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The Study and Teaching of History in the College of William and Mary

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THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF HISTORY

IN

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

by

Ida Trosvig
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS

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Introduction

The purpose of this thesis was to trace the steps by which the study and the teaching of history have developed in the College of William and Mary. As a background or setting for this problem, outstanding facts pertaining to the founding and the traditions of three representative colonial colleges - Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary - have been narrated. Comparisons have been drawn concerning the slow liberalization of the curricula and the correspondingly slow development of history as a subject of instruction. The chief concern, however, has been to emphasize particular incidents and facts relating to the introduction and the growth of the study of history in the College of William and Mary; and to stress the contributions of those men who made this growth possible.
Chapter I.

The Development of the Study of History at Harvard and Yale

The thread of study of the colonial colleges in America leads one ultimately to European backgrounds and traditions. The founding of every colonial American institution of higher learning was due to the untiring efforts and zeal of leading men of the colonies. These men, however, owed their training, their ideals, and their inspirations directly or indirectly to European colleges or universities in which they had spent the formative years of their lives. Education to them meant European methods, culture, and tradition. Outstanding in their influence on the lives of American leaders and on curriculum and standards of the early American educational system were the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge at which so many of the early colonial leaders had studied and graduated. These universities had their background and based their training on movements of the past. They had been influenced deeply by the Renaissance as well as by the ecclesiastical developments of the Middle Ages. As a result, the curriculum in each dwelt specifically upon classical humanism.
and on theological training. It is only natural, then, that colonial American leaders, themselves for the most part clergymen, should have built the curriculum of every colonial college around the European ideal of theological and classical training. So deeply implanted was this ideal that not only did the early colleges adopt the European curriculum but they displayed, or tried to manifest, the same spirit even under the difficulties of new conditions in a new country. Indeed, it was long after the Revolutionary period before the colleges, Harvard and Yale, used in this thesis by way of comparison and contrast with William and Mary, made any material change in a curriculum based on philosophy, theology, and the humanities.

For a century after the founding of Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, the only three institutions of higher learning at the beginning of the eighteenth century,¹ such records as exist show an utter absence of anything that might denote the study of history as one thinks of it today. Half a century elapsed after Princeton and Columbia were established before history was so named in the curricula, although these schools were supposedly organized on a broader and more liberal scale than their predecessors. While names of history courses

¹ Dr. John DeWitt, The Beginnings of University Life in America, p. 317
and titles of history text books were conspicuous by their absence, it must not be assumed that historical thought was ignored. The Hebrew language, no doubt, was clarified by the teaching of Jewish antiquities and Roman antiquities served as a vehicle for the teaching of the classical studies, Greek and Latin. Occasionally, too, in the early records one finds what might be termed the germ of history in various subjects mentioned, such as "Historia civilis" which was government rather than history and in geography and the study of globes, which were introduced with the advent of mathematics into the curriculum of the college. Chronology is mentioned from time to time and comes closest, perhaps, to the present day idea of history. In each instance, however, the position held was so subordinate to and dependent on other subjects that little significance can be attached to it. Changes in the whole political, social, and economic fabric of the thirteen colonies were to occur and ideas born of new experiences were to mature before history as a subject was accepted as worthy of a place in the curriculum. The colonial colleges were making history; some of the colonial college professors were writing history; but to teach history as such apparently had occurred to no

2. H. B. Adams, History in American Colleges and Universities, p. 11
3. Ibid., p. 14
A brief sketch of the organization and purpose of several of the colonial colleges will throw light to some extent, at least, on the reasons for the types of courses given and the lack of certain more liberal types as the historical studies would be classed.

Harvard, the earliest college planted in America, may be said to be descended from Emmanuel College, the youngest of the colleges of Cambridge. Emmanuel was founded in 1584 and almost from its beginning was the home of Puritanism. From Cambridge University came about seventy of the leading men of New England — some of them the founders of the college. John Harvard, whose gift made the college possible, was a Master of Arts of Emmanuel. According to Cotton Mather:

"A general Court held at Boston, September 8, 1630 advanced a small sum, namely four hundred pounds, by way of essay towards the building of something to begin a College .... but that which laid the most significant stone in the foundation was the last will of Mr. John Harvard .... who ...... bequeathed the sum of £779, 17s, 2p toward the pious work of building a college, which was now set on foot."6

4. Dr. J. Dewitt, The Beginnings of University Life in America, p. 317

5. Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. 11, p. 229
Franklin Henry Hooper, American Editor of Encyclopedia Brittanica

6. Extract from C. Mather's Magnalia, Old South Leaflets No. III, p. 15
The spirit of the founders and their motive or purpose can best be stated in their own words:

"After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government; one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." 7

Harvard, then, was the first theological seminary in the colonies, 8 one erected for the purpose of training Puritan ministers for a Puritan colony. No curriculum of study seems to have been recorded fully nor any course of instruction described until 1820; so we are indebted to the author of a tract published first in 1643 9 for the earliest account of the course of study at Harvard. Since this tract uses the term "history", some details will be given from the plan as a whole.

The course of study was for three years, the attention of each class being given to only one or two subjects each day. Two days a week were given to philosophy.

general class work in the morning with philosophical
disputation in the afternoon. One day was given to Greek
and another for the Eastern tongues. On Friday all
classes had rhetoric including composition and declamation.
Saturday seems to have been selected for what
could not be crammed into the other days. For five days
a week at least six hours seems to have been devoted to
the one or two subjects for each day. But on Saturday
morning at eight o'clock, all students were taught "Di-
vinity Catechetical". At nine the subject was "Common
Places" which were common topics of scholastic discus-
sion and digests of doctrine, argument, or opinion.
At one o'clock, or just after the noon meal, these stu-
dents were taught history in the winter and the nature
of plants in summer. This history was evidently not
history as we know it, and that it was looked upon as
subordinate is certain from the fact that it was taught
only one hour a week and for only one-half of the year.

In 1726 geography was taught in the third year.
Because that subject was later combined with history, it
is mentioned here. In 1766, theology and the classics

10. H. B. Adams, History in Colleges and Universities,
p. 12
11. Ibid. p. 12
III, p. 5
13. W. R. Thayer, Universities and Their Sons, p. 144
were the chief courses. In one department, however, are listed natural philosophy, geography, and astronomy with the elements of mathematics. In 1787 the classics still formed the backbone of instruction, but "all classes had instruction in Declamation, Chronology and History." Dr. Thayer here probably has reference to the Saturday morning history instruction. This history, like the catechism, was a part of the theological training and so was carefully retained in the curriculum. It seems safe to assume that both the geography and the history mentioned so sparingly before the Revolution were connected with training in theology, with perhaps some slight discussion of the historical setting for works read in the classics or a summary of such material read in the classical languages. This "part-time" position of history continued at Harvard for a very long time. In 1820 in a "Course of Instruction for Undergraduates" the freshmen still were reciting history and Adam's Roman Antiquities on Saturday, but now throughout the whole year. On the same day the sophomores were attending a class in Tylor's General History, Ancient and Modern.

14. W. R. Thayer, Universities and Their Sons, p. 146
15. Ibid., p. 147
16. H. B. Adams, History in Colleges and Universities, p. 16
17. Ibid., p. 16
As late as the session of 1828 - 29 no mention is made of history except in connection with the modern languages. Civil and ecclesiastical history were to be taught at that time in the modern language department, but as the report states that no student was compelled to take the modern languages, it is likely that comparatively few had the advantage of instruction in this history course. There was, however, the possibility for much incidental teaching of history in connection with the classical studies and in civil polity, political economy, and law -- all being taught at that time.

Harvard, as was the case with all colleges founded before the Revolution, was too hampered by tradition, too dependent on English scholars for text books to introduce any new subject hastily. History on the same footing as other subjects found its way into the college curriculum through the efforts of professors who were not only thoroughly educated but so intensely interested in this field that they contributed to historical literature. Jared Sparks was the man through whose efforts history at Harvard developed from classical beginnings to an American standard. It was not until 1859 that a distinct professorship for history was organized.

Appendix III

19. H. B. Adams, History in Colleges and Universities, p. 17
fore this time, history was taught in combination with other chairs. Now history had become important enough to deserve an independent chair. Mr. Sparks was the first professor in the chair of history. He had in 1837 finished his *Life of Washington* and was already known as a scholar with great enthusiasm for historical study.

Jared Sparks was born in Willington, Connecticut on May 10, 1789. He was a brilliant student and had enough zeal and ambition to work as a carpenter and to teach in a small country school in order to pursue his studies at Harvard, where he graduated in 1815. After graduation he had a tutorship in mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard. He refused a professorship at Bowdoin College and became pastor of a Unitarian Church in Baltimore. He gave that up in 1823 to devote all his time to writing. He bought the *North American Review*, which he edited until 1830. His magazine was a great success financially and intellectually, but after 1826 he spent most of his time in historical research and writing. He was chiefly interested in the outstanding men and events of the Revolutionary period, his best work being related to that period. Among his many well-known works are his *Life and Writings of George Washington*; *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* with notes and a life of Franklin by Sparks; and *The Library of American Biography*, the
first and second series of which he edited. His Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution is of great interest to the student of that phase of American history. It was because of the prominence gained through his voluminous historical research that he was appointed to the first professorship in the McLean chair of history at Harvard.20 "The McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History was endowed in 1823 by the will of John McLean."21

Sparks continued ancient history but Tytler's General History, used for so long in several of the older colleges as a textbook, was replaced by Sismondi's Fall of the Roman Empire and Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe. In 1840 Sparks lectured on modern history to the junior class. That year he brought out the Cambridge edition of Smyth's Lectures on Modern History to the Close of the American Revolution. This course became, in the next ten years, very well-known for its American viewpoint. In 1841 constitutional history of England was offered as an elective to sophomores and juniors. In 1842 Sparks began his lecture course to seniors on American history. He used his own notes in these lectures which were for the most part on the American Revolution.22

22. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 2, 1887, p. 18
Thus began the independent historical instruction in United States history which had been for many years his special field of study.

In 1849 Jared Sparks was elected president of Harvard University. Though he had many duties as president of that institution, he continued his lectures to seniors on American history until his retirement in 1853. In his report on the State of the Institution for 1849 - 50 he points out that the junior class had been given two additional recitations a week, one of them consisting of lectures on Roman and Greek literature and history for the second term. The seniors, the same year, were given one additional recitation a week on the constitution of the United States for one term and on history and political economy for another term. Again the combination of history with other allied subjects is shown. The same situation appears again and again in every curriculum studied. As professor and president, Sparks was very popular with the students and members of the faculty. He is outstanding, however, not because of his teaching of history in general, but for the fact that his great love and enthusiasm for American history brought that field to the attention of American scholars and Ameri-


24. Annual Report on Harvard by Jared Sparks, President, for 1849 - 50
can colleges. In addition to that, his vast labors in preserving and collecting material to serve as sources for future students of history have given him an eminent place among American historians. Because he is linked in a sense to Virginia by his valuable contribution *Life and Writings of Washington*, his life and work have been treated somewhat at length in this study.

This general survey of the slow growth of historical instruction throughout two centuries of the life of Harvard has been given to stress the fact that any change or growth had to be made in opposition to old standards and classical traditions; and that changes made over night at present, required decades of struggles and efforts in early times.

