The College of William and Mary
in Virginia

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM LAMB
1855

Edited by
James A. Servies

Williamsburg: The College Library
1963
INTRODUCTION

William Lamb, a young, self-assured man of nineteen, made his first entry in a blank octavo notebook on the evening of April 10, 1855. By December 6th of the same year he had completed the volume. This publication is a reprint of the first portion of that diary, covering slightly less than three months, or until July 5, 1855.

There are essentially two parts to the first diary kept by William Lamb: the first relating to his student career at the College of William and Mary; the second carrying on his experiences in Virginia, New Jersey and New York during the year of the yellow fever epidemic in Norfolk. The first half, almost entirely taken up with his student life, is reprinted here if for no other purpose than the edification and amusement of William and Mary students, alumni and friends -- for this is one of the fullest accounts of the day to day life of a William and Mary student: the books he read, the papers and speeches he wrote, the classmates he knew, and the community life he shared. Certainly, before the fire of February 8, 1859, at least, it is one of the best accounts of a student at the old College yet discovered.

William Lamb was born in Norfolk, Virginia, on September 7, 1835, the first child of William Wilson and Margaret Kerr Lamb. His household was bountiful -- his father a prominent citizen and former mayor of Norfolk -- and his youthful life presumably uneventful and contented. He and his brother Robert, four years younger (also enrolled at William and Mary during the writing of the diary) shared the family spotlight. William, or "Will" as he was called, was first sent to school at the old Norfolk Academy and, at the age of fourteen, went to the Rappahannock Military Academy where he was taught mathematics and military tactics. His preceptor was William Mahone, later a general in the Confederate States Army and United States Senator. His college preparation was completed by a year at the Rev. Henry M. Jones's Cottage School, in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

He entered the College of William and Mary on February 24, 1852. Washington's birthday, one of the two festive periods during the school year, marked the mid-session, at which time students were permitted to enroll. Will, having "read and understood the laws of this College," filled in the matriculation book as follows: "Wm. Lamb, (Parent,) Wm. W. Lamb, Norfolk, (Age) 16, (College residence) Dr. Totten, (Church affiliation) Episcopal." He was the 50th of 56 matriculants for the year 1851-52.

There were six faculty members at the beginning of this school year, including the President, the Reverend John Johns, Assistant Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia. His colleagues were the Reverend Silas Totten, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Belles-Lettres, and Rhetoric; Mr. Henry A. Washington, Professor of History and Political Economy; Mr. Benjamin S. Ewell,
The campus of the College in 1851-52 was much different from that familiar to generations of students today, even though the restoration of the old colonial buildings, successfully brought about through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has brought the structures to their appearance in the mid-eighteenth century. But much had been done to the old College. The main building, rebuilt in 1716 having been gutted by fire eleven years before, had been the scourge of many students long before the 1850’s. The roof leaked, the cellar was wet and moldy, the stairs were creaky and dark, and the classrooms were poorly lighted and drafty. The top floor of the north wing was called "Nova Scotia" by its inmates since it was so far removed from civilization. In 1855 there were at least twenty-three boarders "in the College," or main building, usually scholarship students or those unable to afford accommodations in town or in one of the faculty homes.

The President’s House, built in 1735-36, restored by the King of France in 1782, after his soldiers had set it afire, and the Brafferton, erected in 1723 as a school for Indian boys, both looked over the old campus with its ancient oaks guarding the gate and the tall elms shading the College Yard. In the center of the triangle formed by the three elements of the colonial campus stood the statue of Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia and friend and patron of the old College — noble, yet pathetically incomplete and mutilated. Then there was College corner, with "the delightful pool, at the intersection of various crossings ... an excellent summer resort for ducks, geese and swine."

