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The College of William and Mary, 1849-59: The Memoirs of Silas Totten

Silas Totten

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Approved, August, 1977

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*Chapter numbers have been retained as designated by Totten in the manuscript.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an annotation of the portion of Silas Totten's memoirs that concerns his years as professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Totten was an Episcopal clergymen from New York who came to William and Mary in 1849 after serving as president of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. He remained in Williamsburg until 1859 when he was appointed first president of the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

An introduction provides biographical material and gives an overview of circumstances at the College of William and Mary in the 1849-59 decade. The annotation attempts to place Totten's account in its proper historical setting, to provide explanation of the people, places, and events he describes, and to contribute to the historical knowledge of William and Mary, 1849-59.

Silas Totten's memoirs, in nine notebooks, are on deposit in the Manuscript Department of the Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William and Mary.
THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1849-59

The Memoirs of Silas Totten
INTRODUCTION

Silas Totten Comes to William and Mary

The year 1848 was a bleak one for the College of William and Mary. Thomas Roderick Dew's presidency (1836-46) had brought the school its greatest prosperity since the Revolution and its greatest enrollment to that date, but his sudden death in 1846 left the College without a leader of his abilities. The Board of Visitors appointed the professor of Mathematics, Robert Saunders of Williamsburg, to the presidency. But Saunders's administration was marred by dissension among the Visitors, disagreements between the Board and the faculty over policy, and antagonism between college officials and many of Williamsburg's leading citizens. Saunders and all of Dew's able, and sometimes brilliant, faculty resigned and the College (excepting the Law School) closed for the 1848-49 session to allow time for tempers to cool. Benjamin Ewell served as acting president during this aborted session.

In 1848, in an attempt to reorganize the College and bring it arbitrarily under control of the Episcopal Church, the Board of Visitors elected Bishop John Johns, assistant to Bishop William Meade of the Protestant
Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, to the presidency and to the chair of Moral Philosophy. Not desiring to give up his episcopal responsibilities, Johns requested the hiring of another clergyman to assume his teaching duties. The additional appointment would also have the effect of strengthening the College's church ties. With the help of former President of the United States, John Tyler, Johns chose Silas Totten, former president of Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut, and an ordained Episcopal clergyman, to fill the chair of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres.³

Totten served on the faculty at William and Mary until 1859, and for two of these ten years was also acting rector of Bruton Parish Church. The Totten family lived in the Brafferton House on the college campus and, because the faculty was much smaller and enjoyed greater freedom in decision-making in the 1850s than today, he was intimately involved in all college affairs.

In 1849, for his children's benefit, Totten began to record his personal experiences so that "by reading a fair and candid account" of his errors and their consequences" they might "derive encouragement in trying circumstances from . . . God's mercies in the midst of trials." Part of these memoirs recounts his experiences and impressions during his years at William
and Mary. From these notebooks emerges a picture of the College in the uneasy decade before the Civil War forced it to close its doors once again.4

Totten was the only Northern-born member of the faculty in those years and for this reason his account is unique. He did not have the sentimental and historical ties to the old College and to Virginia that influenced the views and actions of his faculty colleagues. This detachment should not, however, be interpreted to mean that Totten was unsympathetic to the needs of the institution or openly opposed to Virginia's prevailing political sentiments. He performed his professorial duties conscientiously and was essentially apolitical with reference to the political agitation of the 1850s.

The body of this thesis contains the edited, transcribed, and annotated portion of Totten's journal which deals with his years at William and Mary. The annotation seeks primarily to contribute to the historical knowledge of the College of William and Mary from 1849 to 1859. It also attempts to place his account in its historical setting and provide further explanation of the people, places, and events Totten describes. His revelations are most often of a personal nature, but at times his account provides a scholar's analytical and philosophical view of Virginia society in this period of political and social upheaval. Totten's is an
outsider's view, the perspective of one newly introduced to Southern culture and mores. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, his account displays tolerance and remarkable insight.

A Biography

Silas Totten was born 26 March 1804 in Schoharie County, New York, on a heavily mortgaged seventy-five acre farm, in a log cabin he describes as "18 feet by 26 feet . . . and more spacious than is usual in such cabins." He was the youngest of the five sons of Joseph and Anne Van Lieu Totten. Totten describes his childhood as one of poverty and sacrifice but remembers his parents as affectionate and tolerant.

Until the age of thirteen he attended frontier schools, and his memoirs furnish a lengthy account of the difficulties of regular attendance, the limited curriculum, the struggle to retain teachers, and the liberal use of the rod. Totten entertained ideas of becoming a farmer like his father until a severe injury left him with a lame foot and seemed to eliminate that possibility. Consequently he turned his attention to a collegiate education to prepare for a teaching career.

At nineteen he left home, with parental blessings and with five dollars in his pocket, to earn enough to continue his education. He felt his humble beginnings
would be of **great advantage** because they made him content with small gains:

I think we may on this principle account for the fact that a large portion of those distinguished either for learning or success in business arose from the humbler walks of life, and were also from the country where they had not been accustomed to look upon luxury and splendor.

He first found employment as a carpenter, but soon abandoned manual labor to accept a position as teacher in a school with twelve pupils and a remuneration of one dollar per pupil per quarter. After only a few months he was without employment again when the school closed for want of enough wood to warm it. Moving on to a school of fifty pupils, half of whom were adults, he earned ten dollars a month and board. Attendance and pay had improved, but the unruliness of the students caused him considerable hardship.

Temporarily abandoning the world of cold classrooms and disrespectful pupils, Totten worked for a while in 1824 at an unsuccessful attempt to promote sale of the patent rights to a new type of spinning jenny his brother had recently invented. His travels in this endeavor took him into New Jersey and Pennsylvania where he was compelled to associate with the gamblers and shysters who frequented the taverns and boarding houses in the towns and along the major highways. Although proud of his achievement in resisting "temptation
to dishonesty and dissipation," Totten was soon convinced that the life of a traveling salesman was not for him. He must by this time have had second thoughts about the advantages of his humble beginnings.

Two years as a public school master at several schools in northern New York followed, but Totten soon gave up the education of others in favor of his own. In January 1827 he enrolled at Fairfield Academy in Herkimer County, New York, and in September of that same year he transferred to Union College in Schenectady. Upon graduation from Union in 1830, he accepted a position as instructor at Cherry Valley Academy, a coeducational institution on the Susquehanna River. His plan at this time was to gather sufficient funds to defray the expense of studying for the Presbyterian ministry. But finding he had little tolerance for the evangelism prevalent in that church, he returned to Union College to serve as tutor in Mathematics and to study for the Episcopal ministry under the Reverend Alonzo Potter who later became Bishop of Pennsylvania.

Totten's search for a religious home had been long and arduous. At the time of his birth both his parents had nominally belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, but in his youth his mother came under the influence of Baptist revivalists and transferred her allegiance to that denomination. Totten's own
experience with the Baptists left him with a strong dis­
dain for Baptist ministers, baptism by immersion, and
evangelism of any kind. In his own words:

The kind of preaching which I heard from the
Baptists had an effect upon me unfavourable to
true religion. The preacher was illiterate in
the extreme and delivered his discourses in a
kind of musical recitative which was most ludicrous.
Often he would begin a sentence and for lack of
argument to complete his usual strain was obliged
to supply sundry hems and close with "and so forth"
to make out the cadence.\textsuperscript{13}

After a brief courtship with the doctrines of
atheism and Calvinism, he was baptised in the Presby-
terian faith and planned a career as a clergyman in
that church.\textsuperscript{14} But as a candidate for religious orders
he encountered the revivalism, camp meetings, and intol-
erence of the religious awakening of the 1830s in New
York and became quite skeptical about the effect of
such practices. He remarked of the religious climate
that

\textsuperscript{\textdagger}

\textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl}

\textsuperscript{\textdaggerdbl}

These sentiments, and an encounter with two Presby-
terian ministers over his refusal to dismiss his
classes at Cherry Valley Academy so that students
might attend revival meeting, led him to abandon the Presbyterian Church and turn his attention to studying for the Episcopal ministry. He had found a religious home but his sectarian troubles were not over.

In the spring of 1833 Totten left Union College to become professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Episcopal-supported Washington College (now Trinity College) at Hartford, Connecticut. Here he married Mary Isham on 22 August 1833. In 1837 the Right Reverend T. C. Brownell ordained Silas Totten to priest's orders in Christ Church, Hartford and Totten served as minister to that congregation in addition to his professorial duties at Trinity College. And in May 1837, at the age of thirty-three, Totten reluctantly accepted the presidency of that institution.

In this position he experienced eleven years of struggle with budget deficits, student disorders, secret societies, and disagreements between the people of Hartford and the college. He observed that the residents of Hartford were "a cold calculating selfish people . . . [and I should even now regard Connecticut as lying in the frigid zone of manners and the City of Hartford as the north pole of the social world." When certain trustees and townspeople made periodic attempts to remove him from the presidency, he concluded that

... the community in the vicinity of a college are always disposed to be medelsome /sic/. Every
man or woman of them have no doubt of their ability to govern a college better than the President and professors. 19

Many of his peers at other institutions, both North and South, would have heartily agreed.

But it was a theological split in the Episcopal Church that finally cost Totten his position at Trinity. This was a time of frequent conflict between those churchmen and clergy who preferred the "high church" Oxford doctrine and those who favored the more evangelical "low church" practices, and nowhere in the United States was the argument more active than in Connecticut. Totten was truly a moderate, embracing neither the "romanism" of the Oxford advocates nor the social strictures of the evangels. Moderation, however, gave him no advantage since each side chose to accuse him of sympathy with the other. Finally, in 1848, tired of politics and criticism, he resigned the presidency of Trinity College. 20

For a short time after this Totten was associated with Bishop Philander Chase of Illinois in the Bishop's struggle to establish Jubilee College near Peoria. Finding Bishop Chase impossible to work with, Totten soon sought other employment. 21

On his return to Hartford from the midwest, Totten found a letter awaiting him from Bishop John Johns, assistant bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of
Virginia and newly appointed president of the College of William and Mary. Bishop Johns was prepared to offer him a position as professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres at the College, conditional upon a proper presentation of Totten's views on slavery. A letter to Johns satisfied this requirement, and the Totten family moved to Williamsburg in October 1849.22

Totten found the hospitality, the easy-going pace, and the social orientation of Williamsburg's "principle [sic] society," to be preferable to that of Connecticut. That he was accepted as an equal by Williamsburg's leading citizens, despite his Northern birth and relative poverty, he never questioned. He was much impressed by their tolerance for views contrary to their own, and remarked that the abuse he encountered in the North in the summer of 1856 for being a resident of the South was much more virulent than any he experienced in Virginia on account of his Northern background.23 Totten's views were really not very different from those of his Southern-born colleagues. He thought slavery cruel and immoral but, like many Virginia leaders, he could see no expedient means of abolishing it. He characterizes Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, his closest friend in Williamsburg, as a benevolent slave master under whom slavery "seemed no bondage and was not felt to be such."24 While he did not agree with Tucker's
argument that slavery had a positive effect on the Negro, he clearly considered Negroes to be inferior beings, not to be tolerated in large numbers as free persons. This opinion was reinforced by his ten years of residency in Virginia. Totten appears not to have had strong opinions on the other great national issues of the pre-war decade except a conviction that the avoidance of war was the only goal politicians ought to pursue.

In 1854 Bishop Johns retired as president of William and Mary, and Professor Totten expected that the Board of Visitors would elect him to that office. Instead they chose Benjamin S. Ewell, and during his administration the College's fortunes began to ebb. Totten also became involved in a losing struggle with his faculty colleagues over the rebuilding of the College after it burned in 1859. These disappointments were exasperated by his certainty that civil war was inevitable and that the conflict would be concentrated in eastern Virginia. Consequently, Totten sought other employment and in the fall of 1859 the Totten family left Williamsburg to take up residency in Iowa City where he would assume the presidency of the newly-established University of Iowa.

In Iowa the professor and clergyman's efforts to find appreciation for what he believed to be his outstanding talents were once again thwarted. He found
the University in a financially unstable condition and involved in a political controversy. On this occasion he wrote that he heartily wished himself "back in old Virginia with all the gloomy anticipations of war hanging over us." He complained of being constantly questioned by legislators, trustees, and townspeople about the political situation in Virginia and about the treatment of slaves there. He comments particularly on the embellishment and even fabrication of articles in Iowa newspapers concerning stories of Negro insurrection and hangings in Virginia. After the outbreak of war the people of Iowa City regarded the Tottens with much suspicion because of their long residence in the South. Finally Totten ran afoul of Governor Kirkwood of Iowa and a strong Methodist clique, and was forced in late 1862 to resign as president of the University.

Here Totten's memoirs end, but not his career as an educator and clergyman. He left Iowa without accomplishing his goals at the University but with a new title. The College of William and Mary had granted him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree on 4 July 1860. From 1863 until 1866 Totten served as rector of St. Johns Church in Decatur, Illinois. In 1866 the Tottens moved to Lexington, Kentucky, to establish a female seminary, a project to which he had long looked forward. He was headmaster of Christ Church Seminary until his death in
Totten emerges from the pages of his memoirs as an arrogant and proud man, with an irascible and caustic personality, who was often dissatisfied with existing circumstances and unable to come to terms with his lot in life. His personal account reveals a man dedicated to his career as a clergyman and teacher, but who had great difficulties in his personal relationships. He constantly sought recognition for his talents which he felt were unappreciated by his colleagues and associates, and he was quick to interpret the slightest criticism as an attack on his ability. In reading his notebooks one gets an increasingly strong feeling that most of his personal difficulties were the result not of any lack of ability but of an inflexibility that precluded compromises that might have favored his success and advancement. He was a firm advocate of the principles of compromise and moderation but seemed unable to apply them to solving his own problems. Totten was proud of his ability to resist temptation; his personal and religious principles were simply not open to compromise.

Totten's account also reveals a personality ill at ease in his own times. Indeed, one cannot help feeling that he was perhaps born in the wrong century. Many of his attitudes and ideas would have been much more at home in the mid-twentieth century than the mid-nineteenth.
This is especially true of his educational theories. He was a firm advocate of formal education for women and thought coeducation preferable to separate institutions. Of such an arrangement he wrote:

The sexes are a mutual restraint upon each other in the family and in society generally and it would be strange if their association in the same school under proper restrictions would be injurious.32

Totten also felt the extensive use of corporal punishment in schools was ineffective. It was not, he said, the severity of punishment that produced results, but the firmness, kindness, and consistency with which it was administered.33 Such innovative ideas as these suggest that had Totten been reform-minded, he might have gained a footnote in history as a nineteenth century radical on the subject of education.

Totten's account of his own life reveals, too, a sense of humor one would not expect to find in such an unbending personality. He did not fail to see the humorous aspects of the situations in which he found himself and possessed the ability to laugh at himself. It is this quality, along with his amazing perception, his excellent eye for detail, and his fascination with the world around him that makes his memoirs not only a contribution to the social history of the mid-nineteenth century but a pleasurable reading experience.
All these aspects of Totten's personality are revealed in that portion of his memoirs which concerns his years as a professor at the College of William and Mary. And it is that part of his account that makes up the body of this thesis. From his notebooks we learn how employment at the College affected Totten; the annotation attempts to identify the persons, places, and events Totten mentions. However, in order to place his reminiscences in their proper historical setting, it is necessary to know what kind of place William and Mary was in the 1850s.

Very little has been written of these generally unprosperous years in the College's history. Research in the primary sources is sometimes rewarding but more often resembles a walk down a hallway with promising doors that open to reveal only blank walls. The Faculty Minutes for the 1849-59 period survive and are complete, but they generally record only official actions; seldom were discussions or justification for such actions written into the record. The Minutes of the Board of Visitors for this period have been lost. The College Archives contain scattered sources of information, but many of the records perished in the fires of 1859 and 1862 or have been misplaced. The College and the town of Williamsburg were closely associated institutions,
and the records of Williamsburg and James City County might have provided valuable insights, but they were removed to Richmond for preservation during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862 and burned when Union troops forced the evacuation of the Confederate capital in April 1865. A large collection of letters from John Tyler, Rector of the Board of Visitors, to Henry A. Wise, Governor of Virginia (1855-59) and a Visitor of the College, met the same fate. Information on some of the College's professors and Visitors may be found in the Archives, but only one contemporary student diary from the 1850s survives.

Nonexistent sources and excuses are not the materials from which history can be written. However, enough information can be pieced together to provide a helpful if incomplete overview of circumstances in the last antebellum decade at the "venerable" college in the old colonial capital.

The story of William and Mary in the 1850s is the story of its struggle to survive as an institution. College officials hoped the reorganization of 1849 would be a new beginning accompanied by greater public support and closer ties to the Episcopal Church. But two problems of earlier days remained and persistantly pervade the policies and activities of the College in the 1850s. First was the school's longstanding effort to establish
an identity either as a church-supported college or as a public institution. Second, there were the disadvantages and competition William and Mary had suffered, and continued to suffer, from the establishment of the state university at Charlottesville.

The College of William and Mary had been established in 1693 by the English crown as a seminary to train clery for the Church of England. But when, in 1776, the Commonwealth of Virginia fell heir to all the rights of the crown, William and Mary's role in this regard ceased to exist. What was to be the future of an institution that had existed as an instrument of both church and state in a society that had adopted the separation of church and state as one of its revolutionary principles? In the colonial period the church and state together had assumed responsibility for education. Which institution would now claim this responsibility? These questions, of course, were a part of the continual reorganization of American society, but the solutions, or lack thereof, were major influences on the history of William and Mary after the Revolution.

After the College's charter was essentially invalidated, the institution found itself in a no-man's-land of being neither state-supported nor officially affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. The decadent condition of the Virginia
Episcopal Church made financial support from that quarter impossible. In addition, with or without Episcopal support, many citizens of Virginia regarded with suspicion the College's former status as an instrument of the Established Church and refused to send their sons to an institution they regarded as imbued with the taint of Anglicanism. In 1779 Thomas Jefferson, as a member of the Board of Visitors, introduced a bill in the General Assembly designed to solve the College's dilemma by making it a state institution at the head of a state system of education. This bill failed because of fear of the school's Anglican heritage. It is clear that government authorities and the general public objected to state support for any particular religious denomination as a violation of the principle of separation of church and state and that William and Mary was considered by most to be an Episcopal school. Jefferson did succeed in reorganizing the College's curriculum and abolishing the professorship of Divinity. 36

In 1809 Judge John Tyler asked the legislature to abolish or alter the charter and place William and Mary under control of the General Assembly, but this they refused to do. During this period the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Virginia took no action to redefine its relationship with the College or to establish the College as an Episcopal school. So William and Mary
continued as a private institution, gaining a meager support from tuition and fees, but still associated in the public mind with the Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{37}

In 1821 the issue of William and Mary's status surfaced once again. The Diocese of Virginia proposed to establish a seminary in Williamsburg that would take advantage of the college lectures but exist independently of the College and welcome all denominations.\textsuperscript{38} This time William and Mary's critics, unwilling to accept any strengthening of her Episcopal ties, found it convenient to regard the College as part of the property transferred from the crown to the state after the Revolution. On these grounds they contended that it was public property and that the professors were trustees of the state and should not offer these advantages to any particular denomination. The argument ceased to have meaning when the site for the seminary was moved to Alexandria, but William and Mary was no closer to establishing an identity, especially one which would afford financial support.\textsuperscript{39}

Between 1821 and the closing of the College in 1848, the proliferation and success of church-supported and church-sponsored institutions in Virginia convinced College officials that their best course of action was one that advanced the interests of religion but supported the tenets of no particular denomination. In 1830 the
Visitors adopted a new code to include provisions for noncompulsory religious exercises in the College Chapel. In addition, divinity students were to be admitted free of charge. But this still left William and Mary in a sort of twilight zone between denominational institutions like the University of Richmond and the state-supported University of Virginia, established in 1825.

When the College was forced to reorganize in 1849, the faculty and Visitors were faced once again with the problem of William and Mary's anomalous position. If the school could not look to state support and if the public insisted on calling attention to its Anglican ties, then the best solution seemed to be to strengthen the traditional ties to the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. The College authorities apparently felt the stigma of Anglicanism had abated and that the success of the denominational institutions indicated this course as the best way to compete in the religiously-conscious 1840s. But they were careful to assure non-Episcopalian that no sect would be favored. Attendance at church services became obligatory, but students could choose the services of whatever denomination they preferred. The Board of Visitors persuaded Bishop Johns to accept the presidency in the hope that Episcopalians might be encouraged to send their sons to Williamsburg to be educated. They also hoped that the presence of a clergyman on campus might
encourage those of other sects to look kindly upon the College. The College never expected, nor did it receive, direct support from, or official affiliation with, the Diocese of Virginia. Authority remained with the Visitors, President, and faculty, and operating funds were derived from fees, tuition, endowments, and private contributions.

For a few years enrollment did improve, but most who enrolled were Episcopalians; other denominations remained suspicious of the school's former ties to the Church of England. When Johns resigned in 1854 and was succeeded by Ewell, enrollment again fell. Had Totten been elected to succeed Johns, the strengthened Episcopal associations might have been maintained, but by this time Totten's credentials as a clergyman were not enough to convince the Visitors to appoint a Northerner to the presidency. In 1858 the College tried to have the best of both worlds by offering the presidency to the Rev. Robert Barnwell, an Episcopal clergyman from South Carolina, but Barnwell refused the appointment.

As Totten's account reveals, William and Mary ended the decade of the 1850s supported by neither church nor state and still seeking its identity. Its character remained that of a transitional school, somewhere between Jefferson's ideal of a strictly civil university and the denominational institutions. The traditional ties to the
Episcopal Church remained but may have been more of a disadvantage than an asset since support from Episcopalian was only lukewarm and that from other denominations almost nonexistent.

However, William and Mary's failure to maintain a large student body cannot be explained entirely by its lack of institutional support. Mr. Jefferson's successful and prosperous university in Charlottesville posed a large problem for the old school in Williamsburg. In Totten's words, "the University of Virginia was swallowing up everything." The state-supported university had opened in 1823, at a time when William and Mary's fortunes were at such a low point that the Visitors and friends of the College were engaged in a struggle to prevent its removal to Richmond. As William and Mary fought for its existence, the University assumed the role that the College had enjoyed before the Revolution—that of educating Virginia's sons for future positions of leadership. Not only was there no question of sectarianism at the University, but young Virginians could also have a wider choice of courses and instructors. For many Charlottesville was more accessible than was Williamsburg as Virginia's population moved west, and rail service in Central Virginia improved much faster than in the Tidewater region. The University also benefited from the general prosperity of the
Piedmont section in the 1830-60 period.

But, at the last, it was probably the association and support of Jefferson and other influential Virginians like Joseph Cabell and John Hartwell Cocke that allowed the University to prosper and cause William and Mary so much frustration. At the time of the 1859 fire at William and Mary, a New York Times correspondent wrote:

Of late years the College has not been well patronized by the State proper, as most of the "first families" have preferred sending their youthful scions to the University at Charlottesville, thinking no doubt, that if they did not distinguish themselves by intellectual expansion, they might have reflected upon their capacious heads a little honor from a connection with so distinguished a place of learning as the University of Virginia--the school founded by Thomas Jefferson. 47

William and Mary, located in the Virginia low country with its unhealthy climate, distressed by its old and dilapidated buildings, and plagued by a long history of dissension and dispute over its identity and destiny, could not compete. Charges at the University were higher than at the College but this seemed to make no difference. 48 For the 1855-56 session the University had 645 students, an enrollment comparable to that of Yale and Harvard; William and Mary had 66 students. To make matters worse, the number of Episcopalians at the University increased four hundred percent from 1855 to 1860. 49 These were indeed difficult years for William and Mary.

Despite an identity crisis and overwhelming
competition from the University in the 1850s, life went on for the small group of professors and students in Williamsburg. Enrollment in this period never reached the level attained under President Thomas Dew in the 1840s, but the reorganization under Bishop Johns in 1849 allowed the College to achieve a stability it was not to know again until Lyon Tyler's administration (1888-1919). It was a lean decade for the old College, but at least it was generally free of the internal dissension that had caused the suspension of exercises in 1848 and of the almost total lack of public support that characterized the immediate post-Civil War years.\footnote{50}

The formal structure of the College in the 1850s was very much the same as it had been at its founding in 1693. Under the charter the government of William and Mary was in the hands of a Board of Visitors, the President, and the faculty. The Board of Visitors was a self-electing supervisory body which normally met once a year, in July, to assess the status of the institution and to act on those questions of policy submitted to it by the President and faculty. The Visitors elected a rector from their own number. They also elected the President and professors who, in turn, acted as the corporation of the College and had control of financial affairs, admission, curriculum, and discipline.\footnote{51} However, no explicit policy outlining the jurisdiction of
the two bodies in specific areas seems to have existed, and this lack of definition caused controversy from time to time, notably in the conflict that caused the closing of the College in 1848. Because of the loss of the Board of Visitors' Minutes it is not possible to know of any conflicts that might have existed in the 1850s. However, it is clear that following the most serious crisis of that decade—the fire of 1859—the Visitors and faculty worked as one body to rebuild and to continue the College's instructional program.52

William and Mary's faculty in the decade of the 1850s consisted of from five to seven professors at any given time. Throughout this period each professor received $1000 as a basic annual salary, paid half in January and half in July. In addition, professors received the $20 fees paid by students to attend each class. Until the 1858-59 academic year, each professor kept the fees paid by those students actually attending his lectures, but after that time the fees were divided equally among the members of the faculty.53 Fringe benefits were unknown except for the President who received a $200 annual increment and free use of the President's House. (By arrangement with the Diocese of Virginia, Johns received no salary, but did live in the President's House.)54 Totten's gratuitous residence in the Brafferton was not a part of his perquisites but rather an
ad hoc arrangement worked out by the faculty to meet
the immediate need of having another professor in resi-
dence on the campus.

The faculty held more or less regular meetings
and sometimes called special sessions when the need arose,
but one gets a strong impression that most business was
actually conducted as they met one another on campus or
in the College building between lectures. The terse and
abbreviated minutes of the faculty indicate that formal
meetings most often served only to make these decisions
official. There is no indication that there was any
notable conflict among the professors until after the
fire of 1859 when Totten strongly opposed the rebuilding
plans approved by the rest of the faculty.

Most of the men who held the various chairs in
the 1850s seem to have been well qualified and dedicated
instructors, if not as distinguished as those professors
who had served under President Thomas Dew. But if they
were not as well-known or as brilliant, the 1850s contin-
gent was certainly less controversial. Earlier Dew's
and Tucker's radical views and their public statement of
those views had often brought criticism of the College
from those who either disagreed with them or felt the
classroom was not an acceptable forum for such ex-
pression. There is little evidence that the views
asserted in the classrooms during the 1850s caused any
public outcry. One newspaper correspondent noted that there were "both Whigs and Democrats in the faculty, but politics are not taught directly or indirectly."\(^5\) It would, of course, be impossible to conclude from this lack of controversy that individual members of the faculty did not hold strong views on slavery and other issues. Professor Henry A. Washington was a disciple of Dew and Tucker and many of his writings reflect strong pro-slavery and anti-unionist sentiments.\(^5\) Benjamin Ewell and Totten were strong unionists. Totten never ceased to oppose the dissolution of the Union, and Ewell never ceased to regret it, even after secession.\(^5\) But they apparently did not attempt to impose these views on their students. Perhaps personal choice dictated this restraint; more likely it reflected an intolerance toward open expression of such views on the part of those planters and businessmen who made up the Board of Visitors.\(^6\)

Students in the 1850s began their year at William and Mary on the second Wednesday of October. On this date those who expected to enroll for lectures met with the President and faculty and, in their presence, signed the Matriculation Book and confirmed that they understood and would abide by the College's rules and regulations. During Totten's years at the College, an average of fifty-nine students enrolled each year; most of them came from Virginia, and nearly all were Southerners.
In no session did the number of out-of-state students exceed ten, and in 1858-59 all but two were Virginians. Only four students from the North came to William and Mary during the 1849-59 decade, and one of these was Totten's nephew. This failure to attract Northern students in the pre-war decade affected, to a greater or lesser degree, all Southern institutions of higher learning, and presented a striking contrast to the number of Southern students attending Northern colleges and universities. Of Harvard's 540 students in 1853-54, 85 came from the slave states; at Princeton in 1850-51 nearly half the student body came from the South.

College officials at William and Mary were not particularly concerned that Northern students avoided Williamsburg, but they were increasingly concerned with the total number of students the College was able to attract. And well they might have been. In the 1856-57 academic year, when the University of Virginia boasted 645 students, Harvard 361 and the University of Richmond 161, William and Mary could claim only 58. Such a small contingent of students meant very little revenue for operating expenses and capital improvements. But to raise tuition rates and fees might mean further diminution of the number of students. Fees at William and Mary averaged $215 per year, lower than the University of Virginia at $332 but higher than the University of Richmond and Hampden-Sydney at $185 and $176, respectively.
Students who were persuaded to attend William and Mary could choose to pursue one or more of four degrees. The Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Philosophy, and Law curricula required three years of study; the Master of Arts required approximately one additional year beyond the undergraduate level. William and Mary, like the University of Virginia, operated on the elective system as opposed to the "curriculum track" common in Northern universities. The curriculum track dictated a rigid four year course of study and allowed the student little if any choice. At William and Mary a student was required to earn a prescribed number of credits in each department, but within that department he could choose the lectures he wished to attend. A first year, Junior class, student might, for example, choose to earn his modern language credits in French, Spanish, German, or Italian. However, despite these choices, the 1850s curriculum leaned heavily on the classics with Latin and Greek being required for Junior, Middle, and Senior students. If a student felt sufficiently prepared, he might challenge a course and be given credit for it without attending lectures. One requirement, however, was never waived. An essay, to be handed to the President thirty days prior to Commencement, was required of all students. From these the faculty chose approximately six to be delivered at the closing exercises.
Some of the young men who attended William and Mary in the 1850s--some as young as sixteen and a few as old as twenty-three--were housed on the top floor of the College building. These dormitories, which the students called "Nova Scotia" were damp in summer and frigid in winter. No musical instruments, intoxicating beverages, dogs, or firearms were permitted here. Neither, apparently, was much light or ventilation. Those students who lived there boarded at the steward's house for $115 per session. Students for whom room could not be found in Nova Scotia lived with residents of Williamsburg to whom the College paid $50 per session per student. A few students lived with Ewell in the President's House or with Totten in the Brafferton. 66

The students' and professors' day began each morning at 8:30 A.M. when the chapel bell was rung for prayers. Attendance was obligatory for students but not for professors. The students, predictably, found this abominable. Lectures and recitations, held on the first floor of the building, began at 9:00 A.M. and concluded at 3:00 P.M. Each class met three times a week, on alternate days. The College bell rang again at 4:00 P.M. each day for vespers.