As Harvard traces its origin to graduates of Emmanuel College of Cambridge, so Yale traces its beginning to graduates of Harvard, among them the Rev. Abraham Pierson of the class of 1668 and the Rev. James Pierpont of the class of 1681. 25 Most of the founders were ministers so the same motive existed as for Harvard. The people of New Haven desired a college of their own both because of the distance to Harvard and because of differences, both political and religious, which had arisen

25. Dr. John Dewitt, *Beginnings of University Life in America*, p. 318
between the two colonies. But, "originating... from the learned ecclesiastics of the age, the plan and intention of the institution were especially directed to the interests of the church". The General Court of the Colony on October 9, 1701 granted the charter in which the purpose was clearly stated:

"For the founding, suitably endowing, and ordering a Collegiate school within his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employments both in church and civil state." 27

Ebenezer Baldwin in his Annals of Yale states that in the petition for a charter, the original intention of devoting the school for the sole benefit of the church had been changed. This collegiate school which became known as Yale and was finally located at New Haven, came directly under the influence of the church and the clergy showed the greatest solicitude for its success. By 1753 it was stated that the chief concern in erecting the college was to provide the colony with learned, pious, and orthodox ministers. 29

There are no records of the early courses of

27. ibid. p. 14
28. ibid. p. 13
29. ibid. p. 67
study, but there may have been some form of history, biblical or classical, in the curriculum. History seems to have been first recognized when President Stiles was appointed as professor of ecclesiastical history in 1778. He held his professorship until his death in 1785. Dr. Stiles lectured very regularly on history and used Dr. Priestley's Chart of History as a text book. In his Literary Diary which Dr. Stiles kept faithfully for many years, there appears at regular intervals a statement about his lectures. On November 12, 1779 he wrote:

"My lecture on Ecclesiastical History. I gave account of the capital characters active in setting up the church in the first ages."

Nor were his lectures confined to ecclesiastical history. He was intensely interested in many subjects on which he lectured to the student body in chapel. On July 2, 1778 a few days before his "Inauguration and Installation into the important and laborious office of the Presidency", he states that he was giving a lecture to the senior class on the principles of gravity when "a thunder gust took place in the lecture and I desisted and gave the electrical Philosophy of Thunder and Light---

31. Ibid, p. 307
32. Ibid, p. 278
ning; then resumed and finished on gravity". He lectured on oriental learning and organized classes in Hebrew and the oriental languages which he taught. That he took an active part not only in reading and studying about political affairs, but also in lecturing about them is shown by the following item in his Diary for July 13, 1780:

"I had a lecture in the Chapel upon the civil Constitution and Policies of the 13 United States, both before and since the glorious Act of Independency, so far as the New Policies are formed."34

A sketch of Dr. Stiles' life, interests, and work will convince anyone that his lectures on ecclesiastical history would quite likely be unique. His interpretation was probably unusually wide and his teaching in the field of general history rather than in the ecclesiastical.

Ezra Stiles, the son of the Rev. Isaac Stiles, was born in North Haven, Connecticut, December 10, 1727. He was a child with pleasant manners, delightful humor, and a good memory. He was tutored and prepared for college by his father, whose classical education had been very thorough. Although ready for college at the age of twelve, he did not enter Yale until 1742, at the age of fifteen. A good student, he was selected at the public examination

34. Ibid., p. 284
in 1746 to give an oration. In this he discussed logic first, then grammar and rhetoric under which he included the study of languages, eloquence, and history. While tutor at Yale, he spent his spare time working with electrical apparatus sent by Franklin and made new experiments in natural philosophy. He studied astronomy in which he was much interested. In 1749 he received from the association of ministers of New Haven his license to preach. By 1753 he had become an attorney. Being uncertain as to his own religious beliefs, he visited many different denominations and finally decided to remain in his own church, and in 1755 became the pastor of the Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island. His intense interest in the geography of various countries led him to correspond with the Jesuits in Mexico and the Greeks in Syria in order to satisfy his zeal for information of all kinds from all places. His interest in affairs at home was just as strong. He informed himself on all questions of civil and religious liberty. He studied political questions and in a discourse on the surrender at Montreal he hinted at our present form of government. In 1765 he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by

36. ibid. p. 14
37. ibid. p. 27
the University of Edinburgh. After that he took up the study of oriental languages which he learned to read and write. He began a correspondence with Isaac Carigal, a learned Rabbi and a great traveler, from whom he gained a great amount of knowledge concerning the history and literature of the East. Nor did history, literature, religion, and politics absorb all his attention. He found time to look into the subject of manufacturing and the economic situation in his community. He speculated on the possibility of raising silk worms and the possibility of improving commerce, but he questioned the commerce in slaves.

The hostilities of the Revolution dispersed his congregation at Newport so he thought of teaching geography, mathematics, and history or to give public lectures in oriental literature and ecclesiastical history. However, he was elected president of Yale in September 1777 and to the professorship of ecclesiastical history as has been mentioned already. He was inducted into office in July 1788 and in August of that year there is an entry in his Literary Diary which reads:

"I read a public lecture in college on Ecclesiastical History. This is my first lecture as a history

No regular courses of instruction were printed for this period (1778 - 1795) but Jared Sparks believes that he made some changes in a curriculum which had been confined to the traditional classics, philosophy, and theology. To his ecclesiastical history course he added oriental learning. The oriental languages, Hebrew especially, were stressed; he introduced new textbooks; and lectured on various subjects before the different classes. Dr. Stiles considered local history important and while at Newport collected historic material on the New England churches. He wrote *Conspicuous of a Perfect Polity*, which was the outline of the constitution of a commonwealth. Dr. Stiles was distinguished for his wide general historical knowledge and particularly for his extensive knowledge of the history of the church. His *Literary Diary* contains a wealth of material in every-day events in the troubled Revolutionary period. It gives letters which he wrote and received. In his interest in the progress of the College of William and Mary he exchanged letters with Rev. James Madison, president, at that time, of the College. The

40. J. Sparks, *Library of American Biography*, p. 58
41. *ibid.*, p. 69
material in his *Literary Diary and Itineraries* is of great value to the history student of today. History courses may have been few in number at Yale during this period, but the amazing versatility of Dr. Stiles must have made every lecture a source of cultural background and inspiration for those who studied with him.

The regular courses of instruction at Yale College which were printed in 1822 show that some attention had been given to classical history. This was to be expected since the classics had been stressed from the beginning. Adam's *Roman Antiquities* had been in use and continued to be until 1847 a freshman study. The amount of classical reading required was very large, including long extracts from Herodotus, Thucydides, Socrates, Livy, and by Tacitus, the *History*, *Agricola*, and *De Moribus Germanorum*. From these studies much historical material was undoubtedly mastered without any special provision for history. At this time, however, general history was required for the third term of the junior year. Tytler's *General History, Ancient and Modern* was used both at Yale and Harvard. In 1822 Kent's *Commentaries*, a text on political science was taught in the senior class during the first and second terms. Thus, there is another instance of history with allied subjects developing to-

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43. H. R. Adams, *Circular No. 2*, 1887, p. 52
gather. Geography, a subject later merged with history, was given a place in the curriculum rather early. A text book of six hundred pages, written by Professor Morse, was supposed to be read and learned to the last page. Such a course should at least give a good geographical basis for the study of history and government.

With Yale, as with Harvard, there were no great or distinct changes until after the Revolution and from then until the middle of the nineteenth century additions along the line of historical studies were made slowly. Comparisons and contrasts with William and Mary will be drawn in another chapter.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the material covered concerning Harvard and Yale.

(1) Both were medieval institutions, not American colleges, therefore they emphasized the formal studies and theory.

(2) The course of instruction was about the same in both.

(3) Since Yale was patterned to some extent after Harvard, though its "brimstone doctrines of Calvinism" were even less liberal, and since no catalogues of in-

44 W. R. Thayer, Universities and Their Sons, Sketch of Harvard, p. 6
formation were issued before 1800, the curriculum of Harvard for about the middle of the seventeenth century will apply and give a general idea for both. A glance will show that the curriculum was based on the classics, philosophy, and theology. It was divided into three divisions or classes -- freshman, junior, and senior.

The freshmen had lectures and work upon logic, physics, Greek grammar, syntax and etymology, Hebrew grammar and the practice in Bible, rhetoric and declamation. Latin was not mentioned since they were supposed to know and be able to speak that before entering. The juniors studied ethics and politics, Greek prosody, dialectics and practice in poesy, Hebrew, rhetoric, declamations and disputations. The senior class studied arithmetic and geometry, astronomy, Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric, declamations and disputations.45

"The 7th day (the student) reads Divinity Catechetical at the 8th hour, Common places at the 9th hour. Afternoon
The 1st hour reads history in the Winter, the Nature of plants in the Summer."46

(4) To prepare for the early colleges whose en-

46. Ibid, p. 5
trance requirements up to 1800 were Latin and Greek, grammar schools were provided. 47

(5) History instruction was given incidentally at first in connection with the classical and ecclesiastical subjects and called chronology.

(6) Geography at first was taught with mathematics under the heading of maps and globes, but when history was introduced, geography became allied with it.

(7) History as such was not introduced until after the Revolution when new ideas in education were a natural outgrowth of the changes in political institutions.

47. E. C. Broome, Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements, p. 36 - 37
Chapter II,

The College of William and Mary from its Foundation to the Revolution

The College of William and Mary in Virginia was, in the order of founding, the second of the three institutions of higher learning existing in the colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In important respects these colleges were alike in origin, aim, and so in the development of their curricula. Each was the college of a people drawn together by common religious beliefs and worship as well as by common social customs and ideals; each was the college of a community separated not only by distance, but by conflicting interests from the others; each was the result of the needs of the church united with the needs of the state; and so, each had for its purpose the pious education of youth, the propagation of the Christian faith and the training of native sons for the ministry in the colonial church. Each one, moreover, numbered its founders from among graduates of European universities and its professors from those same institutions. Instruction, therefore, was patterned after the European plan of philosophy, theology, and the classics. The fact that all three schools or departments
were not always immediately organized was the result of difficulties and obstacles in all the colonial undertakings and not in a lack of plans. It must not be assumed that the two New England colleges and the one in Virginia developed along the same general lines because of any attempt to exchange ideas and communicate with each other. That the same text books are mentioned in the catalogues was rather a result of intercourse with England than with each other. As late as 1780, the Rev. Ezra Siles of Yale and the Rev. James Madison of William and Mary agreed that "the infant Seminaries, colleges, and Universities here ...... should cultivate a mutual intercourse and honorable friendship with one another."1

In spite of similarities, the College in Virginia has had from its earliest beginnings so different a history, so varied a career that it stands out as a distinctive institution intricately bound up in the religious, political, and economic fortunes of Virginia. A historical sketch of the College will show the many difficulties and discouragements through which it emerged "Phoenix-like ...... revived and improved out of its own ruins".2 This will in turn make clearer the real contributions of

2. Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 66
those men who worked to break away from traditional curricula and to invigorate it by new and more liberal ideas. Among these were the men who introduced or conducted the historical studies, often before the New England colleges had formulated such plans.

The London Company had as its president for a time a man who was more liberal and foresighted than most men of his time. It is not strange, therefore, that Sir Edwin Sandys influenced the company in the matter of education in the colony of Virginia. A large tract of land was set aside by the company for a university at Henrico for the colonists as well as for the Indians. Some of the bishops of the kingdom had already, at the influence of the King, collected about fifteen hundred pounds for the establishment of a college in Virginia to train the infidel children. Sandys urged the clergy for further contributions and himself aided in getting more tenants to be seated on the college land as "tenants at halves"; the half of the profit allotted to the college to be used for buildings and maintenance. Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of his Majesty's Privy Council, was sent over to be superintendent of the University, but the Massacre

3. Wm. Stith, History of Virginia, p. 103
4. ibid. p. 103
5. ibid. p. 163
of 1622 caused his death, that of the tenants, and the
defeat of the first attempt to found a college in Vir-
ginia. The colony passed out of the hands of the company
into those of the king in 1624. Nothing further is heard
of the establishment of a college until the colonial As-
sembly of Virginia in 1660–61 took the matter into
their own hands and passed an act entitled "Provision
for a College."

"Whereas the want of able and faithful
ministers in this country deprives us
of those great blessings and mercies that
always attend upon the service of God;
which want, by reason of our great dis-
tance from our native land cannot in pro-
bability be always supplied from thence;
Be it enacted, that for the advance of
learning, education of youth, supply of
the ministry, and promotion of piety,
there be land taken upon purchases for a
College and free schools, and that there
be, with as much speede as may be con-
venient, housing erected thereon for en-
tertainment of students and scholars."6

Records of the same Assembly show that the Gov-
ernor, Council of State, and Burgesses had already sub-
scribed money and tobacco to be paid for educational
purposes;"7 and that it was the intention not only to
get subscriptions from the commissioners of the several
county courts and others, but to "collect and gather the

7. Ibid. II, p. 37
charity of well disposed people in England for the erecting of Colledges and schooles in this countrye. 8
But again there was absolute failure: due partly, at least, to political disturbances arising from the change of rulers in England, conflicts with an unsympathetic colonial governor, and Indian troubles which finally culminated in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. So the enterprise was delayed for another twenty years, but in 1688 - 89 money was again subscribed. Lieut. Governor Francis Nicholson, who naturally wanted the favor of the people at the beginning of his administration, took an interest in the project, as did Commissary James Blair.

