely. It is doubtful if such fatherly and motherly advice is ever profited by. Usually those who need it will not take it, while those who take it do not need it. Hindsight has very sharp eyes; Foresight is almost blind. The frequent collision between students and faculty in the olden time was really a struggle between the forces of expression and repression. Most of the students were convinced of their own importance and sensitive in the matter of personal dignity. A majority of American college boys belonged to the Ancient but not always Honorable Order of Recalcitrants, and most of them were careful not to prove unfaithful to their title. It is not often that young men know what youth is until they have got beyond its period. Not unfrequently young people have to make up, after they receive their diplomas, for the time previously frittered away. Yet, in a sense, this can never be done. Time lost is lost forever. On the other hand, the college grind is not usually the most successful man afterwards.

Why this apparently almost uninterrupted strife between faculty and students and trustees should cease, as it seems to have done, after the control of the college passed into the hands of another religious body, is a question to which no definite answer can be given at this time. When we read that for almost the average of a man's life, ac-

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ording to the usual reckoning, the logomachies at Dickinson continued, we are prompted to ask whether all the undergraduates belonged to the class that John Bunyan would have called Diabolonians. After 1836, in which year there is only one year in which the graduates are represented by one figure, and the students as nineteen. Readers are, however, mistaken when they interpret the term "class" as it is now understood. It did not have the same meaning during the entire history of the college. There were no "classes" until 1796, when the students were divided into Freshmen, Juniors and Seniors. This must be regarded as a logical division. The Sophomore class was added in 1808. The origin of this appellation nobody appears able to account for. It is not known in Europe.



EDWARD W. BIDDLE
President of the Board of Trustees

IX.

The Cumberland and the Shenandoah valleys are virtually one, although bisected by the somewhat erratic Potomac river. But settlers had penetrated into the southern regions long before they came into the northern part in any considerable numbers. As early as 1726 the people known as Scotch-Irish had entered the valley in large numbers. Evidence of this migration is preserved by a substantial Presbyterian church a few miles from Staunton, the birthplace of ex-President Wilson, that was built about 1740, and which has had an unbroken succession of pastors from near that date until the present day. The religious zeal of these people is attested by the fact that, as there was no sand for mortar to be had nearer than about ten miles, the women of the congregation transported it on horseback. The Presbyterians are still the most numerous religious body in the valley. Next in order come the Methodists. Others came also, among them many Germans. So numerous did they soon become that the government considered it advisable to have the laws printed in their language. Strange as it may seem, the Menonites have a flourishing school for girls at Harrisonburg. A considerable number of cavaliers also settled in the state after the Cromwellians got possession of the English government; these gave an aristocratic flavor to Virginia which has perdured to the present day. Soon after 1700 the Scotch-Irish began to arrive in Pennsylvania in large companies. About 1720

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one of them founded the oft-mentioned Log College in Bucks county, near Philadelphia. Soon they had progressed as far inland as Harrisburg, "but the Cumberland valley received the greatest number." The population of Pennsylvania has been given elsewhere; that of Virginia was somewhat over 747,000 in 1790. But the increase in the northern state was much more rapid than in the southern, and by 1820 they were about equal.

Recent historians of the Keystone State estimate that well nigh half of its social fabric has been built up by Presbyterians, and aver, furthermore, that there is hardly a state where the influence of Calvin is not felt. Was this potent influence due to their national character or to their creed? On the other hand it has been written of the Germans that while they have been slow, self-centered and conservative, they have also been honest, industrious and thrifty, while they have been on the right side of most of the moral questions or have come out on that side. Most of their governors, of whom there have been at least eight, have been as progressive as any. On the whole, while the Germans have not played a conspicuous part in the political life of this country, they have rarely been involved in public scandals and corruption. How the Presbyterians came to be so numerous in southwestern Pennsylvania and northwestern Virginia is accounted for by Douglas Campbell in his well-known work, "The Puritans in Holland, America and England." "The Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians, and their form of government was not favored in New England. Pennsylvania