The library, containing six to eight thousand volumes, was open for two hours each week, at the librarian's convenience. A student could borrow no more
than two books at a time. If he belonged to one of the literary societies, he also had use of the societies' libraries. Law students had use of the law library at all times.67

The College provided little in the way of recreation for the students of the 1850s, but they seem to have done quite well at providing their own. The Phoenix and Philomathean literary societies were the only extra-curricular activities officially recognized by college authorities. The College did not give financial support to these debating fraternities but did provide them with space in the College building for meeting rooms and libraries.68 Occasionally students would request and receive special permission to give a party, provided no alcoholic beverages were to be consumed.69 Sometimes professors gave parties for their classes which one student described as "splendid affairs . . . [where] there was dancing."70

The entertainment the students provided for themselves was most popular and most likely to get them into difficulty with the faculty. In this respect, as in so many others, William and Mary seems to have been a sort of transitional institution. Regulations were less demanding, and incidents requiring disciplinary action more frequent, at the civil universities, notably the University of Virginia and South Carolina College,
than at William and Mary. On the other hand, at church-supported institutions, the rules were more stringent and disciplinary incidents less frequent. At William and Mary, in the 1849-59 decade, infringements of the rules were common but seldom serious.\(^{71}\)

The students seem indeed to have set their own limits. No violations of the regulations against lying or cheating, considered serious offenses, came before the faculty in this period. Almost all offenses the faculty was called upon to consider were of a social nature: "riotous and disorderly conduct in the town"; "going to Hampton without permission"; and, most frequently, intoxication. One student who bored holes in the floor and poured water into the lecture room below had to answer to the faculty for this prank.\(^{72}\) In incidents involving a group, students would voluntarily admit their transgressions when one of more of their number was caught. Perhaps this reflected a sense of honor—or maybe hope of diluting the punishment.

If offenses were frequent but seldom serious, punitive action was likewise common but not severe. A contrite spirit would usually assure a lighter sentence. Most punishments consisted of probation, notification of parents, or indefinite suspension from which a student usually returned in a week or two. Only an accumulation of offenses warranted dismissal from the College.\(^{73}\)
But despite their occasional differences, both faculty and students seem to have developed a fierce and defensive loyalty to the old institution they served or attended. For some professors this was attributable to the fact that William and Mary was their alma mater. Many students, no doubt, inherited this attitude from their alumni fathers. But whatever the reason for their steadfast pride and defense, the College community of the 1850s had by necessity to look to the school's past glories rather than its contemporary condition for justification. And the 1850s source materials are rich with the spoken and unspoken question of why the alma mater of Jefferson, Wythe, Monroe, and Marshall should be so ill-supported and maligned by the citizens of Virginia.

Such then was life at the old College of William and Mary during Silas Totten's years there as professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres. His own account from his memoirs follows.

**Editorial Method**

In editing and transcribing the notebooks, I have followed the manuscript absolutely in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and syntax, with the following exceptions. I have capitalized the first word and placed periods at the end of all sentences. I have supplied commas, semicolons, and quotation marks only when such
punctuation was necessary for a better understanding of the text. All foreign phrases are underlined but have not been translated. Lost words, where they could be inferred with reasonable accuracy, have been supplied and placed in brackets. I have used /sic/ after all misspelled words; a /?/ is used to indicate indecipherable words or phrases. The "&" I have typed as such. Where Totten has crossed out words or phrases, I have omitted these deletions from the transcription as they reflect only changes in spelling or wording with no change in thought. I have retained the original paragraphing when this could be determined. Where there is doubt as to Totten's intention, I have made the paragraphing conform to the sense of the narrative.

Totten's memoirs, in total, are recorded in nine notebooks which I have numbered one through nine (1-9) according to the order in which they were written and beginning with the earliest. The one exception to this is Book 6. It was written later than Books 7 and 8 but is a continuation of Book 5 and deals, in retrospect, with the same period. Therefore it has been placed in its most natural position. Because Totten numbered the pages of some books and failed to number others or numbered them incorrectly, I have numbered the pages of the manuscript, in pencil, consecutively from Book 1 through Book 9. That portion of the manuscript which is
transcribed below comes from Book 5, manuscript pages 540-551 and Book 6, manuscript pages 552-642. All citations give manuscript pages except citations in the annotation which conform to the transcription pagination. I have retained the chapter numbers as Totten had them, but they should not be relied upon in dealing with the entire manuscript as there are duplications and discrepancies.

All other manuscript material was handled in the same manner as the manuscript notebooks of Totten's memoirs.
NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1William and Mary's largest enrollment in the 1693-1854 period was in 1839-40 when 140 students matriculated. The College would not attain this number again until Lyon Tyler's administration, 1888-1919. Williamsburg Virginia Gazette, 23 February 1854; Vital Facts: A Chronology of the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Va., 1969), p. 17.


3John Johns to Margaret Johns*, 16 June 1849, Johns Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, Archives, Earl Gregg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia hereafter cited as WM Archives.

4Totten's MS notebooks, with supporting papers and lectures, are on deposit in the Manuscript Collection at the Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William and Mary hereafter cited as WM Manuscripts. Nine notebooks, written 1849-1870, survive. This collection is in part a reminiscence and in part a diary. As accurately as can be determined, the notebooks were written as follows:

   Book 1 .......... 1849
   Book 2 .......... 1849
   Book 3 .......... 1850
   Book 4 .......... 1856
   Book 5 .......... 1856-62
   Book 6 .......... 1866
   Book 7 .......... August, 1862, Daily
   Book 8 .......... September, 1862, Daily
   Book 9 .......... 1870

Pages are numbered consecutively, Books 1-9. Portions of Books 5 and 6 concern Totten's years at William and Mary; the transcript of that portion follows. Quote is from Book 1, p. 2.

5Ibid., p. 13.


8. Ibid., p. 61.


10. Ibid., pp. 73-79.


13. Totten MS Notebooks, Book 1, p. 36.

14. Ibid., pp. 36-51.

15. Ibid., Book 2, p. 136.


19. Ibid., Book 4, p. 323.


22. Ibid., Book 5, pp. 504-508. [See Transcription of memoirs below, pp. 43-46, Transcription, p. 152.]

23. Ibid., Book 6, p. 609. [Transcription, p. 152.]

24. Ibid., Book 5, p. 527. [Transcription, p. 67.]
Ibid., p. 506. \(\text{Transcription, p. 44}\)

26 Ibid., Book 6, pp. 592-94, 630-31. \(\text{Transcription, p. 141-43, 194}\)

27 Ibid., Book 9, p. 744.

28 Ibid., Books 7,9 passim; see especially Book 7, p. 681.

29 The certificate of degree and President Ewell's accompanying letter are in the Totten Papers,WM Manuscripts.

30 Various dates are given for Totten's pastorate at St. John's, Decatur. A clipping in Totten's folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives, gives these dates as 1864-66. I have chosen to accept the dates given in Tyler, "Professors," p. 134, because this information was sent to Tyler by Totten's daughter. See Totten Papers, WM Manuscripts.

31 Samuel M. Wilson, Attorney at Law to Earl G. Swem, 20 July 1938, Totten Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

32 Totten MS Notebooks, Book 2, p. 130.

33 Ibid., pp. 131-32.


35 William Lamb of Norfolk, a student at the College 1851-55, kept a diary for several months in 1855 which may be found in the College's Manuscript Collection.


38 Richmond Enquirer, 1 June 1821.
39 Bell, Education in Virginia, 288-93.
40 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of William and Mary College: 1844-45 (Richmond, 1844), p. 19.
41 Matriculation Book, entries for 1849-54, WM Archives.
43 Totten MS Notebooks, Book 6, p. 608. (Transcription, p. 154).
44 Adams, College of William and Mary, pp. 58-61.
45 By 1856 the University of Virginia had ten chairs to William and Mary's six. Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia: 1819-1919, 5 vols. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1921), 3:33.
46 Ibid., 3: 3-4.
47 Press clipping (newspaper not identified), 8 February 1859, College Papers, WM Archives.
48 At the University of Virginia students paid an average of $332 per year; at William and Mary the average was approximately $215. Bruce, University of Virginia, 3:147; Laws and Regulations of William and Mary College: 1854-55 (Richmond, 1854), p. 7 (Copy in College Papers, WM Archives). See also Matriculation Book, entry for 1855-56, WM Archives.
49 Bruce, University of Virginia, 3:147
51 Adams, College of William and Mary, pp. 18-19.
52 See below, Chapter XVII, Notes 7, 8.
53 Totten MS Notebooks, Book 6, p. 636. (Transcription, p. 190).
Dew's faculty (1836-46) had included Judge N. Beverley Tucker, Dr. John Millington, Rev. Charles Minnegerode, and George Frederick Holmes. "Early Courses and Professors," pp. 71-83. For a list of faculty during the 1850s see Appendix.

Evidences of this criticism in the press are too numerous for individual citation but see especially Petersburg Intelligencer, 27 July 1850.

Richmond Daily Republican, 27 February 1852


Ewell MS Autobiography, typescript in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

At least one patron of the College, Alexander T. Stewart, felt differently, however. In a letter to the faculty in October 1859 Stewart wrote:

"May I hope that William and Mary will never omit the opportunity to instil into the youthful mind of its students, that the Union of the United States must be preserved in all time to come."

Faculty Minutes, 17 October 1859.

Matriculation Book, entries for 1849-59, WM Archives. The greatest enrollment was in the 1853-54 and 1854-55 sessions when 82 students matriculated; the smallest enrollment was 20 in 1849-50.


For University of Virginia enrollment see Bruce, University of Virginia, 3:3; for Harvard see Eaton, Freedom of Thought Struggle, p. 216; for University of Richmond see Daniel W. Harrison, "The Genesis of Richmond College: 1833-1860," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 33(April, 1975):139; For William and Mary see Matriculation Book, entry for 1856-57, WM Archives.
...For fees at William and Mary see Rules and Regulations: 1854-55, p. 7; for University of Virginia see Bruce, University of Virginia, 4:4; for Richmond see Harrison, "Richmond College," p. 143; for Hampden-Sydney see Albea Godbold, The Church College of the Old South (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1944), Appendix 3, pp. 198-99.


Parke Rouse, Jr., Cows on the Campus: Williamsburg in Bygone Days (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1973), p. 29; Rules and Regulations of William and Mary College: 1856-57 (Richmond, 1856), pp. 24-26 (copy in College Papers, WM Archives); Faculty Minutes, 17 June, 8 July 1856; Matriculation Book, entries for 1849-59, WM Archives.

Faculty Minutes, 1 October 1849, 11 October 1850; The Owl (student humor newsheet), January 1854, Portrait File, WM Archives; on library see Rules and Regulations of William and Mary College (Richmond: P. D. Bernard, 1851), p. 5 (copy in College Papers, WM Archives).

Faculty Minutes, 19 October 1852.

Ibid., 2 February 1858.

Lamb MS Diary, 1 June 1855, WM Manuscripts.

For a discussion of incidents at the University of Virginia see Bruce, University of Virginia, vol 3; for South Carolina College and church-supported institutions see Godbold, Church Colleges.

Faculty Minutes, 15 November 1853; 9 March, 31 May 1856.

Ibid., 26 October 1852; 26 May, 25 November 1853; 31 May, 10 June 1856.
At Hartford I found a letter which had been lying some days in the office informing me of a kind of conditional appointment to the Professorship of Intellectual Philosophy and Belles Lettres in the College of William and Mary, Virginia. The letter was written by Bishop Johns requesting me to meet him and ex-President Tyler in Philadelphia on a given day. The object of the meeting was to ascertain my views of Negro slavery as my appointment was conditioned thru judgement of my opinions on that subject. At first I felt unwilling to submit to be but I reflected how high disputes were running on that subject at the time and thought it less objectionable that it at first sight appeared. I received the letter the day after that appointed for the meeting in Philadelphia and could only write to Bishop Johns giving him my views and asking him to appoint another day if my letter was not satisfactory. The letter is somewhere among my

*Chapter XI begins in Book 5 of Totten's memoirs.
papers but I cannot now lay my hand upon it. I stated in explicit terms that I did not approve of the introduction of negro slavery. That it was a system begun in ignorance or disregard of human rights and that necessity had perpetrated it, and that nothing now remained but to conduct it in such a way as would tend to the best good of both master and servant. That I did not believe that any good could be done by the immediate abolition of slavery or that prospective measure could now be taken looking to emancipation in time to come, and that as a good citizen I should deem it my duty to use any influence I might possess to make the condition of the slave as good as the circumstances of the case would allow. To this letter I received an answer saying that my views were entirely satisfactory, and were those of nine tenths of the intelligent citizens of Virginia.²

Nine years residence in Virginia have not materially changed these opinions. If there is any change it is a firmer conviction that where the White and black races inhabit the same country the blacks must always be the servile class.

They will always be oppressed and abused by unprincipled white men, and their greatest security against oppression and abuse is to make them property and thus put them under the protection of a master. The
master will not suffer his servants to be abused by others and unless under the control of ungovernable passions will he abuse them himself. He cares not to destroy or diminish the value of his own property.

In this second letter the Bishop still desired me to meet him and suggested New York as the place of meeting and fixing a day and desiring me to communicate with him by telegraph if the time was convenient.

The letter was received by me at Central Bridge, thirty miles from any telegraph station, and I was obliged to make a journey the next day to Albany in order to be sure that my dispatch was sent. I however continued on to New York as the day of meeting requested was near at hand. The result of our interview in New York was an agreement on my part to accept the Professorship. I was much pleased with Bishop Johns and he professed himself to be equally pleased with me. He told me that his object in accepting the Presidency of William and Mary College was to bring it under the influence of the Church. He said that he did not purpose to remain in it more than four or five years and one object he had in desiring me to connect myself with it was that I might succeed him in the office of President when he retired. I told him that I was by no means desirous of such an appointment and that I much preferred a professorship having had sufficient experience of the cares
and responsibilities of the presidency of a College. His reply was I do not like to hear you talk so, but you must come at any rate & give us the benefit of your experience. My salary was to be $1000 per annum and my share of the tuition money which was to be divided equally among all the professors, the Bishop insisting that for the first year I was to receive his share of the tuition also. This offer was not the less generous because it was afterwards ascertained that by the conditions of the appointment the Bishop was not entitled to a share of the tuition, for at the time he supposed that he also was to receive his share.

The situation did not entirely please me. The College had been broken down and the number of students was not likely to be great. Besides the climate of Williamsburg was accounted unhealthy during a part of the year and I should be at the expense of travelling with my family every year either to the north or to the mountains of Virginia. If I had not been so poor I would have hesitated long before accepting the office. But I had not the means of living till my experience of a school in Brooklyn could be fully tried. Necessity it is said knows no law, but here necessity made laws for me and I agreed to be in Williamsburg to enter upon the duties of my professorship on the first of October 1849.
No event in the time intervening between the
tenth of July and the time of my departure for Virginia
would be of much interest to record. My great difficulty
was to get money to pay the expense of removal. My bro­
ther found it impossible to collect my portion of my
father's property and he found it also impossible to
borrow the money. In this strait I wrote to Mr. George
Beach at Hartford asking him for the loan of $200 till
my patrimony could be collected. He replied by direct­
ing me to send my note for the amount. This note he
endorsed and had discounted at the bank of which he was
president and thus relieved me from my embarrassment.
On the 24th day of September I left Schoharie for New
York on my way for Virginia. My two daughters I left
at school in Schoharie till I should have gone to Vir­
ginia and made arrangements for house keeping. Our
travelling was by stage to Albany where we arrived
early in the Evening and in season to take the steam­
boat for New York.

The next morning we were in New York and found
hospitable entertainment of the house where Mr. Brother­
in-law and his wife boarded. Whether our entertainment
was at the cost of the proprietor who himself was an
old pupil of mine or of our connexions I have
never known, but from the fact that the invitation was
particularly given by the former I have thought we were
indebted to his generosity. Ill indeed could we have borne the expense of a week's residence at a Hotel.

Then I left my wife and the three youngest children and started for Virginia. It was arranged that they should set out for Hartford and remain with our friends till I should return from Virginia. Another reason was added for going to Hartford. A gentleman among our most intimate friends who was rich and childless was exceeding desirous to taking one of our children, our little Mary then four years old, and rearing it as his own. His wife also had taken a great fancy to the little girl and could hardly be denied. They did not propose to take her from us entirely. She should still be ours and thus form a link of affection between the two families.

The proposition seemed to be a generous one and one which would be of advantage to the child. Long did we hesitate between what we thought to be the advantage of the child and the ties of affection. It was a question also whether we could consistently with our duties as parents commit our child to the training of others. Without coming to any determination I left for Virginia and Mrs. T. went to Hartford with the children to remain with Mr. Beach and his family till my return. Then if on more mature reflection it was thought best that Mary might remain with Mr. Beach after we went to
the South, she could remain.

My journey to Williamsburg was like all other journeys in a country where there are abundant means of conveyance. I arrived on the second day after leaving New York. My route was by railroad to Baltimore, thence down the Chesapeake [sic] Bay and up James River. I was landed at the Grove Wharf and rode to Williamsburg in a rickety old stage. It was about the first of October; the weather warm and the road dry and dusty. The gloom of the June woods had a tendency to damp my spirits, and when we reached the open fields the prospect was still more gloomy. Everything by the road side was covered with dust, and the passengers in the stage coach were almost suffocated with dust. As we entered the town the dust seemed to increase. The trees, the grass, the houses, were all begrimed with dust. The old town, a miserable, rotten place at the best (it has since been much improved), wore its worst aspect. I was set down at the City Hotel, a rusty, dusty looking establishment and escorted into the house by a greasy looking negro who began to brush me with great vigor almost choking me with the dust from my own clothes. I then asked for a room and was shown to one filled with beds. A very small looking glass hung at the side and furniture to correspond. And this was Williamsburg the former capital of the state, the seat of an ancient
institution of learning. And what interested me more at the time, my future residence. Had there been the means of conveyance back to the river and a boat to take me away, I believe I should have turned back without making my name or my errand known. But there was no recourse, I must stay for the night. But thus far I had seen only the dark side of things. Better things were in reserve. I had not finished my toilet before a servant came to my room and said that Mrs. Sheldon had sent him for my baggage and expected me to dinner in about an hour. He promised to come for me as soon as I was ready and take me to her house. Well, thought I, I may as well spend the night in better quarters than these even though I should think best to leave in the morning. When I came to Mrs. Sheldon's I found Bishop Johns and Judge Tucker there to welcome me. The simple cordial manners of the Judge pleased me very much and his elegant conversation pleased me still more. Before dinner several gentlemen called to welcome me. And so different was their manners from the cold conventionalism of my former residence, that I felt myself among friends at once. After dinner as the sun was setting I walked out to take a look at the town and the College and the old city seemed to have put on a new aspect. Good dispositions are said to make ugly people beautiful, and so the Hospitality of Old Williamsburg
added a charm to its decaying houses and dirty streets.

When I came to look at the College I was near relapsing into the old state of gloom. Such a miserable unsightly pile of bricks, such dirty passages and strange inconvenient rooms and broken walls within I had never seen before. It did not seem possible that such a college could prosper or that respectable young men would be content to live in such a building. If I had had hopes of a large income from the money received for tuition I now entertained them no longer. But what was to be done, there was a necessity in the case. I should at least have $1000 per annum and that would drive the extreme of want from my door. This reflection induced me to remain and see what could be done. Two days after I arrived was the time fixed for the opening of the College. On that day the professors assembled in due form. They were Bishop Johns, Professors Tucker, Ewell, Hopkins, Smead, and myself. One solitary individual and one only presented himself for matriculation--it was Philip A. Johnson of Illinois and formerly a student of Jubilee College that had the honour of being the first to enter William and Mary College when reopened under the auspices of the Episcopal Church under the Presidency of Bishop Johns. We were all disappointed but we took it cheerfully and laughed over what we could not remedy.
Some students came in within a few days afterwards and the whole number matriculated amounted to seventeen, eight Law and nine Academic students.¹³

My share of the tuition fees was about $80, a sum sufficient to defray my expenses to Virginia and back to New York.¹⁴ I remained in Williamsburg a little more than a month during which time I hired a house and made all necessary arrangements for settling my family in Williamsburg. Some time about the first of November I joined my family in Hartford. Then began the preparation for removal. Boxes of furniture which we had reserved at the sale of our effects the year before were to be shipped on board the steamer for New York and from there to Virginia and other furniture necessary for house-keeping was to be purchased. The girls were to be brought down from Schoharie.

These preparations required some time. I was obliged to leave part of my family still in Hartford while I went to New York to attend to the shipping of the goods. My wife and the children followed a few days afterward. Mary was left behind with Mrs. Beach though it was a hard matter for the mother to part with her child. There was to be trial of one year only and then the child might return if we desired it. Soon all matters were arranged; the whole family with the exception mentioned above were assembled in New York.¹⁵
And we embarked on a schooner bound for Richmond taking our goods with us on the same vessel.

It is not necessary for me to describe the effect of a rough sea upon those who had never been on salt water. It is enough to say that before we were two hours from sandy hook one and all of our company had firmly resolved to travel no more by sea. But we had a fair wind and were soon in James River working our way slowly against wind and tide. We left New York on Tuesday and by Thursday 3 P.M. we were opposite James-town Island under tow of a Steam tug. The captain of the schooner had agreed to land us at Coke's Wharf a little above the island but the captain of the tug said that it was now impossible for the tide was out and a boat could not approach the shore and the southwest wind blew so strong that we could not land at the wharf. He advised that we should be put ashore on the Island which he said was joined to the mainland by a bridge and it would be easy to step across to Mr. Coke's and get a carriage to come for us and our baggage.

He was interested in giving this advice for we were within one hundred yards of the shore of the Island but he would have been detained at the wharf while a boat could be rowed more than a mile to the wharf and back again. Possibly he did not know the bridge had long since rotted down but it is more probable that
he knew and told a wilful lie for the remnants of the old bridge could clearly be seen from the river above. So we were put ashore on the island probably not far from the spot where the first colonists landed, and I went in search of the bridge. But no bridge was to be found. A broad stream with no ferry and marshes on the opposite side was all that I could see. I returned disappointed to my family who were waiting on the shore and moved them to a better position on the top of the bank. Fortunately it was a warm day, though the first of December. I then applied to the only house on the Island to know what could be done. It was soon arranged with the overseers of the two Estates, one on the Island and the other on the mainland opposite, that the servants should carry our baggage across the Island a little lower down, and that we should be put across the stream in a canoe, and from the opposite side taken to Williamsburg with mule teams.

It was 8 O'Clock in the Evening before we arrived in Williamsburg in our novel conveyance which though not very elegant was certainly very comfortable. As had been previously arranged the girls stopped at the house of Bishop Johns while the remainder of the family took up their abode with Mr. Sheldon till our furniture could arrive. The hospitality of our good friends was very acceptable for had we been obliged to board at the
City Hotel till our house was ready we should have been very uncomfortable besides having to pay an exorbitant price for board. Our furniture had to be reshipped from Richmond and it was near a fortnight before an opportunity afforded of having it sent down the river otherwise than by steamboat which would have been very expensive. At length it arrived & was placed in the house. Servants were hired and we were comfortably settled in our new home.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XI

1John Tyler (1790-1862) was tenth president of the United States, having served all but one month of William Henry Harrison's term. During this time he succeeded in alienating both Democrats and Whigs, leaving himself with little support for renomination and thus becoming the first president not to seek a second term. He left office on 4 March 1845, and returned to his home at Sherwood Forest in Charles City County, Virginia with his twenty-four year old bride, Julia Gardiner Tyler. He never again sought public office, but continued his duties as Rector of William and Mary's Board of Visitors.

Tyler was a planter and owned approximately fifty slaves, but he was a moderate on the slavery question. He considered slavery an evil, but felt that Congress had no constitutional right to legislate against it. Like many other prominent Virginians of his era, he thought the South, if left alone, could and would find a final solution to the problems of slave ownership. Failing this, he knew the South could only lose a confrontation with the federal government. In 1861 Tyler served as president of the Washington Peace Conference which sought at the last minute and unsuccessfully to prevent breakup of the union.

Two years earlier, in 1859, the Board of Visitors at the request of the Faculty had elected Tyler Chancellor of William and Mary College. George Washington was the only person to hold that office prior to Tyler. In all Tyler served his alma mater in an official capacity for forty-four years. From the significantly large amount of correspondence that has survived it is clear that Tyler took an intimate interest in the affairs of the College and was always willing to use his influence in its best interest. It was Tyler who prevented the removal of the College to Richmond in 1824 and Tyler who spearheaded the drive to raise money for rebuilding after the 1859 fire. A History of the College of William and Mary: 1660-1874 (Williamsburg, 1874), p. 14; Tyler Folders, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives; the best biography of Tyler is Robert Seagar II, And Tyler Too: A Biography of John and Julia Gardiner Tyler (New York, 1963).

2Soon after his election to the presidency of William and Mary, Johns asked that the Board of Visitors
accept Totten to take over all his professorial duties except the lectures in Moral Philosophy "if on further inquiry Mr. Tyler and myself are satisfied that he is not inclined to Abolitionism." John Johns to Margaret Johns, 16 June 1849, Johns Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

The College was being reopened, with Johns as president, after having been closed for a year. The reasons for the suspension of operations at the College for the 1848-49 session are not entirely clear. Most sources refer to the prevailing tensions simply as the "late unpleasantness" or the "dissensions." However, several concurrent and perhaps inter-related situations seem to have dictated this course of action.

The problems began when, upon the death of President Thomas Dew in 1846, Robert Saunders, Jr., of Williamsburg, was appointed president pro-tempore. On 1 October 1847 the Board of Visitors elected him president. This was apparently not a popular move with some members of the faculty and some of Williamsburg's citizens who opposed the appointment of a strong Episcopal administration after the secular, or at least non-denominational, nature of Dew's very successful tenure. Saunders also seems to have made some enemies through his activities in state and local politics, and these persons extended this hostility to the College. Others seem to have harbored ill feelings toward the College as a result of the extreme secessionist views of Law professor Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. Bishop Johns later wrote that the College was "pronounced to be a sectarian school to indoctrinate in the creed and proselyte to the communion of one church" and "a political engine to extend the principles of a particular and extreme party."

In addition to these general tensions, a confrontation between the faculty and Board of Visitors occurred when Saunders sold some land adjacent to the College without requesting approval of the Visitors, in violation of an 1825 statute which required such approval. At about this same time, Professor Archibald Peachy engaged a student to deliver a challenge to a duel over a conflict that arose during a faculty election. The faculty voted to dismiss the student and the Board of Visitors requested that the expulsion be rescinded. Consequently a dispute arose over who held the authority to enforce the College's regulations. The Visitors requested the records of the faculty's proceedings so that they might "investigate the condition of the College." These records the faculty refused to provide, so the Board called for the resignation of the entire faculty with the exception of Tucker.
By this time many of the students, faculty, and townspeople had chosen sides in the disputes. The Board of Visitors, feeling there was no other solution, ordered the suspension of activities for a year to allow a cooling off period. During this time Benjamin Ewell served as acting president. In 1849, when the College was reorganized, John Johns, Assistant Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, was elected president. Catalogue of Alumni: 1866-1932, pp. 25-26; John Johns, Memoir of Henry A. Washington (Baltimore, 1859), p. 3 [copy in Washington Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives]; Faculty Minutes, 3-6 March 1848; George Frederick Holmes, "Professor Millington," WMQ, 2d ser., 3 (January, 1923): 31; Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia: 1693-1907 (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1907), p. 79.

John Johns (1796-1876) was born in New Castle, Delaware, the son of Chief Justice Kensey Johns and Ann Van Dyke. Educated at the College of New Jersey, he studied theology at Princeton and was ordained in 1819. He was consecrated bishop in Monumental Church, Richmond, on 13 October 1842 and became Assistant to Bishop William Meade of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Virginia.

In October 1846 the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, seeking to fill the vacancy left by the sudden death of Thomas Dew, offered the presidency to Bishop Johns. Johns, with the concurrence of Meade, refused the offer. The Board then appointed Robert Saunders president pro-tempore. (See note 3 above.)

In February 1847 the Board of Visitors again asked Johns to accept the position and assured him any necessary arrangement would be made to allow him also to continue as assistant to Bishop Meade. Johns felt the decision should be left to the Church Convention and, with this understanding, allowed his name to be placed before the Board. But he had second thoughts and shortly thereafter asked that his name be withdrawn. The Board paid no attention to his objections and on 24 February 1847 unanimously elected him to fill the office of President of the College. When the Church Convention met in May, an ad hoc committee refused to give consent for the appointment and asked that Meade and Johns inform the Board of Visitors of their decision. The Board then, in October 1847, affirmed the appointment of Robert Saunders.

After Saunders had served for less than a year, the College was forced to close and all the students, save those in the Law School, returned home. (See note 3
above.) The Board of Visitors, believing that the best way to revive the College in an age of religious reawakening and proliferation of denominational institutions was to strengthen its church ties, again appealed to Johns. In November 1848 John Tyler, as Rector of the Board, wrote Johns informing him that in October the Board had again elected him president, with his tenure to begin in July 1849. And Johns again cited the need for agreement of the Church Convention. In April 1849 Johns laid before the Convention a copy of the Board’s proceedings and asked for an expression of their desire. After lengthy debate the convention voted to consent to Johns’s acceptance of the presidency.

The Visitors, and especially Tyler, were elated at their success in obtaining Johns’s services, but at least one faculty member had reservations. William F. Hopkins, the new professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, wrote that "there may be a clergyman who is a man of business and a disciplinarian—but I never saw one."

Johns served as President from the beginning of the 1849-50 session until July 1854. His administration, despite Hopkins's doubts, was a successful one. The number of students increased from twenty in 1849 to over eighty in the 1853-54 session, and a sort of stability was achieved. Bishop Meade wrote that "during the five years of his continuance he so conducted the management of the college as to produce a regular increase of the number of students until they had nearly reached the maximum of former years, /and/ established a better discipline than perhaps ever before had prevailed in the institution."

5. Totten served as president of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut from 1837 until 1848. He gives a detailed account of the activities and difficulties of that position in Books 4 and 5 of his memoirs. Of special interest is his story of the "Puseyism" controversy and his dealings with those who supported the teaching of the Oxford Doctrine at Trinity College.

6. It was Johns's intention to continue to function as a full-time bishop while lending his influence, and that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to William and Mary. Johns asked the Board of Visitors to hire Totten so that he might relieve Johns of some of his faculty responsibilities thus leaving time for his episcopal travels and visitations. Johns was not paid the usual $1000 annual faculty salary nor the $200 per annum allotted to the College's president. He received for his services only the use of the President's House. Faculty Minutes, 22 July 1858; John Johns to Mrs. Margaret Johns, 1849, Johns Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

7. Totten's plan upon leaving Trinity College in 1848 was to found a classical school in New York City. He was forced to abandon this plan when he was unable to interest a sufficient number of persons to establish a stock company. Totten MS Journal, Book 5, pp. 502-3.

8. When Virginia's capital was moved to Richmond in 1780, Williamsburg's prosperity and influence went with it. Many leading families, merchants, and civic leaders followed Jefferson and the Legislature upriver, leaving behind only the College and the Lunatick Asylum (later Eastern State Hospital) to sustain Williamsburg's economy. At least one citizen had serious doubts that these institutions were capable of saving Williamsburg, remarking that the "only difference between the college and the hospital was that the hospital required evidence of improvement before it would let you out." The College's prestige and financial stability, already low, slipped even further after the establishment of the State University at Charlottesville in 1825. By the time Totten arrived in 1849, Virginia's center of activity and prosperity had moved west, leaving Williamsburg a poor, sleepy, dusty little county seat. Some of the taverns remained open as way-stations for overland travel from Norfolk to Richmond, but even this function became less necessary with the advent of packet boats and railroads.
However, despite poverty and decay, Williamsburg still claimed a dozen or so of Virginia's "first families" who maintained a semblance of life as it had been in Williamsburg's days of grandeur. Rouse, *Cows on the Campus*, pp. 1-30 passim.

9 The Jacob C. Sheldon family lived next door to Judge Tucker and their home often served as guest quarters for visitors to the College, especially young female guests who came for parties and commencement exercises. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker to Dr. Silliman, 29 July 1844, Tucker-Coleman Papers; WM Manuscripts; Lamb Diary, 1 July 1855, WM Manuscripts.