The Rev. James Blair was born in Scotland in 1655; graduated with a Master's degree from Edinburgh University at the age of eighteen; was later ordained into the Episcopal ministry and moved to England. In 1685 he came to Virginia as rector to Henrico Parish. In 1689 he was made commissary to the Bishop of London for Virginia. The following year, 1690, he presided at a meeting of the clergy at Jamestown, where he discussed his scheme for a college which was received with enthusiasm by those present. A recommendation was made to the Assembly which approved and appointed Mr. Blair to go to England in 1691

for a charter and subscriptions. In the instructions he was ordered to get the "best charters in England whereby Free schools and Colleges have been founded". It was specified that in this new college Latin, Greek, Hebrew, together with philosophy, mathematics, and divinity were to be taught.

The charter was granted on February 9, 1695. On September 1st of that year James Blair presented the Royal Charter of King William and Queen Mary to the Governor and Council of Virginia who "read and recorded it and directed that payments provided in the charter should be made". By this charter the College of William and Mary in Virginia was to furnish "a seminary of ministers of the gospel ...... and to make, found and establish a certain place of universal study or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences". It was also endowed as no colonial college before or since has been. £2000

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10. Ibid, p. 83
11. History of the College of William and Mary, Copy of Charter, p. 16
12. Calendar of State Papers (1693 - 96), p. 154
13. History of the College of William and Mary, reprint of charter, p. 5
raised out of quit rents, one penny a pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, the office of surveyor general, and 20,000 acres of land were given. Very soon a bill imposing a duty of 7½ on exported furs was ordered for the support of the college. Middle Plantation was chosen from four alternative sites as being the best suited. As originally planned by Mr. Blair, there were to be three grades of instruction: a grammar school like Eton to teach Greek and Latin; philosophy in two schools - moral and natural - with mathematics in the latter; and divinity in two schools with divinity proper in one and the oriental languages in the other. The Main or Wren Building was erected and the Grammar School began to function, but the other two were delayed for several reasons. Commissary Blair, while in London, wrote Governor Nicholson that there would be difficulty in finding able masters willing to come to America. There was difficulty in collecting subscriptions, litigation over the ownership of certain

14. History of the College of William and Mary, pp. 4 - 16
15. Calendar of State Papers (1693 - 96), p. 169
16. ibid., p. 180
18. W. S. Perry, History of the Church in Virginia, p. 7
college lands, poor and often improper methods of accounting for tobacco tax, and delays in getting the governors or trustees of the college to meet. 19

In the meantime the executors of the Honorable Robert Boyle who had bequeathed his personal estate to "charitable and pious uses" had, in 1697, agreed to give the revenue from the Brafferton estate in England to William and Mary for the education of the Indians. Governor Nicholson announced in 1700 that the school would open the following year for Indian boys of the ages of seven or eight. 20 The Governor the same year wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury that President Blair, one master who taught Latin, an usher, and a writing master composed the whole staff of the College. He asked the aid of the Archbishop in procuring a master or professor of philosophy and mathematics. 21

From 1700 to 1705 affairs at the College were somewhat disorganized because the Assembly, driven from Jamestown by the burning of the state house, held its meetings in the main building. 22 Some members of the Assembly even lodged at the College. The clerk's office

19. W. S. Fossey, History of the Church in Virginia, pp. 10 - 21
20. ibid. p. 123
21. ibid. p. 122
22. ibid. p. 133
was moved there so the College became the repository of all records still in the county. In 1706 the Iron Building with the library and different apparatus that had been bought burned. This calamity called for retrenchment and the revenues that had been used for paying salaries were now saved for raising a fund to rebuild. However, the chair of natural philosophy and mathematics which Governor Nicholson had been working for in 1700 was added in 1712, although so impoverished was the College that for want of money, materials, and workmen, the building was not restored entirely until 1733.

The most refreshing personality connected with the College in this period was the Rev. Hugh Jones, who was the first man in Virginia or in any colony to suggest for any college a distinct chair of history. Hugh Jones was born in England about 1670 and was probably one of the several graduates of Oxford by that name. He became a minister and came to Virginia in 1716. The next year he was recommended by the Bishop of London to the College as a man prepared to take the chair of natural philosophy and mathematics and was appointed to that position. He was also a minister at Jamestown and a lecturer in Bruton.

23. Calendar of Virginia State Papers (1662 - 1781), pp. 72, 73
24. William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. VI, p. 171
Church. At the same time he served as chaplain of the House of Burgesses. Nothing is known of his work as a teacher, but during this time he wrote several books, among them A Short English Grammar, An Accompano to the English Tongue, which was the first grammar written in America. Late in 1721 he left Virginia for England. In 1724 he had published both the grammar and his history, The Present State of Virginia. This history is his chief contribution to the historical studies at William and Mary. Though Hugh Jones taught mathematics, he stimulated the reading of history by giving the best contemporary view of Virginia at that time.

The Present State of Virginia was intended to supplement material on Virginia already existing and to promote in the minds of the reader an interest in the colonies. Dr. Jones wrote from observation largely, but he showed so much insight and understanding of affairs in Virginia that his work has been valuable to later local historians. He seems to have had a fund of information on the social, economic, educational, and ecclesiastical conditions in the colony during the early 1700's. He discusses the origin, customs, religions, and principles of the Indians, describes the French settlements.


26. G. S. Perry, History of the Church in Virginia, p. 249
to the west, Spotswood's Tramentane Order, and Christians. English settlements in various parts of Virginia and Maryland are mentioned. He has a quaint and most interesting chapter on the "Metropolis of Williamsburg", which gives the best description of the old Cron building and the Palace. He shows a clear insight into the economic situation both as to crops raised and as to trade and employment. One chapter is given to the "Church and Glcory in Virginia" and another to "Authors and Public Officers". The thoroughly original portion of this history, however, is the appendix in which Dr. Jones gives his scheme of education in Virginia. His description of the College is disheartening for he speaks of it as "a college without a chapel, without a scholarship, and without a statute". He mentions the library which is without books, "The Burgess without certainty of electors", and a president who, until recent years, had been without a fixed salary. In his suggestions for the improvement of these conditions, he showed for the time decidedly advanced ideas on education. To encourage scholarship and increase the number of students he advocated a Foundation upon which five scholars, selected yearly by the President and Masters, should be educated

27. E. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, Part II, Chap. 2

28. Ibid. Appendix, p. 93
for three years during which time they should be in-
structed in five distinct branches: languages, religion,
mathematics, philosophy, and history.29 These five
branches or departments, with the Grammar Master, would
provide for the six professorships stated in the charter.
He believed in such accomplishments as music, dancing,
and fencing and thought they should be provided for by
appointing Masters from town for the purpose. His in-
terest in schools for women is stated in the following
words:

"Finally as to the Education for
Girls, it is a great pity but that good
boarding schools were erected for them
at Williamsburgh and other towns."30

Hugh Jones has been recognized as fearless in his
opinions and vigorous intellectually. No one could have
expressed his hopes for the College in quaintor words
than, " 'tis hoped, that in a few years it will, like
the Palm Tree, grow to the greater Perfection under the
weighty obstacles that load it".31 Although Dr. Jones
returned to Virginia from England, he soon moved to
Maryland where he worked zealously in his ministerial
duties at St. Stephen's Parish in Cecil County until his

29. H. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 95
30. Ibid, p. 94
31. Ibid, p. 27
resignation a few months before his death in September 1760.

After the main building was finally restored in 1783, the College continued to grow so that, by 1789, the trustees had established a school of sacred theology and had added another school of philosophy. They also had a grammar school. This gave the number of schools and professors provided for in the charter, so the College was now transferred by the two living, of the original, trustees, James Blair and Stephen Fousco, to the President and Masters or professors who on February 27, 1789 became the executive body of the college. The legislative function was vested in the Board of Visitors. The record book of the Society from August 1789 to June 1796 has been preserved. Because the Society formed the executive body, most of their meetings were taken up with affairs concerning daily administration such as discipline, rules and regulations, reports from the bursar, and questions pertaining to tenants, rents, and lands. No description is given of the courses offered and since there were no catalogues of William and Mary, Yale, or Harvard, this period is obscure in all the colonial colleges as to the specific subjects taught.

88. History of the College of William and Mary, copy of transfer, p. 38
In 1720 when the transfer was made, Dr. James Blair was still president. The two masters in the theology school were Bartholomew Yates, Professor of Divinity, and Francis Fontaine, Professor of Oriental Languages. In the school of philosophy, Alexander Irvine taught mathematics and Dr. William Dawson of Oxford taught moral and intellectual philosophy. Joshua Fry was the Master of the Grammar School, and probably taught Latin and Greek. Ecclesiastical history probably entered into the instruction in the school of theology. Few, if any, changes were made in the curricula of the other colonial colleges during the pre-Revolutionary period. The same is apparently true of William and Mary.

One man of this period is closely associated with the historical studies in that he was, like Hugh Jones, interested in historical material on Virginia, and wrote a history of the early colony. William Stith was born in Virginia in 1707. He was the son of William Stith and Mary Randolph, "Daughter of William Randolph from whom Jefferson, Marshall and Lee were descended". William Stith studies first in the Grammar School at William and Mary. In 1724 he went to England and became a student at Queen's College, Oxford. From that Univer-

33. General Catalogue of the College of William and Mary to 1878, p. 60

sity he graduated first in 1728 with the degree of B. A. Two years later he received his Master's degree. He studied for the ministry and was ordained in the Episcopal Church. In 1731 he was appointed a member of the faculty of William and Mary, though it is not certain what subjects he taught at this time. In 1738 he was called to take charge of Henrico Parish, where he lived at the Glebe near Varina. It was while he was living here that he wrote his *History of Virginia* which will be discussed later. He was selected as president of the College of William and Mary. He qualified for that position on August 14, 1752. Mr. Stith thus became the third president of the College. Mr. Blair had died in 1743 and was succeeded by the Rev. William Dawson who died in 1762.35 While president of the College, Mr. Stith served as minister to York - Hampton Parish in York County. His service to the college was cut short by his death in September 1755.

Mr. Stith's place in a discussion of the historical studies rests upon his one contribution, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, Being an Essay toward a General History of the Colony*. This history was printed in Williamsburg in 1747 by Wil-

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35: General Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, p. 80
The preface to the book is dated "Varina, December 10, 1740". He states in this preface that his material has been drawn largely from Captain Smith's works, but that it is based also on Sir John Randolph's Collection of Publick Papers. He had access to a "full and fair manuscript of the London Company's Records which was communicated to me by the late worthy President of our Council, the Honorable William Byrd, Esq." His history which is divided into five "books" instead of chapters, deals in great detail with the London Company and the first years of the colony. It covers the material only to the year 1625, so he may have looked upon this volume as the first part of a detailed general history of the colony up to a later date. He was not at all friendly toward King James I. He speaks of that gentleman in no uncertain terms; but he explains thus, "and I take it to be the main part of the Duty and Office of an Historian to paint Men and Things in their true and lively colours." Dr. Stith felt that something should be done with the materials of history in Virginia before they were lost or destroyed. Then, too, he expresses himself as being dissatisfied with everything yet published excepting "the excellent but confused
materials left us in Capt. Smith's History". He mentions, too, in the preface that he had called the attention of the House of Burgesses to the "moldering and dangerous state of some of their papers", and that the members had taken the matter under consideration to have them reviewed and transcribed. Mr. Stith must, therefore, be given credit for cultivating the study of history himself; for writing history for the perusal of others; and for interesting others in the preservation of records and documents, the historical date of the colony.