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was the home of toleration for all religious sects, and thither these immigrants naturally flocked. How many we shall probably never know. In 1727 six ships loaded with families from Ulster landed at Philadelphia in a single week, and throughout the whole of the eighteenth century the arrival of two or three a day was not unusual. Five thousand Irish are said to have come over in 1729, and for twenty years following as many as twelve thousand came over every year." During this whole period a Scotch-Irish Quaker, James Logan, was the governor of the Province. He disliked these Presbyterian immigrants and, alarmed by their numbers, sent them to the western border of the Province to protect the Quakers in the east against the incursions of the Indians in the west. Although the canny governor was conscientiously opposed to fighting, when the situation became such that it could not be avoided, he sent the men to do it whom he considered best qualified for the task. Much of the territory in the western region was claimed both by Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the people did not know to which to look for protection; consequently they were constrained to depend upon themselves.

The first constitution of Pennsylvania remained unchanged for more than a hundred years, that is until 1790. In that year the legislature was enlarged by the addition of an upper house, probably to bring it into harmony with Congress. The place of the Supreme Executive Council was taken by the Governor, who was to be elected by the people. Office-holders were still required to believe in the

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existence of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, but belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures was no longer enjoined. In the Constitution of 1790 a negro could vote, but not under that of 1838. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that under the present constitution of Ohio, the Ordinance of 1787 to the contrary notwithstanding, the colored man does not have the right of suffrage. Pennsylvania seems to be one of the few northern states in which only taxpayers can vote. For a long time after the organization of the state, this restriction existed in Ohio also.

Pennsylvania was the most liberal of the original American commonwealths. But the liberal opinions of the people had their limits. For a long time many of them were not willing to pay for the education of their neighbors' children, while a smaller number were not even willing to pay for the education of their own. Here again we come upon the sempiternal question of taxation. About 1835, Thaddeus Stevens made a speech before the legislature of the state in which he said, among other things, that the languishing and sickly condition of Pennsylvania's colleges was certainly not due to poverty; "yet she has scarcely one-third as many collegiate students as cold, barren New England. The reason is plain,—she has no free schools." Albeit, the Pennsylvanians were never so reactionary as the Bostonians, who would not admit girls to the public schools until after 1790. Miss Crandall found, about 1830, that the people of Canterbury, Connecticut, were "agin niggers," or even against one, and that a girl, if she was

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treated as if she were white. The citizens of the "Nutmeg State" claim, however, that they were the first in the Union to set apart a fund for the maintenance of public schools. This fund, which amounted to more than a million dollars, was realized from the sale of lands in the "Western Reserve," or the "Land West of Pennsylvania." The first payment was made in 1797. Few people, at this day, are aware that a conflict familiarly known as the "Pennamite or Yankee War" existed for nearly forty years, although it cannot be said to have raged, even if the militia was called out, between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The families who suffered most in the "Massacre of Wyoming," an event which inspired Thomas Campbell's well known poem, were mainly immigrants from the eastern state.

A deed of exceptional and permanent importance was done in the last years of Principal Nisbet's reign. After the trustees had decided to move to new quarters they purchased a full square in the town for about one hundred and fifty dollars and began the erection of a building upon it. But before it was completed it was destroyed by fire. This calamity ultimately proved to be a blessing in disguise, although the disguise was for a considerable time so complete that the blessing was not recognized. "Subscriptions for a new edifice began to come in from all sides." Thomas Jefferson gave a hundred dollars, and Count de la Lucerne, the French minister, after whom a county in Pennsylvania is named, headed a subscription list. Upon another list appeared the names of seventeen Con-