10 Judge Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, son of St. George Tucker and Frances Bland Randolph, was Professor of Law at William and Mary from 1834 until his death in 1851. Totten has much more to say of Tucker below. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961, s.v. "Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley."

11 Another reason for the closing of the College in 1848 had been the dilapidated condition of the College plant. Acting President Benjamin Ewell hoped to have the buildings in habitable condition before instruction resumed in the fall of 1849. But the College reopened with only minor improvements having been made. The President's House, vacant for two years, was sufficiently repaired for the Johns family to move in, but was still in need of extensive renovation. Brafferton, the other main building in the College Yard, still awaited attention. Ewell wrote that "there were 2 or 3 small houses in which Negroes lived . . . [and] at least a half dozen small buildings scattered in the College Yard" that needed to be removed. "The palings enclosing the yard in front of the main Building were rickety & four brick pillars mounted by Walls of concrete & used as gate posts indicated that times had been better." Faculty Minutes, 2 August 1865; Benjamin Ewell Autobiography, typescript in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

12 In the 1850s the College session began each year on the second Wednesday of October and ended on the following July Fourth. Holidays were observed on February 22nd, Good Friday, and for a few days at Christmas.

On the second Wednesday in October 1849 Bishop Johns and his new faculty assembled to reopen the College and to bear witness as the students signed the Matriculation Book. Besides the professors Totten mentions, Henry A. Washington was also present on that occasion. Totten recalled that only one student was present on
this first day of the 1849-50 session, but Professor Ewell wrote that five students were in attendance. Bishop Johns, after observing that the faculty outnumbered the students, called the meeting an "officer's drill." Laws and Regulations, 1851, p. 3; Ewell Autobiography, typescript in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

According to the college records, twenty students enrolled for the 1849-50 session. Ten listed their course of study as Law and ten as Academic or Science. Four students were from Williamsburg, thirteen from elsewhere in Virginia, and three from out-of-state— one each from Illinois, Georgia, and Alabama. The youngest was sixteen years of age and the oldest twenty-two. Three were sons of current members of the Board of Visitors and one was the son of James M. Mason, Virginia's junior United States Senator and author of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law. Matriculation Book, entry for 1849-50, WM Archives; on Mason see William Edwin Hemphill et al., Cavalier Commonwealth (New York: McGraw Hill, 1957), p. 281.

Professors in 1849 received a fixed yearly salary of $1,000 plus a share of the tuition fees paid by students. Tuition was determined by the number of "tickets" a student bought, at $20 each. These tickets were sold for each department and entitled a student to attend any class in that department. Laws and Regulations, 1851.

Totten had five children: Anna, Richard, Helen, Alfred, and Mary.
CHAPTER XII

Written 1862

For six years I have written nothing and I do most severely regret that I have not. Had I kept a record of passing events only so far as I have been personally interested in them it might now have been of some historical importance. More than 12 years have been left unrecorded and many incidents have doubtless been forgotten which I would now be glad to recall. I have lived in eventful times without knowing it till within the past year and have associated with persons whose names are to appear on the pages of history without suspecting it. All I now can do is to recall what I can of the incidents of the past and record them for the benefit of my children. They will pardon the neglect which has consigned many interesting events to oblivion when they know that my time was occupied in earnest labours for their benefit and I thought my own fortunes of too little interest to need recording. And yet I doubt not that I have discharged the duties of the station to which Divine Providence has called me with an average amount of faithfulness and ability.

I left off the narrative with our settlement in
Williamsburg but I hardly think it necessary to give particular account of our residence there in order of time. We found everything better than we anticipated. The town indeed was old and dilapidated and dull as far as business was concerned but in some respects it was a delightful place of residence. There were some ten or fifteen families of great intelligence and refinement who constituted the principal society in the place. They were social, kind, and hospitable. You were made to feel yourself at home the moment you entered their houses. You would be welcome at all times in the day and a friend was always greeted with smiles. The labors of the day were generally ended before dinner which took place at three O'Clock. And after that all gave themselves up to social enjoyment. In the fine spring and autumn Evenings the whole population seemed to be on the move, promenading the streets and making friendly calls on each other. No one thought of going home to his evening meal. Each took it wherever he happened to be when the tea was brought in. The meal was indeed exceeding simple and of such a kind that whether there were two or twenty there was sure to be enough. A little bread and butter with sometimes a little plain cake with a cup of tea was all that was expected and whatever the quality might be no one thought of apologising. "What is good enough for me is good
enough for my friends" seemed to be the Universal feel-
ing.

I take pleasure now in recalling the names of these good and kind people. Among the first that we became acquainted with was Judge Beverly Tucker, the Professor of Law in the College of William and Mary.¹ He was a venerable man of sixty five with long flowing locks falling down upon his shoulders. His manners were I think the finest I ever saw. He was most scrupulous and exact in all the forms of Etiquette but so simple and easy with all that there was no appearance of act or constraint. They seemed with him to be but the natural expression of an affectionate and benevolent heart. The Judge was a man of great acquirement and original thought, something of a genius in his way. He wrote exquisite poetry when he would try and was the author of some interesting works of fiction. I never heard a man make use of more correct and elegant language than he did in conversation. He would make the most common topics of conversation interesting by the new and original views which he would present. His health was not good nor his habits such as to promote good health. He was extremely fond of the luxuries of the table and though never eating to excess found it necessary to make use of too many helps to digestion. He never drank to intoxication or even to undue excitement and would be
very sure that the little wine and brandy that he drank was a pure article. I often thought that his dinner pills which he thought necessary to his health undermined his constitution and probably shortened his days.²

Judge Tucker was altogether a Southern man. He cordially hated the whole country north of Mason and Dixon's line and all its inhabitants in the gross, while he seemed to have a special affection for everyone who came from that region. I never had a more kind, generous, and devoted friend than Judge Tucker. We differed in many things and could scarcely agree on any subject, but he was candid and tolerant in Conversation and would allow you the same in debate that he claimed for himself. He sincerely believed that the slavery of the african as not only necessary but desirable and contended that it was calculated to produce the highest degree of intellectual and social advancement.³

The Judge was a very kind master. He had some 20 slaves---men, women, and children--about his house and garden who were made as happy as dependents could possibly be. Every want was attended to. He was as courteous and polite to his servants as to his equals and took great care never to wound their feelings, thinking it especially mean to insult or abuse those who could not resent it. It was a beautiful sight to contemplate when he came from his room usually about ten O'Clock in the morning
and walked around his premises to see his servants at their several occupations. His long flowing gray hair, his handsome and venerable countenance beaming with benevolence, his cordial good morning to all reminded one of the patriarchs of Old. Slavery under such a master seemed no bondage and was not felt to be such. He was the kind friend, the benevolent father, and his servants regarded him as such. They never spoke of him but with veneration nor seemed for a moment to distrust either his wisdom or his goodness.

The most fanatical abolitionist would excuse his preference for slavery when they saw what it was under his mild and gentle rule.

Judge Tucker was a Christian as well as a gentleman, or as I might better say, a true Christian Gentleman. In early life he had been an infidel of the Jefferson School. That is he gave no attention to the claims of Christianity deeming it, without examination, a good system to keep the vulgar in order and much superior to Mohometanism \[sic\] or heathenism. He thought its claim to inspiration absurd and only set up to give it currency among the superstitious and ignorant. In these views of Christianity he was not singular. It was the prevailing sentiment among the cultivated classes in Virginia when he came upon the stage of action. The causes for this are obvious. When the war of the revolution broke out
the greater part of the clergy being of the Church of England espoused the cause of the Mother Country and were obliged to leave the country. In the minds of some, Christianity was identified with the cause of loyalty and little effort was made either to keep the churches open during the struggle or to revive them after it was over. An ignorant and illiterate class of preachers succeeded, mostly of the Baptist denomination. Their absurd and fanatical discourses came to be regarded by the educated portion of the community as the exponents of Christianity and hence the silent contempt with which it was regarded by some of the best minds in the country. This kind of infidelity had reached its height about the beginning of the 19th century when Judge Tucker first began to mingle with the world. Even Bishop Madison who was President of William and Mary College when the Judge was educated was suspected of inclining to the prevailing infidelity. Subsequent investigations however have shown that this was not true. But the Bishop was a man who loved his ease and was of too cold a temperament to enter with much zeal upon the duties of his office. He was not the right man for the time. He preached Christianity as did Burnet and Tillotson and not with the energy and power which the times demanded and hence the suspicion that he was half an unbeliever.
Judge Tucker entered upon a successful career of practice at the bar about the year 1810, and all his associations were with men who regarded Christianity as an imposture. An imposture too good in its effects to be openly assailed but too apparent to require investigation. For many years he held the same opinion. Sometimes he went with his family to public worship on Sunday but his taste was offended by what he heard and he found satisfactory excuses for giving his time on Sunday to his books and his law papers.

But incessant labor at length impaired his health and he was compelled to lay aside his business for a season. He whiled away the tedious hours by miscellaneous reading. He admired the beauties of the English classics and dwelt with pure delight on their pages. At length the thought occurred to him, "The very best of these writers seem to have been devout believers in the doctrines of Christianity. Such earnestness, such fervour of devotion could not have been feigned for the mere purpose of maintaining a religion to keep the vulgar in order. They reason well and conclusively on other subjects. They must have reasoned upon this. The religion which Newton embraced, which Barrow taught, which South supported with such power of argument and fervour of Eloquence, which Locke firmly believed and Addison made his guide in life and solace
in death cannot be an imposture to contemptible to require investigation." Such reflections resulted in rather a strange resolution. This was that he would absent himself entirely from the church and patiently investigate the whole subject. For ten years he never went to a place of worship. He read the scriptures. He studied everything that would afford aid in understanding their language. He became familiar with Jewish, Roman and Grecian Antiquities, and when he felt sure that he understood the language of scripture he began to reason upon their doctrines. To these studies his Sundays were devoted, and though after the recovery of his health he entered upon a successful career of professional labour, he never let business interfere with the study of the scripture.

As he progressed he wrote down his thoughts occasionally on loose papers. These papers he put into my hands to read and it was interesting to discover in them how from the first dim glimmerings of a perception of the truth he proceeded to stronger and still stronger convictions, till the whole scheme of Christian doctrine appears in all its fulness and glory. He sometimes thought of publishing these papers but was withheld from doing it by the consideration that the specious infidelity which the first contained might do more harm than the conclusive reasonings of the last in support.
of Christianity would do good. When urged to do it he replied that better men than himself had used better arguments than his and he preferred to leave the cause with them. My own opinion was that the publication of these papers showing the progress of a careful mind from the darkness of unbelief to the clear light of truth would be of great service to the cause of truth and I now regret that I had not procured them from his widow after his death and given them a more careful examination. The arguments were certainly most convincing to his own mind. I never witnessed a more childlike confiding faith than he possessed. He was as simple and as guiltless as a child and with all a child's docility sought to be instructed from the word of God.

Such was my first friend in Virginia. But it was not long that I enjoyed his society. In less than two years after my first acquaintance with him after a painful illness he was called away to his rest. His family still reside in the same old mansion where his father was born and lived and died before him. His wife who was much younger than himself being a second wife was a woman fit for such a husband. She had the same honest simplicity and benevolence of character. I never heard her speak ill of any person whatever. She was a conscientious Christian and in everything earnestly sought to perform her duty. At the Death of her husband
the government of a family of six children and a large family of servants devolved upon her and most worthily and successfully has she performed her duty. The remembrance of such friends is still a pleasure to me. They make me think better of humanity and realize the force of the words of Scripture, "The remembrance of the just is blessed."

And now since I have begun to give the characters of my associates in William and Mary College I perhaps will do well to name the others. Bishop Johns was President of the College and seemed to put unbounded confidence in my ability as an instructor. He consulted me on all matters of government and when he was absent on his Episcopal visitations he left the management of the College entirely in my hands. He had never managed a school of any kind and one object of procuring my appointment was that my experience might aid him in the management of the College. He also told me that it was his intention that I should be his successor in the Presidency when he retired from it which he designed should take place in four or five years. Why this did not take place will be explained afterwards.

I found the Bishop a man of exceedingly popular manners, exceedingly eloquent in conversation and very fond of wit and repartee. He would rather have a good joke at his own expense than not have it at all. His
wit was playful rather than sarcastic. He would not willingly injure the feelings of any living soul. He told a story admirably and in conversing on grave subjects he often illustrated them most happily by anecdotes. His learning was extensive rather than profound. There would be no subject on which he could not converse fluently; there were few on which he could converse profoundly. He was an eloquent extempore speaker. Indeed I never knew his equal in this respect. A few minutes reflection was sufficient to enable him to manage his thoughts and then he would rise and pour forth his thoughts in good logical order clothed in appropriate and elegant language. He never hesitated for a word or made long pauses in order to collect his thoughts. He rather seemed to be making an effort to restrain his utterance and make it slow enough to allow his hearers to follow him. He never seemed to be drawing out his to make a long speech. When he had uttered what he had in mind he stopped short, generally while his hearers wished him to continue. His sermons were studied out and committed to memory though but in part written. He would repeat them almost verbatim even after an interval of years by glancing at his notes for a few minutes. His extempore discourses were superior to those which he had prepared and committed. His first thoughts were his best ones and if he stopped to ponder
upon them both their freshness and their power departed from them. 14

His published discourses always disappoint those who have heard him preach. 15 Even his preaching was less effective than you would expect. It entertained the imagination and aroused the feelings but seemed to leave no very lasting impression. He was an earnest Christian man and laboured with great zeal in his responsible office but he had certain defects of character which detracted from his usefulness. Virtues in excess sometimes become vices. His tenderness for the feelings of others made him too complying to the notions and sentiments of others and sometimes carried to the boundary of duplicity. He would allow two antagonists to infer when they saw him separately that he sided with each of them. And even when there were enmities between persons, both parties would imagine that he was strongly interested in their favour. He was somewhat capricious in his preferences, and would allow himself to be influenced by persons far inferior to himself in knowledge and discretion. I was at a loss to account for this at first but I afterwards discovered that those who flattered him most by nice and delicate attentions and never presumed to dissent from his opinion always had his preference. It was after all nothing but an appetite for praise which misled him so as to
make him regard those who satisfied it with peculiar favour. Though he always professed the warmest friendship for me I doubt not I suffered much in his esteem by being obliged to dissent from him in many things relating to the College. I always did this it is true in the most respectful manner but when I carried my point with the Faculty though he cheerfully acquiesced [sic] I could still see that I had lost a little in his esteem. He was exceeding fond of popularity and would hardly stand up for a friend against the popular clamour, though he knew him to be in the right. Notwithstanding all this I was strongly attached to Bishop Johns, and I know of no person whom it would give me more pleasure to meet.

Henry A. Washington, Professor of History and Constitutional Law was another of my associates. His manners at first seemed to me cold and repulsive, but I did not censure the man. He was in bad health and shrunk from society on that account. He was also a strong Southern man of the Calhoun school of Politics and prejudiced against all northern men and consequently regarded me with suspicion. After a while his reserve wore off and we became firm friends. When he came to William and Mary College he was a skeptic in religion and a great admirer of Thomas Jefferson [sic]. He was employed by the Government to edit Jefferson's Works but
before he had finished his work his opinions of Jefferson greatly changed. The cunning duplicity and want of good faith discovered in his private letters disgusted Prof. Washington and he said frequently that Jefferson was not the man he supposed him to be.\textsuperscript{16}

Prof. W\underline{\text{___}} was truthful and honest and honourable in the highest degree and needed nothing but Christianity to make him a most lovely character. And that defect was at length supplied. He patiently applied himself to the study of the Scriptures and slowly but surely came to the conclusion that they were the inspired word of God. In 1856 his health failed entirely and he was obliged to relinquish the duties of his chair. He suffered horribly from nervous excitement during his sickness, but the consolations of his new found faith sustained him gloriously in the severest trials. It was not till after his sickness that he was confirmed and received to the communion of the Church. After lingering nearly two years amidst unutterable suffering he seemed to amend a little and hopes were entertained of his recovery. On the eve of his return to Williamsburg from Washington where he had been under the care of a physician, he was found insensible in his chamber having been shot in the eye by an air gun with which he had been shooting from the window at cats which annoyed him in the yard. The ball had penetrated the brain and he died
in a few hours afterwards. Some suppose that he committed suicide. But if he really died by his own hand it must have been in one of his paroxisms of nervous suffering, when he knew not what he was doing, for they oftentimes deprived him of reason. The more probable supposition is that in lowering the window with one hand while the gun was in the other the gun accidently discharged. He was found lying near the window having fallen from the chair on which he had been sitting.

I do not believe that he died by his own hand for he was then slowly gaining strength, had been less frequently subject to paroxisms of nervous agony and that day had spoken with cheerfulness and hope of his return to Williamsburg and the prospect of returning health.

I know not whether all my other associates in Williamsburg still survive, and I have no means of ascertaining. For a year past the unhappy civil war in which we are now engaged has cut off all communications between me and my old friends. I will write their epitaphs even as though they were dead.

Morgan L. Smead was our professor of ancient languages.\footnote{17} He was a good linguist but not a good teacher. After graduating at Union College in New York he spent three years in Germany and became so enamoured of everything german \footnote{sic} that he was hardly an American. He was in the main a good man, rather selfish, but honest
and true. You might safely trust him. His selfishness had bounds which it never transgressed and it could never betray him into treachery. He always did what he thought to be right and when he did wrong it was his judgement not his conscience that was at fault. He did not succeed well with his pupils. He did not secure their respect and esteem though he was always demanding it. He was rather irritable and besides in giving instructions he seemed more anxious to impress his classes with a high idea of his own erudition than to communicate to them useful knowledge. He was (probably on these accounts) unpopular with the students, many of whom seemed to take delight in annoying him. They committed disorders in the recitation room, they played practical jokes upon him at his lodgings and made his whole life uncomfortable. His unpopularity was the source of continual disturbance in the college, and more on that account than on any other his professorship was declared vacant by the board of Visitors the year before I left Virginia. There was some harshness in their manner of doing it which certainly he did not merit for he was an honest and upright man and endeavoured most conscientiously to discharge his duty. After he left the College he employed himself in editing editions of parts of the classics. This was the right work for him for he was an excellent classical scholar. How he succeeded I
never learned. The last I heard of him he was trying to get the approval of Consul for some German work. I hope he succeeded and is now far away from this horrible civil war. (August 10th 1862)

Benjamin S. Ewell had been appointed President of William and Mary College in 1847 and resigned the Presidency that Bishop Johns might be put at the head of the College. He was professor of Mathematics when the College was reopened in 1849. He was a strange executive character. He had graduated with distinction at West Point Military Academy and had been a professor at Washington College, Virginia. He was a man of little firmness of principle but had many good impulses. I do not think he would scruple to injure or betray a friend provided he was sure that his treachery would not be known. He had quarreled with his wife who was separated from him when I first knew him. She was represented as an volitable, excitable, half crazed person whom it was impossible for anyone to live with in peace. This was doubtless in part true but it was also true that Professor Ewell was of all men least calculated to manage such a woman. He was captious, unreasonable, and tyrannical. He tried to control her actions in every little particular and thus irritated to madness her very irritable temper. She was fond of dress and show. He, in order to curb this disposition thwarted her in
everything and compelled her to dress below her position in society. He would not allow her to appear even decently in the society in which he moved. A kind of reconciliation took place and he brought her to Williamsburg. But the two years she remained there were filled up with brawls and battles in which neighbors and friends became involved and all who knew the parties were glad when a final separation took place. Ewell was fond of popularity and was a great flatterer. He was popular with the students and generally with the people of the town for he would stoop to anything to get their good will. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and when I first knew him often came to the communion in the Episcopal Church but after his quarrels with his wife and separation from her he never came. Rumor would have it that he kept a mulatto woman for his mistress. This woman was his slave and his housekeeper and confidential servant and dressed much above her condition. I do not think he had religious principle enough to restrain him from such conduct and what was worse the students generally believed the rumor true.

He was not a fluent lecturer however well he might have understood the subjects which he taught. His ideas were seldom clear and I did not account him a good teacher. He flattered Bishop Johns and passed with him for more than he was worth. When the Bishop resigned
the Presidency, he was selected by the board of Visitors to fill the vacant office. He might have made a good executive officer if his own habits had been unexceptionable. But notwithstanding at the first he was a strict temperance man yet at last it was understood that he was fond of his wine and his brandy and the effect was bad upon the morals of the students.

He continued in the office of President until the College broke up in consequence of the civil war. Then I heard that he was made colonel of volunteers and subsequently I heard that he died of disease in the [?7] at Strasburg in the Valley of Virginia. (This was an error, he is still living-1866)²¹

Prof. Hopkins was for one year my associate in William and Mary College in the Chair of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. He was a good natured, kind hearted man, a good scholar in his department, rather vain, a great talker, fond of a joke and a good story. At the close of the first year he accepted a professorship in the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He had no great dignity of manner & sometimes exposed himself to ridicule. I believe that he was a sincere christian and earnestly sought to do right. I saw not long since that he was turned out of the Naval Academy for accusing someone of disloyalty when on investigation he was found to be disloyal himself. This I saw in a paragraph which went the
rounds of the newspapers. The probability is that he
was a democrat and that this was only an excuse for
putting him out of office in order that his place might
be filled by some 1/3 of the government.22 This ends
the Epitaphs of my colleagues. Sept. 2nd 1862.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XII

1 Judge Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (usually known as Beverley Tucker) was born in Chesterfield County, Virginia, on 6 September 1784. He was the son of St. George Tucker, William and Mary's professor of Law from 1790 to 1804, and Tucker's first wife, Frances Bland Randolph. Beverley Tucker received a Law degree from William and Mary in 1801 and, after several years of unsuccessful practice in Charlotte County, moved to Roanoke to practice law under the sponsorship of his half-brother, John Randolph. Randolph's political and social beliefs had great influence on Tucker and are reflected in Tucker's writing. In 1815 he moved his family west to the Territory of Missouri where he served as a judge in the circuit courts and labored unsuccessfully against the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Beverley Tucker returned to Virginia in 1833 and became professor of Law at William and Mary, succeeding Judge James Semple in that post. Here Randolph's influence on Tucker was reinforced and supplemented by his association with Thomas R. Dew, William and Mary's Professor of History, 1827-1836 and President, 1836-1846. Both Tucker and Dew were avid supporters of the South, the "positive good" defense of slavery, and the doctrine of states rights. As early as 1820 Tucker supported Southern secession as a desirable solution to sectional differences.

Tucker is perhaps best remembered for his three novels: George Balcombe, published anonymously in 1836; Gertrude, published as a serial in the Southern Literary Messenger (September, 1844-December, 1845); and The Partisan Leader, published in 1836. The last work was written in response to the Nullification Crisis of 1832 and secretly printed unfinished by some of Tucker's friends in South Carolina in an attempt to influence the Election of 1836. The publication date was given as 1856 and the work predicted a war of liberation if the North tried to prevent the secession of the slave states. The book was repressed but later reprinted (1861).

Tucker was also a prolific letter writer, and much of his correspondence with John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, John Tyler, James Hammond, William Gilmore Simms, and Henry A. Wise survives.

In June 1850 Tucker represented Virginia at the Nashville Convention where he advocated disunion as the
only acceptable solution to Federal infringement on Southern rights. It was his last public address. He died at Winchester, Virginia on 26 August 1851, at the age of sixty-seven. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley"; Tucker's correspondence may be found in the Tucker-Coleman Papers, WM Manuscripts, and in various collections in the Library of Congress.

The following testimonial from Tucker appeared as an advertisement for Beckwith's Anti-Dyspeptic Pills—25¢ per box—in the Virginia Gazette, 13 October 1853:

"Fourteen years ago I was left by a most malignant fever with a diseased liver, a disordered digestion, and a constitution in ruins . . . I met with your anti-dyspeptic Pills, and I took them according to directions. The result is that I now eat what I please, do what I please, sleep soundly, and enjoy life as much as any man living."

Judge Tucker often engaged in verbal sparring matches with his colleagues but even more frequently he used his classroom as a forum for his personal political and social views. It was here that he perhaps exerted his greatest influence, and it was certainly here that his partisanship provoked the most scathing criticism.

Tucker's lectures and writing generally reflected the political philosophy of late eighteenth century Virginia. For over thirty years he consistently defended the doctrine of state sovereignty, agrarianism, and government by the elite and well-born. He abhorred Jacksonianism and the changes it was bringing to his beloved state. He romanticized Virginia society and the institution of slavery. Slavery, said Tucker, was a politically and socially beneficial institution which operated to the greatest good of both master and slave. If his Northern brothers refused to accept this view, then secession was not only necessary but desirable. In this way Virginia and the South could continue to be the land of gentlemen, moonlight, and magnolias. Tucker might truly be called the last of Virginia's eighteenth century political thinkers and, at the same time, one of the first "fireaters."

But despite his dedication to the Southern cause, he was often severely criticized, especially in the press and by those who objected to such partisanship in the classroom. On the occasion of the Nashville Convention, where Tucker made an impassioned speech calling for secession, one Virginia newspaper editor wrote:

"His course in the Convention at Nashville is open to public criticism, and we do not hesitate
to say that ninety men out of every hundred of the citizens of Virginia utterly repudiate the sentiments which he avowed, and condemn the temper he displayed in his speech in that body. **Disunion per se does not occupy an inch of Virginia soil.**

"His lectures ... [arg] not precisely of the kind which should indoctrinate the youth of Virginia. Far better would it be that our colleges should be closed, than that the rising generation of Virginia should take degrees in nullification or disunion, and go through a course of study to acquire arguments wherewith to convince their fellow-citizens that a dissolution of the Union would be beneficial to the Southern states."

Similarly, a patron of William and Mary worried about the effects of Tucker's public pronouncements on the College:

"A modification of the doctrines and principles of government and political economy taught in the lecture room, and a less conspicuous arousal of them by professors in public speeches would, I think, tend more to conciliate popular confidence and favor, and secure a larger patronage."

Unfortunately too few student journals or diaries survive to know the effects of Tucker's teaching on his pupils. But it is clear that, regardless of his political views, his colleagues, friends, and students admired and respected his ability. Tucker's obituary in the *Southern Literary Messenger* perhaps best expressed the feelings of his fellow Virginians and Southerners:

"In the lecture room he was uniformly eloquent and clear in his expositions, and though many may think his peculiar doctrines were pushed to an unwarrantable extreme, no one can deny that his Lectures are among the very best specimens of political composition that we possess.

"Judge Tucker remained for years the only bright link of connection between the old generation and the new, and it may indeed be said, in this sense, at least, that he has not 'left his like behind.'"

George J. Cleaveland, current Registrar of the Diocese of Virginia, concludes that of 128 Anglican ministers in the Colony of Virginia in 1776, only 20 were Tories. (These included John Camm, President of William and Mary, and four instructors in the College.) Only 6 of these Tory clergymen are known to have returned to England. Several of those who chose to stay returned to their parish duties after the war. "The Church of Virginia Established and Disestablished," in *Up From Independence: The Episcopal Church in Virginia*, ed. Brewster S. Ford and Harold S. Sniffen (Orange, Va.: Green Publishers, 1976), pp. 32-35.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was the victim of several internal and external forces which led to its near destruction in the post-Revolutionary period. Much of the populace extended anti-English feeling to the denomination that had formerly been the Established Church. In addition, the increased popularity of Deism caused many of the Church's strongest members to cease their active support. A few years later the Second Great Awakening led to the attrition of others who found the new evangelical sects more to their liking than the Episcopal Church's formal ritual and rigid sacraments. And, since the Established Church had been strongest in the Tidewater region, westward expansion further contributed to its diminished membership.

Then, in an Act of 1802, the Virginia General Assembly directed that all glebe lands belonging to the former Established Church be sold upon the death of the incumbent pastor. The contention was that this property had been purchased with public tax funds and therefore belonged to the state. This action destroyed most parishes and most church property in Virginia fell into ruin. In 1784 there were 107 active parishes in Virginia; in 1788 there were 97; by 1813 only 13 parishes survived. At the General Convention of 1811, the Church in Virginia was declared so dead that there was little if any hope of its survival. David L. Holmes, "The Decline and Revival of the Church in Virginia" in *Up From Independence*, pp. 55-60. See also George MacLauren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, 2 vols. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1957), 2.

This "infidelity" Totten speaks of was apparently a strong influence on William and Mary's students in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Bishop Meade was later to characterize the College in this period as a "hotbed of infidelity" and a center for those who supported the politics of the French Revolution and the Deism of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu. In 1811 one of the questions assigned to the
students for public debate was whether Christianity had been injurious or beneficial to mankind. The demands for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity also provoked several student demonstrations and riots. It was no wonder, said Meade, that "strong as the Virginia feeling was in favor of the Alma Mater of their parents, the Northern Colleges were filled with the sons of Virginia's best men. No wonder that God for so long a time withdrew the light of His countenance from it." William Meade quoted in Morrison, Catalogue of William and Mary 1852, p. 105.

Bishop James Madison (1749-1812) was President of William and Mary, 1777-1812, and first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia. Born near Staunton, Virginia, Madison studied Law at William and Mary under George Wythe and received a degree in 1772. A year later he joined the College faculty to teach Moral Philosophy and Mathematics and, in 1777, at the age of twenty-eight, he replaced the Tory John Camm as the College's 9th president. In addition to his college lectures, Madison was also rector of James City Parish, Captain of the College Militia, and Chaplain of the Virginia House of Delegates. He also found time to continue his studies in political and physical science, becoming one of America's leading scientists and one whose work was recognized internationally. Politically he held strong republican views and urged support for the French Revolution. He admired Adam Smith and brought Smith's ideas to his students.

In 1790 the Virginia Diocesan Convention elected Madison first Bishop of Virginia and he was consecrated in England in 1791. The period of his episcopate (1791-1812) was one of the lowest points in the history of the American Episcopal Church, and certainly the lowest for the Virginia Church. Reorganization of the decadent church proved too much for a man whose time was over-committed and whose office was under-funded. Madison had only two summer months in which to conduct his visitations to impoverished and apathetic parishes where he still encountered public hostility to the former Established Church. By 1805 Madison, now in ill health, had virtually given up his duties as bishop and was devoting his time to the College and to his studies. This apparent neglect of his episcopal duties provoked rumors of his having become a religious skeptic. Some even claimed he had privately renounced Christianity. As Totten observes, these rumors were ill-founded. Bishop Meade, no admirer of Madison, later wrote:

"I am confident that the imputation is unjust. His political principles, which at that day were
so identified in the minds of many with those of infidel France, may have subjected him to such suspicion . . . but that he, either secretly, or to his most intimate friends, renounced the Christian faith, I do not believe, but am confident of the contrary."


8"Burnet and Tillotson" refers to John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1691-94) and Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (1689-1714), both of whom were associated with the early history of the College. In 1691 the Virginia Assembly elected the Rev. James Blair agent for the college and dispatched him to England for a charter and endowment. Arriving in London on 1 September 1691, Blair was able to enlist Tillotson's aid in obtaining interviews with King William and Queen Mary. The sovereigns promised to favor the establishment of a college in Virginia. Bishop Burnet assisted Blair in obtaining an introduction to the Earl of Burlington, executor of the estate of Robert Boyle. Blair was able to persuade the Earl that part of Boyle's bequest should provide for an Indian School at the college in Virginia. As a consequence, the money was invested in an English manor called the Brafferton in Yorkshire from which the rents were to go to the college in Virginia. Tyler, College of William and Mary, pp. 8-11; Who's Who in History: England, 1603-1714, 1966 ed., s.v. "Tillotson, John" and "Burnet, Gilbert."