Only one incident in the pre-Revolutionary period throws light on the trend on the part of the Visitors of the College toward a more liberal curriculum. In 1770 the Visitors proposed a reorganization which would have introduced the elective system into the College. Many of the Board of Visitors were Virginians who had no interest in the classical curriculum which had been copied from English universities. They were brought up in the colonial atmosphere of freedom from restraint and felt that even education might be developed to meet their needs. Like Harvard and Yale, William and Mary had continued the traditional schools of classics, philosophy, and theology. Promotions were made from the grammar

89. W. Stith, History of Virginia, p. 2, p. 8
or classical school into the others. This ruling had been followed very strictly by the faculty, many of whom had been, from time to time, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. The Visitors undertook in the spring of 1770 to recommend to the Faculty that this order of promotion from the Classical School be set aside. This would permit students to enter the mathematical school (under philosophy) without any classical training, provided they had acquired a thorough foundation in "vulgar" arithmetic and provided, of course, that the parents or guardians wanted that privilege. Such a change would have made an opening for other innovations. The result might have been a more extended and liberal curriculum in 1770 instead of 1779, but the faculty refused to accept the plan. The proceedings of the faculty for May 22, 1770 are taken up with the question. The answer of the faculty is given in detail, showing that they felt there was great danger in mixing subjects and that the old prescribed formula must be adhered to. Their opinion was:

"That the plan ...... hitherto approved of in most Universities, as well as in the Statutes of William and Mary College, consist in the Pursuit, first, of the Classical knowledge; second, of Philosophy - Natural and Moral; and lastly, of such sciences as are to become the Business of the students.
during the remainder of their lives.\textsuperscript{40}

The sequel to this initial attempt at liberalization was the reorganization which took place in 1779 and which will be discussed in another chapter.

\textsuperscript{40} Minutes of the Faculty, (1739 - 1784), p. 192
Chapter III.

The Study and Teaching of History in William and Mary from 1775 to 1825

From its founding, the College of William and Mary was probably the most liberally endowed of any in North America. On the eve of the Revolution, it was the wealthiest of the colleges, having been the benefactor time and again of royal, colonial, and private contributions. For a long time the only seat of higher learning in the colony, it had become distinguished not for its large number of students, but for the prominence and valuable service of its graduates in all phases of colonial leadership. It was looked upon by many as an establishment of the Church of England since the Visitors were of that church and the professors had to subscribe to its thirty-nine Articles. It was, at least, for the few, the aristocratic, and not adapted to the needs of the great mass of the people. The attempt of the Visitors to effect a change in the curriculum in 1770 failed as has already been stated. But there were those who realized by 1776 that the very life and permanence of the new republican institutions of government in the process of formation

depended upon the intelligence of the people. Foremost among these was Thomas Jefferson, whose pioneering spirit and democratic ideals led him to take a bold step on behalf on education in Virginia. Early in 1776, a committee of which he was a member was appointed by the General Assembly for a general revision of the laws and they took the subject of education under consideration. The result was that Jefferson proposed a new general system of education for the whole state, and including establishments of three different grades -- the first was a provision for the organization of primary schools over the state, the second grade a system of academies and colleges for higher training and preparation for the third grade or the university. A further proposal was to amend the charter or constitution of William and Mary so that this college might enlarge its field of work to include the whole sphere of sciences and so become in fact a university. Jefferson's proposals were not acted on by the Assembly, due, so he felt, to the opposition of the Dissenters in the Assembly and to the unhealthful climate of the Peninsula. Jefferson soon had the opportunity to carry out his plan for some form of reorganization for William and Mary, which he explains thus:

"On the first of June 1779, I was appointed governor of the Commonwealth and

retired from the legislature. Being elec-
ted, also, one of the Visitors of William
and Mary College, a self-electing body, I
affected during my residence in Williams-
burg that year, a change in the organiza-
tion of that institution by abolishing the
Grammar School, and the two professorships
of Divinity and Oriental Languages, and
substituting a professorship of Law and
Police, one of Anatomy, Medicine, and Chem-
istry, and one of Modern Languages; and
the charter confining us to six professors,
we added Law of Nature and Nations and the
Fine Arts to the duties of the Moral Phi-
losophy professor; and natural history to
the professor of Mathematics and Natural
Philosophy.3

Jefferson states in his notes on Virginia that the
Visitors having no right to change the regulations which
were fixed by the charter, they could not add to the num-
ber of professors, but they changed the subjects to be
taught by each one. His reason for abolishing the gram-
mar school was that the admission of young students to
learn Latin and Greek filled the college with "children",
made life less satisfactory for students prepared for en-
tering the sciences, and exhausted the revenues of the
college just to train beginners.4

In his reorganization of the curriculum, Jefferson
was ably assisted by the president, Rev. James Madison.
Without his active assistance, little could have been ac-
complished even by Jefferson. James Madison, later to

3. H. A. Washington, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,
Vol. I, p. 50

4. T. Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, p. 223
become Bishop of Virginia, was born near Port Republic, Virginia, on August 27, 1749. He attended an Academy in Maryland and entered William and Mary in 1768, graduating with honors in 1772. He was interested in law and studied that subject. About 1773 he became professor of natural philosophy and mathematics in the College. In 1775 he went to England for Holy Orders. He was made the first Virginia Bishop of the Episcopal Church. These duties, with those of the presidency of the College to which he was appointed in 1777, might have consumed the entire time of one man. Madison, however, continued his classes and undertook to carry out the new curriculum. According to Bishop Meade, he gave up hopes of reviving the church or improving the corrupt clergy. His efforts at the College, however, met with success. The College became known as an institution with "a curriculum broader than that of any of its contemporaries". Dr. Madison was of a scientific turn of mind, taking special interest in maps and geography. He made a map of Virginia from his surveys, called "Madison's map", which was for a long time the standard map of the state. He was, with Professor Robert Andrews, a commission from Virginia to meet a like commission from Maryland to draw the boundary line between these states, at which time the termini of the

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6. William and Mary Bulletin X, No. 4, p. 11
Mason and Dixon line were agreed upon. He should be remembered as a contributor to geographical material and knowledge, a necessary adjunct to the historical studies. At his death in 1812, he had served the College for thirty-five years, through the economic crisis and depression following the Revolution on the one hand and through the forward-looking crisis of such a liberalization of the organization and curriculum that it became "unique in its absolute freedom".  

In the summer of 1780 Dr. Ezra Stiles of Yale wrote to President Madison of William and Mary asking for information as to the history of the college, the professors, and the branches they taught as well as some idea of the course of liberal education used in the College in Virginia. At the same time Dr. Stiles explained that Yale had a president, two professors (one of Divinity and another of Philosophy) and three tutors. Neither Harvard nor Yale at this time were holding public commencements due to the difficulties arising from the war. Dr. Madison's answer, written on August 1, 1780, is interesting and instructive. He mentioned that most of the revenues of the College were lost during the war, but states that the change recently made in the curriculum "will rem-

7. William and Mary Bulletin X, No. 4, p. 11
der this Séminary infinitely more beneficial". The work of the former course in the classics is now to be taught in various schools in the state "from whence when properly qualified the students are to be sent to the University". The School of Divinity has been dropped because "it is now thought that establishments if favored of any particular sect are incompatible with the Freedom of a Republic and, therefore, the professorship is entirely dropped". The fact that a knowledge of the ancient languages was no longer required for admission, and that students might make their own selections of classes and the number and order of the lectures attended must have seemed an innovation to Dr. Stiles. He enumerates the professorships in 1780 which shows in comparison with Yale a very full, well-balanced curriculum. History, as such, is not mentioned, but Jefferson had the belief, as expressed later in his plans for the University, that history being interwoven with politics and law could be included with those, and for the same reason the school of modern languages could also cover modern history and modern geography. It was presumably under such an arrangement that Louis Huc Girardin became in 1803 professor of modern languages, history, and geography. On June 8, 1784 Jefferson visited Dr. Stiles. Jefferson was on his way to Boston to embark

10. Jefferson and Cabell, University of Virginia, Appendix M, p. 481
for France but, although many pressing problems must have been discussed by these two intellectually alert men, Dr. Stiles relates in his Diary only those facts which he had learned about William and Mary. The chief points which are concerned with this study have already been told. One notes that Jefferson must have mentioned specifically the president, also professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and the professor of law who was also attorney general of the state. Of these men Jefferson writes from Paris in 1788:

"The professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy there (Mr. Madison) is a man of great abilities, and their apparatus is a very fine one. Mr. Bellini, professor of Modern Languages, is also a fine one. But the pride of the institution is Mr. Wythe, one of the chancellors of the state and professor of law at the college. He is one of the greatest men of the age ....... he gives lectures regularly and holds moot courts and Parliaments wherein he presides and the young men debate regularly in law and legislation, learn the rules of parliamentary procedure and acquire the habit of public speaking."

The Society, after the reorganization went into effect, was composed of the following:

1. James Madison, D. D. -- President and Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics

2. George Wythe, LL.D. -- Professor of Law and Police

11. E. Stiles, Literary Diary, Vol. III

3. James McClurg, M. D. -- Professor of Medicine and Anatomy

4. Robert Andrews, A. M. -- Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Law of Nature and of Nations, and of Fine Arts

5. Charles Bellini -- Professor of Modern Languages

6. The Professorship of Brafferton ceased to exist soon after the end of the Revolution when the proceeds from that estate were diverted from the College by England.

The first professor of history after the reorganization in 1779, of whom anything is known, was Mr. Louis Rue Girardin.\(^{13}\) Mr. Girardin's early life and training are rather obscure, but what is known leads one to believe that he could be an interesting teacher of history. He went to William and Mary in 1883 and is listed in the catalogues as professor of modern languages. A newspaper notice in the Virginia Argus of February 12, 1883 states:

"Mr. L. H. Girardin is appointed in this College, Teacher of the Modern Languages and Lecturer in Geography and History." (By order of President and Professors)\(^{14}\)

The proceedings of the faculty (1784 – 1817) are lost, but the item quoted was evidently correct in as much as Mr. Girardin himself in a literary magazine which

\(^{13}\) General Catalogue (1874) p. 31
\(^{14}\) William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. V, p. 121 quoted by Dr. L. G. Tyler
he established called Amoenitates, he speaks of himself as "Late professor of Geography and History of William and Mary College". Mr. Girardin taught at William and Mary less than two years (1805) when he went to Richmond. It was about this time that he began his literary work on Amoenitates because in April of that year the Richmond Enquirer, well-known newspaper of that time, gave an account of his life and training. The paper got its information from a friend of Girardin, but whose name is not mentioned. According to this sketch, he was educated in France, first by a private tutor, the director of a monastery. He won in literary contests, was interested in law and studied first at the University then with a practitioner in Paris. The French Revolution offered little encouragement to a young man of the legal profession, so he lived on in Paris studying literature. He became interested also in science and continued writing. Though a friend of rational liberty, he disliked the disorder and corruption in France at the time. Because he wrote and spoke against the Robespierrian regime, he was forced to flee from France. Eventually he found his way into the United States, though at what time is not clear.

While in Richmond, he conducted a private school

15. L. G. Tyler, History in the College of William and Mary, The Nation, November 1892

and still later he had one at Milton, in Albemarle County
not far from Monticello. While in Richmond he also be-
came a partner of Mr. John Burk in the Argus, a journal
that had been established in the city. Mr. Burk was
writing a history of Virginia of which he had finished
three volumes when he was killed in a duel in 1806. Mr.
Girardin decided to continue and finish what Mr.
Burk had commenced. As a result, Mr. Girardin became
known not only as a history teacher, an educator, but
as a Virginia historian as well. It is perhaps his
friendship with Jefferson that has brought his name be-
fore history students rather than his historical or li-
terary works for they are not well known.