William's impressions upon first viewing this scene have not been preserved. But let us note a communication from "Mr. Joe Green," a Major Donning of fellow, which appeared only a few days before the commencement of Lamb's diary in the Virginia Gazette of Williamsburg for February 8, 1855:

... After I had started from Sweetater hill, me & ole Sleepy (my ole horse) jogged along at a right smart gate, till by and by, I seed a grate many houses ... The most prominent object that distracted my attention was a grate long lookin brick house setting jam by the roads, with two more houses set at each back end formin 3 sides of a squar; a kollegear told me afterwards they were kalled the pinions of the edifice. This bilden had a crew of windows to it, some flat & some juttin out. As I approached the town the side of the main bilden towards I, hadn't any doors, but was arched like the pictures of London bridge in my
school geographers. On the top of this bilden which I afterwards herd was the kollege, thar was set a larged sized pigeon house, no doubt some kollegers stole it from room somewhers & put it up thar; at any rate it looks dreadfull bad, & is as much out of place, as Tom Thumb's night cap, would be on the head of king Solish, whom David slew in the bible.

I rode along easy & was just enterin towne, when out from the front part of the kollege a hole crowd of fellers came rushin &ollerin out. Old sleepy pricked up his ears & gan to snort, & the more he galed the more the fellers with books shouted.

Ole sleepy never liked noise no how; & as a natural consequence, he rared and pranced & ran rite in the middle of a green puddle of water, & besides splatterin me all over, split all my biskets & cakes & started up a hole flock of gesses, & they kept up such another to do, that i don't know which flock of gesses kept up the most racket. I wouldn't have minded the losin of the cakes, but those damned kollegers yelled & how hawed, lik they hadn't any sense.

And as an episode, mistur editor, what upon yerth does the sitty kounsel keep that put nuddle by the kollege for? i spose it is for the accommodation of gesses, for thers plenty of um in yore towne ... Well ole sleepy struck for down the street just like he was made ... You ought to herd the kollegers shoutin, ... I reckon they don't act so out of malishousness, but jest from a little lack of good breedin.

William Lamb's classmates came from 29 Virginia counties and seven other Southern states. Their average age was somewhat less than today — over one-half were 18 or younger — although the range extended from 17 to 24 (the former being William Morrissett, a candidate for the Master of Arts degree; the latter, Will's brother, Richard, who must have had exceptional qualifications to matriculate in spite of a regulation specifying that "no one shall be admitted under the age of fifteen").

The Law department, in which Lamb enrolled during this, his last year, consisted of fifteen students, most of them older and wiser in the ways of the world than the other "kollegers" who bailed "ole sleepy." There were but three eighteen-year-olds among the Law students who enrolled in October, 1854 — one of these, Mr. W. W. Vest, of Williamsburg, felt a qualification was called for and wrote "18-1/2." The other two youngerst were Charles Stringfellow, of Petersburg, and William Lamb, of Norfolk.

We reprint, as one appendix to the diary, the College catalog of that year: Catalogue and course of studies of William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va. Williamsburg Gazette Office, 1855). This contains lists of students by department, under the accepted classification of that day: "junior" and "senior"; description of the courses, methods of teaching, books read, and College rules and regulation. The second appendix, "William Lamb's classmates," provides a few notes on the eighty-two students in the session of 1854—55, excepting only Mr. William Y. Peyton who, though he took his law degree that year, had attended classes earlier (1846—48, 1851—52).
Grateful acknowledgment is made for the kind assistance rendered by many individuals and institutions who have provided information for the notes and appendices. Among them should be singled out Mr. William Lamb, of Hackensack, New Jersey, grandson, and Mrs. Ralph Magraw, granddaughter, of Raphine, Virginia, of the diarist; Mrs. G. C. Chamberlaine, of Venice, Florida; Dr. H. Norton Mason and Mr. Alexander H. Sands, of Richmond, Virginia; and Dr. E. G. Swan, Librarian Emeritus of the College of William and Mary, whose bibliographic labors have lightened the load of many, many editors.

Sincere appreciation is also extended to the personnel of the following libraries and institutions: The College of William and Mary Library; the Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.; the Virginia State Library; the Norfolk Public Library; the Alderman Library, University of Virginia; and the Virginia Historical Society Library.