9 Isaac Barrow (1630-1677) and Dr. Robert South (1634-1716) were seventeenth and eighteenth century English theologians. Barrow was famous also as a scientist and for his influence on Isaac Newton. He supported the anti-papal forces in the English Church and his preaching had a strong moral emphasis. South was a court preacher and chaplain to Charles II. He waged a verbal war against both Romanism and Puritanism, and supported the doctrines of passive obedience and the divine right of kings. Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. "Barrow, Isaac," "South, Robert."

10St. George Tucker (1752-1827), father of N. Beverley Tucker, was not born in the "Tucker House" at
Williamsburg but in Bermuda. He came to Williamsburg in 1771 to study law with George Wythe and purchased the house on Courthouse Green in 1788. Rouse, Cows on the Campus, pp. 149-150.

Lucy Anne Smith was Beverley Tucker's third wife whom he married 13 April 1830. His first two wives were Mary Coulter and Eliza Taylor. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Tucker, Nathaniel Beverley."

See Chapter IX, Note 4.

Although Totten refers to himself as "Vice President" of the College and George Frederick Holmes also gives him this title, the charter and statutes did not provide for such an office and there is no evidence in the official records of the College that Totten's position was anything but an informal arrangement.

In the 1849-50 and 1850-51 sessions, when Johns was absent, Beverley Tucker presided over the meetings of the faculty more often than Totten, even though Totten was usually present. After Tucker's death, Johns seems to have placed as much confidence in Benjamin Ewell as he did in Totten. The responsibility Johns gave to Totten and Ewell may have been simply by default since, of the seven professors employed by the College in 1849, Ewell, Totten, and Smead were the only ones to remain for the entire five years of Johns's tenure, and Smead apparently had no rapport with the students. George Frederick Holmes to Governor John Floyd, 20 April 1850, typescript in College Papers, WM Archives; Faculty Minutes, 1849-54 passim.

All sources checked agree on Johns's effectiveness as a speaker and in the pulpit. A fellow clergyman wrote:

"He had uncommon gifts as a preacher . . . . A well-modulated voice, a graceful and earnest delivery, a memory which never seemed to fail him, and a rare fluency of speech made him very popular as a preacher. . . . In extraordinary readiness in thought and utterance on all occasions he had no equal in Congress or at the bar. . . . He never seemed to find any difficulty in expressing himself, and that, too, in the most apt and felicitous words."

Very few of Johns's sermons or "discourses" were published. His only known publications are several sermons, his Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend William Meade, D.D. (Baltimore, 1867) and A Memoir of Henry Augustine Washington (Richmond, 1859). At his death Johns left his papers and sermons to his son with the provision that they never be published. The John Johns papers are now in the Trinity College Library at Duke University. These papers contain no material relating to Johns's position as president of William and Mary. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Johns, John." A photostat of Johns's will and copies of his Memoir of Washington are in Johns's Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

Henry Augustine Washington (24 August 1820-28 February 1858), son of Lawrence and Sarah Tayloe Washington, was born at Heywood in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He received a B.A. from Princeton University in 1839 and was appointed to the chair of History, Political Economy, and International Law at William and Mary in 1849. On 8 July 1852, Washington married Cynthia Beverley Tucker, eldest daughter of Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, William and Mary's former professor of Law. They had two daughters, neither of whom survived childhood. (Cynthia B. Tucker Washington later married Charles Washington Coleman and was Williamsburg's leading lady from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century. She is also recognized as the founder of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.)

On 17 April 1850, a Joint Committee on the Library of Congress appointed Washington editor of Thomas Jefferson's papers. Washington completed this work and it was published in 1854. But these years of constant contact with Jefferson's philosophy were disillusioning to Washington. Bishop Johns wrote that "Contact with the dregs of the correspondence of that eminent statesman, but unscrupulous politician, and less than questionable moralist, a Spartan policy might commend. It would be hazard ing nothing, to say that such was the manner of its influence on Mr. Washington. He finished the distasteful task with fidelity indeed, but with diminished admiration for the political character and aversion for the moral views of Jefferson."

Washington's original but incomplete manuscript of his work on Jefferson's papers is in Swem Library's Manuscript Collection, Washington Papers.

When, in 1857, Washington became too ill with "chronic diarrhea" to continue his lectures, he went to Washington, D.C. to receive treatment and remained there
until his death in early 1858. Because Washington was officially a member of the faculty until his death, his chair was not considered vacant and no replacement could be named. The faculty solved this problem by assigning Totten to instruct the classes in History and Political Economy. Students probably found Totten's emphasis quite different from that of Washington who was a disciple of Thomas Dew and Beverley Tucker. A manuscript essay on "The Abolition of Slavery" and pages from Washington's diary in his papers show that he was heavily influenced by the social and biblical defenses of slavery as outlined by these two previous members of William and Mary's faculty. After Tucker's death in 1851, Washington was the only member of the faculty to represent the old Virginia "aristocracy" and in his public speeches he did his best to keep Tucker's ideas alive.

After Washington's death, his widow gave approximately forty of his books to the College. These were among those burned in the Fire of 1859. John Johns, Memoir of Henry A. Washington, pp. 1-34 passim. On Cynthia B. T. Washington Coleman see Rouse, Cows on the Campus, p. 157. Washington's Papers are in WM Manuscripts. On Mrs. Washington's gift see Faculty Minutes, 15 June 1858.

Dr. Morgan Jedediah Livingston Smead (4 March 1813-11 November 1871) was educated at Union College, Schenectady, New York, and at Berlin University. After his duties at William and Mary as Professor of Latin and Greek (1849-58), Smead taught at LeFebre's School in Montgomery, Alabama, and at the University of Georgia at Athens. He married Susan Wright Empie, daughter of Dr. Adam Empie, President of William and Mary, 1827-1836. The faculty Files in Swem Library contain little information concerning Smead except a few letters, all in German. Tyler, "Professors," p. 134.

Professor Smead's lecture room does seem to have been the site for many minor disturbances. On 19 June 1852 Smead reported to the faculty that Mr. John W. Clomes was guilty of "disrespectful, violent language accompanied with threats of personal injury." Clomes was dismissed from college. On 5 February 1856 Mr. Green was admonished by President Ewell and asked to "give promise to desist" for having created disorder during Smead's lectures. On 16 June 1857 the faculty placed Mr. T. H. Thompson on probation for "throwing firecrackers in Mr. Smead's lecture room." See Faculty Minutes for dates above.

Benjamin Stoddert Ewell (10 June 1810- 19 June 1894), son of Thomas Ewell and Elizabeth Stoddert, was
born in Washington, D.C. He graduated third in his class at the United States Military Academy in 1832 and remained there as an instructor until 1836. He held professorships at Hampden-Sydney College (1839-46) and at Washington College in Lexington, Virginia (1846-48) before coming to William and Mary in 1848. After President Saunders and the entire faculty was forced to resign in 1848, Ewell was appointed acting president for the ghost session of 1848-49. When Johns accepted the presidency and the College reopened in 1849, Ewell became Professor of Mathematics, a post he continued to hold after his election to the presidency of the College in 1854. As the College's 16th president, Ewell served the school until 1888, except during the war when the College was closed.

Ewell was a firm unionist and believed secession was both unnecessary and inexpedient. But when active conflict began, "resistance became a question of self defense & all, whatever were their views, united to defend the homes and firesides, their people & state."
Ewell organized and served as commandant of the 32nd Regiment of Virginia Volunteers from May 1861 until June 1862 when he became assistant adjutant-general to General Joseph E. Johnston.

After the war Ewell refused professorships at other institutions to return to Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary. He is credited with reopening the College in 1869 after he successfully opposed its removal to Richmond and restored the buildings burned by Federal troops in 1862. With the support of Generals Grant and Meade, Ewell attempted to persuade the Federal government to pay for the restoration of the buildings. The 52nd Congress finally reimbursed the College in 1893 for the amount of $64,000.

In 1881 the College was closed again, this time for financial reasons. Using his own funds, Colonel Ewell kept the buildings in repair and, in order to keep the Charter intact, rang the College bell at regular intervals. In 1888 the Board of Visitors, at Ewell's request, asked the Virginia General Assembly to make William and Mary a part of the public education system of Virginia. Ewell then resigned the presidency but held the office of President Emeritus until his death.

William and Mary's students were exceedingly fond of Ewell, whom they called "Old Buck." One student, William Lamb of Norfolk, wrote that "although the president of an institution of which I am but a student, he treats me as an intimate friend." Totten's uncomplimentary characterization of Ewell runs counter to the sentiments of most of Ewell's associates who found him kind, considerate, loyal, and likeable. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Ewell, Benjamin Stoddert";
quotes on Ewell's unionism are taken from a typescript of his MS Autobiography, Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives. See also Lamb MS Diary, WM Manuscripts, and Ewell Obituary, Richmond Dispatch, 21 June 1894.

20 Material on Benjamin Ewell's wife, Julia, is scarce. At some time after the events Totten mentions, she was confined at the Asylum in Williamsburg. Family letters for the period seldom mention her; published material on Ewell does not refer to her at all. (I am indebted for this information to Miss Margaret Cook, Curator of Manuscripts at Swem Library.)

21 It is possible that Totten confused reports on General Richard Stodder Ewell with those of his brother Benjamin S. Ewell. General Richard S. Ewell fought with General Jackson in the Valley Campaign and lost a leg at Groveton. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Ewell, Richard Stodder."

22 William Fenn Hopkins (1800-1859) was William and Mary's Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy for the 1849-50 academic session. Educated at Yale University and the United States Military Academy (1821-25), he taught at the Academy for ten years following his graduation. From 1843 until 1846 Hopkins was principal of Norfolk Academy at Norfolk, Virginia. In 1846 he went to Georgetown, Kentucky to become superintendent and professor at Western Military Institute. He remained in Kentucky for three years before returning to Virginia to accept the chair at William and Mary. Apparently his situation or his salary at the College were not satisfactory because he resigned in late September 1850 to accept a position at the Naval Academy at Annapolis where he remained until 1859. In March 1859 Hopkins was appointed United States Consul to Jamaica. He died there in July 1859. Hopkins Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.
CHAPTER XIII

Our residence at Williamsburg commenced under happy auspices. We found kind friends at once and in a few weeks felt ourselves well acquainted with all the principal inhabitants of the town. There had been a sad quarrel among them and there were some families who had no social intercourse whatever with each other. They were not so unreasonable as to require us to take sides with either party and we enjoyed the society of all without giving offense to any. The small number of students in the College made my task light and I had abundant leisure for study and reading, and a very good library to which I had access. We had to accustom ourselves to a new way of living. We hired a negro woman for a cook and the price we agreed to pay her master for her services was $30 per annum, and to furnish her with clothing besides. A man servant was also hired. He was a free negro. I was to pay him $60 per annum, but he found his own clothing. Here I first learned that the services of a slave was accounted of more value than those of a free man. I could not have hired a slave for less than $80 per annum and clothing in addition which would make the whole amount not less than $100. Yet I am fully per-
suaded that the labour of the slave was the cheapest. The Free negroes are generally unsteady and unfaithful. The one I had hired seldom did anything unless he was closely watched. He was always complaining of some misery (sickness) and when he left me, something over $150 disappeared rather unaccountably at the same time. I have every reason to believe that he came into my room in the night and took it from my pocket, but I could not convict him of the theft nor recover the money.  

I found my colleagues in the College very kind and accommodating. The faculty were the corporators and managed the funds of the college. When I needed money to pay my debt at the bank in Hartford they generously paid a portion of my salary in advance, and this relieved me from embarrassment for my brother had not been able to collect and turn over the remainder of my inheritance.

When I went to Williamsburg, the Reverend Mr. Denison was rector of the parish. He was not in good health being much troubled with sore throat and I was called on very frequently to assist him. From the endorsements on my sermons it appeared that for the first three months, I officiated for him more than half the time. In the spring he received a call as assistant minister of Christ Church, Brooklyn, N.Y. He resigned the parish at Williamsburg which was called Bruton Parish (I do not know the origin of the name) and went
to Brooklyn. Before he left he very injudiciously made an attempt to select his own successor. A large portion of the communicants of the church wished to have me for their minister. Others thought that a Professorship in the College and the Rectorship of the parish ought not to be united in the same person, and wished to call another Rector. This dispute stirred up the old embers of strife in the parish, and it soon burst out into a flame. The election of a new vestry was at hand and the dispute ran high. I knew nothing of it till the very day of the election and then I promptly told the disputants that I would on no account be a candidate for the rectorship, but this did not heal the dissension for it was but the old quarrel renewed.

The vestry was pretty equally divided between the two parties. When they held their first meeting, they elected a rector of whose acceptance there was very little prospect and requested me to officiate in the church till the Rector came. Neither party had any objections to me. On the contrary they vied in their endeavours to convince me of their friendship and of the acceptableness of my services. Thus I had double duty to perform, but my health was good and I believe that I failed in neither. I continued to officiate in the church for a little more than a year, and was to receive for compensation the amount of the pew receipts after the contingent expenses
of the church was deducted. The amount received was less than $500.

Everything sent on smoothly in the church until the following Easter. Then the same vestry were reelected. At their first meeting it was understood that the old Rector Mr. Dennison would be glad to return, and the vestry by a vote of seven to five elected him Rector. The old party feud broke out afresh. The minority refused to make the call unanimous. They even wrote to the rector elect that it would be best for the peace of the parish if he would decline and also made representations to the bishop to the effect that his acceptance would break up the church.

The fact was that by far the larger portion of the constant attendants at church were bitterly opposed to his return. He wisely declined the call, but this did not stop the dissention. There was a vast amount of talking done in a few weeks. Some thought that the church should be shut up to bring the minority to terms saying that as long as I continue to officiate they could never come to any agreement about a rector. Hoping to stop the dissention I wrote a note to the vestry resigning my position as minister of the parish, for the vote under which I served had made me the minister of the parish until a rector should be elected. On the reception of this the vestry drafted
a resolution asking me to continue my services till after the Diocesan Convention which met in about two months. I adhered strictly to the terms of the vote and on my return from the Convention declined to officiate in the church without further action of the vestry. I was glad that I was not involved in the quarrel for both parties professed to be very friendly to me. But what was to be done. We must have services on Sunday on account of the students, and on consultation with the Bishop we concluded to have Sunday [sic] services in the College Chapel. Of course we could not exclude the people of the town and the very first Sunday [sic] the Chapel was crowded. We continued the services in the College Chapel till after the fourth of July, the church remaining closed during the whole time. I then left to spend the vacation in the north. When I returned in October I found that the Bishop had already arrived and had been officiating in the Church by invitation of the sexton. The wardens had said nothing about opening the church but the sexton came to the Bishop and asked him if he should ring the bell and open the church. The Bishop and myself continued to officiate in the church by sufferance until about Christmas time, when the vestry gave us a vote of thanks for our services and asked us to continue them till they could agree upon a Rector. Bishop Johns called the arrangement dividing the work between us.
He preached half the time on Sunday mornings but I preached every Sunday evening. And thus we continued our labors for about a year and a half till the strife was sufficiently composed to admit of calling a Rector.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XIII

The quarrel Totten mentions was a complicated affair of longstanding that involved not only Williamsburg's social hierarchy but its two major institutions: the College and the Lunatic Asylum. At the center of the controversy was William and Mary's president from 1846 to 1848, Robert Saunders, who was also president of the Asylum's Court of Directors, several times mayor of Williamsburg, and a member of Bruton Parish's Vestry. Although the sources are either unavailable or too vague to allow for a full explanation of the difficulties, it seems certain that the dissension in the College in 1847-48 which led to its closing (see Chapter XI, Note 3) and the trouble at Bruton Parish in 1850-51 were all a part of the feud that split the community. And this feud, in turn, was part of the statewide political controversy between Virginia's Whig contingent and the fast-growing "new" Democratic party.

Most of Williamsburg's political establishment in the 1840s and 1850s was composed of old-line Jeffersonians who had become Whigs during Jackson's administration. Unlike John Tyler and Beverley Tucker, most had not rejoined the Democratic Party. In 1849 the Democrats' candidate for Governor, John B. Floyd of Abingdon, was successful, and many Democrats demanded that Whig officeholders be replaced. This demand included Robert Saunders and the rest of the Court of Directors at Williamsburg's Lunatic Asylum who were all Whigs and members of Williamsburg's political and social hierarchy. Saunders and the others held tenaciously to their offices in order to take advantage of the opportunity to award contracts to themselves and their Whig friends.

The Democrats' efforts to remove the Asylum's directors were led by Williamsburg lawyer Lemuel J. Bowden with the editorial support of the Richmond Enquirer. Bowden and two other Williamsburg Democrats brought charges against the Court of Directors for mismanagement, and in 1851 the General Assembly, dominated by Democrats, abolished the life tenure of the Directors and limited their terms of office. Governor Floyd replaced some of the Directors with Democrats, and Bowden replaced Saunders as President of the new board. With his new affluence, Bowden bought a lot on Duke of Gloucester Street and built himself a fine house in the midst of Williamsburg's First-Family enclave, almost all of whom were former
Directors and Whigs. The animosities thus created continued until the Civil War began.

When, in 1855, the Democrats nominated Henry A. Wise for Governor, Bowden, a unionist, left the party and formed a local Know-Nothing organization. The Virginia Know-Nothing--an improbable mixture of Southern Whigs, Unionists, disenchanters Democrats, and anti-foreign elements--held several rallies in Williamsburg and the students immediately took sides in favor of either Wise or the Know-Nothing candidate, Thomas Flourney. Student William Lamb reported that the student body was severely divided by the election rhetoric and in a straw poll gave Flourney thirty-eight votes to Wise's thirty-four. Nevertheless, in the November 1855 statewide election, Wise was victorious.

The beginning of the war in 1861 apparently put a damper on Williamsburg's civic quarrels but the eccentric lawyer, Lemuel Bowden, continued to create headlines. When Virginia seceded in 1861 Bowden, a slaveowner, became an outspoken Union sympathizer. Consequently, Henry A. Wise, now General Wise, ordered his arrest for disloyalty. Bowden escaped to Norfolk and in 1862 became one of Federal Virginia's (West Virginia) first senators. Material on Bowden is from Rouse, Cows on the Campus, pp. 57-59; student vote reported in Lamb MS Diary, entry for 16 May 1855, WM Manuscripts.

2 The College library was located in the north wing of the College building and contained 6000 to 8000 volumes. One of the professors served as librarian and received an additional $100 annually for performing this duty. During the 1850s Professor Smead and adjunct Professors Robert Gatewood and Thomas Snead held this post.

The library was open once a week for two hours and students could borrow no more than two volumes at a time. Books were to be returned in two weeks. Reference works, dictionaries and the books presented by Louis XVI could not be borrowed. The Law library was in the law lecture room and was always open.

Graduation and matriculation fees furnished the only financial support for the libraries. Faculty Minutes, 11 October 1850, 18 January 1853, 8 February 1859; see also Laws and Regulations: 1851, p. 5.

3 The faculty of William and Mary also hired the Negroes who served the students. The students were to use none other of their services but "to have their boots and shoes cleaned, their rooms swept and put in
order, their fires lighted once a day; and to have fresh water carried to their rooms twice a day." *Laws and Regulations: 1851*, p. 7.

4 The Reverend Henry Denison of Pennsylvania was rector of Bruton Parish Church, 1848-52; he was also John Tyler's son-in-law. Rouse, *Cows on the Campus*, p. 52; see also *WMQ*, 1st ser., 3 (January 1895): 179.

5 George Frederick Holmes, a former professor at William and Mary under President Thomas Dew, kept a close eye on happenings in Williamsburg and often commented on them in letters to his many correspondents. In a letter to Governor John Floyd of Virginia he was sharply critical of events in Bruton Parish:

"Poor old Williamsburg is not quiet yet . . . the whole place is in commotion to turn out their present pastor and put Dr. Totten the Yankee Vice-President of the College in his place. Shades of my brothers! is not that desecration? It is worse after all than the d___d foreigners."

Holmes to Floyd, 20 April 1850, typescript of letter in Holmes Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.
For nearly four years I have neglected to write anything concerning the events of my life except some notes which I kept of what transpired in 1862-63.¹ I have always had something on hand which I deemed of more importance and saying to myself, "I shall soon have more leisure," I put this work entirely aside. Today I resume it again with the purpose of using all my leisure till I bring down my sketch to the present time.

I closed my last chapter with an account of my clerical services in Bruton Parish, Williamsburg which brought me down to some time in the year 1853. I wrote little about my connexions and my labors in the College. As a general thing they were light and pleasant. I had one day a lecture or recitation in intellectual philosophy or logic, and the next day in Rhetoric or Belles Lettres. I had also to train the students in Composition and Elocution. The actual labor in the College did not exceed two hours per day and as I was instructing in subjects which were very familiar to me, little time was necessary for preparation.²

¹Book 6 of the manuscript begins here.
In my first year we had but 17 students and 9 of these were in the Law Department. Of the remaining eight but five were in my department. The second year the number increased to nearly thirty. It was pleasant to teach larger classes. I had this year also some addition to my labors. Mr. Hopkins, the professor of chemistry and natural philosophy, resigned his chair somewhat unexpectedly and his duties and also his salary were divided between Prof. Ewell & myself. He taking Chemistry and I natural philosophy. This brought an hour’s additional labor to me on alternate days, but it brought also an increase of $500 to my salary which was very welcome.

When I went to Williamsburg I was nearly destitute of means. I was obliged to borrow $200 from a bank in Hartford to pay expenses and buy furniture but I had about the same sum yet due me from my fathers estate. So that I might be said to be even with the world and my household furniture besides.

It was expensive living in Wmburg & my salary of $1000 and only $80 tuition fees hardly carried me through the first year. There was however something in reserve which kept want away from our doors & enabled us to live above board. I had a suit against the trustees of Trinity College for arrears of salary. They had reduced my salary $300 per annum without my consent on the
ground that the funds of the College did not warrant the payment of so large a salary. I offered to subscribe $300 per annum while the necessity existed but they refused to except [sic] it as a donation and insisted on a reduction of the salary. Three years went on without a settlement. At the end of the first year I offered the treasurer a receipt in full for my salary after he had paid me $1200 if he would give me a receipt for a donation of $300. This he refused to do. The next year and the one following he paid $1200 but I would not give him a receipt in full. I wished to test the question whether a corporation could reduce a salary without the consent of the person receiving it. After I left the College I commenced a suit for arrears of salary amounting in the three years to $900 but giving the corporation credit [for] the $300 which I had offered from the first to give them. My counsel pronounced it a plain case and it came to trial in the fall of 1850. A compromise was made by the trustees agreeing to pay me $500 and all the costs of suit including my own counsel fees. This sum was a great help to us in the low state of our funds.

One of the necessary expenses of living in Williamsburg was the cost of changing our residence during the sickly season which lasted from the middle of July to the first of October. This did not interfere
with the college which closed on the fourth of July and did not open again till the 2nd Wednesday of October. For the remainder of the year the climate was remarkably healthy. 5

In the summer of 1850, the first of our residences in Williamsburg, we left for the north on the 15th of July. I had before made arrangements for our board at the small village of Southport on Long Island sound. The Rev. Mr. Cornwell was to take Mrs. Totten, myself, and the two boys to board, while the two girls were to board at his mother's. We could not afford to go to a regular watering place. We were boarded at the low rate of three dollars per week. The two boys, one eight and the other three years of age, were to count as one. For the two girls we paid $5 per week. We spent our vacation very pleasantly between walking on the beach, bathing, and reading. The families with whom we lived were very agreeable and obliging and the two months and a half passed rapidly away. While we were at Southport, Mary was brought down to us from Hartford by Mr. Beach. She had not forgotten us and the meeting was a joyful one on all sides. She had grown much in both size and intelligence in the nine months she had been away from us. She had been four years old the previous winter. Seeing me reading one day she climbed up on my knees, and taking hold of the book said, "Pa, I can read." I gave her a
New Testament, and she read fluently. I was both surprised and alarmed, fearing that she had been sent to school for I had charged Mrs. Beach not to send her to school or stimulate her mind in any way telling her that she was a precocious child and I feared the effects of mental activity on her health. "Who taught you to read," said I. "Has Mrs. B. sent you to school." "Why yes--no--", she said. "Sometimes Mrs. B. kept school and sometimes I did and so I learned to read." She had learned to read in her play without any particular mental exertion. I dreaded to leave her any longer with Mr. & Mrs. B. She was precocious and at the same time of a very amiable temper and consequently had become a great favorite with all. There was great danger both to her health and character amidst such influences and there was just cause of alarm that she might grow up to be one of those sickly favorites who soon become a burden both to others and themselves.

She needed careful watching and outdoor exercise to develop her physical system & also some restraint upon her mental activity. The question arose could parents do their duty towards their child when they left her training entirely in the hands of others?

It is sometimes thought that precocious children always come to maturity soon, and that their mental faculties decay early if they happen to survive the
period of childhood, which is not commonly the case. That most precocious children die early and that those who survive generally fail of the promise of their early years may be true. But it is not necessarily so.

There have been many distinguished men who showed great quickness of facts in their childhood and yet retained the vigor of their faculties to extreme old age. The great difficulty lies in injudicious training. The vanity of parents tempts them to stimulate the minds of precocious children to the utmost. The child soon becomes the wonder of the domestic circle and of the school while his physical training is wholly neglected. His brain is overtaxed and his health impaired and then his poor health becomes the excuse for neglecting the proper exercise. He is encouraged to stay within doors with his books when he ought to be driven out to brave the inclemencies of the weather in the open air. The consequence is that his mind becomes still more active and his body more feeble till at length the diseases of the body react upon the mind and premature death or mental weakness is the consequence.

We have only by careful training to endeavor to restore the balance between the mental & the physical powers and if we can succeed the results will be a sound mind in a sound body. All children, but more especially girls, need muscular rather than mental activity in the
first seven years of life and after that an hour or two a day is quite enough to be given to pursuits purely mental.

Dull phlegmatic minds may properly be forced to study but bright children have need of being restrained rather than urged. Make knowledge pleasant to them and they will need no other stimulus.

At the end of the summer Mary returned to Hartford. Her mother went with her and when a short time afterwards she joined me in New York I was not displeased that she brought Mary with her to be the sharer of our fortunes whatever they might be.

Our return to Williamsburg was by railroad and without accident of any kind. I should rather say by railroad and steamer for from Baltimore we took a steamer down Chesapeake bay and up the James river. Helen our eldest daughter we sent to Schoharie to school to remain one year till we should again visit the north.

I need not dwell upon the events of the next year in College. Things went on very smoothly. I was by no means overtaxed with labor though I had charge of the parish the larger portion of the year and in addition to my own department taught natural Philosophy as I have mentioned before. For a portion of the year the discipline of the College rested upon me as Vice President but the number of the students was small and but few of
these were ill disposed. The great trouble was intemperate drinking among some three or four which led to disorders and after faithful attempts to reclaim them led to their dismissal from College. 8

Swiftly the year passed away and then came the necessity for another migration of all the family to the north. This time we determined to go by sea and we engaged a passage to NY on one of the Richmond packets which we were to meet as it came down the river.

We were obliged to take a steamer up the river and be transferred to the packet when we should meet it. We met it about eighty miles above Norfolk. From thence we dipped slowly down the River and by the next morning had reached Chespeake bay. There our smooth sailing was at an end for there was a strong southern breeze blowing up the bay against which we had to make our way by tacking continually. Our vessel was a fine new schooner of 250 tons burden and worked her way finally but this did not save us from being intolerably seasick.

The sickness lasted as usual some 12 hours and we were congratulating ourselves on being fairly out in the ocean and over the sea-sickness when the breeze suddenly died away. There was nothing to steady the ship. The sails flapped against the mast as the roll of the sea tossed the ship about in every direction. This new
and irregular motion brought back the sea-sickness and we had another 12 hours experience of that most uncomfortable disorder. When however we recovered from this we were proof against the malady for the remainder of the voyage. We were near a week in going from Williamsburg to New York. After the sea-sickness was over we cared not how long we remained at sea. The air was fresh and bracing; the motion of the ship as we beat against contrary winds was agreeable. The whole family had ravenous appetites and all felt that we were fast recovering from the somewhat debilitating effects of the climate at Williamsburg.

We arrived at New York in the night and in the morning found ourselves lying at the wharf on East River. We had not determined where we were to spend the summer but had designed to stop in New York till a suitable place could be found. On stepping ashore to find carriages to take our baggage to a Hotel I saw a poster announcing that the steamboat left for Bridgeport, Connecticut, at eight O'Cl.; fare 12½ cents. This was less than the cost of going to a Hotel though the distance was sixty miles. Bridgeport might be as good a place to spend the Summer as any other and so in a few moments our baggage was transferred to the Bridgeport steamer and by dinner time we were at the Hotel in Bridgeport. The City Hotel was in the middle of the town, no very pleasant place in
the extreme hot weather. The house however was well kept and we had very pleasant rooms. The old system of a general meal for all, at a fixed hour was kept up here. Everything was placed upon the table at once, and the bell rung and he who came too late must content himself with a cold dinner. The wife of the Landlord sat at the head of the table, gave directions to the servants, and saw that everyone was well attended to. The dinner came on in regular courses and each one waited till his turn came. The meal became a social one and the more permanent boarders became acquainted with each other. I must say that I liked this system much better than that of our modern Hotels where each one is served separately on greasy little plates, where they eat in silence, gobble up their food, and then hasten away as if they had happily gotten through with a disagreeable task.

At this Hotel we staid [sic] one week while we were looking for a more rural retreat. At length we found one on the side of the harbor where we had plenty of good air, fine large rooms, and the best of food at all times. The monotony of comfort was disturbed but once during the season and that was by a journey of mine to Schoharie to bring Helen home from school. I found her in good health. She had made good use of her time and had made rapid progress in her studies. It is surprising how cheap such schools were in those days. And this
was a good school too. It was a school for both sexes and in it were taught both the solid branches of an education and some of the accomplishments. And Languages and Mathematics were well taught. The price of Tuition for the higher branches was only $6 per quarter—and board including washing and lights was only $1.50 per week. Helen boarded in the family of the teacher or rather in that of his Father-in-law with whom he lived and received every kindness and attention. The visit to my native mountains was a pleasant one and when entering we looked from a high hill upon the rich valley of the Schoharie and the fantastic shapes of the mountains beyond as projected upon the western sky. I felt reluctant to return to the monotonous plains and pine forests of lower Virginia.