The fourth volume of Burk's History of Virginia
which Mr. Girardin was working on in 1815 - 16, covers
the Revolutionary period in Virginia from the time of
Dunmore's hostilities through the surrender of Cornwallis.
This embraced the period that Jefferson served as governor
of Virginia. Mr. Girardin used the materials in the lib-
rary at Monticello for this portion of the work. In a
letter written in 1815, Mr. Jefferson tells the historian
how he wished to be treated by the writers of history:

"The only exact testimony of a man is
his actions, leaving the reader to pro-
nounce on them his own judgment. In anti-

17. William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. IX (2)
Of a studious, cultivated mind, Mr. Girardin spent much time and thought on this work. He goes into great detail in places so that the volume contains nineteen chapters or 538 pages. His language is polished and cultivated; his style, at the time, elegant; but perhaps a trifle flowery. His prefatory remarks, written at the Hermitage near Staunton, November 12, 1816, express better than can be explained otherwise his ideas and ideals as a writer of Virginia's history:

"Indeed I would not presume to assign any particular bounds to a good history of Virginia. The field is indefinitely vast; and successfully to explore the immense area, and delineate with elegance and accuracy the many interesting and noble vistas which, as we progress through it, burst here and there upon the 'mind's eye,' would require the long exertions of the most vigorous intellect."

Mr. Burk had dedicated his history to Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Girardin did likewise, and in a manner so striking that it seems worthy of reproduction here:

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"To Thomas Jefferson
The Obliging Neighbor
The Warm, Kind, Indulgent Friend,
as well as
The Active Patriot,
The Able Statesman
and
The Liberal Philosopher,
The Following Continuation of
The History of Virginia
originally and justly
Dedicated to Him,
is Respectfully inscribed
by
L. H. Girardin"

Various comments have been made about Girardin's history. Henry Lee, son of "Lighthorse Harry" Lee, though speaking of Mr. Girardin's cultivated mind and studious habits, thinks that he was much too zealous in justifying Jefferson's actions, particularly as governor. Mr. Lee's striking comment was:

"Mr. Girardin, transformed from a wandering pedagogue, into a modern Polybius, totally unacquainted with the body of our traditions, ...... received his [Jefferson's] memoranda as Sybilline leaves, and all his hints as oracular responses."

Mr. Lee, it might be added, was not a great friend or admirer of Jefferson.

Mr. Jefferson himself gave the opposite view in this respect. In 1820 Mr. Girardin applied for the principalship of Baltimore College. A Mr. Tobias Watkins, interested in building up this college, wrote to Mr. Jefferson with regard to the applicant. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter of September 28, 1820, characterizes Girardin as a man of superior understanding, an "excellent Latinist", a "Greek scholar", "sober and correct in his morals and deportment". He then adds, "indeed his history of Virginia affords in itself sufficient matter for the trustees to judge for themselves of the capacities of his mind". 22

Mr. Girardin was appointed to the position mentioned in the fall of 1820, leaving his role of historian to become again "the pedagogue". Of Mr. Girardin's position at William and Mary, several conclusions may be drawn. It was the first time history is mentioned in a distinct chair, though combined with other subjects. This history combined with the modern languages was, doubtless, a different kind of history from the religious history which would naturally have been taught to some extent in all colleges with a school of divinity. The combination of history and geography should be noted as a distinct change. Geography in the early curriculum was taught in connection with mathematics 23 in the sense that the use

22. W. C. Ford, Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, pp. 257, 258

23. H. B. Adams, History in American Colleges, p. 19
of maps and globes was a part of mathematical instruction. Many professors of mathematics were also map makers, among them Dr. James Madison. It was much later that geography and history were combined at Yale.

After Mr. Girardin moved to Richmond in 1806, the history courses which he had undoubtedly taught were allowed to lapse. There is no record of any further attempt to procure a professor for history until 1819. At a meeting of the Society on November 1, 1819, Mr. J. Augustino Smith, then president, announced that during the summer he "had made every inquiry for a suitable person to fill the now chair of History and Humanity". He further said that he believed the Rev. Revell Keith was the most satisfactory person that could be obtained. Thereupon the Society resolved, "that Mr. Keith be appointed lecturer and that the president be requested to inform him by letter of this Resolution,"24 Mr. Keith was born in Vermont. While clerking in a store in Troy, New York, he became interested in the Episcopal Church. He prepared for college, entering Middlebury College in 1811, where he showed great promise and graduated with highest honors. Never robust in health, he decided to come south and became a tutor in a private family in Prince George County, Virginia. At the same time he became a lay reader in the parish in which he was living and continued to prepare

24. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), pp. 33, 39
himself for the ministry. Returning to Vermont, he became a tutor at Middlebury. In 1817 he was ordained by Bishop Moore in Alexandria. For a while he served as assistant in the church at Georgetown, D. C. A new congregation was soon formed through the efforts of Mr. Keith. He worked zealously in this parish until some time in 1820 when he resigned to accept the professorship of history and humanities. His reluctance at leaving his parish is expressed in his letter of acceptance, dated February 19, 1820 and addressed to the president:

"I have consulted my friends and I trust sought direction from Him who is the Fountain of all wisdom, and am at last fully convinced that I ought to unite with the Friends and Faculty of your college in labouring to sustain and increase its reputation and usefulness."

He was evidently preparing for his work at that time, because he continues in this letter,

"I wish the Society would decide as soon as practicable respecting the Books which are to be used in my course of instruction."

He and Professor Campbell of the College had decided on Horace, Xenophon, Cicero, and Homer for the languages and Hume's History of England. He adds, however:

25. W. A. R. Goodwin, History of the Theological Seminary of Virginia, p. 544
"To this list I would like to add a book which I have not since my return, Bigland's Letters on History. It consists of one large volume and is in my judgment a very well executed and valuable book. It is designed as an Introduction to the study of History."26

This is the first instance found in the records of the College to this time in which authors and titles of specific history texts are used. Bigland's Letters on History seems not to have been used in courses checked in the other colleges. As a matter of fact, Mr. Keith did not use that text at William and Mary for on November 13, 1829 the following entry is found in the records:

"Resolved that the Historical course commence as soon as a class can be formed, in the event of which the first text books shall be Hume's History of England and Ramsay's History of America."27

It was not until November 7, 1821, however, that Mr. Keith was ready to take charge of his classes, having been prevented by illness from so doing. On that day he met the Society and the first recorded schedule for history lectures at William and Mary was stated as follows:

Tuesday }  
"on Thursday }  Historical classes at  
Saturday }  1 o'clock P. M."28

26. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), pp. 46, 47
27. Ibid., p. 60
28. Ibid., p. 100
It should be remembered that Dr. Girardin taught history from 1803 to 1805, but since the record book of the Society is missing for that period nothing definite is known about the classes and texts. Mr. Keith taught the humanities as well as history. He gave three lectures a week in history and three in the classics. Mr. Keith's official connection with the College began on December 6, 1821 when he qualified as a professor in that institution. His work at William and Mary lasted only about two years. Besides teaching the classes mentioned, he was to teach divinity and receive candidates for the ministry. This was an experiment in establishing a theological seminary at Williamsburg, but as only one candidate presented himself in two years, the whole was termed a failure. Mr. Keith being interested in the work of a theological school, withdrew from the College and became identified with the Seminary at Alexandria, then being built, where he remained until his death in 1842. He was an accurate scholar, learned in the languages. His translation of Hengstenberg's Christology from the German was considered a very admirable piece of work. The library of William and Mary had one copy which at present is

A professor was not officially a member of the faculty until he had subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles.

29. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 101

listed as missing. The College now seems to have no
literary contribution of the professor of whose classes
in history, text books, and schedule of lectures there
is the first accurate record. 31 Mr. Keith's work was a
distinct contribution to the annals of history at the
College. It shows that instruction in American history
antedates that of any other college by more than a de-
cade. It was in 1842 that the first appearance of Ameri-
can history is noticed in the curriculum at Harvard, and
then it was given in the form of lectures to the seniors
by Professor Jared Sparks. 32 Mr. Keith tried to discover
and examine new books with a view to getting the most
suitable ones. His success as a professor for many years
at the Theological Seminary gives one an insight into
qualities that must have made his classes at William
and Mary much worthwhile.

After Mr. Keith's departure, history was again
dropped from the records for several years. This does
not mean that the interest in teaching history there had
waned. The years 1805 to 1820 were years of economic de-
pression, at least for the College. The years from 1816
to 1829 were years of agitation over the school question
in Virginia. The plans for the University were opposed

31. See Faculty Minutes already mentioned.

32. H. B. Adams, Study of History in American Colleges,
p. 20
at William and Mary; and at last in desperation, a movement approved by most of the professors and some of the Visitors was started for the removal of William and Mary to Richmond. The fear that the College might become one in status with about nine other colleges planned by Jefferson's schemes had a disorganizing effect. Jefferson was known to think of the college "not as a private institution, but as a public charity", whose position and resources were, therefore, under the control of the state or should be, according to his argument.

In spite of these depressing incidents, William and Mary was, in 1828, ready to make definite provision for history and intrusted its teaching to one of her own graduates.

33. Jefferson and Cabell, University of Virginia, p. 142 - 143

34. ibid. p. 305

35. ibid. p. 305
Also p. 332
Chapter IV.
The Study and Teaching of History in William and Mary from 1825 to 1860

After the departure of Mr. Keith, history was again dropped from the records of the faculty for some years, although that may not mean that no history was taught. A clipping from a newspaper explaining briefly the courses offered in 1825 shows that the following were taught: the humanities, including languages, grammar and the higher classics; law and police; moral philosophy including grammar, logic, rhetoric, ethics, and belles lettres, philosophy of the mind, principles of natural and national law and political economy; mathematics; and natural philosophy, including physics, chemistry, and sciences of all kinds.¹ No mention was made of any historical subjects such as taught by Mr. Keith, but the term "history" is used so seldom in many of the records that one cannot be sure. There was a possibility that history was combined with national law and political economy or with the higher classics.

One of William and Mary's own graduates was to

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¹ Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1830), p. 207
put the historical subjects on a permanent footing, not only by teaching history, but by preparing his own text and reference books. On July 4, 1820 the faculty minutes state:

"Resolved: that the degree of Bachelor of Arts be conferred on Benjamin F. Stewart and Thomas R. Dew, students of this College."

Thomas Roderick Dew was born at "Dews ville", his father's plantation in King and Queen County, Virginia on December 5, 1802. His father, Thomas Dew, was originally from Maryland, but his mother, Lucy Gatewood Dew, was a native of King and Queen County. This part of Virginia was very sparsely settled at this time, so there were few neighbors and little community life. Dew probably entered the College of William and Mary very young, did some preparatory work there, and graduated in 1820 at the age of eighteen. Four years later he received his Master's degree also from William and Mary. He traveled in Europe for two years. There is no record that he studied at any college or university, but judging from the work he did later, he must have read widely both in the literature and history of many nations. His chief interest, apparently, was in the customs, institu-

2. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 56
3. General Catalogue of William and Mary for 1855
tions, religions, laws, and economic conditions among various peoples. The next definite record we have of Thomas R. Dew is an item in the proceedings of the faculty for October 17, 1826:

"Thomas R. Dew who was yesterday appointed Professor of Political Law produced a certificate of his qualifications and thereupon took his seat at the board." 4

The word "history" is not used in the schedule of class hours stated in the faculty minutes, but in a newspaper clipping advertising the courses offered for the year, Professor Thomas R. Dew is designated as the professor of natural and nation law, politics, history, philosophy of the human mind, and political economy. 5 On July 7, 1827 at a meeting of the faculty comprised of Dr. Wilmer, President, Professors Frederick Campbell, Judge Semple, Dr. P. K. Rogers, Thomas R. Dew, and Dabney Browne, the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, that the Political Professor be permitted to open a course of Lectures on History during the ensuing session, one lecture per week, and that this class shall not interfere with any of the regular classes in college, nor attendance on it be requisite for graduation, nor shall attendance upon this class be deemed a reason for not attending upon the three regular classes prescribed by the statute of the

4. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 242
5. Ibid. p. 274
visitors on January 6th, 1827." (These were three Junior classes.)