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gressmen. The plans for the new building were drawn by Peter Charles L'Enfant, the government architect, making it probably the only college building in the Union that can boast of such a distinguished intellectual paternity. The result was "West College," a fine example of colonial architecture, which is as durable as the everlasting hills, for it is built of the same material, although it was not taken from the hills, and the danger of destruction by fire is now extremely remote. No single illustration can adequately represent the grace, symmetry and simplicity of "Old West."* About a third of a century later, an equally substantial, less ornate, but none the less commodious structure was erected on the campus, and is now known as East College. It is 130 feet in length and about 40 feet in depth. West College is 143 feet long, with a depth of 50 feet at the ends and 46 in the center. Both buildings are virtually four stories high, as the ground on which they stand is as "level as a floor." †

* "We have here the superiority in taste of a travelled *Frenchman* over a homebred *Englishman*. Penn was the founder of *Philadelphia*; the plan of *Washington* was formed by Major L'Enfant."—John Davis, "Travels in the United States of America During the Years 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801 and 1802." It is hardly fair to Penn to speak of him as a homebred Englishman. He was a good deal more than that. Major L'Enfant probably got few of his ideas from travel. It is, however, to the credit of Davis that he was not prepossessed in favor of his countrymen. Nearly all American cities built on a level terrain have followed the plan of Philadelphia, though perhaps not designedly. College architecture in America was always utilitarian rather than esthetic.

† In one beautiful spot in front of the Lee mansion (at Arlington) is the grave of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, engineer, artist and soldier, who, under the guidance of Washington and Jefferson, designed the plan of the city of Washington. The

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But just as there is no mule without its kick, at least potentially, so there is no landscape without its blemish. So Dickinsonians have the misfortune to see their real estate bisected by a railroad. Although it is not a source of danger to pedestrians, equestrians, or automobilestrians, a railroad train prancing back and forth before your front door is not a welcome sight. The inhabitants of Carlisle are among the few Pennsylvanians who almost hourly have to witness an iron horse parading up and down their main street. It is not easy to see how the difficulty could have been avoided, or how it can ever be removed. The real estate problem is likely to give Dickinson's trustees, ere long, a good deal to think about. The unsophisticated but inquisitive pedestrian on the streets of Carlisle who observes that its main thoroughfare is called High street, will wonder what is meant by "high" in this connection, as it is no higher than the other streets. If he should ask some substantial citizen for an explanation, he would doubtless be told that it is a reminder of the original highway through the valley, and that "high" in this connection has no more to do with elevation than it has in "high hopes," "high finance," or "high jinks." In the matter of streets Carlisle is thoroughly democratic, as they are all on the same level.

setting is a wonderfully appropriate place for his grave. If L'Enfant could see the view from his final resting place he would know that dreams come true."

X.

What sort of a place was Carlisle when Principal Nisbet first arrived in it, and what had been some of its insignia before his arrival, but which had been removed? Many of the citizens were in comfortable circumstances, judged by the standards of the time. The poorer "Dutch" had not yet come into the village in any considerable numbers, and, in fact, were never very numerous. It was an important post from the first, and for more than a century nursed a sort of aristocratic air. Many of the houses were of brick and not a few of stone. The unfortunate Major Andre is said to have been incarcerated in a stone house at the corner of South Hanover street and Locust alley. But he was allowed to move about the country within a radius of six miles. Carlisle was for a number of years a sort of outpost. David Watts, a member of the first class at Dickinson, though a native of Cumberland county, was born in what is now Perry. Some of Carlisle's out-of-door upholstery, but which had been removed about the time the college began to function, were a pillory, a whipping-post and stocks. Certain malefactors were flogged on the bare back. Murder, arson, burglary, and witchcraft were punished with death. When the public whippings were discontinued, about 150 persons had been punished in said way, of which seventeen were also sentenced to stand in the pillory. Six had both ears cut off and nailed up to public view. According to Hain's History of Perry County,

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between 1779 and 1786 eleven persons were hanged in Cumberland, of which three were for murder. When we consider that the population of the two counties is at present much larger (Cumberland has 58,578 and Perry 24,186 inhabitants) than it was in those days, and that the number of persons punished for serious crimes is much smaller, we are forced to conclude that if the people are not all, like M. Coué, getting better and better every day and in every way, some of them are at least getting better, and perhaps few of them are getting worse. Not very long ago it was thought of these cruel, though not unusual punishments, that

“Things like these you know must be,
Where men abuse their liberty.”