Our return to Williamsburg was by Railroad and steamboat by way of Baltimore and the Chesapeake bay, and nothing occurred on the way worthy of note. We arrived the first week in October and the College session commenced the week following. An additional number of students gave promise of more work and better pay. A change in the Professorships took from me my extra salary for teaching Natural Philosophy. There was another change also which gave each professor the ticket fees of his own department and as I had the greater number of the students in my department, this change caused an increase in my
income. Another also operated in my favor. There were two houses on the lawn in front of the College. One was occupied by Bishop Johns as President of the College and the other was used as a Steward's house, where many of the students were provided with meals who occupied rooms in the College. These students were sometimes guilty of creating disturbances especially during the night. They would rise at midnight, break open the Belfry door, and ring the College bell furiously. Sometimes the idle ones would make disturbances & make night hideous with their outcries to disturb the sleep of those who had been late at their studies and occasionally one or two would return from some revel partly intoxicated, and disturb the quiet of the neighborhood. When Bishop Johns was at home these disturbances were less frequent but there was little restraint upon them when he was away on his Episcopal Visitations. It was thought necessary for the good order of the College that one of the professors who was always at home should live in the Steward's house and aid the Bishop in keeping order in the College. Thence the offer was made to me to occupy this house rent free. One thousand dollars was laid out in repairs and it was made a very comfortable and commodious residence. As it turned out, however, I went there not to help the bishop as was proposed but to take the main part of the discipline
upon myself. But of this I had no reason to complain. The rent of the house was more than a compensation. On the 17th of December, 1851, we took possession of our new home and remained in it during my connection with the college. The house had been regarded as an unhealthy one, and I soon found out the cause. There was water in the cellar the greater part of the time and the dampness ascending from this kept the walls which were plastered directly upon the brick continually wet. I had strips nailed upon the walls and the rooms lathed and plastered anew, so as to leave a space between the plastering and the brick. I also took care to keep the cellar as dry as possible by means of a drain and a well. When the water accumulated in the well I had it pumped out into the drain. These improvements made the house dry and there was no reason to complain of its unhealthiness. 9

And now we began to feel ourselves at home. We had a comfortable income, a good house, good neighbors, and I was not overburdened with labor. The children were attending good schools or making progress at home. The annual migration to a more healthy climate during the summer months was the chief thing to be complained of. It was very expensive and often uncomfortable. If we ever expected to be acclimated we must stay through the summer. In the summer of 1852 we resolved to make
the experiment. Till nearly the first of August the season was favorable. There had been little rain and no great amount of vegetation. But then came on excessive rains. The late vegetation grew thick and rank. The stubble fields put forth a dense growth of weeds. The cornfield were matted with tall weeds and climbing vines. The air was consequently damp. At Midday the sun shone out hot and sultry but the nights were cool and on clear nights there was always a mist creeping along the surface of the ground. We were careful to keep out of the night air and the midday heat and in everything to follow strictly the direction of our physician. But it was all to no purpose. Alfred who was then five years old was the first victim. He had a chill and then a slight billious fever following. Before he recovered Mary had a more severe attack. She was indeed very ill for a few days. When we saw symptoms of the disease giving way we remitted some of our watchfulness, her mother and myself watching alternately. My turn was to watch from dark till one in the morning. I was then to call her mother. But she had not slept well the first part of the night and I was loth to wake her when the hour came as she then seemed to be sleeping soundly. I prolonged my watch till nearly two when I heard my name called from the adjoining room. It was Richard who called to
tell me that he was very cold and I found him shaking and his teeth chattering. But before I could do anything for him an outcry from another room gave me to understand that Helen also had a very severe chill. I now called my wife to assist and we made such appliances as the cases seemed to demand. But by the time the chills had passed away and the hardly less comfortable fever was coming on, my wife herself succumbed to the disease and had to betake herself to bed with heavy head and aching limbs to be followed soon by the dreaded chill. These chills were not the mere precursors of an ephemeral fever as in the common fever and ague but the beginning of a severe bilious attack. All in the household were now sick except Anna and myself. Alfred and Mary were convalescent. Richard was severely attacked but the disease yielded to medicine in three or four days.

Helen had congestion of the stomach which was very severe at first and when it yielded to medicine and the application of leaches, it left her very weak. My wife had an attack of common bilious fever, very severe, which lasted without much abatement for four days. She then seemed to recover slowly. But as soon as she began to gain strength she had a second attack nearly as severe as the first as this was repeated several times.
It was now about the middle of Sept. and our physician advised us to go to the upper country to recruit as soon as the sick were able to travel. The very thought of traveling to the mountains was a medicine of itself. In less than a week we were on the way but we could not run away from the sickness. The malaria had done its work on the system and any irregularity in diet or overexertion was sure to show its effects. We were obliged to stop in Richmond overnight. That night Richard had a chill, and the fever which followed it prevented us from taking the cars for the mountains in the morning. The next morning we were more fortunate and took our seats in the cars with tickets for Gordonsville proposing to stop there overnight and proceed farther the next day should the invalids be able to travel.  

Again we were full of hope, and when about noon we first saw the Blue Ridge in the distance, a kind of shout arose from the whole family. But we were doomed to disappointment. Richard's undigested breakfast or fatigue of the ride brought on another chill and by the time we reached Gordonsville he was suffering under a fever which nearly distracted him. We were obliged to stop. There were no rooms for us in the Railroad tavern, but after some trouble we found lodgings a quarter of a mile distant in a kind of boarding house. Hardly had
we gotten into our rooms and Richard's fever had abated a little, before my wife had to take to her bed with a severe headache which proved to be a severe attack of fever. From billious [sic] it changed to be a nervous fever and she was very dangerously ill. The rest of the family improved by the change of air and had no more chills except Richard who had a slight on [sic] occasioned by over fatigue. It was an anxious three weeks that we spent at Gordonsville. The life of my wife seemed to tremble in the balance for several days; days of which she had slight recollection afterwards. But God was merciful to us and she recovered. I have always thought that the severity of her sickness was increased by bad medical treatment. Physicians accustomed to the diseases of one climate often make great mistakes in treating those of another.

Our stay at Gordonsville was prolonged beyond the opening of the College at Williamsburg but we returned in tolerable health but all of the family except myself having still in their systems the seeds of disease ready to germinate at any time under favorable circumstances. This showed itself in frequent agues especially in the younger children for two or three years afterwards. You may be sure that we came to the conclusion never to spend the unhealthy months again in Williamsburg.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XIV

1 Two of the nine books of Totten's memoirs contain accounts of events during the war. These were written at intervals from August 1862 to September 1863, during his term as president of the University of Iowa in Iowa City. MS Notebooks, Totten Papers, WM Manuscripts.

2 According to the College catalog of 1855, the duties of the professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres were to instruct Juniors in Rhetoric and Logic, Seniors in Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. He was also responsible for weekly religious instruction of all students. Such instruction was not to "touch upon those subjects which involve the peculiar tenets of any religious sect." Besides this weekly drill, semester courses in Evidences of Christianity and Natural Theology were required for graduation. Catalogue and Course of Studies of William and Mary College: 1855 (Williamsburg: J. Harvey Ewing, Printer, 1855), p. 12. Copy in College Papers, WM Archives.

3 In this first session (1849-50) since the reopening of the College, the President and professors seem to have had three major concerns: (1) to repair the buildings and improve the general appearance of the College, (2) to put their financial affairs in order, (3) to attract a greater number of students. Johns, the new President, and Professors Totten, Ewell, Smead, Hopkins, Tucker, and Washington met for the first time on 1 October 1849 to make plans for the coming session. Professor Ewell was assigned responsibility for repairs to the physical plant. Ewell supervised the expenditure of nearly $5000 for restoration of the President's House, rebuilding of the Bafferton kitchen, repairs and repainting of all buildings, maintenance of the grounds, and purchase of laboratory equipment. Ewell reported that many of the improvements were "necessary for the preservation of the Buildings. A proper attention to the comfort of those residing on the College grounds would have justified the expenditure of a larger sum." But further repairs had to wait for funds to become available.

Meanwhile, there were several sources of operating capital which could be tapped, as well as some old debts to be paid. On 15 January 1850 the faculty appointed Totten, Ewell, and Washington a committee "to
take into consideration the College funds, & report upon
the condition of the same." On this same date the fac­
ulty adopted a resolution directing the bursar to collect
all debts on which interest had not been punctually paid.
The College also took steps to dispose of some of the
large amounts of land it owned in Williamsburg and scat­
tered throughout Virginia's Tidewater region. In February
1850 the College sold its lands in King William and Sussex
counties. It is unclear whether the sale was authorized
for want of liquid assets or because the land was un­
productive, or both. In any case, the College's funds
were low enough to require sale of a house and lot in
Richmond in order to repay a $2500 debt. And, on 11 May
1850, the faculty accepted a resolution stating that "the
recent disbursements of the College place it beyond the
power of the faculty to unite with the common Council of
Williamsburg in the purchase of a fire engine, or in
carrying out the police arrangements proposed to them." This decision not to support a fire company was later
to haunt them.

Irrevocably bound up with the problems of finan­
cial solvency and building repairs, was the problem of
how to attract a larger student body. The condition of
the buildings discouraged some students from enrolling
and deprived the College of the revenue that might thus
have been realized. The faculty believed the appearance
of a prosperous and populous institution would attract
students and, for this reason, allowed each professor to
bring in as many as two students free of charge. Three
such students were enrolled for 1849-50. In all, only
twenty students, mostly from Virginia, enrolled for this
session. None of the students lived on campus; those
from Williamsburg lived at home and the others boarded
with townspeople. This arrangement was probably neces­
sitated by the repairs needed or in progress on the
College building.

At Commencement, 4 July 1850, only Master of Arts
and Law degrees were awarded since the academic curricu­
lum required three years for completion and the College
had just resumed operation. (The Law Department con­
tinued to function for the 1848-49 academic year.)
Faculty Minutes, 1 October 1849; 5 July, 15 January,
7 February, 19 February, 12 June, 11 May 1850. On
free students see Benjamin Ewell to H.A. Washington,
23 February 1850, Washington Papers, WM Manuscripts.
Lists of students, their residences, ages, and guardians
may be found in the Matriculation Book, 1827-1861, WM
Archives. Lists of degrees awarded may be found in the
Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866­
1932 with Appendix Covering the Years 1693-1888 (Rich­
mond, 1941), see p. 156 for 1849-50.
Professor William F. Hopkins resigned 4 September 1850, just before the 1850-51 session was to begin. Since the Visitors normally met only at Commencement each year (4 July), and at that time made all appointments for the coming year, they were not available to effect a new appointment. The best solution seemed to be to divide Hopkins lectures between Ewell and Totten. John Johns to Benjamin Ewell, 4 September 1850, Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives. See also Morgan L. Smead to Henry A. Washington, 26 September 1850, Washington Papers, WM Manuscripts.

Williamsburg was very sensitive about its reputation as an unhealthy place, but not less so than the College officers who found students skeptical about living in such a damp, low country. The Catalogue of 1855 sought to reassure: "Diseases peculiar to the low country prevail only in August and September. From October to July . . . these diseases are never contracted. The winter climate is delightful--the cold being moderated by the large bodies of salt water in the vicinity; . . . to those predisposed to pulmonary complaints it would be decidedly beneficial."

One of Totten's daughters was severely injured in a railway accident in July 1845. Bishop Manton Eastburn of Boston to Totten, 22 July 1845, Totten Papers, WM Manuscripts.

In the 1850-51 session, the faculty, which now held regular weekly meetings at noon on Tuesdays, was again concerned with repairs to the College buildings. This session also saw an increase in incidents of disorder and resulting disciplinary action. The regular faculty, minus William F. Hopkins, remained the same; Robert Gatewood joined them as adjunct instructor of Mathematics. The number of students increased to thirty-five, nine in Law and twenty-six in the Academic Department. A greater number of students now came from outside Virginia—eight of the thirty-five—and only two of the state students regularly resided in Williamsburg.

Prior to this session the College steward, who furnished meals at $100 a month, fuel, furniture rental, and laundry service to the students, had lived in the Brafferton. In 1850 a steward's house was built in the southwest corner of the College yard, so that Brafferton might be renovated and made suitable for a professor's
residence. Ewell and Totten were to coordinate these repairs. At about this same time, the faculty also approved the expenditure of $46.50 for the building and equipping of a Bowling Alley.

As previously noted, no students lived on campus in 1849-50; but for the 1850-51 session twenty students lived in the College building. This, coupled with an increase in students, may have been the reason for the increase in disciplinary problems in 1850-51. The College rules spelled out the manner in which a student was expected to behave:

"No student shall game, become intoxicated, keep or have intoxicating drinks in his room, or possession; injure the property of the College or of citizens; nor be guilty of any conduct rendering him an unfit associate for young gentlemen of correct habits.

"No student shall . . . visit any tavern, house of private entertainment, tippling house, or any other house where spirituous or intoxicating drinks are sold; nor play cards or any game of chance; nor be guilty of profanity.

"Students shall not, without good excuse, absent themselves from prayers; nor from recitations, . . . nor leave the room . . . nor lie down on the benches; but shall demean themselves with propriety, and pay proper attention. If negligent, disorderly or disrespectful, they may be required to leave the room."

In 1850-51 at least ten students were called to account by the faculty for a variety of infractions—rioting, intoxication, disorderly conduct, visiting the tavern, unexcused absenses, and the use of "ardent spirits." Punishments ranged from reprimands and probation, of which the guardian was informed, to permanent expulsion. Most were given short-term suspension.

Also during this session George W. Southall of Williamsburg suggested that William and Mary provide military training similar to that at Virginia Military Institute in Lexington. The faculty promised to study the proposal, but did nothing further.

The College awarded only three degrees, all in Law, on 4 July 1851. Faculty Minutes, 31 October 1850-25 June 1851 passim; Matriculation Book, entry for 1850-51, WM Archives; Bursar’s Book, 27 October 1850, WM Archives; Laws and Regulations, 1851; on proposal for military training see John Johns to H.A. Washington, 9 January 1851, Washington Papers, WM Manuscripts.

Despite Totten's claim, the records show no change in the number of professors for the 1851-52 session. The only change occurred in the Law professor—
ship. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker died on 6 August 1851, shortly before the session began, and was replaced by Judge George Parker Scarburgh. Scarburgh remained at the College until 4 July 1855 when he resigned to accept an appointment to the United States Court of Claims.

A total of fifty-six students enrolled for the 1851-52 academic year; forty-six of these were Virginians. For the first time students' religious affiliations were recorded in the Matriculation Book, and this record shows that all but two students were Episcopalians; the other two were Methodists. The number of students living in the College building rose to twenty-nine. The Laws and Regulations for 1851 gave the following account of student expenses for 1851-52:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servant's hire</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deposit</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room Rent</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation Fee</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board, Washing, Fuel, Lights</td>
<td>120.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more Tickets</td>
<td>20.00  each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Tickets</td>
<td>25.00  each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ticket</td>
<td>40.00  each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Expenses...$196-$210

At the end of the session, the faculty recorded operating expenses for the year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>$161.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors' Expenses</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building repair</td>
<td>400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel</td>
<td>75.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steward</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants' hire</td>
<td>275.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students' board (in town)</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary for Clerk, Board of Visitors</td>
<td>53.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursar</td>
<td>350.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>5500.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total.................................$7684.33

The Tottens' move into the Brafferton marked the first time a professor had occupied it since William Barton Rogers had lived there during Thomas Dew's presidency. The Totten family also took in three students: S. J. Brooks and William Lamb of Norfolk and Phillip A. Johnson of Springfield, Illinois. (Lamb was later Rector of the Board of Visitors during Lyon Tyler's administration.) Student discipline does seem to have been the primary reason for the refurbishing of Brafferton as a
professor's residence. On 2 July 1852 the faculty reported to the Visitors:

"The repairs of the Brafferton have been completed. This secures the residence of another professor on the premises, and with the occupancy of a room in the college by the Adjunct Professor of Mathematics, adds happily to those preventive influences which it is our policy to employ."

"Preventive influences" on student behavior was a major concern for the faculty in 1851-52. This concern was perhaps exacerbated by circumstances in the University at Charlottesville. The violent student uprisings there of the 1830s and early 1840s had given way to relative quiet in the late 1840s. But in the 1851-52 session, disorder, riots, and violent student-faculty confrontations flared again. William and Mary's faculty could not have been unaware of this—they took great interest in events at the prosperous university that attracted so many students away from the College. Possibly with this in mind, the faculty adopted standards of punishment based on a demerit system in addition to having professors occupy the Brafferton and College building. Fifty demerits brought "admonishment," a hundred justified the notification of parents or guardians, and two hundred could mean dismissal. According to the minutes of the faculty, only one major incident of disorder, a brawl at the Raleigh Tavern on 3 February 1852 involving three students, occurred in 1851-52. This infraction brought the suspension of one student, probation for another, and the third was to carry a letter to his father.

At the end of this academic year, William and Mary awarded the first Academic degrees since 1848. Eight students received Bachelor of Arts or Philosophy degrees; two were awarded Master of Arts diplomas. On Scarburgh see Williamsburg Virginia Gazette, 31 May 1855 and Scarburgh to John Tyler, 4 July 1855, Scarburgh Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives. For student enrollment see Matriculation Book, entry for 1851-52. Faculty expenses are recorded in Faculty Minutes, 5 July 1852. On Brafferton see WMQ, 1st ser., XII, 259-62 and Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 2 July 1852, College Papers, WM Archives. On University of Virginia disorders see Bruce, University of Virginia, 3: 127. On demerit system and disorder at William and Mary see Faculty Minutes, 19 December 1851 and 4 February 1852. Degrees are listed in Catalogue of Alumni: 1866-1932, Appendix, p. 156.

10 The Tottens had to travel either overland or by water to Richmond where they could take the Virginia Central Railroad as far as Gordonsville, Virginia. The
CHAPTER XV

The college year of 1852-53 passed away in the usual manner. There were the same duties, the same lectures, and the same studies. There would be great sameness in a course of College instruction if the professor did not study to vary his arguments and illustrations. If he does not do this he is liable to fall into a hum-drums method of instruction and to become insufferably dull. He must keep up his own interest in the studies of his professorship or he cannot keep up the interest of his pupils. This I endeavoured to do and it gave me pleasant employment. A large increase in the number of students added several hundred dollars to my income. That now amounted to about $1700. It would have been much more had I not remitted the ticket fees of quite a large number of students. The College had been completely broken down when the present faculty had taken charge of it. It was important that the number of students should be increased as much as possible in order to re-establish the College and satisfy the public. In order to do this it was agreed among the professors that all students who were preparing for the Christian Ministry if in indigent circumstances should
have their ticket fees remitted and also that each professor might name two students besides who should have free tuition. This brought in twelve free students. The number of free students was generally over twenty.²

One year on counting up the number I found that the amount of ticket fees remitted in my department exceeded $500. One thousand dollars per annum was the salary paid me from the income of the College fund and in addition to this I received $20 ticket fee from each student in my department. This as I have said before amounted to about $700 making my whole salary about $1700 per annum.

It was barely sufficient to support my family and provide for the expenses of our summer Migration.³ When the vacation came in 1853 we did not think of remaining in Williamsburg. We were however detained a week or two longer than we desired to be by the sickness of Helen who had a billious attack just as were about to start. When we did start she was so weak that I had to carry her from her bed to the carriage which was to take us to the river. This time we went to New York in a sea steamer which plied between Richmond and New York. It was an easy method of travel though it did not save us from the discomfort of sea-sickness nor had we time to recover completely from it till we arrived in New York; and this took away all the pleasure of
the voyage.

We had at this time a rough passage and all were sick except Helen, her previous illness seeming to exempt her from this treat. Never did I see such an improvement in anyone as in her in this short voyage of less than forty eight hours. When we started she could not walk twenty yards. When we landed at New York she stepped from the steamer with the elastic step of one in perfect health.

We spent this summer at Greenwich, Connecticut. Helen and Anna had been invited to spend the summer with their aunt, Mrs. Robert Mead, and the rest of us took up our quarters at a boarding house paying this time $5 per week each for board.

While in Greenwich I officiated almost every Sunday for Mr. Yarrington the rector of the church in that place. It cost me no trouble and was a relief to him. He said when I came that he should not preach himself while I was there and he kept his word. The time passed pleasantly and rapidly away and soon came cool October and with it the necessity of a return to College and the duties of my professorship. This time we returned by sea. We had a very pleasant journey; the wind blowing off shore made the ocean almost as smooth as a river and we did not suffer from sea-sickness.

Another monotonous year of college life followed.
It was not indeed with its pleasures and its anxieties but there were none which I recollect which are worthy of record. The close of the College session soon came around the necessity of our annual migration.

And now instead of going north we resolved to vary our summer life by going to the mountains of Virginia. We had hitherto been hindered from this by the great expense of living at these celebrated watering places. But now the keeper of the Hotel at the warm springs offered to board my family at a reduced price if I would agree to come and officiate every Sunday either in the hall of the Hotel or in the court house which was a few hundred rods distant. This I preferred to do to idling about all the vacation. I was to pay $5 per week (½ price) for each member of my family.

There were a few members of the Episcopal Church in the neighborhood who were trying to raise money to build a small church. The wall were then up but it was not ready to hold services in. The money to build it had been raised mostly by five ladies from the proceeds of the sale of fancy articles made by their own hands and exposed for sale in one of the public rooms of the Hotel. Each article had its price, and that not an unfair one, written upon it and nothing more would be received for it. If anything was given above by
the rich visitors at the hotel, it was accepted and recorded as a donation. The donations however were not many and the sum of three thousand dollars was raised in a few years from the labor of these industrious women. The numbers in attendance upon the church services continued to increase during the three months I was with them.  

When the time had expired and I was obliged to return to Williamsburg they took up a subscription among the people who had attended the services and the guests at the hotel which, together with the fee which I received for a marriage, nearly paid the expenses of my family at the hotel. They were a simple and a kind people and I formed a strong attachment to them and left them with regret to return to my duties at College. But besides this there were many pleasant things at the Warm Springs. The magnificent mountain scenery around brought to my mind the associations of early days among the Catskills. I was never tired of climbing the rugged sides of the mountains to get some new view of grand scenery on every side. Near the Spring was the highest mountain in the range capped by an isolated rock which rose to the height of one hundred feet above the crest of the Mountain. From this Elevated point you could look down on a vast wilderness of mountains. On the one hand the blue ridge 50 miles distant could be distinctly seen on a clear day and on the opposite looking
over an interval filled with lower ranges of hills appeared the well defined top of the Alleghany ridge thirty miles to the westward.

We made several acquaintances among my parishioners in the neighborhood of the warm springs whose names it is still pleasant to recall \[\text{sic}\]. The visitors at the springs were of all classes and came there from a variety of motives; some for pleasure, many for health and many also to meet acquaintances from different parts of the country. Politicians came there to consult about measures and concoct plans for future operations. The White Sulphur Springs was a kind of meeting place for southern politicians in those days but in returning, small parties of them sometimes stopped and remained several days at the warm springs. At one time in the summer of 1854 we had several distinguished politicians among the guests. Thos. H. Benton of Missouri, Senator Brown of Mississippi, Senator Slidell of Louisiana, Governor Pickens, and Mr. Petigrew \[\text{sic}\] of South Carolina, & Mr. Cutler M. C. from New York? Congress had just adjourned after a long and boisterous session in which the Missouri Compromise had been repealed. The whole country had been much agitated by this measure and it was a common subject of Conversation. All the persons whom I have named were in favor of the measure except Mr. Benton, and he said but little on the subject, and
seldom joined in political discussions of any kind. He was a disappointed politician. He had failed to be elected to a seat in the Senate, and was then a member of the house of representatives, and had no hope of being reelected. He felt that his political life was drawing to a close, and seemed soured and morose. One morning when several gentlemen were sitting on the porch, the conversation turned upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Brown said that he had voted for the measure but with great reluctance. Though it was intended to secure the rights of the south yet he thought the south would be the loser by it. The line of 36°30' had thus far divided the Northern emigration from the southern. The Northern people kept to the north of that line because negro slavery was allowed to the south of it. The southern people did not care to go north of it for the climate was not favorable to slave labor and they would not go north of it now the restriction was removed. It was different with the northern people who would now be stimulated to push their emigration to the south of the line 36°30' and form free state in the southern territory and as their emigration exceeded the southern in the ratio of ten to one, they would have the advantage. He said moreover that Senator Douglass had proposed the measure as a bid for the Presidency to get the southern
vote, but that he should never have his support for that high office.

Governor Pickens remarked that he thought the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would be of no advantage to the south otherwise than as it had stirred up a fanatical opposition at the north and might provoke such rash and unconstitutional measures as would bring the south to the point of dissolving the Union which he hoped to see brought about in some way before long. Here Mr. Petigru remarked, "You talk of dissolving this Union as a light matter but it can never be done till the minds of the people of the two sections are embittered against each other by something more than political agitation. Blood will flow before your scheme of disunion will be accomplished." A discussion followed on the probability of civil war should the south determine to break up the Union, and at length the opinion of Mr. Benton, who had not joined in the discussion was asked. Raising himself up to his full height as he sat in his armed chair where he had seemed to be half asleep, he replied in a decided and earnest tone, "Gentlemen you talk of the dissolution of this Union as a trifling matter. I hope it will not be attempted in my day, and I pray God to take me from the earth before so great a calamity shall befall my country. But whenever it is accomplished you may be sure gentlemen
that there will be civil war, a most atrocious & cruel war, a war which will be a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth Century and a blot upon our Common Christianity."

There the conversation ended. I have recorded it to show what were the almost prophetic anticipations of reflecting men in regard to the attempt to destroy the Union of the States.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XV

1. The 1852-53 session saw few changes in the College except in the number of students which rose to eighty, seventy-four of whom were state residents. All but five students were Episcopalians. The number of students living in the College building rose to thirty-three. Five students lived in the Brafferton with the Totten family. There were no changes in the faculty as Johns, Ewell, Totten, Washington, Smead, and Scarburgh continued to hold their respective chairs. During this year the faculty granted permission for the formation of a new debating society, the Philomathean, which joined the already existing Phoenix Society.

The College awarded eighteen degrees on July 4, 1853; seven Bachelor of Arts of Philosophy; three Master of Arts; eight Law. Matriculation Book, entry for 1852-53, WM Archives; Faculty Minutes, 19 October 1852.

2. From Rules and Regulations: 1851:
"Candidates for the ministry or indigent young men, of good moral character and respectable abilities, may be admitted without payment of fees."

3. Totten complains often about his insufficient salary and probably it was difficult to support a family of seven on his earnings which averaged approximately $1500 per year. But it is less certain that his compensation was unusually low for a college professor in the 1850s in Virginia. Comparisons are difficult because increments and fringe benefits varied widely from institution to institution. A professor at the University of Virginia in 1854 earned $2,250 annually but at the University of Richmond a professor's salary(1859) was $800 plus small increments. If the free housing Totten enjoyed is figured in, his salary was considerably better than at Richmond and certainly not much below that at the University. Bruce, University of Virginia, 3: 98-99; Harrison, "Richmond College," p. 140.

4. William and Mary's student body for the 1853-54 session totalled eighty-two. An overwhelming majority, seventy-one, were residents of Virginia. For the first time since the College had reopened in 1849 there were no students from the North. Episcopalians were still a large majority--seventy-one of the eighty-two students--
but were not as numerous proportionately as in previous years. Thirty-two students lived in the college building; the remainder boarded with Williamsburg residents whom the College paid $50 per year, per student.

The faculty remained the same as for the previous two sessions, but on 31 March 1854, Bishop Johns sent letters of resignation to his faculty colleagues and the Board of Visitors. Johns wrote that at the time of his resignation, relations with the faculty were harmonious, and the difficulties of the early 1850s had given way to prosperity and growing public support. Because the Visitors would not meet until July to appoint a new president, the faculty elected Totten president-pro-tempore until that time. Totten has much more to say of this later. (See Chapter XVI of his memoirs, below.)

The principal concern of the college administration in 1853-54 was again the deplorable condition of the College building. On 4 July 1854, the faculty asked the Board of Visitors to grant permission for the subscription of funds for repairs noting that:

"the condition of the building is such that it requires continual repairs. It was badly constructed in the first place, and now owing to the length of time and hard usage the place occupied by the students is hardly tenantable. It now needs thorough repairs, little less than the entire renovation of the whole interior of the building. We have direct proof of the injury done to the Institution by the dilapidated state of the building in the fact that several students who came to Williamsburg at the beginning of the session, displeased at the appearance of the College, left without matriculating, others were with difficulty persuaded to remain. To put the building in complete repair so that it can compare in comfort and appearance with most of the colleges in the country we require an outlay of at least ten thousand dollars."

During this academic year, Totten began to collect data for a general catalog of the college but abandoned the project when records proved scarce. He later turned his information over to Ewell who published, in 1855, what is believed to be the first general historical college catalog in the United States.

The students of 1853-54 also tried their hand at publishing. One issue of a humor magazine, issued in January 1854 and called *The Owl*, survives. It is not known if there were other issues. Perhaps the students planned only one attempt, or maybe the faculty was less than pleased with the results. The would-be editors gave the place of publication as "Billy and Molly College,
Billysburg, Werginnie" and the headline proclaimed a "Five Dollar Reward" offered by the faculty for information "as to the student or students who had the impudence to suggest the propriety of all the professors attending morning prayers." Amid articles about "Dr. Trotter," "Judge Scare-a-bug," and Professor "Washtub," the students inserted riddles:

"Question: How do some of the merchants in Williamsburg show their regard for students?"
"Answer: By praying for them one day in the year (usually Graduation) and preying on them every other."

At the end of the 1853-54 session the College awarded seven Bachelors degrees, one Masters degree, and one Law degree. Matriculation Book, entry for 1853-54, WM Archives. For Johns's resignation see Faculty Minutes, 31 March, 3 April 1854; quote on condition of the building is found in the Report of the Faculty to the Visitors, 3 July 1854 cited in WMQ, 2d ser., 8(October 1928): 263-64; on catalog, 1855, see Ewell MS Autobiography, typescript in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives; The Owl is in the Portrait File, WM Archives; degrees are recorded in Catalogue of Alumni, 1866-1932, Appendix, p. 156.

The Rev. James Worthington, present rector of Christ Church, Warm Springs, Virginia has kindly sent me a copy of a Deed, recorded at Warm Springs, Bath County, Virginia on 15 October 1851, ceding for $1 a part of the property of James Brockenbough to the trustees appointed to superintend the building of a Protestant Episcopal Church. Rev. Worthington also furnished, in part, the minutes of the church for 1851, 1854, and 1855. Eleven members made up the congregation in 1851. The minutes for 17 September 1854 confirm that "the Rev. Silas Totten preached the first sermon in Christ Church." On 24 September 1854, "Rev. Dr. Totten . . . administered the first Episcopal Sacracent at Warm Springs."

The mountain referred to is either Bald Knob (elevation 4,245 feet) or Elliot Knob (elevation 4,458).

Totten has more to say of Senators Benton and Brown, Governor Pickens, and Mr. Petigru below. "Senator Slidell of Louisiana" refers to John Slidell (1793-1871), United States Senator from Louisiana, 1853-1861. Slidell is remembered for his secret and ill-fated mission to Mexico in 1845 and as one of the principals in the Trent Affair of 1861. He went to Mexico, at
President Polk's request, to buy California and New Mexico and to gain approval of the Rio Grande as the Texas boundary. The Mexican government refused to recognize his credentials. This rebuff was a boon to support in the United States for war with Mexico.

In 1861 Slidell became the Confederate government's commissioner to France. On his way across the Atlantic, on the British steamer Trent, he and Senator James M. Mason of Virginia, commissioner to Great Britain, were seized by the USS San Jacinto and held at Fort Warren in Boston. The incident strained the already tense relations between Britain and the United States.


Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858) was elected to the United States Senate in 1820 from Missouri and ran at that time on a ticket opposing any restriction of slavery in Missouri. By 1828 Benton had become an advocate of gradual abolition, believing that slavery hindered settlement. In 1848 he became a man without a party when he refused to take sides in the Martin Van Buren-Lewis Cass split in the Democratic Party. Benton was a true moderate on slavery but always pro-Union. In the debates on the Compromise of 1850 he opposed too many concessions to the secessionists and favored the admission of California as a free state. This was a position contrary to that of the Missouri state legislature and a majority of his constituents. Benton was defeated by a Whig for the Senate in 1850, but was later elected to the House of Representatives where he led the fight for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He lost his House seat in 1856 and also failed in his race for Governor of Missouri. Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Benton, Thomas Hart." See also Elbert B. Smith, Magnificent Missourian: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1958) and William Nisbet Chambers, Old Bullion Benton: Senator from the New West: Thomas Hart Benton, 1782-1850 (Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1956).
Albert Gallatin Brown (1813-1880) of Mississippi was one of the most prominent and vocal Southern Democrats in the pre-war period. In his early career he was an ardent Jacksonian and opponent of the National Bank. Brown served one term in the House of Representatives (1839-41) before being elected governor of Mississippi in 1843. In the House of Representatives, 1848-54, and the Senate, 1854-61, he was an influential defender of the Southern cause during many sectional debates. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961, s.v. "Brown, Albert Gallatin." See also James Eyrne Ranck, Albert Gallatin Brown, *Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937).

Francis Wilkinson Pickens (1805-1869) of South Carolina was an avid supporter of state sovereignty and nullification. He served in the House of Representatives from 1834 until 1843 and in 1857 lost a bid for the Senate to James Hammond. A unionist, Pickens hoped to preserve both peace and the union, but after the raid at Harper's Ferry he came to place prevention of slave insurrections and abolitionist agitation above love of the union and became a leader of the secession movement in South Carolina. Elected governor by the state legislature on 7 December 1860, Pickens was responsible for the firing of the first guns of the Civil War on 12 April 1861 at Fort Sumter.*Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961, s.v. "Pickens, Francis Wilkinson."

James Louis Petigru (1789-1863) was South Carolina's leading unionist in the pre-war period. He vigorously opposed nullification as a policy devoid of logic and moral justification, and considered secession to be madness of the first order. Petigru felt however that there was no hope of stopping the movement for Southern independence. Though he would not defend the institution of slavery, Petigru owned slaves. He was a leading and respected lawyer who often defended slaves, free Blacks, and poor whites. More radical Southerners tolerated Petigru as a loveable and witty eccentric. For one who never held high office, James L. Petigru left a lasting impressions on the history of South Carolina and the South. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961, s.v. "Petigru, James Louis." See also William J. Grayson, *James Louis Petigru: A Biographical Sketch* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1866).
CHAPTER XVI

A great and to me a disagreeable change had taken place in the College of William and Mary. Bishop Johns resigned the Presidency in the Spring of 1854 and though his family remained a part of the summer on the College grounds he took no part in the administration of the College. The Visitors were not to meet for the election of a new president until the July following. Meanwhile by a vote of the faculty I was to have the charge of the College till the meeting took place. And now occurred one of those disappointments which are to be regarded as blessings in disguise. I had every reason to expect that the Bishop would urge my appointment to the place he had vacated. When he urged my acceptance of the professorship in 1849 he said that he did not expect to remain long in the college and that one object in appointing me was to introduce one into the College who would be qualified to succeed him. Apparently with this view he had taken care that the College should be left in my charge when he was absent on his visitations. When however in 1854, he began to talk of retiring from the college, he said nothing about his successor but I learned from other quarters that he designed to recommend
Prof. Ewell as his successor. What was the cause of this change I did not know. For a few months before this he had been very intimate with the professor who took care to flatter him on all occasions, and never to oppose him in the meetings of the faculty. I ought not to charge him with being influenced directly by such motives, though the influence of the professor may have had something to do with his change of purpose. An attack had been made upon me by an evil minded person in Williamsburg, in a Richmond paper, in which advantage was taken of my northern birth to represent me as being in sympathy with the Northern abolitionists, and a great admirer of Mrs. Stowe, and her popular novel Uncle Tom's Cabin. The charge was indignantly denied by the Faculty and students and my acquaintances in Williamsburg and I do not think anyone believed it for a moment. Yet in the then state of public opinion in Virginia such an accusation alone was sufficient to alarm the timid friends of the College. When skillfully pressed upon Bishop Johns it doubtless had its influence and was the chief cause of the change in his purpose. I have a right to infer this for I have now in my possession a letter of recommendation from him in which he states that it would have been the pleasure of the Visitors to appoint me president of the College had it not been for a prejudice on account of my northern birth, lately
intensified by the political state of the country. One of the Visitors, also, told me after the election of Prof. Ewell, that I would have been chosen had there not been a fear of this prejudice on the part of the majority of the Visitors. 3

I was disappointed at the time. I felt disappointed but had I been chosen I would probably have remained in the College till the beginning of the civil war and would have been completely broken up and lost all that I possessed. God was thus taking care of me and mine though I knew it not.

After the election of Mr. Ewell to the Presidency the College began to decline. There were two reasons for this. Bishop Johns no longer excited himself to bring students to the College. He wished to have a church institution at Alexandria, and this probably influenced him in having a Presbyterian elected to the Presidency of William & Mary College.

The second reason was that Mr. Ewell was not qualified for his position. He had had a military Education at West Point which gave him a knowledge of Mathematics and Physics but he had neither literary acquirements nor literary taste. He was therefore a poor judge of the instruction given in the departments of Belleslettres, History, Languages, and Metaphysics. He had not the faculty of inspiring any kind of
Enthusiasm for polite studies in the minds of the students.

He had a kind of popularity among them acquired by making himself very familiar with them on all occasions but he did not command their respect. The fact that he was separated from his wife, that he had a mulatto slave as his housekeeper whom he dressed very extravagantly and that though a member of the Presbyterian Church he never came to the Communion and often absented himself from church impaired his moral influence, or rather carried it in the wrong direction. I saw how matters were likely to go from the beginning and became desirous of leaving the College for some other employment.

There was no diminution of the number of students in the Session of 1854-5 and the College seemed to be going prosperously on. My own income in the college was not diminished and another unexpected source of emolument made our circumstances easy. St. Paul's Church at Richmond was without a Rector and I was employed by the vestry to officiate in the church till one could be procured. I would leave Williamsburg on Saturday about noon, by steamboat, and arrive at Richmond by 6 O'Clock in the evening. On Monday morning at 6 O'Clock I left Richmond and arrived at WmBurg by noon the same day. My lectures in the college were arranged to suit these hours so that I could do full
duty in the College & officiate every Sunday in St. Paul's. This arrangement which was at first made for a month or two continued for a whole year, for it seemed impossible for the vestry to find an acceptable rector. I was paid very liberally for my services, $150 per month, I paying my own expenses, which did not amount to more than ten dollars per month.

My engagement at Richmond furnished a pleasant interruption to the dull monotony of college life and I would have been very glad to lose the professor in the clergyman. I made many friends in Richmond, and at one time I believe that a large majority of the congregation wished me to become their Rector. Indeed I learned from a member of the vestry that a majority of the vestry favored my election but when the time came to make a choice Bishop Meade came to Richmond and the next thing I heard was that Dr. Clement A. Butler, a favorite of the Bishop, had been chosen. I enquired no further into the matter. I knew I was no favorite with the Bishop nor was anyone who did not go heart and soul with him in his extreme notions in regard to amusements.

In the spring of 1855 I attended the meeting of the Convention in Lexington, Va., and was admitted to a seat as the minister of St. Paul's Church Richmond. These Virginia Conventions were not mere meetings for business but rather religious festivals to which not only
the clergy and lay representatives went, but hundreds and sometimes thousands of religious people assembled to greet one another and listen to the popular preachers of the day. All the places of public worship of whatever religious denomination they might be in the town where the convention assembled were open for worship and preaching morning, afternoon, and evening, and crowded to overflowing.

Both the members of the convention and visitors were hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. In a small town like Lexington and not easy of access the number in attendance might not exceed six or eight hundred, but when the convention met in Richmond or Norfolk some thousands of people were in attendance.

It is hard to estimate the value of so much preaching on these occasions. Much of it was simple and earnest and much for the purpose of display. The preachers were appointed by the Bishops and complaint was sometimes made that much favoritism was shown in the selection. Rarely indeed was a High Churchman called upon to officiate on these occasions or indeed anyone who made opposition to the favorite measures of the Bishops.

During the ten years of my residence in Virginia I preached but twice at the meetings of the Convention,
once at Alexandria at the first convention which I attended and afterwards at Richmond when I was appointed to preach one of the special sermons.

The summer of 1855 was remarkable for a severe visit of the yellow fever at Norfolk. For some weeks the pestilence was confined to a narrow locality, but then it spread suddenly over the whole city and numbered its daily victims by hundreds. Multitudes left the city, those only remaining who had not the means of removing or were detained by the necessity of nursing their sick relatives. The negroes did not suffer from the disease but those who had white blood in their veins were liable to attacks of greater or less severity in proportion as the white or black predominated. I know of no pestilence on record in which the mortality was so great.

The number of deaths was estimated at 2,500. The whole white population of the city did not exceed ten thousand and of these at least one half fled from the city, so that it may be fairly estimated that one half the persons exposed to the epidemic died. Whole families were swept away. Little orphans wandered in the streets too young to tell who their parents were. Never was there a more awful visitation. The disease was strictly epidemic. Those who fled having the seeds of the disease within them sickened and died in the places to which they had fled but did not communicate the disease to
others. Williamsburg was crowded with fugitives but there was not a single case of fever in the town. There were fifteen or twenty cases in Richmond, about one half fatal, but these all brought from Norfolk, not one originated in Richmond.*

We had left Williamsburg before the fever had spread far in Norfolk, and were in Richmond on our way to the mountains before it became very alarming. We had decided to spend the sickly months at a house on the top of the Blue Ridge. The house was on the line of the Central Railroad and on that account convenient for me to go to Richmond to officiate on Sundays. When the fugitives from Norfolk began to pour into Richmond and it was rumored that there were several cases of fever among them the alarm was so great that many families packed their trunks and were ready to start the moment the disease should begin to spread in the city.

This alarm hastened our departure for the mountains; for we feared that every place of resort for the summer would soon be crowded. We left on Tuesday /sic/ morning and arrived at our destination the same day at noon. It was a large house situated in a notch in the Blue Ridge a little on the western declivity at an elevation of about 2000 feet above tidewater. Our accommodations were narrow, the beds were poor, and the board /sic/, but we had a pure, bracing mountain air and
the most wild and magnificent scenery and this made up for every other discomfort.

The amusements of the family were wandering in the woods, clambering over the rocks and climbing the mountain peaks. We frequently went to the top of a high mountain peak which terminated in a bare rock with a single chestnut tree growing out of the crevice on its very summit. This peak which was about 1500 feet higher than the gap where the road passed over the mountains commanded a wide view of the country on every side. On the east was the hilly region called the piedmont country extending some thirty miles from the foot of the mountain and farther on the plain country which in the distance looked like the expanse of ocean. On the west was the far famed valley of Virginia, twenty miles in width and beyond a waste of mountains rising ridge beyond ridge till the most distant seemed like a faint blue cloud on the horizon. To the north and south extended the blue ridge as far as the eye could reach, not a single ridge but with its lateral spurs forming a congeries of mountains from thirty to forty miles in width. Viewed from the lofty peak which I have described, it appeared like an immense wooded plain raised high above the surrounding country, cut in places by dark deep ravines and studded at intervals with abrupt rocky peaks. I was never tired of gazing on this grand mountain scenery.
It seemed to put new spirit and life into me and I could have been willing to spend my life in those rude mountains.

My family remained all the time at the mountain house. I went down to Richmond on Saturday, remained over Sunday and the next week, and on the monday following returned again to the mountain; thus spending a little more than one half my time in Richmond. These mountain visits were among the happiest portions of my life and it is pleasant now to recall and dwell upon the remembrance of them. During this summer I made a short visit to the warm springs accompanied by my eldest daughter. Leaving her there with some of my parishioners of the last year I went farther west and made a visit to my friend Mr. Wm. H. MacFarland of Richmond who with his family was spending the summer months on a stock farm which he owned in one of the vallies in the mountains. My first day's travel was by stage through the vallies and passes of the mountains, forty miles over a fine road from the warm springs to the white sulphur springs. There were few traveling west at this season of the year, and I had but a single companion for the whole distance. At first he seemed bashful and reserved, but no reserve is proof against a journey of ten hours in a stage coach, and before we had gone ten miles on our way we began to feel acquainted. I recognized him at last as Professor Jackson whom I had seen
in the spring when I attended the Convention at Lexing­ton. He was the professor of Natural Philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute.\(^{10}\)

It appeared also that he had been giving instruc­tion in Moral Philosophy in Washington College located also at Lexington. I found him very intelligent and at first rather diffident, but as his reserve wore off, quite positive and dogmatic in his opinions. I soon learned that he was a presbyterian \(\sqrt{\text{sic}}\) of the strictest sect with a code of morals which might almost be termed fanatical. Our conversation at one time turned upon the text books in moral philosophy and he expressed an astonishment when I told him that I had used Paley's Philosophy. He regarded Paley's System as altogether wrong in principle and most corrupting in practice. He spoke particularly of the chapter on lying and would not admit that exceptions could be used in any emergency without sin. You might not even deceive a robber or murderer though the motive were to stop the commission of a great crime and to save human life. He doubted indeed whether it were allowable to disarm a madman by deceiving him. God commanded us to tell the truth, we must obey and leave the event with him. I asked him what he thought of stratagems in war, which were designed for the sole purpose of deceiving the enemy. He replied that we could not well apply Christian morals in war
for war itself was one of the highest offences against morality but even if you broke the higher command it was not the less sin to disregard the lower.

I mention this conversation, because this same Professor Jackson was afterwards the celebrated Stonewall Jackson so highly distinguished in the Civil War as a skillful strategist and an able general. Doubtless his moral principles were a little relaxed in the new circumstances in which he was placed.

I remained a single day at the white sulphur springs and pushed on twenty miles further to Meadow Farm, the residence of Mr. MacFarland. I had passed the great Alleghany ridge before reaching the White Sulphur Springs, but the country was still mountainous. The vallies however were broad and the hillsides wherever there was an attempt at cultivation, were covered with luxuriant pastures. It was a land of mountains, of hills, and of vallies and bright, clear streams and if cleared up and cultivated no region in the whole country would be more beautiful. Indeed there would be a mingling of the beautiful and grand beyond what I have seen in any other region.

My visit was a very pleasant one. I arrived on Saturday morning and remained till the middle of the week following. On Sunday morning I preached in a log meeting house built for use of all denominations.
As I had been expected and extensive notice given, the small house was crowded and a large number were collected about the windows and doors, and when I came out earnest enquiries were made whether I could not stay another week and officiate the following sunday. From Meadow Farm I returned directly to the Warm Springs where I remained over Sunday and officiated in the New Church which was hardly then finished, and administered the Holy Communion. I was pleasant to meet the old friends once more under such interesting circumstances and I felt that I would be quite willing to spend the remainder of my days with this little flock in the mountains.

All of the month of September yet remained to be spent on the top of the Blue Ridge at the mountain house. But the time passed too swiftly away and when College duties summoned me back to Williamsburg it was with reluctance that we bid adieu to the bracing air and grand scenery of the mountains to live again on the level plains amid the gloomy pine forests of the Low Country.

I still continued my ministration in St. Paul's in Richmond. Objections were however made to this arrangement by some of the visitors of the College, and probably not without reason for a man's heart cannot be in two kinds of work at the same time. About Christmas time I took my leave of the good people of St. Paul's.
I received a substantial token of their respect in the gift of a silver pitcher and salver, which I still possess.

And now occurred what I had anticipated when Bishop Johns left the college. The number of students began to diminish and of course my income diminished at the same time. The college was evidently declining and as it usually happens in such cases extraordinary means must be resorted to, to keep up the number of students. It had in a degree ceased to be a church College, and no appeal could be made to churchmen to sustain it. More free students were received to keep up appearances. They were mostly boys from the vicinity, poorly prepared, and they did no credit to the college. The University of Virginia was swallowing up everything. At one time it was urged that the fees paid by the students were too large and should be diminished in order to make it a cheap College. At another that we ought to have a regular four years course of studies like the Northern Colleges and at another that changes should be made in the professorships so as to give more prominence to classical studies. It is poor policy for the friends of a college to be continually talking of making changes, for the public will always think that something is wanting when changes are freely talked of by those who are supposed to know best. I now felt anxious to
procure some other situation and made some efforts to get either a parish or a professorship in another college but was unsuccessful. The session passed away in the usual routine of College duties, and I do not now remember anything worthy of record. 14

We were not very well content for we were apprehensive of trouble in the management of the college. Our summer vacation of 1856 was spent at the North. A part of the time we sojourned on the shore of long island[sic] Sound near Southport, Connecticut and a part of the time in the city of Hartford.

It was the year of the presidential election and excitement ran high. It was not pleasant for a southern family to live at the north. The supporters of Fremont[and] the abolition party of the North abused the southern people using the most[?] epithets, while they were but feebly defended or rather excused by the democrats[?]. In the bitter contests of that political campaign may be found one of the causes of the cruel and disgraceful civil war which afterwards almost ruined the whole country. Whenever in a republic political parties become sectional having well defined geographical boundaries such a result is to be looked for. It was wonderful to see the prejudices which each section entertained towards the other. No tale of cruelty or atrocity, however improbable or absurd in respect to the slave holders of the south, could
be circulated at the north without finding ready listeners and firm believers. The feeling was reciprocated at the south, till the people began to regard all northern men as especially mean spirited, cowardly, and ready to sell themselves for gain. The newspapers increased the animosity by publishing all the hard speeches which rash or unprincipled men had made in the opposing section, and representing them as the true index of public sentiment. They even began to estimate the military strength of each region. The south boasted of the bravery of their citizens and confidently asserted that one was equal to two northerners, while the north talked of the weakness of the south on account of the existence of African slavery and declared that an army of ten thousand men would overrun the whole south. Thus men's minds became familiar with the idea of intestine strife and civil war, and though after the election of Mr. Buchanan [sic] the whole excitement died out for a while, yet the sentiment lingered in the minds of men ready to flame out whenever occasions offered—I then foresaw what was likely to happen and felt that our home on the frontiers of the two sections would be unsafe. Even then the election of Mr. Fremont would have led to disturbances and probably to civil war. I was credibly informed that 800 men in the Lower counties of Virginia had banded themselves together for the purpose of seizing upon fortress [sic]
Monroe as soon as they should hear that Fremont was elected.

We were glad to get back to our peaceful home at the close of the vacation. There at least we need not hear the din and clamour of politics as we had heard it in public places and in travelling at the north.

The college was opened at the usual time in Oct., and again there was a slight diminution in the number of students. The loss was felt by all the professors for, as the ticket fee to each professor for every student in his classes was twenty dollars, a decrease of only five students took $100 from his income. When my salary at the best but furnished a bare support for my family such a loss was severely felt.

During the session of 1856-7 I was burdened with additional duties. The health of Prof. Washington which had been bad for a long time now entirely failed. He occasionally attended to his classes for a few weeks at the beginning of the session and then became so weak as to be confined entirely to his room. He requested me to attend to his classes for a few weeks, when he hoped to be better. But his hopes were never to be realized. He never afterwards made his appearance in the college. Yet he did not resign. The nature of his disease was such that we all hoped for his recovery, and we were unwilling to lose him from the college. Through the whole of
this session I continued to attend to his classes and they cost me much more labor than my own. For the session of 1856-7 there were two classes in Professor Washington's department. The Junior class History which extended through the whole session; the Senior Class Political Economy for one half the session, and constitutional law for the remainder. I felt myself pretty well acquainted with history but I found it was one thing to be familiar with the general facts of history and quite another thing to be able to lecture upon history so as to command the interest of the Class. I was not willing that the Class should suffer in my hands, or that comparisons should be made to my disadvantage with the instructions before received. I was therefore under the necessity of making elaborate preparations both in History and Political Economy.

I had but one lecture per day, a lecture to each class alternately, and this occupied but one hour but the hours of reading and preparation were many. With my own department I was too familiar to require preparation farther than to keep pace with the speculations of the day. I could therefore give almost my whole time to the new department.

I rose every day with the dawn and seldom indeed closed my eyes to sleep till twelve at night. And now I resolved the advantage of a kind of training which I had
received at College under Dr. Nott, which enabled me to retain in memory whatever I read with a view to recollect it. I analysed as I read and then stored up in memory what was useful to my purpose.

Three or four months hard work performed in this way so familiarized me with the principles of History and Political Economy that with moderate industry I was able to do full justice to my pupils. When the time came for the Lectures on Constitutional Law there was again some necessity for hard work but the interest which I felt in the subject made the work rather more pleasant than irksome. Indeed I hardly regarded this addition to my labors a hardship. The College paid the salary of one thousand Dollars to Professor Washington but the ticket fees the Professor insisted should be paid to me. These amounted to only about $300 per annum, but it was a very welcome addition to my income which was now diminishing every year.

The duties of a professor in college are such a matter of routine, that unless something extraordinary happens, the history of one year is the history of all. Recitations, Lectures, examinations in their order, and occasional cases of discipline, sometimes vexatious and sometimes amusing but not worth remembering, fill up the passing hours. Thus passed away the session of 1856-7 in the College of William and Mary.
1 Despite Totten's suspicions, the evidence indicates that Ewell did not actively seek the presidency nor did he expect the Visitors to offer him the position. In his manuscript autobiography Ewell wrote that he had "taken the liberty of advising Bishop Johns to nominate to the Visitors as his successor a prominent Episcopal Clergyman and named the Rev. Richard Wilmer, now Bishop of Alabama, and the Rev. Dr. William N. Pendleton as well fitted for the position." But Johns "did not approve of Denominational Colleges & took no steps in the matter." Ewell felt that the College's continued prosperity would best be served by strengthening its church ties.

Ewell's papers also contain several letters from acquaintances recommending him for professorships at the University of Virginia and the University of Richmond for the 1854-55 session. It is clear that Ewell solicited these letters.

On 15 June 1854 Ewell wrote to Henry A. Wise, an influential member of the Board of Visitors, concerning his possible nomination to succeed Johns:

"Some months ago I expressed a determination to Bishop Johns not to become a candidate as I felt well enough contented where I am. To this determination I wish to adhere. At the same time, if my friends see fit to push me forward without my agreeing & almost without my consent, I have no alternative. The position is too prominent & too distinguished to be refused if thrown in my way, while I have not the vanity to suppose the Visitors are going to seek out me, when such able men will be under nomination. Yet, as at present advised, I do not feel willing enough to leave my present residence to induce me to make any active exertions. As I have not prohibited my name from being brought forward, if elected, I should feel bound to accept."

A typescript of Ewell's autobiography and Ewell's letter to Wise are in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives; see also Ewell Papers, WM Manuscripts.

2 The newspaper article Totten refers to appeared in the Richmond Examiner, 27 May 1853 and was signed "Aristicles." The Examiner, founded and edited by John Moncure Daniel, was one of the earliest secessionist papers and the first in Virginia.
When Totten was thus verbally attacked, the student body at William and Mary, of their own accord, assembled on 29 May 1853 to appoint a committee for the purpose of preparing a "series of resolutions in accordance with the unanimous convictions and feelings expressed at this meeting." The committee submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved— that we the students of William and Mary regard with deserved indignation the irresponsible attempt which has been made to injure the reputation and impair the usefullness of one of our valued and respected professors, by creating distrust as to the soundness of his views on the subject of slavery.

"Resolved— that we know and are persuaded, that so far from being justly liable to any such suspicion, his sentiments are in complete accordance with 'the compromise' & in entire harmony with the views of the most distinguished statesmen and patriots of the South— Of this, we have unmistakable proof in his public teaching, informal conversations, & domestic arrangements.

"Resolved— that whilst we express our surprise at this most unexpected assault, we gladly avail ourselves of the occasion it affords, to declare our confidence in the excellent character, and eminent abilities of the professor alluded to, and our most cordial desire, that he may be long retained to adorn and benefit this venerable College."

On 31 May the students addressed themselves to the editor of the Examiner:

"... we have never heard fall from him one single expression or witnessed a single act of his calculated to produce an impression that he was in the slightest or remotest manner tainted with the heresy and crime of abolitionism, but on the contrary from all that we have seen and heard from Dr. Totten is as free from the taints of abolitionism as we feel and know ourselves to be. And as these proceedings are intended for the public we cannot say on this subject without expressing our admiration of the great ability and gentlemanly deportment which have uniformly marked the conduct of Dr. Totten as a professor. We have not hesitation in saying, he is able, he is kind, he is amiable and good tempered, and his whole conduct stamps him a good man and a Christian."

"Proceedings of a Meeting of the Students of William and Mary College," 29, 31 May 1853, Totten Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.
It is unlikely, in view of the political climate, that any academician of Northern birth could have been appointed president of a Southern university in the late 1850s. Southern students were, in increasing numbers, giving up their studies at Northern colleges and returning to the South. Southern college presidents and professors born in the North came under attack with increasing frequency as the decade progressed.

Totten, in his difficulties with the Examiner, fared better than Professor Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick of the University of North Carolina who was attacked by the Raleigh Standard in 1856 for being a free-soiler and supporter of "Black Republicanism." Students burned him in effigy and the faculty passed resolutions censuring his courses and repudiating his political sentiments. The trustees hesitated to dismiss him and risk making him a martyr in the North, but outside pressure resulted in his expulsion along with that of his only defender among the professors.

At Wake Forest University the Northern-born president, John E. White, was forced to resign when public opinion outweighed the strength of his support among students and faculty. President Frederick Barnard of the University of Mississippi, a northerner by birth but a slaveowner and proslavery advocate, was attacked by his faculty in 1859 for recommending the dismissal of a student who had assaulted one of his slaves. (Barnard returned North during the war to become president of Columbia University.)

Totten's failure to become president of William and Mary in 1854 was probably due in part to the influence of Henry A. Wise, an influential member of the Board of Visitors, future governor of Virginia (1855-59), and a leader of the proslavery forces in Virginia. It is not possible to determine Wise's exact role because the Visitors' minutes for that period are missing. However, Wise's welcoming statement to a special trainload of Virginia students returning to Richmond from northern universities after John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry is indicative:

"Let us employ our own teachers, especially that they may teach our own doctrines. Let us dress in the wool raised on our own pastures. Let us eat the flour from our own mills, and if we can't get that, why let us go back to our old accustomed corn bread."

On Hedrick see J.G. deR Hamilton, "Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick," James Sprunt Historical Publications, X, 8, cited in Eaton, Freedom of Thought Struggle, pp. 223-24; on White see Godbold, Church Colleges, p. 92; material on Barnard is from Eaton, Freedom of Thought Struggle.
In Ewell's first year as president, the College boasted eighty-two students, the largest enrollment since Dew's administration. Many more students than in the past came from Williamsburg—sixteen of the seventy-six Virginia residents. The out-of-state students were all southerners—two each from North Carolina and South Carolina and one each from Georgia and Florida. Sixty-eight students claimed the Episcopal Church as their religious preference but, for the first time a relatively large number—eight—were Baptists; the remaining six were Methodists. Only twenty-three students lived in the College building in 1854-55, perhaps because of its poor state of repair.

The faculty was now composed of only five members: Ewell, Totten, Washington, Scarburgh, and Smead. Johns had officially held the chair of Moral Philosophy, but Totten handled his teaching duties. For this reason it was not necessary for the Visitors to appoint another professor. President Ewell continued to perform his usual classroom duties.

In this 1854-55 session the faculty made a last attempt to collect what they claimed were Revolutionary debts owed the College by the Federal government. The College's case rested on the assertion that the United States owed the College the following:

1. $30,000 for use of the Governor's palace and the College to house American and French troops from May 1776-July 1782.

2. $10,000 for the Palace which burned in 1781 while being used as a hospital during the siege of Yorktown.

3. $1,000 for rent of a house for President Madison made necessary when General Cornwallis took over the President's House as his residence.

4. $12,600 for seven years rent lost on the Brafferton and Doxhill estates because of the war.

When these claims were submitted to the Congressional Revolutionary Claims Committee in January 1845, the Committee refused any settlement on the grounds that the property in question had belonged to the sovereign state of Virginia when the losses occurred, and it was therefore up to the state to make restitution. Similar claims were submitted in December 1850 with the same result. In December 1854 the faculty again hired a
lawyer to present the College's case, but there is no
evidence that the Congressional Claims Committee re­
considered the claim.

Graduation at the College each year was held on
July Fourth and was an integral part of Williamsburg's
Independence Day celebration. The 162nd Commencement,
in 1855, seems to have been an especially well-attended
and active affair. The Virginia Gazette reported that
"the seats, aisles and gallery, even the windows of the
chapel were crowded with eager and attentive faces . . .
such an immense concourse of people we never before saw
assembled in the college building."

The Graduation-Independence Day celebrations
included five events, beginning at 9:00 A.M. with a
general muster of the James City County militia and
the Williamsburg city volunteers on Courthouse Green.
The combined regiment, in Revolutionary dress, then
paraded down Duke of Gloucester Street to the College
where Commencement exercises were scheduled for 11:00 A.M.
in the College chapel.

After opening prayers and the reading of the
Declaration of Independence, selected members of the
graduating class read their essays to the assembled
faculty, visitors, family, friends, and townspeople.
The awarding of degrees followed. In 1855 William and
Mary granted twenty-four diplomas: thirteen Bachelors;
seven Law; and four Master of Arts. Then came the
highlight of the service—an address by a distinguished
alumnus or friend of the College.

The third event of the day, beginning at about
1:00 P.M., was a picnic dinner in the College Yard,
attended by all the townspeople, black and white. Tables
were set up under the trees and the Negro cooks served
as hostesses at each table. Intense rivalry, continued
from year to year, had developed over which cook could
set the most abundant and elegant table. Students and
guests moved from table to table, paying at each and
being careful not to slight any table that represented
a friend's family. When all had been served, slave field-
hands were allowed to clean up the remains, free of charge.

The next event was the annual meeting of the Phi
Beta Kappa Society held at 4:30 P.M. in the Elue Room.
Here the chosen graduates were admitted to membership and
the coveted keys awarded. Two of the students honored
in 1855 were to become well-known Virginians. Alfred
Magill Randolph became first Bishop of the Diocese of
Southern Virginia in 1892 and William Lamb became Rector
of the College's Board of Visitors during Lyon Tyler's
administration. After the keys were awarded, Dr. Totten,
president of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, introduced
Hugh Blair Grigsby of Norfolk to deliver an address.
Grigsby's presence at the 1855 ceremonies marked the beginning of his long and distinguished association with the College.

Hugh Blair Grigsby (1806-1881), lawyer, journalist, historian, and descendant of the Reverend James Blair, had been a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1828-30, and of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. Grigsby was the acknowledged expert on Virginia history of his era and was the author of histories of the Virginia Convention of 1776, the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788, and the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. From 1870 to 1881 Grigsby was president of the Virginia Historical Society. He honored the 1855 Phi Beta Kappa meeting with the presentation of his History of the Virginia Convention of 1776 published that same year. The College returned the honor by electing him to the Board of Visitors and presenting him with an honorary Doctor of Laws degree. In the years that followed, Grigsby became William and Mary's most liberal private benefactor and, in 1871, he became the third person to hold the office of Chancellor of the College.

After the Phi Beta Kappa observance, the graduation festivities concluded in the evening with a ball held either at a private residence or in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern. Matriculation Book, entry for 1854-55, WM Archives. Copies of papers and documents relating to William and Mary's Revolutionary claims are in the College Papers, WM Archives (see especially U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Revolutionary Claims, Senate Doc. 219, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 12 December 1850); see also Faculty Minutes, 20 December 1854. Quote is from Virginia Gazette, 26 July 1855. The best description of graduation exercises at the College was given by Dr. William Robert Garrett, an 1858 graduate, in a speech to the Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, Vanderbilt University, 5 December 1901, printed in WMQ, 10 (April 1902): 251-57; see also Lamb Diary, 1 July 1855, WM Manuscripts. On Grigsby see H.A. Brock, "Biographical Sketch of Hugh Blair Grigsby" in Grigsby, Virginia Federal Convention of 1788 (Richmond: Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, New Series, Vol. IX, 1890), 1: xxvii; see also Allen Griswold Bigelow, "Hugh Blair Grigsby, Historian and Antiquarian," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957).