There was some objection to the organization of this class because a statement is added to the above item that:

"The President and the Professor of Natural Philosophy request that their dissent should be recorded." 6

On October 27, 1827 when the schedule for the "ensuing session" mentioned in the foregoing quotation was drawn up by the faculty, no mention is made of history as such. Professor Dew's classes came under the heading of political law. On November 5, 1827, however, requests on the part of students to join a history class is mentioned. Whether Professor Dew had several history classes at that time is not certain from the records. A newspaper clipping found on page 305 of the faculty minute book give a public notice of the "Semi-Annual Examinations at the College of William and Mary for February 1828". The classes are stated with the names of the students in each:


6. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 274
7. Ibid. p. 305
Thus, there were nine students taking this history course. The only other mention of Professor Dew and his classes in this examination schedule is that on February 19th, when Mr. Dew was scheduled to give an examination in political law. For this class eight students are named as being on its roll. Several questions have arisen in the mind of the writer with regard to Dr. Dew's history classes. Was the class for which a mid-year examination was scheduled and which had only nine students the regular class? Then, was the class provided for at the faculty meeting of July 7, 1827 a special class for which no examination was given? Or was the notice of the examination intended to convey the idea that all examinations for history were to be given on the 16th of February and that the nine students named comprised the whole number in the history classes? Did the class provided for July 7, 1827 become an experimental class in which he introduced and tested his own notes and lectures later found in his Manual on Ancient and Modern History? Was this the class that on February 27, 1829 was scheduled to be given from 8:30 to 9 o'clock on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday for the remainder of that session? This short period could not have been a mistake on the part of the faculty secretary since Mr.

8. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 305
9. Ibid., p. 379
Dow's class in metaphysics was set for 9 to 10 o'clock on the same day. Record books are confusing and catalogues for the period are missing, if ever printed, so these questions became a subject for speculation.

It is evident that Professor Dow was building up a library for his classes in history and political law and economy. On March 11, 1823, the faculty minutes read:

"Resolved; that Books be purchased for the use of the library by the respective Professors to the following amounts .......
Mr. Dew §86.80."

This was the largest sum expended for books by any one professor. On October 1823 an announcement of the classes then beginning included the following for the "Political Course" to be taught by Professor Dow; history, metaphysics, natural and national law, government, and political economy. The texts and material used were to be Tytler's History, Ancient and Modern with the professor's lectures thereon, and original lectures on government. The examination schedule for February 1829 gives Professor Dow two periods -- one on the 10th for the "Historical Class" and one on the 10th for the "Political Class". An interesting item appears

10. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 311
11. Ibid., p. 345
12. Ibid., p. 372
in the faculty minutes for October 26, 1829, near the beginning of the session. The item reads:

"Resolved that the Resolution of the 7th of July, 1827 relative to the Course of Historical Lectures be rescinded." 13

The daily class schedule for the term is stated on page 441 of the faculty record book, but strangely enough no further mention is made of history, the phrase "Political class" being used. Again the baffling question arises: Just what was taught in that course of lectures between 1827 and October 1829 and what connection, if any, is there between that course and the development of Professor Dew's Manual or Digest of Ancient and Modern Nations?

Mr. Dew has been called a scholar, a man of great zeal and unwearied in his application and attention to his work. 14 This applies to him as much as a teacher as it did later to his work as president of the College. Not satisfied with the text books or the progress made by the students from these texts, he prepared a Digest of

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* It should be kept in mind that the college opened in October during this period and closed the first part of July, usually the Fourth.

13, Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1829), p. 437
14, Bishop Meade, Old Families and Churches of Virginia, Vol. I, p. 177
Ancient and Modern Nations to be used as a manual to follow his lectures. Whether the syllabus was printed privately or the material copied by the students is not entirely clear, since the copies now in the College Library were not printed until some years after Mr. Dew's death. The preface states that it was prepared in the form of lectures and was printed for the use of his class but never published during his life.15

The Manual as published contains two parts or volumes: the ancient history of eight chapters and the modern history of nine chapters. Even a cursory examination of the volume will show wherein it differed materially from other early texts. It stresses definitely, as stated in the full title of the volume, the laws, customs, manners, and institutions of nations ancient and modern.16 There are no descriptions of battles nor of intrigues and political quarrels of rulers. In fact, his Ancient History deals with the social history of the every-day life of the people -- what they ate, how they prepared it; their language; their morals, their ideas on chronology, geography, and religion. He showed much

15. Thomas R. Dow, Digest of Ancient and Modern Nations, Preface. (This was listed as a history text for the session of 1835. See Minutes of the Faculty (1830 - 36), p. 237)

16. Thomas R. Dew, Digest of Ancient and Modern Nations, Title Page
interest in Greece and Rome, particularly Greece, so that much of the volume is taken up with the literature, philosophy, history, drama, and eloquence of Greece; but he draws comparisons and contrasts with those of Rome. The material has been arranged in the form of questions and answers. At the beginning, both are simple as:

"(What were) Divisions of land in Egypt?
"The principal portion belonged to the three ruling castes, kings, priests, and soldiers."17

As the study progresses, the statement for discussion "Exemplification of the maladministration of justice in Athens by the pleadings of the lawyers?"18 is followed by explanatory material covering several pages. Both fact questions and thought questions are used and sometimes a topical heading is given under which sub-topics are stated as questions and then discussed. For instance, under the topical heading History, the sub-topics are written thus:

"1. Early history of the Greeks?
2. Effect of Persian war on History?
3. Herodotus?
4. Thucydides?
5. Xenophon?
6. Decline of history."19

17. Thomas R. Dew, Digest of Ancient and Modern Nations, p. 18
18. ibid. p. 182
19. ibid. Part I, p. 125
While no teacher of history at the present time would be likely to use a manual of questions and answers, the writer of this paper has dwelt at some length on this work by Mr. Dew because it tends to show that for the time in which he lived, he was advanced and modern in his teaching. He eliminated wars and battles for more useful material to the student, such as the customs and institutions of nations. Mr. Dew believed in progress within the subject on the part of the student, so in the modern history the topics are developed in more detail, the whole material being more difficult and advanced in treatment. He takes various phases of civilization such as the feudal system, the Reformation, cities, or literature, and so avoids the chronological statement of facts and develops what in present day parlance could be termed movements of history, periods of development, or even units.

Because Professor Dew taught both history and political law and since the two are allied subjects, it will not be amiss to discuss his contribution in the field of political economy. By 1829 Mr. Dew evidently had become intensely interested in political economy. It was, at least, through his efforts that this subject received special and separate recognition at the College. In September of that year he had published in Richmond his Lectures on the Restrictive System. As stated in
the preface, some of those lectures or parts of them had been given already to his class. Others were written but found too long to be delivered to the senior class unless they could be used in published form. Accordingly, a volume of one hundred ninety-five pages, divided into ten lectures with additional pages for explanations and argument was prepared and printed not only for the senior political class, but for the public. In the lectures he upheld the free trade argument using as references such outstanding works of that time as Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Say's *Political Economy*, Ricardo's *Political Economy*, McCulloch's *Outlines*, Tracy's *Political Economy*, and also government statistics and reports. Professor Dew was convinced of the error in our restrictive system or tariff policy and was disturbed because tariff was becoming such an issue so closely identified with political parties. He had, no doubt, followed the tariff movement closely and was as disturbed over the Tariff of 1828 as were many others. He does not, however, deal with the constitutional question involved, but confines himself to the different systems of political economy, theories of the restrictionists, injustices of a restrictive system, experiences of other countries, and the reasons for the adoption of such a course of action.

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He himself stated:

"I have wished as far as possible to avoid mingling in the politics of the day, being convinced that it is the great duty of a professor to inculcate upon the mind of the student those general principles along which may form the basis of his future opinions and actions."

It has been said, however, that these lectures, though not stressing government and constitutional questions, had much influence in bringing about the tariff changes of 1832 - 33.

Living in a strictly agricultural region in Virginia, he not only realized that disastrous results might follow too much protection for the manufacturers, but he became intensely concerned about the question of slavery. He was decidedly pro-slavery in his sentiments and in his arguments. He was ably seconded by R. Beverly Rucker who was professor of law and police. In 1838 Dr. Dew published in Richmond a Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 - 32. The law-making


body at that session debated vigorously on the question of abolishing slavery in Virginia. The Review became well known and was put in a volume of Southern essays under the title *Pro-Slavery Argument*. It was printed in two editions, 1852 and 1853, some years after Mr. Dew's death. Of the four hundred ninety pages in this volume of four essays, Mr. Dew's covers two hundred three pages. In his review of the slavery question as debated by the legislators, he takes up their arguments for abolition and refutes them, largely by citing conditions found in other countries in the past. He assumed the historical point of view, tracing the origin of slavery, and causes thereof in general, then explaining the introduction of slavery into the colonies. He cites such references as Tacitus, Milford's *Greece*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Robertson's *Charles V*, and Tucker's *Blackstone*. Various plans of abolition are then taken up, each one shown by Dew's eloquence to be fallacious: -- emancipation and deportation were inadequate and could only complicate conditions in the South; as to the statement that slavery is "unfavorable to a republican spirit" he argues that history will not bear out the statement since "li-


25. ibid., p. 301, 305, 306, 313, 310
berty glowed with most intensity" in Greece and Rome where slaves were most numerous.26

The essay reflects thought and research and has been credited with very great influence in restraining the Virginia Legislature from voting for abolition in the 1830's. Mr. Dew has been spoken of as an "economist" but it seems to this writer that he has the spirit and touch of the historian, well read in the economic and social problems of nations, it is true, but still the historian rather than the economist. An article in the Southern Literary Messenger entitled "The Duty of Southern Authors" concerning the question of slavery, states this writer's opinion:

"What is the character of the book? [Dew's] It is an examination of slavery as we find it existing in the nations of antiquity. It justifies slavery by showing precedents, by an appeal to the authority of the past. A New Englander or an Englishman may learn from Dew what slavery was among the ancients, but he will not learn enough from that book to justify and defend the modern institution."27

The state had always rather looked to the College of William and Mary for influence and ideas. In assum-


27. "The Duty of Southern Authors", Southern Literary Messenger, Vol. 23, October 1856, p. 245
ing responsibility, in taking an active interest in the
economic problems of the South which often became the
political issues of the day, Mr. Dew rendered good ser-
vice to the College and to the state. In recognition
of his worth and of his services, he was appointed the
first lay president of the College in 1836 to succeed
the Rev. Adam P. Empie who accepted a call to St. James
Church, Richmond.28

Before discussing the presidency of Mr. Dew it
might be well to summarize the main facts with regard to
the College at that time as stated in the bulletin for
1837 and entitled Laws and Regulations of the College of
William and Mary - 1837.*

The Society, or faculty, included President Dew,
Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy: Robert
Saunders, Professor of Mathematics; Jno. Millington,
Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy; Beverly
Tucker, Professor of Law; and Dabney Brown, Professor
of Humanity.29

In the resolutions of the Visitors, no mention
of history as a specific chair or department was made

28. Bishop Meade, Old Churches and Families of Virginia,
Vol. I, p. 177

* This reprint of the Laws and Regulations of 1837 is
the first since 1817 now in the College Library and
so is of more than usual interest.

29. Laws and Regulations of 1837, p. 10
but it was listed with a group of other subjects to be taught:

"The Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy shall deliver lectures on Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, Logic, and the Philosophy of Grammar, Political Economy, Metaphysics, Government and History." 30

All thus must have been no simple task for Mr. Dew who had in addition to the professorship of moral and political philosophy the duties of the president. It is well, perhaps, that he was "zealous" and "unwearied".

Two other provisions were made by the Visitors at this time that had some significance in connection with history. The professor of law was to give lectures on the history and principles of the Constitutions of Virginia and of the United States as well as on natural and national law and government. The professor of humanity was to teach, besides Greek and Latin, heathen Mythology, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Geography. As a degree could be obtained in two years, the courses were divided into the junior and the senior groups. It will not be necessary here to mention any classes except those in which history is found. It should be noted that before becoming president, Mr. Dew was professor of

30. Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary, 1837, p. 11
history, metaphysics, and political law. When he became president, he became professor of moral and political philosophy. The morals class for the junior year had besides rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, and history—ancient and modern.31 For this class in history a manual of history, written by the professor who was Mr. Dew, formed the text book. Except for such historical knowledge as may have been given by the professor of law and the professor of humanity, this course of ancient and modern history was the only history, as such, given.