An important event in the history of Carlisle took place on the 12th of July, 1774. It was a meeting of the citizens to protest against the closing of the port of Boston by order of the British government. John Montgomery, afterwards a trustee of the college, was made chairman. A long series of resolutions was passed, among which was one proffering relief to the unfortunate city when such relief would be most seasonable. At the meeting a committee was appointed, with James Wilson, also subsequently appointed a trustee of the college, as chairman, and two other men, to go to Philadelphia to co-operate with others in taking measures for the calling of a general congress.

To Carlisle belongs the unique honor, we may confidently affirm, of having been, if not the birth-place, at least for many years the home of the only

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American counterpart of the French Joan of Arc. While her services to her country were far less conspicuous and have not attracted the attention of the entire civilized world, they were none the less useful within their narrow limits, while her end was neither tragic nor pitiful. The writer does not know of another woman whose deed of valor has been commemorated by two such conspicuous objects as will be noted farther along in this sketch. The presence of the Carlisle woman in the battle which has immortalized her name, was nothing out of the ordinary. The arrangements for the care of the sick and wounded in the American army were of the most primitive kind; hence the soldiers were often accompanied by their wives on their campaigns, and who were frequently called upon to act both as nurses and surgeons. The heroine of Monmouth has also been kindly remembered by the people of New Jersey. They have erected on the battle-ground a monument nearly one hundred feet high. On its base are five tablets five feet high and six feet in width, representing five scenes in the local conflict, in one of which the heroine of the pitcher is a prominent figure. Mary Ludwig-Hays-McCauley, better known as Moll Pitcher, got the sobriquet by which she has been immortalized, from the soldiers at the battle of Monmouth, who saw her at work carrying liquid refreshment for their parched throats on a hot day in June, 1778. (The mercury stood at 96 in the shade.) While she was probably never inside the college except as a scrubwoman, and performed in an adjacent state the deed that immortalized her name

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and gained for her, at the hands of Washington, a sergeant's commission, she verified the dictum that

"Honor and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part; there all the honor lies."

Although she lived long before Barbara Fritchie and is a far less mythical character, she has not been so fortunate as to have a Whittier to "sound her praise abroad" for a deed which she did not perform. Moll was much more picturesque in appearance than polite in manner or polished in speech. She may have been a "joy forever,"—at least as long as she lived,—"a thing of beauty" she was not. "Handsome is that handsome does; hold up your heads, girls." Our heroine was evidently a firm believer in the doctrine of efficiency. She wanted results. She held to the injunction that "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Quite the latest endeavor to add luster to Mrs. McCauley's name was the formation of the Mollie Pitcher Club. The vessel which it is supposed to symbolize, contains not water, as did the original, but beer. A jokesmith suggested that this organization call itself the "Rush-the-Growler Club," as being the most fitting they could select. This same club hissed the reading of a letter from President Harding, in which he refused to permit its members to hold an anti-prohibition demonstration on the White House grounds. A short time after this occurrence, a correspondent of a New York periodical was mean enough to unearth the information that our heroine was a strong temper-

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ance woman. Whatever may have been the written or printed evidence in the case, or whether any exists, the probabilities are that she was a total abstainer, whether she should be called a temperance woman or not. The writer knows the region about Carlisle for about five decades from the formation of Perry county. In these fifty years he not only never knew a woman, but never heard of one who drank anything stronger than sweet cider. However much the men might drink, the women never drank. The same conditions probably prevailed over the entire state. On the fourth of July, 1876, a monument was dedicated to this unsuspecting heroine. In 1905, and again in 1916, elaborate ceremonies were held in commemoration of her deed of mercy. This sketch may appropriately be closed with the fine and fitting words of Judge E. W. Biddle, the orator on these three occasions:

“This monument which Carlisle receives from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, is a splendid and lasting recognition of that lofty virtue which we call courage. During the past fifty years Molly Pitcher has come to be recognized as America’s most picturesque exponent of feminine valor, notwithstanding that the unique position accorded to her has been frequently and vigorously assailed. Critics have denied the whole story concerning her, have questioned the very foundations on which it rests, but up to this time their criticisms have had little effect on the popular belief. On the other hand, writers of stories and of verses have spread the narrative concerning her broadcast over the land until it has become lodged in the hearts of the

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people; there, probably it will be cherished as long as the interest in the American Revolution endures."

The woman to whom this tribute was paid may have been "unwept and unsung," but she has assuredly not been unhonored.

NOTE.—In more than one brief biographical sketch of John G. Whittier, the writer has found him credited with a poem entitled "Moll Pitcher," but he has been unable to find a poem under this caption in his works. At any rate the Woman with the Pitcher was more fortunate with posterity than Major L'Enfant. Although he died in 1825, no monument was erected over his grave until 1911. It is to be hoped that his disembodied spirit, if it ever revisits the scenes of his thought and labor, will find some compensation for the neglect and even hostility with which he was treated while among the living. His fate, however, was by no means exceptional.

XI.

As Philadelphia was the seed-plot of Dickinson College, it is proper to mention, in this connection, that the accredited leadership to Boston in matters intellectual, is probably due more to the persistence of the claimants than to the validity of the claim. Ben Franklin would certainly not have migrated from the city of his birth to the City of Brotherly Love if he had not believed that it afforded a more favorable field for the realization of the many projects that jostled one another in his teeming brain. Not only was Philadelphia at an early period the home of a large number of scientists and scholars; it was also the first American city in which at least two men essayed to gain a livelihood by literature, and measurably succeeded,—Charles Brockden Brown and Joseph Denny, the one a native, the other a self-transplanted exile. Brown is still somewhat kindly remembered and faintly praised by historians of American and English literature. Dennie, who died in 1812, was host to "Tom" Moore when he visited "The States," and it was in his company that he passed "the only agreeable moments which my tour afforded me." Francis Hopkinson was also a native of Philadelphia. His lyric is better known than his name or his native city. "Hail Columbia" was set to music by a German teacher of the art, and almost instantly bounded into popularity, a circumstance which does not speak very highly for the musical taste of the city. John

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Woolman was born in Burlington county, New Jersey, in 1720, and died in 1772; Charles Lamb recommended to everybody to learn his prose by heart. Of Franklin it has been written that if a collection could be made of the gazettes of Europe for the latter half of the eighteenth century, a greater number of panegyric paragraphs upon "le grand Franklin" would be found than upon any other man that ever lived. A German student once remarked to the writer as lately as 1870: "You Americans have had only one great man; that was Franklin."

The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Philadelphia, where the promoters of the cause suffered some persecution and considerable loss of property. The fact that the Quakers had taken a stand against the institution more than a hundred years earlier left a permanent influence. The most widely known American bookseller in the eighteenth century was John Bell. He republished a number of high-class works, and traveled from Boston to Charleston holding book-auctions. The works of Macchiavelli in the original, in four volumes bound in two, were issued in Philadelphia in 1818. Paine was brought to the city by Franklin for the reason that he believed his radical opinions, when promulgated through the press, would find more readers in that vicinity than they would farther east or farther south. It was hardly a happy thought, when the entire situation is taken into consideration. Philip Freneau had marked talents both as a writer of prose and of verse. West and Rembrandt Peele narrowly missed being born