St. Paul's Church, at Ninth and Grace streets in Richmond, was consecrated in 1845 to accommodate the overflow from Monumental Church. Bishop Johns officiated at the laying of the cornerstone for the church which was to become Richmond's "society church." During the Civil War Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis often worshipped
at St. Paul's and there on 2 April 1865 Davis received word of the approach of Union troops and the necessity to evacuate Richmond and Petersburg.

St. Paul's first rector, Dr. William Norwood, became ill in 1846 and Bishop Johns temporarily took charge of services until the election of the Reverend Alexander Jones in 1849. Jones remained at St. Paul's until 1854 when Totten took over the duties of Rector. Totten wrote that Dr. Clement Butler was chosen rector in 1856. No record exists of Dr. Butler having served St. Paul's. In 1856 the Reverend Charles Minnegerode, former professor of Humanities at William and Mary (1842-48) under President Dew, became rector of St. Paul's, a position he held until 1889. Elizabeth Wright Weddell, St. Paul's Church: Its Historic Years and Memorials (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1931), 1, chaps. 2, 3, and 4 passim; 2: 487-89.

Bishop William Meade (1789-1862) was third bishop of the Virginia Diocese of the Episcopal Church, 1841-1862. Meade was a leader of the evangelical (low-church) faction and is credited with extending the revival of the Church in Virginia which began under Bishop Channing Moore. Meade condemned the drinking of alcoholic beverages, card playing, and refused to witness dancing or to admit to the Holy Communion those who attended public balls. He was also known to make life difficult for communicants who bred race horses. Holmes, "Decline and Revival," Part 2, in Up From Independence, p. 92. See also Addresses Delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia (Richmond: Episcopal Publications, 1929), pp. 87-89.

The annual conventions of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia usually met in early May. The sessions convened on Wednesday morning and ended on Saturday afternoon irregardless of the amount of business to be considered. In fact, business seems to have been of secondary importance, with most of the time being allotted to sermons, services, and prayer meetings. Dashiell, A Digest of the Proceedings of the Conventions and Councils of the Diocese of Virginia, entries for 1849-59. See also the Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Virginia for specific years.

Fear of yellow fever and its devastating effects was heightened in the pre-war years by a lack of knowledge as to its cause. When the disease appeared in any municipality, the first reaction of civic leaders and the business community was to deny its existence. An
epidemic was anathema to business and assured the lowering of a city's image. The June 1855 outbreak in Norfolk and Portsmouth was finally acknowledged by the press in late July. By this time the citizens were fleeing in large numbers.

But soon there was no place to go. The steamer from Norfolk was not allowed to land at Old Point Comfort on the theory that the disease could be transmitted from one person to another. William Lamb, a resident of Norfolk and an 1855 graduate of William and Mary, wrote in his diary:

"Are we in a Christian land, or is selfishness the characteristic of our people? We ask this question because . . . letters have come from Suffolk, that if people continue to arrive there, they will pull the rails up from the railroad tracks."

Before the disease abated in early October more than 2000 had perished, including Norfolk's mayor and most of the city's physicians and ministers. In one twenty-four hour period as many as eighty-three deaths were recorded. One family lost ten of its eleven members to the disease.

With yellow fever so near, Williamsburg worried about its image too. On 23 August 1855 the Virginia Gazette reassured its readers:

"It may not be improper to say, in view of the alarm created by the epidemic prevailing in Norfolk and Portsmouth, that Williamsburg is now and has been the whole summer, remarkably healthy."

But William Lamb, on returning to Williamsburg in December 1855 was sure that the town's proximity to Norfolk had seriously injured the prospects of the College.

On 15 November 1855 the College suspended lectures in observance of a statewide day of Thanksgiving for the abatement of the pestilence in Norfolk and Portsmouth. On the effects of Yellow Fever on business see David R. Goldfield, "The Business of Health Planning," Journal of Southern History 42 (November 1976): 563. For a contemporary account of the epidemic see Lamb Diary, entries for August and September 1855, WM Manuscripts; quotes are from 3 August and 3 December 1855. See also Faculty Minutes, 13 November 1855.

William Hamilton MacFarland (1799-1872), a Richmond banker and lawyer, was a member of the College's Board of Visitors and a leading vestryman of St. Paul's Church. MacFarland was a member of the state legislature and a delegate to the 1850 Constitutional Convention. Weddell, St. Paul's, 2: 452-54.
Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson (1824-1863) became professor of Artillary Tactics and Natural Philosophy at Virginia Military Institute in 1851. Jackson was a strict Presbyterian with a stiff and withdrawn public manner. He was not an especially successful teacher nor a brilliant conversationalist, and was often the target of student jokes. Despite his legendary performance in battle, Jackson deplored war and once called it the "sum of all evils." *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961, s.v. "Jackson, Thomas Jonathan." The best biography of Jackson is Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson*, 2 vols. (New York: W. Morrow, 1959).

This engraved pitcher and salver is now owned by Totten's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Eugene Marsden Chapman of Gaithersburg, Maryland.

The relationship at this time between William and Mary College and the Episcopal Church seems to have been indefinite. According to an article in the *Southern Churchman* (1857) signed "Alumnus" the only tangible ties were those created by the appointment of Bishop Johns to the presidency in 1849. This writer laments the lack of support given to the College by the Church or by Episcopalians who might have been counted on to send their sons to the College. He compares this situation to the strong support Hampden-Sydney received from Presbyterians and Randolph-Macon from Methodists. This alumus felt that William and Mary ceased to have any church ties when the Board of Visitors failed to appoint a clergyman to succeed Bishop Johns. He felt the College suffered greatly from the fact that the public refused to support it because of the general belief that it was a church institution while the Church similarly offered no support. See newspaper clipping from *Southern Churchman* in College Papers, WM Archives.

During this period debate surfaced from time to time over the relative merits of a "curriculum" versus an "elective" course of study. Most Northern universities prescribed a rigid curriculum for students which allowed little, if any, choice of lectures. Most Southern schools, including William and Mary, required a certain number of credits to be earned in each department, but allowed the student a choice of lectures within that department. The curriculum course required four years for completion compared to three years for the elective system.

The 1855-56 session at the College opened in October with the enrollment of only sixty-six students,
down from eighty-two matriculates in 1854-55. Sixty-one students were Virginians, but Totten's contention that many more of these than usual were "boys from the vicinity" is not substantiated. Eleven were from Williamsburg compared to sixteen in the previous year. Of the five non-Virginia students, two came from Maryland and one each from Washington, D.C., Alabama, and New York. The only Northern student, Henry Isham of New York, was Totten's nephew and probably attended as one of the free students allowed each professor. Only twelve students in 1855-56 lived in the college building, presumably because it was being remodeled.

Since 1854 the faculty had been raising funds to renovate the interior of the building. In early 1856 the work began and was supervised and directed by Ewell and Totten. Two halls for the use of the Phoenix and Philomathean literary societies were built at each extremity of the building, on the second floor. On the top floor the students' residences were remodeled, made larger, and windows were added to provide more light and ventilation. A new belfry was also erected. The Williamsburg Weekly Gazette called on the citizens of Williamsburg to provide furniture for the new literary rooms and extravagantly observed that "no College in the United States can vaunt of better apartments."

The remodeling of the chapel provided evidence that helped put to rest an old debate and proved to be very important in the rebuilding of the College after the 1859 fire. College authorities had for years claimed that William and Mary's building was the oldest existing academic structure in the United States, but there was considerable doubt as to whether the building had been rebuilt on the original walls after the fire of 1705. When President Ewell had the walls prepared for plastering, he observed in them fragments of charred beams that could only have come from the 1705 fire. This discovery added strength to the arguments of those who felt the College should be rebuilt on the original walls after the 1859 fire.

Two changes occurred in the faculty for the 1855-56 session. When Judge Scarburgh resigned, Lucian Minor replaced him as professor of Law, and James M. Wise replaced Robert Gatewood as adjunct instructor of Mathematics. In giving sketches of his colleagues, Totten does not mention Lucian Minor and it is surprising that he neglected to comment on such a colorful and well-known Virginia personality.

Minor was born 24 April 1802 in Louisa County, Virginia. He earned a law degree from William and Mary in 1823 and returned to Louisa to practice. He served as Commonwealth's Attorney there from 1828 until 1852.
Minor was a frequent contributor to literary magazines, a strong advocate of free public schools, and, almost until his death, a religious skeptic. Along with John Hartwell Cocke, he was Virginia's leading advocate of prohibition and temperance. Minor prepared the legislative papers of the Virginia prohibition movement of the 1840s and 1850s, and served as chairman of its central committee. In 1853 he authored a pamphlet entitled *Reasons for Abolishing the Liquor Traffic Addressed to the People of Virginia*. Virginians were already familiar with Minor's work through a series of letters he contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger* during a trip through the Northern states in 1834-35 and by way of his short history of the Virginia temperance movement published in the same magazine in 1850.

When Minor claimed the Law professorship at William and Mary in October 1855, his older brother, John, was Law professor at the University of Virginia.

Lucian Minor died in Williamsburg on 8 July 1858 and was buried in Bruton Parish graveyard. In April 1860 his body was removed to the new college burial grounds near the President's House.

In July 1856, at its 163rd commencement, William and Mary awarded seven Master of Arts, three Law, and five Bachelors degrees.

**Matriculation Book, entry for 1855-56, WM Archives; Faculty Minutes, 8 April 1856; Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, 28 August 1856.** On original walls see *WMQ*, 2d ser., 8(October 1928): 284. A copy of Minor's pamphlet on prohibition is in his Faculty Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives which also contains a typescript of biographical material from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, September 1858, p. 4. Minor's "Letters from New England" appear in *SLM*, November 1834-April 1835; "The Temperance Reformation in Virginia" is in *SLM*, July 1850; see also James Norman McKean, "Lucian Minor, Cosmopolitan Virginia Gentleman of the Old School" (M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1948). See also *Williamsburg Weekly Gazette*, 25 April 1860. Graduation information is in *Catalogue of Alumni: 1866-1932*, Appendix, p. 156.

In the 1856-57 session the College's student population fell to fifty-eight, fifty-one of whom were Virginians, and forty-five of whom were Episcopalians. Twenty students came from Williamsburg. The College building housed twenty-one students.

The only change in the faculty was the appointment of Thomas Snead to replace James Wise as adjunct instructor of Mathematics and to act as secretary of the faculty and librarian. During this session Professors Ewell, Totten, Minor, and Smead handled all lectures.
because of the illness of Professor Washington. Totten calls this 1856-57 session "monotonous" and it must have been. The faculty met rarely and the records reveal nothing out of the ordinary in the day to day existence of the College. Repairs to the building, begun in 1855, continued, and Ewell complained that funds for further renovation were running low in the absence of subscriptions from persons other than the Visitors.

In July the College awarded seventeen diplomas: four Master of Arts, five Law, and eight Bachelor of Arts or Philosophy. Matriculation Book, entry for 1856-57, WM Archives. On Snead see Faculty Minutes, 8 April 1856. Ewell's complaint is in a letter to Hugh Blair Grigsby, 10 April 1857, College Papers, WM Archives. Graduation information is in Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae: 1866-1932, Appendix, p. 156.
CHAPTER XVII

The presence of the summer heats and the beginning of cool nights in the latter part of July, reminded us of the necessity of our annual migration. But where were we to go? The rush of visitors to the mountains of Virginia had so raised the price of board at the springs and other places of resort that with our diminished income we could not think of spending the sickly months in the mountains. We were therefore under the necessity of turning our faces northward. This time we concluded to get near the mountains on the banks of the Hudson.

I had written to the Rev. Mr. Fairbairn of Catskill to ascertain what would be the price of board in that village. He not only enquired the price but also engaged board for us at $5.00 per week each, so that when we arrived we might go directly to our temporary home. Catskill was easy of access to us and the cost of reaching it less than that of the places which we had before visited on Long Island Sound. Leaving Williamsburg in the morning we arrived in Norfolk in time to take the sea steamer for N.Y. Arrived at New York on the night following we had only to remain on board till morning and then be transferred to the Hudson river.

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boat which took us to Catskill by noon, making the whole journey in a little more than forty-eight hours.

My friend had engaged board for us with a widow whose house was pleasantly situated at a little distance from the main street of the village. Her family consisted of herself, two daughters & a son, and besides, a step-daughter, older than her own children. Before the death of her husband she had been in easy circumstances, but owing to some strange provision in the will she received but a small amount of the property of her husband. The step daughter shared her fortunes and assisted in rearing and educating the younger children. Her elder brother had been fortunate in business, and had accumulated a vast estate but he could spare none of it to help his step mother and his young brothers and sisters, and seldom if ever saw them. He had no quarrel with them. His neglect was owing to simple selfishness. He was moving in a different sphere and had neither affection nor sympathy nor money to spare for his poor relatives. Those who knew the circumstances cried shame on his neglect, but the censure of the villagers could neither reach nor move him in his splendid mansion in the metropolis. From his sister and mother we heard no complaints. They seemed to ignore his existence as effectually as he did theirs and toiled on patiently for bread. There was perhaps little to choose in between their lot. He whose
finer affections are all swallowed up in the love of gain is little to be envied. In this house we lived as a separate family, having our meals by ourselves. The food was placed upon our table and a bell was allowed us to summon the servant who waited upon us. We had therefore every advantage of privacy and found it much more pleasant than if the family, as is usually the case, had been present with us.

We remained in Cattskill a little more than two months and the time passed pleasantly away. We made some pleasant acquaintances, but we found our greatest pleasure in roaming about the country in the vicinity of the village, climbing the steep rocky hills, following up the course of the Cattskill creek, fishing in the deep pools and clambering over the hugh rocks along its shores. Another source of pleasure was the sight of the mountains and the ever varying aspect which they wore. Sometimes their peaks were lost in the cloud, then a cloud would hang midway on their sides; then the clouds breaking away their dark blue outlines would be projected on the paler blue of the sky. Every change in the atmosphere changed the aspect & color of the mountains. They seemed to take almost every shade of blue at different times. Then as the light flashed over their summits or was reflected from the clouds above they would put on their livery of gray and gold or be tinged with a purplish hue
which is shown on the mountain tops in many of Cole's Landscapes. One who had carefully noted the rich and varied hues of these mountains as seen from Mr. Cole's residence on the heights in the rear of the village would not be at a loss for the source of those rich tints in his Landscapes which have often been censored as extravagant.¹ Cattskill is the right place for the residence of a painter. Mr. Cole died about a year before our visit at Cattskill leaving one of his finest works unfinished. It was an allegorical painting to be called the Pilgrim of the Cross and the pilgrim of the world. Two paintings representing the pilgrim of the cross were finished. The pilgrim of the world was simply sketched and several studies of the principle parts of it on a small scale were finished. He was transferring these to the larger canvas when he was seized with Pneumonia which terminated in death in about a week. Cole was a careful student of nature and he faithfully copied the colors of nature. He would spend whole weeks among the gorges of the mountains making sketches of scenery which he afterwards combined in his great pictures. His wife shared in his enthusiasm and often accompanied him on these excursions. Her fondness for the rude scenery of the mountains was not abated after his death. Calling at her house one day about sunset I found that she had just returned from a pedestrian
excursion with some friends, to a lake eleven miles distant.

Poverty prevented us from enjoying to any great extent the grand scenery of the Cattskill. We could not afford to hire carriages for excursions among the mountains and had to be content with gazing on them from a distance. Once only we rode about twelve miles into the country to visit Rock Lake and the falls of the Cattskill Creek.

My son Richard and myself however made one excursion on foot. The first day we climbed the mountain side to the mountain house 12 miles distant from the village and 2500 feet above it. We arrived about noon and had ample time to enjoy the magnificent prospect of the valley of the Hudson from this elevated position. The same day we walked four miles further to the Cascades where a small mountain stream leaps from a precipice 300 feet high and after that by a succession of falls descends near 1000 feet in the distance of half a mile. There we stayed all night and taking an early breakfast took our course westward through the mountains. We traveled twenty four miles to Prattsville, that day, but we then found both our toes and heels so sore that we were glad to stop, though when we arrived it was but a little past noon. We decided to remain till the next morning and then on examination of the condition of our feet we found that
we were still unable to proceed. Richard's heels were so badly blistered and inflamed that to have continued our journey on foot might have produced permanent lameness. It was now Saturday morning and if we were to continue our journey on foot we must remain over till Monday. It was twenty four miles to Harperfield where my brother lived and which was to be our stopping place for a few days. We could hire a light waggon to take us there for a less sum than our tavern bills would be in Prattsville if we stayed till Monday. We concluded to hire the conveyance for four dollars, the price demanded, but in making the change the rascal gave me four dollars in counterfeit notes so that our half day's ride was an expensive one after all. We stayed a few days at my brother's, and went from thence by stage to Middleburg, where another brother of mine resided. From thence we walked thirteen miles to Esperence stopping a few hours at Schoharie to greet some old friends of mine. There our walk ended, for having made a short visit to our relatives in Esperence, we got a free ride to Schenectady in a common waggon and from thence returned to Cattskill by Railroad and Steamboat, having consumed about two weeks in our excursion.

We did not find Cattskill a pleasant residence in September especially after the middle of the month. The temperature became very variable. Whenever the winds came
from the mountains they were bleak and chilly and produced
colds and coughs in the more delicate members of the
family. We therefore hastened our departure for New
York where we expected to spend several days. And there
we were likely to have been detained beyond the time of
the opening of the College. It was the time of the
great Commercial Panic of 1857. All confidence in dis-
tant banks was suddenly destroyed. My Norfolk notes
would not pass for anything and a check drawn on Norfolk
was worthless. Fortunately I had sold a draft on Norfolk
before the panic began, for enough to pay our board bill
and something more so that we could get to New York and
have a little on hand after we got there. There was no
prospect that southern funds would be any better for
several weeks to come and I was perplexed to know how
we were to get back to Virginia. The difficulty was
gotten over by making an agreement with the Captain of
the steamer to pay our passage money when we arrived at
Norfolk, where he would accept a check for the amount on
one of the Norfolk banks.

Thus we arrived at our home in Williamsburg in
season for the opening of the College.

I soon ascertained the prospects of the college
were no better for the session of 1857-8 than they were
the year before. Indeed there was a further falling off
in the number of students. Professor Washington still
continued too ill to return to the College and his classes were under my charge through the whole session. The addition to my income from the ticket fees of these classes was necessary to make up a support for the family. I still felt uneasy at the prospects of the College and was exceedingly desirous of securing a more lucrative or a more promising situation. I was however entirely unsuccessful. The professorship of History in the University of Virginia becoming vacant at this time I was advised to apply for the situation. I had little hope of obtaining it as there were many competitors. All that I gained by it was a bundle of very flattering recommendations which had been sent on by my friends and were mailed to me after the election was decided. It is a pleasant thing to have in one's possession the written good opinions of his friends and this is all I gained by the application.

It was felt both by the Faculty and the visitors that the college was declining and that something must be done to call public attention to it. There were several causes of its decline. The President being a presbyterian it could claim no special patronage from churchmen as it had under Bishop Johns. And indeed the Bishop himself while he professed great friendship for the college did very little to forward its interests. He felt a much deeper interest in the high school at Alexandria and he was planning to enlarge its course
of studies that it might take the place of a college in preparing Candidates for the ministry.\(^3\)

Some of the leading members of the board of Visitors now began to be alarmed at the decline of the college. Something must be done and schemes of improvement were freely talked of. There was however no meeting of the board of Visitors after the opening of the Session and the College went on as usual. There was a little more disorder among the students this session than before for the president felt the necessity of making himself popular and relaxed in some degree the strictness of the discipline which was none to strict before.

Prof. Washington still continued ill but hopes began to be entertained of his recovery. He had gone to the city of Washington to put himself under the charge of an eminent physician and had so much improved that he was making preparation to return home, when he lost his life by the accidental discharge of an air gun with which he was amusing himself. The professorship of History was now vacant and would be filled at the next meeting of the board of Visitors, and this would occasion a diminution of my income and reduce it below the living point. This together with the fact that the political state of the country had assumed a threatening aspect made me quite anxious to leave the College
as soon as I could find some other employment.

When the democratic party in 1858 was divided on the question of the admission of Kansas into the union and the division was between North and south I had little hope that the sectional strife on the slavery question would ever be settled without a civil war and I did not wish to be on the frontiers of the contending parties, within four miles of rivers which would float heavy ships of war.

A heavy misfortune befel the college in February of this year. It was discovered to be on fire about two o'clock in the morning of the 8th and the fire had made such headway before the alarm was given that there was no hope of extinguishing the flames. What added to the misfortune was that the fire began in the wing of the building which contained the library and philosophical apparatus and nothing could be saved. Attempts were made to enter the Library but it was found to be full of smoke and flame.

The library contained about six thousand volumes and among them were many rare and curious books which would have sold for high prices in the Book Market. The Philosophical room was a real curiosity shop. You might read the history of the advance of science in the succession of philosophical instruments as exhibited in the cases. An antiquary would deplore the loss of those strange and complicated instruments more than that of the
new and handsome apparatus which had been recently pur-
chased. The fire was probably caused by the carelessness of a servant who had been sawing wood in the base-
ment of the wing the evening before.

In a few hours the whole woodwork of the building was consumed; the walls which were of unusual strength and thickness remained standing. The students saved their room furniture and books and indeed everything moveable was taken out of all the building except from the wing where the fire originated.

The burning of the college building did not close the College. Rooms were hired and the lectures and re-
citations went on as usual.

Meanwhile some changes had taken place in the professorships. The professorship of ancient languages was abolished, and two professorships instituted in its place. These were those of Latin and Greek. Prof. Smead who had occupied the old professorship was not elected to either and was therefore forced to leave the College. The Visitors thought that he lacked tact in the management and government of his classes and took this means to remove him from the College. It seemed a harsh measure and it was harshly done. Prof. Smead was an able linguist but not a successful teacher. He would have probably resigned his place had the visitors requested it. Mr. Edward Toliafero (sic) was appointed
to the professorship of Latin and the Modern Languages and Mr. Joynes to that of Greek and greek [sic] literature. The Visitors also requested the president to resign and then elected the Rev. Mr. Barnwell of S.C. in his place with the proviso that if he did not accept the office Mr. Ewell was to continue in the Presidency. Mr. Barnwell did not accept and Mr. Ewell continued to preside over the college until it was broken up by the war. Mr. Morrison was also appointed Prof. of history in the place of Mr. Washington deceased. 5

In the spring of 1858 I received [sic] a letter from Amos Dean Esq. of Albany, N.Y. who had been recently appointed president of the Iowa State University proposing that I should take a professorship in that institution which was as yet unorganized. I replied that I was quite willing to accept the situation if it would afford me a support. There seemed however to be some difficulties in the way of the organization of the institution. Mr. Dean had drawn up a law organizing the University and it had been passed by the legislature. But the Constitution of the state provided that a board of regents elected by the people should have the power to enact all laws in relation to schools and colleges which laws might afterwards be revised and altered by the legislature.

Mr. Dean's law which was a very wise and
judicious one was declared unconstitutional by the courts and the regents set themselves at work to enact a new one. If they had simply re-enacted the old law it would have been well, but being possessed with the spirit of law-making they made an entire new affair of it and so tied the hands of the President of the University that Mr. Dean at once resigned the presidency and would have nothing to do with the institution. Here then were my hopes of getting away from William and Mary College all blasted at once.

The summer of 1858 we went north again and this time took up our abode at Esperance. This was going back to my native place not because I felt any great attachment to it but because in our straitened circumstances we could get cheaper board than elsewhere. As usual we went on by sea to New York because it was the least expensive route. The summer months passed lazily away and I do not recollect any incidents worthy of record. We stopped a little while in New York on our return and went thence by Steamship to Norfolk and thence by the James river boat to our home.

Then began my last year in Wm. and Mary College. The changes in the Faculty which the visitors had made did not seem to revive the college. The number of students did not increase and indeed this had hardly to be expected while the college buildings were in ruins.
The year was mostly spent by the faculty in repairing or rather rebuilding the ruins. 7

I was quite anxious to erect buildings entirely new and on a different place but the visitors decided to reclaim the old walls and by raising them many feet higher add another story to the building.

I contended that the old building was both unsightly and inconvenient and that it would cost less to build on new foundations a much better and more convenient edifice. 8 The building as completed was a piece of patchwork of no particular style of architecture and quite as ugly as could be imagined. It had a plain straight front of 150 feet, with two square towers projecting six feet, fifteen feet apart, and a little higher than the ridge of the roof. One of these towers was for the bell and the other served no kind of use but to keep its fellow company. The old building was in the form of a quadrangle except one side. I urged the necessity of fire walls between the wings and the main building but they were not built. Had there been such walls in the old building, the wing in which the fire originated only would have been consumed. But there are those who will not learn from experience. 9

The disappointment in regard to the structure of the new building was not without its influence in determining me to leave in any event at the end of the year.
In the spring I wrote to Bishop Lee of Iowa asking him if he had anything for me to do in his Diocese. He replied that there was a parish or rather a missionary station vacant at Iowa City and that the professorships in the State University were not yet filled and urged me to visit Iowa and look over the ground for myself. This I could not do till the close of the College Session and I wrote to him to that effect. Meanwhile I did all that I could for Wm. and Mary College. The insurance was nearly enough to restore the buildings. Several of the old graduates gave $1000 each to restore the Library and apparatus. I went to Norfolk, Richmond, and Lynchburg to collect Books either new or old. In Norfolk I collected about 1500 volumes. Some of them were very valuable and some had little value except as curiosities. I found an old Library of several hundred volumes in the garret of a drugstore thrown into a heap and covered an inch deep with dust. Fortunately the mice could not get into this garret or the books might have been destroyed. The books were brought out of their concealment, the dust brushed off, and made to form quite a respectable part of the new College Library. Governor Tazewell, then in his 86th year and very infirm, gave for the library a complete set of the great French Encyclopaedia in thirty six large folio volumes. When I was taking them away he asked me if I knew the character of the work. I
told him that I knew the principal writers of the work were rank infidels and scoffers at Christianity. "Then why will you put them in the Library of a Christian College?" "As trophies sir," I replied. "Then," said he, "take these," handing down Boyles' works and several books of a like character. "They have done much mischief in their day and I now wish that I had never seen them."

Gov. Tazewell had been a skeptic in his day of health and influence and was now a believer in Christianity if not a Christian.

In Richmond I had little success in getting old Books. The few Libraries I found there were totally purchased and had not as in Norfolk descended from one generation to another. From what I saw in this tour of collecting books, I was led to infer that the past generation were better readers than the present.

By Donation of books and of money to purchase Books a library was soon collected if not equal in number of volumes, yet for all practical purposes equal in value, to the one which had been burned.12

And now the session having closed I was to take my journey to Iowa. But Anna and Alfred were sick of Typhoid Fever and I could not leave home. I had to wait till the 16th of July when the physician pronounced them Convalescent and said that he thought I might leave home
without anxiety. Leaving home at noon I was in Baltimore the next morning and the third day after at evening I arrived at Iowa City. This was on Saturday. On Sunday I officiated in the Episcopal Church morning and evening, I decided to remain one week to ascertain what was the condition of the parish and what were the prospects of the University. The parish was much in want of a Rector and the vestry were ready to make any promises I might require (without much reference to their ability to fulfill them.) They offered me a salary of $1000 per annum, the half of which they never earned.

There was no president of the University and I was advised to look to the presidency rather than to a professorship. Bishop Lee came to Iowa City to see me during the week I stayed there and expressed a strong desire that I should accept the call of the parish. I remained in Iowa City till the Monday following but meanwhile I had a chill and fever, the first that I ever had though living so many years in the malarious climate of lower Virginia. I was entertained at the house of Mr. Day, one of the vestry. Mr. Day had been a surveyor and engineer for years in climates where chills and fevers prevailed and he undertook to prescribe for me, and his prescription was so effectual that I had no return of the attack but felt quite well when I set out for home five days after. I had not heard from home since
I left and I felt some uneasiness on account of the invalids there. I was anxious also to get home in order to take my family to a healthier region. One day only I lingered on the way and that was in Chicago. I had not yet made up my mind to accept the call of the parish. I wanted to know more of the chances for a professorship in the University so I returned home without making any decision.

When I arrived at the wharf near Williamsburg I met a friend who came down to take the boat up the river who said, "I have good news for you. Your children are better this morning and Dr. Cannon says that he thinks they will both recover." I then learned that Anna had had a relapse, and had been very dangerously ill while Alfred's fever which we supposed broken when I left home had come back and continued till he was much reduced. There was indeed much joy at my return first from the improved condition of the children and then on account of the aid which I could give in taking care of them. Still Anna was very weak and ill and for many days her life hung in a balance which any rude shock might destroy. But God was merciful to us and she slowly gained strength so that in about a fortnight we thought we might venture to take her on our travels northward.

When we left Williamsburg it was with some expectation that we should not all return and so arrange-
ments were made by which I might return and dispose of our property there and leave the rest of the family at the North till we should start for Iowa. Indeed I was prepared to accept almost any situation rather than remain in WM. and Mary College. I saw little hope that the College would rise. I did not like the new building. I thought that a civil war was imminent, in which case the college would be broken up and, to crown all, the Visitors at their last meeting had reduced the tuition fees and ordered that they should be divided equally among the professors. Before my classes had been always mine and the largest and my fees amounted to near 500 per annum in the lowest state of the College. Now there was an additional professor and the fees divided after the reduction would not exceed $300 each. And $1300 would not support the family. I was therefore starved out and was obliged to leave while I had the means to pay the expenses of moving. I had in fact made up my mind to go to Iowa and seek the appointment to a professorship or to the presidency of the University.

Of course nothing was said of this in Williamsburg for I did not wish to jeopardize my position in the College till the Iowa matter was definitely settled. And now about the tenth of August as a family we were leaving Williamsburg for the last time with sad
hearts for we were leaving many dear friends behind us whom we might never expect to meet again. But their is hope in change even though it may be forced upon us. We should leave some annoyances behind and what we should find in our new abode we knew not, but hope painted them in less sombre colours than those we had experienced. We were running away from famine and war. Could we find anything worse where we were going?

Our place of sojourn at the North we had found at Middleburgh, a village of about 1000 inhabitants among my native mountains. I had written to an acquaintance who had engaged rooms for us at a village hotel at a moderate price. Our usual voyage by sea took us to New York where we arrived in the night and were ready to take the morning steamer up the Hudson to Albany. We arrived in the evening but Anna was too weak to ride thirty miles by stage the next morning and we were constrained to wait a day over for her to recruit. The next day was bright and bracing and the beautiful and magnificent scenery on the road helped the invalid to bear the fatigues of the journey. We arrived safe at our temporary home before evening, and if health was to be regained anywhere it might be here at this season.

The mountains towered on every side rising in perpendicular cliff from the plain. The valley was never without its refreshing breezes and though the
midday sun might be hot, the nights are always cool enough for repose. Middleburgh, lying some twelve hundred feet above the level of the sea and the mountains around rising from 1000 to 1500 feet higher, is a very paradise in summer. What it is in winter can easily be imagined.