A very interesting statement as to courses required for an A. A. is given in this catalogue. There seems to be a decided stress on history, probably due to the influence of Mr. Dew. Besides extra work in other courses, the candidate in his historical work should study Gillie's *Greece*, Ferguson's *Rome*, Sismondi's *Fall of the Roman Empire*, Russell's *Constitutional History of England*, and the *History of the United States*.32

That Mr. Dew had ambitious plans for the College is shown by the first address he gave as president to the students at the opening of the College on Monday,

31. *Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary*, 1837, p. 14
32. ibid., p. 18
October 10, 1836. The address, later printed at the request of the students, brings out several points with regard to the work contemplated. He encourages students who have not decided on their professions to take a general course, presumably of electives such as later led to the B. F. degree. He explains that the classical course with accompanying historical instruction on Greece and Rome was intended particularly for those who wished to teach. They must also be proficient in the junior mathematics, rhetoric, and historical courses. Degrees given were B. L., B. A., and M. A. He speaks at length on the independent department of law, and explains that the recently established school of civil engineering was needed because of the demands in the field of internal improvements. The professors were to give introductory lectures in their fields, open to all students, so they could more intelligently select the courses they wished to take. In the course of the address he said:

"Our scientific courses are as extensive as at any other institution in this country; and in one of them, the moral and political, is believed to be more extensive than any other institution known to us."

And again of the subjects of history and government he said:

"The moral and the political studies are the most important of all .... We cannot escape their influence or connection .... There are no sciences which require the same full, free and generous exercise of the feelings of the heart as Morals and Politics." 34

That Mr. Dew was a close and serious student of contemporary history and social trends is certain. Over twenty years before the struggle between the North and South, his words seemed prophetic of changes then as those same words are prophetic today:

"We seem to have arrived at one of those great periods in the history of man, when fearful and important changes are threatened in the destiny of the world .... Never were the opinions of the world more unsettled and more clashing than at this moment .... Monarchists and democrats, conservative and radical, agrarians and aristocrats, slave holder and non slave holder are all now in the great field of contention. What will be the result of this awful conflict, none can say ..... The whole continent of Europe is agitated by the conflicts of opinion and principles; and we are far, very far from that calm and quiet condition which betokens the undoubted safety of the republic." 35


35. Ibid. p. 765
The records of the faculty for the period of Mr. Dew's presidency are somewhat more illuminating than several of the others. There seems to be no catalogue in the William and Mary Library between the years 1837 and 1855 so the weekly proceedings of the faculty are very valuable. There were both private and public examinations at this time, the schedules of which are often given. Mr. Dew soon divided his morals class which included history into a first and a second half. There is no explicit statement of the subjects taught in each, but the notice of public examinations to be given between June 26th and July 3rd in 1837 state that the second half of the morals class was the historical.\footnote{Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 46), p. 77}

The proceedings of the faculty for June 15, 1831 stated that the history class need not be given a public examination since the course had terminated at mid year, on February 22nd.\footnote{Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 46), p. 90} History in 1831 was evidently a course for half of the year. In 1837 the records state that while history was an elective, a candidate for an M. A. degree who had not taken the history of junior morals class for one-half a year for his B. A. would be expected to complete that work before the M. A. degree could be granted.\footnote{Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 46), p. 145} In other words, this history, ancient and modern, was an elective except for those who wanted
the highest degree the College offered. For the session of 1839 - 40 the texts and references for Mr. Dew's political class were, besides Say's *Political Economy*, also Dew's *Restrictive System and Usury* and Dew's *Essay on Slavery*.

Oration given at commencement by graduates selected by the faculty sometimes showed the inspiration of history. In 1830 one of the orations was *On the Advantages arising from the Study of History*. A little later one was given *On the Glory of Ancient Rome*.

Oration given *On the Advantage of the Study of Ancient History* and *On the Moorish Invasion of Spain and its Effect on Europe*, no, doubt, were given by students who had become interested in history. It should be acknowledged, however, that by far the greatest number of subjects for orations came from the field of government and law, the very fields in which William and Mary has shown her greatest influence.

From 1843 to 1846 the same general schedule of work was used. In the daily schedules history is not mentioned, but it seems to have been continued as part of the junior moral class. The term history is found

39. Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 46), p. 350
40. Minutes of the Faculty (1830 - 36), p. 52
on examination schedules for that time, Mr. Dow continued to teach the junior morals class in which history was included and the senior political class in which he taught political economy. His services in the field of history were cut short by his sudden death in Paris in the summer of 1846. A general estimate of the man is best expressed in the Resolutions drawn up by the faculty on Monday, October 12, 1846:

"The members of this faculty entertain the liveliest recollections of the virtues, and feel the deepest regret for the death of their friend and colleague, Thomas R. Dow, in whom it was difficult to decide whether his wisdom as a president, his ability as a professor, or his excellence as a man was most to be admired." 41

As before stated, President Dow taught the junior morals class which included history and the senior political class which included political economy. Soon after his death the Board of Visitors selected as his successor Mr. George Frederick Holmes. His subjects were listed as history, political economy, and national law. 42

Mr. Holmes was a man of varied experiences, and in many respects a most unusual person. He was born at

41. Minutes of the Faculty (1846 - 1888), p. 1
42. ibid. p. 47
Straebrook, Demerara, British Guiana, on August 2, 1820. His father was John Henry Herndon Holmes, judge-advocate of that colony. His mother was Mary Anne Pemberton. When only two years old he was taken by his parents to England where he remained in the care of his grandfather. He was placed at school in Sunderland in the county of Durham. He entered the University of Durham in 1836, where his excellence in his work was rewarded by a prize scholarship. He remained at this university only one year when, owing to a misunderstanding with his guardians, he was forced to leave his studies and return to the Americas. He landed at Quebec in July 1837 and drifted about from Philadelphia through Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar in South Carolina, although he was not a naturalized citizen. He seemed not to have cared for law, and soon began writing for magazines. Among these was the Southern Literary Messenger, which brought him in contact with many of the leading men in the South. A scholar and author, he never took an active part in political questions although his wife, Eliza Lavalett Floyd, came from a family which furnished two governors to the state of Virginia.

In 1845 Holmes was selected as professor of an-
cient languages at Richmond College. From there he came to William and Mary. Mr. Holmes evidently was not very happy at William and Mary. On January 22, 1849 he presented his resignation to the faculty of the College in a letter covering three pages in the large record book. He gave many reasons for his intended withdrawal at the end of the session. He felt that there was no future for the College, but that it would continue to decline rapidly. He thought, too, that friction between the Visitors and the faculty then, and would have in the future, an unfortunate effect on the College. The financial condition made him feel that there was no material advantage in remaining as a professor. Discouragement and irritation are expressed by the very tone of this letter. Mr. Holmes remained through the session, but in the fall of 1849 he was chosen the first president of the University of Mississippi.

Some improvement, however, had been made in the status of history at William and Mary at this time. The Board of Visitors had decided that three years should be required for the B. A. degree. Thus changes were required in the courses. With regard to history, the de-

44. Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 1888), p. 77
cision was:

"That in History, Political Economy, and National Law there shall be three classes, Ancient History; Medieval and Modern History; and National Law and Political Economy." 45

The class schedule decided upon by the faculty for the history classes for the session of 1847 - 48 is as follows:

"Ancient History - Monday, Wednesday and Thursday Medieval and Modern History - Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday." 46

This is the first instance noted in the records of the faculty in which ancient and modern history are scheduled as distinct classes.

Mr. Holmes was concerned about material for his classes and was in the habit of ordering books. Even though his intentions were to leave the college, he must have taken an interest in the students and their welfare. For the session of 1847 - 48 he presented two bills to the faculty for books for his classes: one bill for $28 and one for $139. 47 The writer has found no sum

45. Minutes of the Faculty (1836 - 1888), p. 49
46. Ibid. p. 49
47. Ibid. p. 93
larger than that spent by one professor in one year.

Since Mr. Holmes continued working in the field of history after leaving William and Mary, a sketch of his activities may not be amiss. His stay at the University of Mississippi was very brief. Being recalled to Virginia by illness in his family, he met with an accident in which he lost an eye. He resigned his position, moved to southwest Virginia where he lived quietly, but continued writing articles and corresponding with many people.

In 1859 he was elected to the chair of history and literature at the University of Virginia. He continued his connection with the University until his death on November 4, 1897. In 1891 the University of Durham conferred an honorary degree on the man who at seventeen had left its halls, so well known had this wanderer become.

Mr. Holmes wrote several text books, among them two in history. His first one, *A School History of the United States of America*, published in 1872, contained historical data from the earliest discoveries to the year 1872. In 1889 his second history, *New School History of the United States*, was published, extending

the material covered to the time of publication.

Mr. Holmes was a better lecturer and correspondent than he was a writer of textbooks because, as a writer, he failed to reflect his interesting personality. Mr. Henry E. Shepherd, a member of his class in 1860-61 at the University of Virginia, says that his finest work was found in his private correspondence. "His knowledge was of the rarest", marvelous in the number of things he knew, and in the fascinating manner in which he imparted of his knowledge to others. "History was his forte, but his foible was omniscience." 49

In 1849 the teaching of history at the College of William and Mary was intrusted to a great nephew of George Washington. Henry A. Washington was born at Haywood, Westmoreland County, on August 24, 1820. He was educated at the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. There is some difference of opinion as to what he was to teach at the College. A report of the meeting of the Board of Visitors which appointed him, given in the Virginia Historical Register, states that he was to fill the chair of political economy and history. 50 An account in Tyler's Quarterly and Genealogical

49. H. S. Shepherd, "George Frederick Holmes", Library of Southern Literature, Vol. VI, p. 2467
50. Virginia Historical Register, Vol. II, p. 57
Maflaalne refers to him as professor of natural philosophy and political economy, making no mention of history. Mr. Washington was a student of both history and political economy. In an article written for the Southern Literary Messenger in 1848, while he was still living in Westmoreland County, he reviewed and commented on Mr. Robert Reid Howison's History of Virginia of which only the first of two volumes had been printed. In this connection he spoke highly of Mr. Charles Campbell's History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, a history that came out about the same time. Not content with giving his estimate of these histories and historians, he concluded the article with his ideas on the spirit of philosophical history and on the social system in Virginia. 

In January 1852, while teaching at William and Mary, Mr. Washington delivered a discourse before the Virginia Historical Association on the Constitution of 1776. This discourse was both commended and criticized in the Virginia Historical Register. When it was printed in November of the same year in the Southern


53. Virginia Historical Register, Vol. V, pp. 107 - 110
Literary Messenger, it was editorially described as "thoughtful and highly philosophical" and the author himself was spoken of as "one of Virginia's finest scholars, and most earnest thinkers". 54

In the meantime, the manuscript papers of Thomas Jefferson which had been bequeathed to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, had been purchased by the Federal Government and an Act of Congress had appropriated money for publishing these papers under a Joint Committee on the Library. To Mr. Washington was intrusted the responsibility of sorting and arranging these papers for publication. He states in the preface to Volume I that those papers were selected which seemed to be of public interest, had value as historical material, or embodied Jefferson's views upon a variety of subjects. 55 Mr. Washington himself added only such notes as were absolutely necessary, so nothing can be learned of his own personality or ideas through this valuable piece of work. The first three volumes were published in 1853, the remainder in 1854.

Mr. Washington continued his teaching at the College until 1857. Besides history and political economy

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he also taught law for a short period from Judge Nathaniel Tucker's death to the appointment of G. P. Scare-burgh to the professorship of law. Unfortunately the faculty records for the years 1850 to 1857 are very sketchy and meager as regards classes and subjects taught. Mr. Washington's name is often missing in these records, since he was engaged before 1855 in compiling Jefferson's works, much of which had to be done with documents in Washington. Whether his classes were sus- pended when he was absent or taught by other professors is not stated in the records. In the catalogue for 1855, a brief description of each course is given. There were two classes, junior and senior, the history courses being given in the first or junior year. This history included ancient and modern, one-half session being given to each. Among the texts and references were the works of Hallam and Guizot on the Middle Ages; Hume and Macauley on English History; and Bancroft on the United States. In addition to history, Mr. Washington, at this time, was teaching political economy and law of nations, each for one-half session.