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within the limits of Philadelphia. Alexander Wilson was by birth a Scotchman, but a Philadelphian by residence, and the author of a work whose value to science is imperishable. William Bartram was no mean ornithologist, besides being a botanist of high rank. The foundations of Audubon's great work were laid within sight of Philadelphia. The "Log College" always mentioned in the history of early education in Pennsylvania and even in that of the United States, was put into operation in Bucks county, at last finding an abiding resting-place less than two-score miles from the city of Penn. John Witherspoon, the only clergyman who signed the Declaration of Independence, was elected president of the College of New Jersey in 1768, and spent much of his time in Philadelphia. He was mainly instrumental in the choice of Dr. Nisbet for the principalship of Dickinson College, as he knew both the man and the position he was expected to fill. Witherspoon was a fighter with both carnal and spiritual weapons. He took part in the battle of Falmouth and was made prisoner, but was soon released. He received his degree from the University of Edinburg in 1742; was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey twenty-six years later, and occupied the post until 1794. Dr. Nisbet's large and valuable library, judged by the standard of his day, passed into the hands of the trustees of Princeton Theological Seminary, evidence of the friendly relations that existed between the New Jersey and Pennsylvania institutions. John Dickinson was for a long time a resident of Philadelphia.

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In 1790 the county of Philadelphia had a population of 54,000, which, by the end of the century had more than doubled. New York, on the other hand, did not reach an enrollment of 60,000 until after 1807; while Boston, as late as 1822, contained only 47,000 inhabitants. William Smith, a recent graduate of Aberdeen, was the first president of the University. Although brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he returned to England for the purpose of taking orders in the Anglican church. This could not be done in America at that time. Dr. Smith soon gained such a reputation abroad that he not only received the honorary degree of D.D. from his *alma mater*, but also from Dublin and Oxford. It has, however, been surmised that other influences besides scholarship were responsible for these academic honors. He was named provost of the college in Philadelphia in 1754, which is usually regarded as the year of the founding of the University of Pennsylvania. Although planned on a large scale, it never gained the prestige of Harvard and Yale. At the present time it has about ten thousand students, which is as many as both those institutions combined, with Princeton added, have enrolled. It probably labored under the disadvantage of being regarded as a purely secular institution. Such an opinion was a handicap, because in advance of the time. General Wayne, although almost a Philadelphian, sent his only son to Dickinson College, where he was graduated with the class of 1792.

Not only was Philadelphia the center of literary activity in the Colonies, it also took the lead in the

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anti-slavery movement. The legislature passed a general emancipation act in 1780, although this was not the first sign of public hostility to the institution. As early as 1775 an anti-slavery society was formed in Philadelphia, the first in the Union. It is claimed for the Menonites of Germantown that they were the first people in America to suggest the abolition of slavery. There is reason to believe that no "Friend" ever owned a slave. Although the society organized in 1775 at once began propaganda for the liberation of the slaves in the colony, it accomplished little, because of the upheaval produced by the revolutionary war. But in 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed and at once began active operations. The first medical school in the country was established in Philadelphia in 1765, in connection with the University of Pennsylvania. The first law school dates from 1790, its first professor being James Wilson, whose career has been briefly outlined in this sketch.

James Logan, who has been mentioned on a previous page, was a Scotchman by birth, and came to America with William Penn on his last voyage. He died in 1751 on his estate near Germantown, at the age of seventy-seven years. He bequeathed his library, which he had been fifty years in collecting, to the city of Philadelphia. He was not only an indefatigable collector of books; he was also a scholar of no mean rank. He made a version of *Cicero de Senectute*, which was published by Ben Franklin. It was republished in London and in Glasgow. This library was the largest donation of the kind made in America until far in the nine-

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teenth century. In Morse's *American Gazetteer*, published in 1804, we may read: "The catalogue of books for sale in this city (Philadelphia) contains upwards of three hundred sets of local editions, besides a greater variety of maps and charts than is to be found anywhere else in America."

XII.