I might dwell upon the magnificent scenery of this valley for I have seen none elsewhere so grand and so beautiful at the same time. Perhaps I may be too partial to it because here in youth my taste for nature was cultivated but it looked as beautiful to me now as it did before I had looked on other scenes more admired than this. Here where also my wife had spent portions of her youthful life we wandered about, climbed the cliffs, and looked down from the tops of the mountains and seemed to renew our youth. I would have lingered here longer but the time soon came when I must return to Williamsburg to pack up our goods for removal and sell what we could not carry with us. About the first of October I arrived in Wmburg and made immediate preparations for a public sale of furniture. Many things were however sold privately at good prices before the day of sale came. Strong regrets were expressed by all our acquaintances that we were about to leave the old city.  

When I assigned as one reason for leaving to some intimate friends, that I was anxious to be at a distance from the frontiers in the civil war that was coming they
laughed at my fears. They apprehended no war and if it should come, the strife of arms would never reach Williamsburg. Alas, the inhabitants of that old city in less than three years learned from experience the calamities which I escaped by the timely removal.

Having advertised our goods for sale I went to Richmond to attend the General Convention of the Episcopal Church there in session.

A more peaceable convention never was held, there was no dissension, no sectional strife, while the country all around was agitated in a fearful manner. We all felt that if the Church was the prevailing body of Christians in the country there could be no civil war. But while we were congratulating ourselves on the peace which reigned in the convention and almost hoping that it might extend to the whole country, news came of the raid of John Brown and his fifteen followers at Harpers Ferry. Indeed we did not then foresee all the consequences of this mad attempt at insurrection. We did not know how much it excited the fanatics of both the North and the south and furnished fuel for the excitement which soon flamed out in Civil War. It was exceedingly unfortunate that Brown and his companions were made prisoners, and were afterwards tried and executed. Had they been killed by the military in the fight, a great amount of excitement would have been prevented. As it
was, if they had been pardoned on the ground of partial insanity it would have taken from them the character of martyrs and from their abettors, the power of doing so much mischief. We can now look back and see with how little wisdom the whole affair was managed. The power was in the hands of rash & incompetent men, and they gratified their passions and pursued their own private ends regardless of the public good. A little wisdom and moderation in the leaders of the opposing parties might even then have settled all difficulties and put off the evil of Civil War to another generation.

Before the breaking up of the convention I returned to Williamsburg, sold our little property there, and boxed up clothing, bedding, and some articles of furniture to be transported to Iowa. It was some time in November before I reached New York where I was to meet my family for our journey westward.

We lingered in the city some days waiting for the action of the board of Trustees of the University for I was anxious to know whether I was to be connected with that institution or to be a parish rector before we set out. At length the expected telegram arrived announcing my election to the presidency of the University, and we hastened our departure.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER XVII

1 An English-born poet and artist, Thomas Cole (1801-1848) was a pioneer of the Hudson River School of artists, considered the first to emphasize American landscapes. In 1846 he began a proposed series of religious abstract paintings entitled "The Cross and The World" but died after completing only one, "The Pilgrim of the Cross." Dictionary of American Biography, 1961, s.v. "Cole, Thomas."

2 The panic of 1857 was a short-lived commercial and financial crisis caused by overspeculation in securities and real estate and by the failure of the New York City branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company in August of that year. This in turn caused a temporary suspension of specie payments to avoid withdrawal of large balances held in New York City banks. Richard S. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History, pp. 223, 530, 534, 537.

3 Episcopal High School, the diocesan school for boys, is located in Alexandria, Virginia, one mile from Virginia Theological Seminary. It was established by the Seminary in 1839. Forced by financial difficulties to close in 1844, it reopened in 1845. In 1857, under the rectorship of Rev. John P. McGuire, the school had approximately 80 pupils. Meade, Old Churches, 1: 488-89.

4 Totten, usually very accurate about the time of specific occurrences, is mistaken about the date of the fire. The College did not burn during the October 1857-July 1858 session, but in February 1859, during his last year in Williamsburg. In the interest of clarity and chronological order a detailed note on the fire is included with Totten's remarks on the 1858-59 session, later in this chapter. (See note 7 below).

5 In the 1857-58 academic year enrollment did not decline further. Sixty students signed the Matriculation Book in October 1857 as compared to fifty-eight a year earlier. Most of these students were Virginians. Only seventeen students had rooms in the newly-renovated College building. The Tottens provided housing for four students: Totten's son, Richard; his nephew, Henry
Isham; C. E. Mann of Gloucester; and Samuel Chevers of Old Point.

Totten's contention that major changes took place in the faculty in the 1857-58 session is in error. As a matter of fact, no changes occurred during this year. Ewell, Smead, and Minor continued to perform their respective duties; Totten was responsible for his own classes as well as those of Henry A. Washington who was ill. (Washington died in February 1858.) But at their annual meeting in July 1858, the Board of Visitors approved several changes in the professors for the upcoming 1858-59 session and attempted, at the same time, to improve the College's prospects.

The Visitors first called for the resignation of the entire faculty. Then Ewell, Totten, and Minor were rehired as professors. The Visitors offered the presidency to the Reverend Robert Barnwell, a twenty-seven year old Episcopal deacon who was professor of Moral Philosophy and chaplain at South Carolina College. Barnwell, not wishing to leave his native state, declined the offer. Consequently, the Visitors reappointed Ewell. Though such a tactic might have proved disadvantageous to him, Ewell does not seem to have disapproved of this move. He may even have suggested it in the belief that the College would be more likely to prosper with an Episcopalian as its president. In any case, he apparently did not regret the necessity to resign the presidency and then immediately to assume the office again. Perhaps he was encouraged by the unwillingness of some Visitors to accept his resignation in the first place.

In another move the Board of Visitors abolished the professorship of Ancient Languages held by Smead and replaced it with two chairs: one of Greek, the other of Latin. They selected two young graduates of the University of Virginia to fill the new chairs. Edward S. Joynes (1834-1917) held the professorship of Greek until 1866. Edwin Taliaferro (1835-67) accepted the Latin chair. The Visitors also appointed Robert J. Morrison to replace Washington as Professor of History, Political Economy, and Constitutional Law.

Lucian Minor, Professor of Law, died 8 July 1858--after the Visitors' meeting--and his chair remained vacant until after the war.

At commencement in July 1858 the College awarded nine Bachelor of Arts or Philosophy degrees, four Law degrees, and two Masters degrees. Matriculation Book, entry for 1857-58, WM Archives; Ewell MS autobiography, typescript in Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives; Barnwell, American Family, pp. 221-23; Elizabeth Ewell to William Stoddert, 22 July 1858, College Papers, WM Archives; Joynes and Taliaferro Folders,
Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives. See also Richmond Dispatch, 7 September 1867 for Taliaferro obituary. Graduation lists are in Catalogue of Alumni, 1866-1932, Appendix, p. 156.

As noted above (see note 4), the College buildings were not "in ruins" at the beginning of the 1858-59 session; the fire occurred in February 1859. Nevertheless, the number of students did decline from sixty in 1857-58 to only forty-seven in 1858-59. All these students, save one each from North Carolina and Alabama, were Virginians. Only eight lived on the top floor of the College building--the remainder lived in town or on the campus with Totten or Ewell. Students in 1858-59 paid $75 tuition, $20 each for department tickets, $12 for miscellaneous fees and servants' hire, and from $140 to $180 for board. The total of $287-$327 was up from $190-$230 in 1851-52.

In this, Totten's last year at William and Mary, his faculty colleagues were President Ewell and Professors Robert Morrison, Edward Joynes, and Edwin Taliaferro. Only Ewell and Totten remained of the faculty appointed in 1849 when the college reopened and Totten came to Williamsburg. The fire in February 1859 overshadowed all other events of the session, but there were several minor occurrences of note. General John Hartwell Cocke gave the College $100 to "replace the old Elms in the College Yard with native elms." The faculty appointed Totten a committee of one to carry out the General's wishes. The faculty also approved President Ewell's suggestion that "a plot of land in the rear of the president's garden be set aside for a cemetery for Professors of the College and their families and students." And, with the repairs to the building having been completed, the faculty and students prepared a celebration of the College's 166th anniversary to which alumni and friends of the College would be invited.

The event was scheduled for February nineteenth. Highlights were to be a speech by John Tyler and the reading of a long narrative poem written especially for the occasion by St. George Tucker of Winchester. Invitations had already been sent out when on February eighth an early morning fire spread through the building. Nevertheless, the celebration was held as scheduled and furnished an opportunity for the solicitation of funds to rebuild the College.

Although lectures continued for the remainder of the session, William and Mary had no graduates in 1858-59. Closing exercises took place in the Williamsburg Baptist Church. Matriculation Book, entry for 1858-59, WM Archives.

Two eyewitness accounts of the 8 February 1859 fire survive. Totten was requested to write a report for the faculty and his account is recorded in the Faculty Minutes for 12 February 1859. Professor of History Robert Morrison, who lived with Ewell in the President's House, also provided a written record. Totten's report follows:

"On the morning of the 8th of February a few minutes before three o'clock the north wing of the College building was discovered to be on fire. Flames were issuing from the window of the lower story occupied as the Chemical Laboratory. A pile of dry wood in the basement was also on fire, and the flames from this were ascending through an opening in the floor into the Laboratory. Either therefore the fire originated in the Laboratory and burned downward into the basement, or in the basement burning upward through the floor into the Laboratory. It has not been ascertained in what way the fire originated. No person as far as is known was in the Laboratory after one o'clock the preceding day. A servant had been cutting wood in the basement the evening before and had a light with him, but he had left about half past ten o'clock, and persons passing by the windows of the basement after twelve o'clock at night saw no appearance of fire at that hour. The fire when discovered had made such progress that there could be no hope of saving the building. From the wing the flames spread with great rapidity through the main building and the south wing taking fire in the roof, a great amount of extremely dry wood was at the same time on fire, and the country was illuminated for miles in every direction. Crowds of spectators stood around the blazing building, but no attempt was made to extinguish the fire as that was hopeless from the beginning. In four hours after the discovery of the fire the wood work of the building was entirely consumed, except here and there a blazing beam upon the walls or fragments of timber smouldering in the ruins.

"The philosophical and Chemical Apparatus was entirely destroyed, not a single book was saved from
the Library, the smoke being too dense to enter. The Library, being in the story above the Laboratory was in flames in a short time after the fire was discovered, the fine mural monument of Sir John Randolph and the tablet of Bishop Madison in the Chapel were calcined by the heat and entirely destroyed, the contents of the Blue Room, consisting of the College records and papers, six portraits, and a number of volumes of Congressional reports and about a thousand copies of the new catalogue, were carried out of the building and saved.

"The exterior walls are still standing though warped and cracked by the intense heat, all chimneys and a portion of the interior walls have fallen. The loss sustained by the College is not easily estimated. The buildings though old were in good repair, the interior having been almost entirely renewed within the past few years at a cost of six thousand five hundred dollars. The Library contained about eight thousand volumes. It contained many rare and curious books, and many that were valued highly on account of the associations connected with them.

"The Philosophical Apparatus may be estimated as worth two thousand dollars. It contained several old instruments valuable for their antiquity as the relics of the science of the former ages. The buildings were insured for twenty thousand dollars. There was no insurance on the Library and other property."

Professor Morrison tells of President Ewell's reaction:

"Upon opening the front door of the President's House, I was struck with the terrific roar of the flames, which was unusually great for such a fire. This was probably caused by the burning of the books. I had not reached the college when I met President Ewell, who had just returned from the second floor of the college, where he had been to rescue the students who were sleeping in the dormitories. All the students were fortunately saved, though several of them were for a short time in peril. Three or four of them lost their effects. I urged Mr. Ewell who was not half dressed, to go to his chamber for warmer clothing, as the night was cold and damp, the wind blowing from the North East; but he said that I must first go with him to the basement under the Laboratory, as it was important to discover if possible the origin of the fire."

The building that burned in 1859 was the one erected after the College's first fire in 1705 and was much like the Wren Building as we know it now (1978).
In addition to the loss of the building, Totten and his colleagues mourned especially the destruction of laboratory instruments and books which were of historical value. Dr. William Small had collected the scientific instruments nearly one hundred years before. Books presented by Louis XVI, Thomas Jefferson, and Governors Spotswood and Dinwiddie were among those lost. President James Blair's entire library was burned, along with a framed letter from George Washington accepting the office of Chancellor of William and Mary.

Most of the contents of the Blue Room (or Faculty Room) on the second floor of the destroyed north wing were saved. The portraits Totten mentions were those of the Reverend James Blair, his wife, Robert Boyle, President Thomas Dew, and Bishop Johns. President Ewell carried out the College Seal and copies of the charter, but the original of the transfer of William and Mary from the English crown to the President and Professors was destroyed.

That there was no hope of saving the building all sources agree, but there was an unintentional bit of irony in the remarks of one reporter who observed that "no efforts were made to arrest the flames/ owing to the fact that there is no fire engine in Williamsburg worthy of the name." In 1850 Williamsburg Council had asked the College's support for the establishment of a fire company and the purchase of an engine. The Faculty declined the request.

But life must go on and, in view of the usually slow pace of life in Williamsburg and at the College, the reactions of all concerned to the burning of the College were quick and productive. Perhaps it was a matter of mutual survival, but the College community and the townspeople joined forces to assure that the College would be rebuilt and that it would remain in Williamsburg. In fact, a trace of fear symptomatic of serious concern that the College's existence, at least its existence in Williamsburg, was threatened runs through all the letters, deliberation, and plans concerning the rebuilding of the College. John Tyler cautioned that the College had many enemies "who have for years been anxious to get hold of us" and recommended that both "immoderate haste" and "too much delay" be avoided.

The Weekly Gazette (16 March 1859) reported:

"Never have we seen misfortune met with a better spirit than that demonstrated by the Faculty & students of William and Mary, as well as by the citizens of Williamsburg. ... Richmond, Hampton, Fauquier and other places have been spoken of as being eligible locations for the new building, but the citizens of Williamsburg have taken time
by the forelock... They will strenuously insist that the ancient capital of the Commonwealth shall retain her time honored seat of learning--and they have shown themselves well worthy to sustain their claim."

The faculty wasted no time in proving that the disaster was no excuse for closing or moving the College. They met later on the morning of the fire and, in an atmosphere of quiet anxiety, appointed committees to rent lecture rooms, invite architects' plans for rebuilding, and solicit funds for the project. The bursar (Tazewell Taylor of Norfolk) was to collect the $20,000 of insurance "without delay." John Tyler, Rector of the Board of Visitors, suggested that the Tottens be moved out of Brafferton so that its rooms could be used for lectures. Apparently the faculty declined to do this on the grounds that residence in Brafferton was part of Totten's perquisites. Alternatively the College purchased from a Mr. Sherod T. Bowman a house opposite the Brafferton (approximately where the Student Center now stands) to be used for student housing and lectures. Bowman returned $750 of the $4600 purchase price to the building fund. The President and faculty obviously felt that the immediate resumption of classes in the face of a great disaster would be proof of the College's commitment and vitality.

The students, too, were quick to respond and unanimously resolved to remain. At a meeting on 10 February, they adopted several resolutions expressing their support:

"We hold any individual loss we may have sustained... as far subordinate to the loss to our country of such a valuable historic monument. ... We will meet with merited scorn any suggestion to abandon the friends of the College in their temporary embarrassment; that on the contrary we are fully determined to remain in Williamsburg and conform to the arrangements of the faculty."

And Williamsburg's citizens did their part. Many provided housing for students; others began immediately to collect funds for rebuilding. Before twenty-four hours had elapsed, and while the embers still smoldered, they had collected $6000 to aid in rebuilding.

Morrison's account of the fire, from a MS in the Virginia State Library, and Totten's account are reprinted in WMQ, 2d ser., 8(October 1928): 267-68. See also Tyler, College of William and Mary, p. 80; Catalogue of William and Mary College, 1855, p. 2; Faculty Minutes, 22 November 1859 and 12 March 1861. Quote concerning fire protection is from an unidentified
The issue of what form the rebuilding process should take brought Totten into direct conflict with the Board of Visitors and his faculty colleagues, and strengthened his determination to leave Williamsburg as soon as possible. On the day after the fire President Ewell wrote John Tyler, Rector of the Board of Visitors, informing him of the disaster. Tyler immediately published, in the Richmond Enquirer, a summons to the Visitors to meet at the President's House on February eighteenth. The Visitors assembled on that day and appointed Hugh Blair Grigsby of Norfolk (see Chapter XVI, Note 4) to act with the faculty as a building committee. Any plans or contracts decided upon were to be referred for approval to a Committee of Reference composed of three Visitors: Tyler, William B. Harrison, and Dr. Nathaniel Osborne. Subsequently Grigsby called for the faculty and these three Visitors to meet with him at the President's House on February twenty-first.

The principal question to be decided when the gentlemen assembled was whether or not the old walls should be used for rebuilding. It was decided that two "referees," both bricklayers, should examine the walls and report on their condition; should their report be favorable, the committee would immediately begin plans to rebuild on the old site. The two experts reported that the remaining walls were sound and that the most economical and expedient plan would be to retain them. Indeed, they said, it would be "wasteful extravagance to pull them down."

On March first the faculty met to receive these reports and to determine a plan of action. Grigsby, as representative of the Visitors, announced that he favored the old walls; all members of the faculty except Totten voted to accept Grigsby's decision. Totten refused to vote on the grounds that the question was premature since no other plan had been considered nor any cost estimates obtained. The faculty had employed an architect, a Mr. Exall, to draw up two sets of plans and estimates—one based on the old walls, the other for a completely new building. Neither plan had been received. Furthermore, Totten believed, the cost of a
new building would exceed that of one using the old walls by about $3000. He felt that increased usefulness in the future would more than compensate for the additional expenditure and time required to erect a completely new building. He expressed his belief that friends of the College would prefer a "new and handsome" edifice in place of the "uncouth and ill-proportioned" one that burned, and requested that his protest be officially entered in the record so that neither the public nor posterity might hold him responsible for the faculty's ill-considered action.

In the face of such a challenge, the remainder of the faculty members felt obligated to reply. They asked that a justification of their action be entered in the record to show that they had acted in the best interest of the College. Denying that they had acted hastily, the faculty majority cited considerations of expediency and economy as reasons for their quick approval of Grigsby's recommendations. Their statement also implies an unwillingness to oppose the Board of Visitors.

Finding himself a minority of one, Totten sought support from John Tyler. In a letter to Tyler on 5 March 1859 Totten expressed the opinion that a new building would cost only $1500 more than one using the existing foundation. Tyler replied that he was committed to no particular plan but that the major considerations had to be the extent of available funds, "economy in expenditure," and dispatch in completion of the building. Tyler implied that he would support an entirely new structure if these conditions could be satisfied but warned against the expectation of large subscriptions from friends of the College. However, that same day Tyler wrote Governor Wise, also a Visitor, that he favored the retention of the old walls if they indeed were useable and would result in a savings. Tyler was playing a role with which he was very familiar—that of agreeing with everyone and with nobody, at the same time.

Meanwhile the faculty released Mr. Exall and hired another architect, Eben Faxon of Williamsburg. They also asked that contractors submit estimates by April eighth. Faxon, after several modifications, brought his estimates for building on the old walls in line with the fiscal limits set by the Visitors. On March twenty-third the faculty accepted his plan. Totten went along with this, "believing that the plan of building proposed is the best . . . which can be erected upon the old walls," but still retaining his opinion that "a new building of equal accommodations and greater convenience and durability can be erected at an equal cost." On April twelfth the faculty awarded the con-
tract to Green and Allen of Richmond for a bid of $18,200. Totten cast the only negative vote.

It is not clear whether Totten wished to tear down the charred walls and erect a new building on the site or move the entire project to a new location. Equally unclear are his reasons for such consistent opposition to use of the old walls. It may simply have been that he believed he was being economically practical. He may also have felt that his lack of sentimental ties to the College or to the state of Virginia qualified him more than the others to act in William and Mary's best interests. On the other hand, it is possible that he generally did not get along well with the newer and younger faculty members. The only other member of the "old guard" of 1849 remaining was Ewell, and Totten certainly was not fond of him. In any case, Totten's main contribution was to strengthen the resolve of the rest of the faculty and the Board of Visitors to retain the walls which Ewell had only recently determined to be the walls of the original building erected in 1695. Considerations of history and economy clearly dictated their course. Then, too, serious consideration of a new location might have invited suggestions that that location be someplace other than Williamsburg.

John Tyler to Benjamin S. Ewell, 11 February 1859, published in WMQ, 1st ser., 9(January 1903): 75-76; Faculty Minutes, 1 March 1859; John Tyler to S. Totten, 8 March 1859 and J. Tyler to Henry A. Wise, 8 March 1859, College Papers, WM Archives; Weekly Gazette, 6 April 1859; Faculty Minutes, 11 March, 23 March, 12 April 1859.

Construction began on the building Totten found so ugly in late April 1859 with completion expected by October. The faculty was anxious that it be ready for the opening of the 1859-60 session. Governor Wise offered the use of convicts from the state penitentiary to perform the labor, but the faculty respectfully declined his offer. Instead they employed eighty-six laborers and mechanics, some from as far away as Richmond and Norfolk, to do the work. Work was delayed by difficulties in obtaining enough bricks, but on 13 October 1859, about the time Totten left Williamsburg for good, the faculty and students occupied the restored building. A student standing in the College Yard between the Brafferton and the President's House would have seen, behind the stature of Lord Botetout, a brick building painted a stone color, and resembling what might loosely be described as Italian architecture. Two towers, one for the bell and the other to be used as an observatory, relieved the monotony of a very plain front. The pitch of the roof was much less than in the old building.
and there were no dormers. No students would have rooms in the building, so third floor dormitories were unnecessary. The Richmond Enquirer reported that the towers produced a "marked and truly picturesque effect" and were the "most striking architectural features of the new edifice." But at least one observer agreed with Totten. A Confederate soldier, passing through Williamsburg in 1862, wrote that the building looked "more like a modern female institute than an old university for young men."

On 11 October 1859 members of the Masonic Fraternity of Virginia met in Williamsburg to celebrate the placement of the capstone and the reconsecration of the College building. John Tyler was keynote speaker and sounded a note of optimism:

"There is but one way to judge of the future, and that is by the past; and judging by the past, may we not anticipate a future of usefulness and glory for William and Mary."

After the ceremonies the Board of Visitors unanimously elected Tyler to the office of Chancellor, an action recommended by the faculty on 18 February 1859.

Thus began what the faculty and friends of William and Mary hoped would be a new era. But Totten, who had shared the College's fortunes for ten years, was not there. Disappointment over the building and fear of war convinced him to go to Iowa. The building he found so repugnant was in use for less than three years. It was burned by Union troops during the Peninsula Campaign of May 1862. Faculty Minutes, 1 March 1859; Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, 5 October 1859; Faculty Minutes, 15, 22 October, 6 July 1859; Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, 6 April 1859; Richmond Enquirer, 23 September 1859. For soldier's account see "Sketches from the Journal of a Confederate Soldier /Samuel Elias Mayes/, 1862," Tyler's Historical and Genealogical Magazine 6: 29-30. For reconsecration see Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, 16 September 1859 and Tyler, Letters and Times, pp. 547-49.

10 John Tyler donated funds for an "extensive collection of philosophical and chemical apparatus" which was selected, at President Ewell's request, by William Barton Rogers. Hugh Blair Grigsby turned over to the College $1000 in City of Norfolk script to be used as a vested library fund. Faculty Minutes, 6 April 1859; WMQ, 1st ser., 12(April, 1904): 262.

11 Littleton Waller Tazewell (1774-1860) of Norfolk was a graduate of William and Mary and Virginia's first Whig governor, 1834-36. The best biographical sketch of Tazewell is Hugh Blair Grigsby, Discourse on
The Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell (Norfolk: J.D. Ghiselin, Jr., 1860).

At the close of the 1858-59 session, Totten reported to the faculty on the books he had collected. His travels on behalf of the new library also yielded contributions of $173 which his colleagues requested him to keep to purchase textbooks for his classes. When the College reopened in October 1859, the library contained approximately 4000 volumes. Faculty Minutes, 6 July 1859; WMQ, 2d ser., 1(October 1921): 284.

Although Totten did not expect to return to William and Mary for the 1859-60 session, he said nothing of his intentions to the faculty or to the Board of Visitors until early October 1859. With the session to begin in the restored building on October thirteenth, and the College desiring to make as impressive a beginning as possible, this was a matter of no mean inconvenience. On 3 October 1859 Tyler wrote to President Ewell:

"It is unfortunate that Dr. Totten had not, from himself, have communicated his intention to vacate his professorship a month ago--so that the contemplated vacancy could have been filled, and the organization of the college completed upon entering the new building. The Visitors, if salary was his object, would I doubt not have gladly voted it up to the that he might desire, sooner than have a vacancy by resignation announced just at this time."

Tyler to Ewell, 3 October 1859, Ewell Folder, Faculty-Alumni Files, WM Archives.

On 5 October 1859 the Virginia Gazette reported:

"We learn from an authentic source that this gentleman, Rev. Dr. Silas Totten, is about to hand in his resignation as Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Belles-Lettres, in the College of William and Mary. The Dr. has received a call to the west, which he has for certain considerations seen fit to accept."

In his report to the 1860 Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, Bishop John Johns paid a final tribute to Totten:

"One loss it has sustained not to be easily repaired . . . that of the Rev. Silas Totten, D.D. who for ten years filled the chair of Intellectual Philosophy, Belles Lettres, and Rhetoric, with ability and success and whose varied learning and experience qualified him for
instruction in any branch . . . whilst his manliness, practical skill and intelligence and sterling piety, distinguished him as a College officer. His election to the Presidency of the University of Iowa is a handsome recognition of his worth and in removing to the honorable position to which he has been invited he carries with him the respect and affection and best wishes of the many friends he gained during his residence in Virginia."

Johns's report is cited in Weddell, St. Paul's, 1: ;:2.

15 The General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States, the first to be held in the South, convened at St. Paul's Church in Richmond on 5 October 1859. The convention was, relative to the general political climate, harmonious and without overt sectional controversy. O. Jennings Wise, editor of the Richmond Enquirer, observed that "the Episcopal Church is the only one of the four great Protestant denominations which remains unbroken and entire." Reference is to the sectional splits in the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches prior to 1859.

Although Totten does not mention it, it is of interest that Christopher G. Memminger of South Carolina also attended this General Convention of the Episcopal Church. In January 1860, prompted by John Brown's raid and the increasing strength of the Republican Party, he would return to Richmond on a mission to secure Virginia's promise to promote Southern solidarity against the abolitionist threat. He expressed to Virginia governor John Letcher South Carolina's desire to join Virginia in "measures of common defense" but was unable to secure a formal declaration of support from the Virginia General Assembly. Richmond Enquirer, 7 October 1859; Stephen A. Channing, Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974) p. 117. Henry D. Capers, The Life and Times of C.G. Memminger (Richmond, 1893) pp. 243-45, 278-79.

16 The Virginia Gazette, 9 November 1859:

REV. DR. SILAS TOTTEN:

"We are pleased to learn that the Rev. Silas Totten, D.D. lately of the College of William and Mary . . . has been elected President of the Iowa State University /sic/. . . . The authorities of this University may congratulate themselves in having elected a President so able and experienced as Dr. Totten."
## APPENDIX

### WILLIAM AND MARY FACULTY

**1849-59**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin S. Ewell</td>
<td>1848-88</td>
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<td>Chemistry, Mathematics</td>
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<td>Robert Gatewood</td>
<td>1851-54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Adjunct)</td>
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<td>William F. Hopkins</td>
<td>1849-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural Philosophy, Chemistry</td>
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<td>John Johns</td>
<td>1849-54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Philosophy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward S. Joynes</td>
<td>1858-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucian Minor</td>
<td>1855-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Law</td>
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<td>Robert J. Morrison</td>
<td>1858-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History, Political Economy</td>
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<td>George Scarborough</td>
<td>1852-55</td>
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<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Morgan J. Smead</td>
<td>1848-58</td>
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<td>Ancient Languages</td>
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<td>Thomas L. Snead</td>
<td>1856-59</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Edwin Taliaferro</td>
<td>1858-67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
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<td>Silas Totten</td>
<td>1849-59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Philosophy, Belles Lettres</td>
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<td>N. Beverley Tucker</td>
<td>1834-51</td>
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<td>Law</td>
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<td>Henry A. Washington</td>
<td>1849-58</td>
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<td>James M. Wise</td>
<td>1855-56</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Adjunct)</td>
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WILLIAM AND MARY BOARD OF VISITORS  
1849-59

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Appointment</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Otway B. Barraud</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert B. Bolling</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Boulware</td>
<td>King &amp; Queen Co.</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John B. Christian</td>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colin Clarke</td>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>1845</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eustace Conway</td>
<td>Fredericksburg</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William W. Crump</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Blair Grigsby</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William B. Harrison</td>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Johns</td>
<td>Fairfax</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Lewis</td>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lyons</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. MacFarland</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel May</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert McCandlish</td>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>1826</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Meade</td>
<td>Frederick Co.</td>
<td>1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nathaniel M. Osborne</td>
<td>Prince George</td>
<td>1851</td>
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<td>Edward P. Scott</td>
<td>Greenville</td>
<td>1848</td>
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<td>Edward T. Tayloe</td>
<td>King George</td>
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<td>Tazewell Taylor</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1849</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Tyler, Rector</td>
<td>Charles City Co.</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<td>Accomac</td>
<td>1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Woodbridge</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I William and Mary College

A. Archives

The following archival materials used in the preparation of this thesis may be found in Williamsburg, Virginia, at the Earl G. Swem Library of the College of William and Mary, Special Collections Department, Archives Division:

Bursar's Book, entries for 1849-60.

College Papers. Folders arranged chronologically under specific categories.


Faculty Minutes, 1848-1861.

Matriculation Book, 1827-1861. Lists name, age, residence, and parent or guardian for all students. In some cases religious affiliation and place of residence in Williamsburg is also given.

Provisional List of Alumni, 1693-1888. Williamsburg, 1941. A printed list of all known alumni arranged alphabetically.

B. Manuscripts

The following manuscript collections may be found in Williamsburg, Virginia, at the Earl G. Swem Library of the College of William and Mary, Special Collections Department, Manuscripts Division:

Ewell Papers. Contains many letters to and from members of the Ewell family pertaining to the College in the 1850s.
Lamb Diary. Recollections and notes on the College, April-December 1855, by student William Lamb of Norfolk, Virginia.

Totten Papers. Contains all nine notebooks of Totten's memoirs; letters, lecture notes, and press clippings.

Tucker-Coleman Papers.

Henry A. Washington Papers. An important and little used collection containing Washington's diary, manuscript essays on slavery and politics, and the manuscript copy of Washington's work in editing the papers of Thomas Jefferson.

C. Catalogues

Printed editions may be found in the College Papers, William and Mary Archives.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of William and Mary College: 1844-45. Richmond, 1844


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William and Mary College Quarterly, 1st, 2d, 3rd Series. Contains numerous sketches and short articles on the College. These are indexed in Swem, Virginia Historical Index, to 1930.
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III. Virginia and Williamsburg


IV. Biography

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V. Education


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VI. Newspapers

*Petersburg Intelligencer,* 27 July 1850.

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Williamsburg Weekly Gazette, 28 August 1856; 2, 16 March 1859; 6 April 1859; 16 September 1859; 5 October 1859.

VII. Miscellaneous


VITA

Anne West Chapman


The author entered the Ph.D program in the Department of History at the College of William and Mary, September 1977.