Mr. Washington was married in Williamsburg on

56. Virginia Gazette and Eastern Virginia Advertiser, July 4, 1850
57. Minutes of the Faculty (1849 - 1853)
July 8, 1852 to Miss Cynthia Beverly, daughter of Honorable Nathaniel Beverly and Lucy Anne Tucker Beverly of Williamsburg. He severed his connection with the College in 1857. At the time of his death on February 28, 1858, he was a clerk in the Treasury Department and was living in Washington.58

Following Professor Washington's departure, the professorship of history and political economy was accepted by Robert J. Morrison, a man of whom very little is known. His home was in Richmond. In 1854 he married Kitty Heth, daughter of Archibald Morgan Harrison of "Carysbrook", Fluvanna County. When hostilities broke out between the North and the South, he joined the army, becoming captain in the forces of the Confederate State of America. Although Professor Morrison's connection with the College was of brief duration, his interest in it was outstanding and much interesting information now in the library was collected by him. Colonel B. S. Ewell edited the first general catalogue of the College in 1855. Through the efforts of Mr. Morrison this catalogue was enlarged and made much more complete. He examined old statutes, laws, and regulations for the College; collected information from old copies of the Virginia Gazette; read the records of the

58. Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, March 10, 1858
faculty and corresponded with many people to get facts about the alumni. As a result, this catalogue which he edited had a fairly good list of professors and what they taught. His list of alumni was incomplete, but the historical facts pertaining to the College have been used ever since as a basis for such narratives. This catalogue gave an account of the courses offered. The work was divided into three classes—junior, middle, and senior. History and geography are among the studies provided for the middle or second year class. No details as to the fields of history are given.  

Professor Morrison was an eye witness of the destruction of the College by fire on the eighth of February, 1859, and wrote the best description extant on that catastrophe. When the College reopened on October 13, 1859, he read a paper before the faculty summarizing the activities and calamities of the College. He was a keen observer, interested in every detail pertaining to the College. Upon close examination of the foundations walls after the fire in 1859, he decided that they were

59. General Catalogue of 1859 (ed.) R. J. Morrison

60. R. J. Morrison, "Memoranda Relating to the College", William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 27 (1) April, 1919, p. 230 - 231

61. "Extracts from Minutes of the Faculty, November 22, 1859", William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 3 (2) October 1925, p. 219
a part of the original walls and so concluded that the building had always stood on this same site and only rebuilt after the fire of 1705.

In May 1861 classes were suspended at the College because hostilities on the Peninsula made work impossible. Professor Morrison at that time taught moral and mental philosophy and history. When Colonel B. S. Ewell, President of the College, made his report to the Visitors and Governors on July 5, 1865, he announced the death of Professor Morrison as having taken place in the summer of 1861. Colonel Ewell spoke of him as a professor devoted to the College, "Zealous and earnest" in his labors, "whose worth and ability were recognized and acknowledged by all with whom he was officially connected". 63

62. Col. B. S. Ewell, "The College in the Years 1861 - 1865", William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 3 (2) October 1923, pp. 221 - 230

63. ibid. p. 222
Chapter V.

Summary and Conclusions

This study has attempted to give in chronological form such information as is extant with regard to history and teachers of history at the College of William and Mary. The preceding chapters have dealt with this topic from the founding of the College to the suspension of its work in 1861, at the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South. This chapter will first summarize the early status of history at William and Mary in comparison with that found in Harvard and Yale. Then the gaps in the narrative will be filled, as far as possible, by records from the college laws, regulations, and catalogues. Because much recent material is extant, the chronicle itself ends with 1861. However, since later catalogues give some important changes, the summary will give the situation with regard to history to 1921-22.

Until the session of 1921-22, history at William and Mary, although taught as early or earlier than at Harvard or Yale, had no absolutely independent status. The professor teaching this subject always had the re-
responsibility of other branches of learning and those often had precedence. The fact that history had no distinct professorship (although writers have spoken of the early chair of history at William and Mary) often resulted in the omission of this subject in college records and catalogues. Being subordinate to, or combined with, other courses or subjects, it was left to the professor to arrange for such history as he could, from time to time, include in languages, English, moral philosophy, political economy, or the law of nations. Those various combinations and subordinations to which history was subjected will be noted in the following pages.

The discussion of the three earliest colonial colleges - Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary - has shown that their curricula were alike in all essential respects. History as such was notable for its absence in all those institutions until after the Revolutionary War. All, no doubt, taught Roman and Greek antiquities in connection with Latin and Greek. Religious training and the teaching of theology inspired likewise the study of historical backgrounds. The three institutions were carefully fulfilling the demands of the traditional curricula of the time. The year 1776 marks the point of departure of William and Mary from the traditions of the past. The complete and revolutionary change
brought about by Thomas Jefferson and Bishop Madison in that year caused William and Mary to be known at that time as a university. Between 1770 and 1801 courses in law and police, medicine and anatomy, modern languages, political economy, law of nature and nations, natural history, and fine arts were substituted for the traditional classics and divinity. Harvard and Yale continued their old type of curricula into the nineteenth century, while William and Mary became what might be called at present an experimental school.

History and geography entered the curriculum at William and Mary in 1803 under the guidance of Louis Rue Girardin who served until 1805. He was, however, also professor of modern languages. Whether or not the subject was dropped is not certain.

Catalogues and notices in the newspapers were meager, often being confined to a statement of the opening day. In 1814, however, the Board of Visitors announced that the philosophy of history was to be taught by Dr. John A. Smith, then elected president of the College.

In the pamphlet entitled The Officers' Statutes,

1. See Virginia Argus for September 26, 1809
and Charter of the College of William and Mary - reprinted in Philadelphia for the "University" in 1817 by William Fry - there is no specific provision for history except that under the regulations for degrees this statement is found:

"For the degree of Bachelor of Law the Student must have the requisites for Bachelor of Arts; he must moreover be well acquainted with civil History, both Ancient and Modern, and particularly with Municipal Law and Police."  

Provision was made for three classes - first, or freshman; second, or junior; and third, or senior. The subjects under which history or certain phases of it could be taught are moral philosophy in the first year, law of nations in the second year, and political economy in the third year.

From 1821 to 1823 there are definite records that English and American history were taught by the Reverend Reuel Keith who was also professor of the humanities.

From 1827 to 1830 the records of the faculty show that history, political economy, and the law of na-

3. Pamphlet - Officers, Statutes and Charter of the College of William and Mary, 1817, p. 60
4. Minutes of the Faculty (1817 - 1830), p. 345
tions were taught by Professor Dew. In the period from 1836 to 1846 history was one of the subjects taught un-
der moral philosophy, now Professor Dew's department.

Professor Holmes from 1848 to 1849 conducted classes in history, political economy, and national law; but from 1849 to 1856 history, natural philosophy, and political economy constituted one chair, of which Pro-

In the catalogue for 1855, the first general cata-
logue, the combination taught was history, political economy, and international law. At this time there were two classes - junior and senior - since only two years' work was required for graduation. History was taught in the junior or first year; ancient history in the fall term and modern history in the spring term. The senior course included political economy and the law of nations or international law. Professor Washington taught both courses.

In the catalogues of 1856 and 1857, the only change is in one item which gives constitutional law in-
stead of international law.

No catalogue is extant in the William and Mary

5. Laws and Regulations of the College of William and
Mary, 1857, p. 14
6. Catalogue of 1856, p. 16 - 17
Library from 1857 until 1859 when a rather full and complete general catalogue was issued. Another change had taken place in the classification of students. Three years of work were required, designated as: junior (first year), middle (second year), and senior (third year). No history was prescribed for the junior class, the Greek and Latin subjects, perhaps, contributing some historical information. To the middle class was assigned history (ancient) and geography. Modern history was offered in conjunction with political economy and constitutional law for the senior class.7 Professor Morrison continued in charge of the history, political economy, and government from 1858 until the College suspended its activities in 1861.

No further change was made until 1870 when another classification was made by which each course offered was known as a department. Latin formed one department, Greek another, French a third, etc. No separate department was provided for history, however, instead, it was combined with languages. To Professor Thomas P. McCandlish was assigned Latin, French, and Roman and French history; for Professor L. E. Charton the assignment was Greek, German, and Crocian and German history. Liddell's History of Rome was to be taught.

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7. Catalogue of 1859, p. 100
in the intermediate and senior years of Latin. Smith's History of Greece was required in the junior and intermediate classes in the Greek Department. The same is true of the Department of French and that of German; French history and literature and German literature were given for these classes respectively. Aside from this, no provision was made for history. It might have been taught in the department of moral philosophy since neither political economy nor constitutional law are mentioned.

In 1874 no mention was made of history except in connection with ancient and modern languages. It was specifically stated, however, that Liddell's History of Rome and Smith's History of Greece should be taught with these respective subjects and that French history be given in the senior French class. Whether or not modern history was taught in the moral philosophy department is not stated. From 1874 to 1881 the information is very meager.

From 1881 to 1888 the College was inactive. In September 1888 a catalogue was issued for the new organization of the College then undertaken. A new combination appeared in which history and English formed

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6 The term "Intermediate" is used here in place of the term "Middle" used in 1859.

8. Catalogue of 1876, p. 149 - 150
one department. Dr. J. Leslie Hall, Professor of English and History, taught both subjects. The College now added a department of Education for preparing teachers for the public schools of Virginia. State students were required to study general history, American history, and Virginia history. This is the first appearance of Virginia history in the curriculum. The year 1888 marks the beginning of a separate school for history, as far as the catalogue description is concerned, but it should be noted that the subject is still taught by the professor of English. The term "School of History and Political Science", although used, is somewhat misleading as to history because the word "history", at times, has not been included in faculty and catalogue descriptions of courses.

In 1890 three courses of history - Virginia, American, and general - were required for a teacher's certificate from the College. Four courses were required for a B. A. degree, and six for a M. A. degree.

For ten years the same arrangement of a "School of History" in the department of English and history continued. In 1899, however, as the number of classes had increased, Virginia history and American history were placed in the department of political economy and
and politics, of which Dr. Lyon G. Tyler was the head. General history was still retained under the old classification in Dr. Hall's department.

For some years few changes were made in the courses offered and Dr. Tyler and Dr. Hall conducted the history lectures until 1906. At that time the professors of foreign languages - Dr. Charles Edward Bishop of French and German and Dr. Walter A. Montgomery of Greek and Latin - began to assist in teaching the history pertaining to their fields. This arrangement lasted for only a few years. In 1908 all history courses were given by Dr. James Southall Wilson, Associate Professor of English, and Dr. Tyler who was still head of the department of political science and economics.

In the session of 1916, Dr. Tyler no longer taught the course in American history which he had retained for several years in his department. The courses in history thus became grouped under only one heading, but the history professor, Dr. Wilson was referred to in the catalogues as Associate Professor of English, so it would not be correct, even at this time, to speak of history as an independent department.

Finally, in 1919 the College divorced history from English and added to its faculty an Associate Pro-
professor of History and Political Science, Dr. Richard L. Horton. This new arrangement lasted only two years.

In 1921 Dr. Horton became the first professor of history in the College, and the head of the history department then created. Thus, two hundred years after Hugh Jones had advocated a chair of history in the College of William and Mary, that chair was established.
Bibliography


   "Readable and based on source material."


   "A study of the development of history in the curricula of well known American institutions."


   "Readable discussion on founding of the University. Based on reliable sources."


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7. Catalogue and Courses of Study for 1855, Williamsburg, J. Hervey Ewing, 1855 -

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8. Catalogues of the College of William and Mary 1855, 1856 - 57, 1859, 1870, 1874, also 1888 to 1922 inclusive

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10. DeWitt, John, "The Beginnings of University Life in America", Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the College of New Jersey and the Ceremonies Inaugurating Princeton University, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893
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11. Dew, Thomas R., "An Address Delivered before the Students of William and Mary", Southern Literary Messenger, 2:760 - 769, November 1886. An inspiring and informative address to students. Includes plans and ambitions he had as president of the college.


15. "Extracts from the Minutes of the Faculty - 1869". William and Mary Quarterly, 3(2): 217 - 220. Professor Morrison's description of the College as it was before the fire in 1869.
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26. Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary, 1837

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1. The Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729 - 1784
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32. Morrison, Robert J., "Memoranda Relating to the
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Vita

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- Pi Gamma Mu
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