When we consider the importance attached to membership in Phi Beta Kappa at the present time, it must be regarded as remarkable that for several decades its growth was very slow. Although organized in a Southern college, it did not have a second chapter in the South until 1851, when the University of Alabama became a member. The order of establishment was about as follows: (1) William and Mary, 1776; (2) Yale, 1780; (3) Harvard, 1781; (4) Dartmouth, 1787; (5) Union, 1817; (6) Bowdoin, 1825; (7) Brown, 1830; (8) Trinity, 1845; (9) Wesleyan, 1845; (10) Western Reserve, 1847; (11) Vermont, 1848; (12) Alabama, 1851. There was no chapter in Pennsylvania until 1887, when the Alpha was chartered at Dickinson, it being the twenty-sixth from the first, but more than a hundred years later. In the same year Beta was chartered at Lehigh University. These were followed by Gamma at Lafayette in 1890, and Delta at the University of Pennsylvania two years later. In the same year Epsilon was chartered at Swarthmore, and Zeta at Haverford. There seems to be some error in the record of the University of Pennsylvania, as the date of the charter is given as 1892, which would place it after the two colleges named later.

Great changes have been made in the courses of study at Dickinson since the middle of the last century. If we go still farther back, the changes are still more noteworthy. Both the subjects and the

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methods of teaching are widely different. Dr. Nisbet gave much of his time to systematic theology, the course in which consisted of more than four hundred lectures and required two years for their delivery. And they were not prepared for candidates for the ministry, but as part of the regular college course. How much attention he gave to private affairs when they obtruded themselves we have no means of knowing. There was need for a good deal of practical knowledge of certain kinds of practical mathematics, because of the necessity of making many surveys almost from the first settlement of the country. Little attention seems, however, to have been given to this subject by the colleges. Thomas Cooper introduced the study of chemistry, and from his time on, both chemistry and physics seem to have been taught. The teaching was almost entirely by lectures. Although H. M. Johnson was professor of English literature, he did not teach it after he became president, if he ever taught it. Spencer F. Baird was a skillful teacher of natural history, but it seems to have been a subject of his own choosing and was not long continued. It was impossible to give instruction in either chemistry or physics effectively, even for the times, because of the difficulty of procuring apparatus. The conditions for admission to the various colleges in the country differed but little, if at all, in the North. Several young men were known to the writer either directly or indirectly to have been admitted *ad eundem* at Yale and Harvard from the Ohio University and Dickinson between the years 1850 and 1870. An exam-

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ination of the course of study, as printed in the catalogues, shows them to have been virtually identical. The standard at Princeton was reputed to be exceptionally low when Dr. McCosh became president. When Dr. Eliot became president of Harvard, about the same time, he is reputed to have been instrumental in adding at least a year to the course. Yet two men could hardly be more unlike in their scholarship and their ideas of what constitutes a liberal education. The change in the attitude of the public towards higher education is also marked, in fact, almost revolutionary. A reaction has, however, begun in favor of the old order. Albeit, this is not a merely local matter and needs not to concern us here.

Among colleges the scholastic standard of Princeton was rated somewhat low, even within the memory of men still living. That scholarly but somewhat erratic Englishman, John Davis, mentioned on a preceding page, who visited Princeton in 1798, writes of it "as a place more famous for its college than for its learning." How much Davis knew about Princeton is a question; there is no question about his scholarship. The change in the attitude of the public within recent years is very marked, especially in the demand for instruction in the sciences, broadly speaking. It is, however, a question whether the attention given to the sciences and its minute subdivision is not being carried to an unwise extreme in our colleges that are designed to give a liberal education. The general trend is, no doubt, in the right direction. It is only by scientific methods that we are brought into intelligent

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contact with the world around us. We should indeed know the past by the careful study of history, because the past is the feet on which we stand. Albeit, our feet are not only to stand upon; they are of far greater use for walking. We can stand upon precedents; we can walk securely only when our path is illuminated by the torch of science.

By the same Author

A PIONEER COLLEGE AND ITS BACKGROUND
(THE OHIO UNIVERSITY)