James A. Serves
Librarian
College of William and Mary in Virginia

February, 1963
WILLIAM LAMB'S DIARY

April 10, 1855

to

July 6, 1855
April 10th 1855, Norfolk, Va. Mr. Grigsby⁠¹ a literary gentleman of Norfolk, persuaded me yesterday to keep a private Journal. To day I procured this book from father, & I have now begun. To day is Miss Nattle Page's birthday; she is one of the sweetest ladies I ever knew. On her last birthday I presented her with a copy of Shakespeare, which I bought at the sale of the Aron Society Library. To day while in Father's office on Bank street I heard Mr. Peter P. Mayo, who resides in the back room of the same office say, that Mr. Hodijah Meade told him that he was once staying with Gen. Jackson in Petersburg at the tavern afterwards kept by Powell, & became very intimate with him. Meade told him that Gen. Jackson told him, he was not born in South Carolina, but at Jennings Ordinary, Nottaway County, Virginia.⁡ This was before Jackson was spoken of as president. Father stated to day that Gen. Jackson was a cousin of Thomas Saffren, Esq.,⁠² who married my aunt, Janet Wilson & she now resides at No. 11, Washington Square, New York. Mr. Mayo told me to day that Judge Upland⁠³ was so kind to his stock about his farm, that when he walked out, the sheep and hogs would come to meet him & follow him, & that the horses would put their mouths on his shoulder & in his pockets. He was very fond of birds, & use to keep a board full of crumbs near the door of the dining room, & in the spring of the year the little birds would flock to it. He sometimes would have little sparrows to light on his shoulder, when Secretary of Navy he was accustomed to go at an early hour from his residence to the Department. On one occasion he met a little girl who was filling her pitcher at a pump with great difficulty, as she had to hold the vessel while she pumped. The Judge kindly volunteered to help her fill the pitcher, & he pumped for her, while she held it. After this he

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¹Hugh Blair Grigsby (1806-1861), editor of the Norfolk American Beacon, member of the Virginia house of Delegates and Constitutional Convention of 1829/30. After withdrawing from his journalistic labors, Grigsby began the study and research in Virginia history that resulted in his The Virginia Convention of 1788, The Virginia Convention of 1776, The History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788, and other historical and biographical works. He was a member of the Board of Visitors of the College, and Chancellor from 1871 to 1881.

²This is probably apocryphal. See John S. Bassett, ed., Correspondence of Andrew Jackson (Washington, D. C., 1926-1933, vol. I, P. xxiii, and I.

³For Jackson's Saffren connections see Ibid., vol. 1, p. 2.

⁴Abel Parker Upshur (1791-1844) was educated at Princeton and Yale, later read law in the office of William Wirt. He served in the House of Delegates and in the Convention of 1829/30. He was a member of the Supreme Court of Virginia for fifteen years before being appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Tyler in 1841; later, Secretary of State in 1843. He was killed the following year in an explosion on board the battleship "Princeton."
told her he would pump for her every morning if she would meet him.
This she agreed to, & regularly every morning he assisted this poor
little girl to fill her pitcher. Went to see Mr. Kevin to day at
the Herald office, about having my speech on Judge Upshur published.¹
There I met William Southgate an officer in the Exchange bank, he
acted to me as if he was partially deranged or extremely silly - I
don't know which. Bought Bottas 'American Revolution² from Mr. Barclay
at §1.50. Also, Giles' Political Miscellany³, & Duer's Constitutional
Jurisprudence of the United States⁴, from Mr. Windsor at 6 Hall's.
He gave me two copies of "The confessions of Nat Turner,"⁵ Heard Mr.
Moyo state that there was a coldness existing between Judge Upshur and
John M. Spencer,⁶ after the fatal execution of young Spencer on the
"Somers" brig of War. It seems young Spencer was found guilty of
mutiny & was hung on the Somers' yard arm. It was a fatally rash
act, thus cutting down this young man in the prime of life, & sub-
sequent events look like an offended providence, had avenged his
death. A. Slidell McKenzie⁷ the commanding officer fell down dead
in the street, another officer shot himself. (Dr. Leacock) & every
witness against him has since died; most of them sudden or mysterious
deaths, & the brig, on her next cruise was driven by a hurricane,
bow foremost down into the bosom of the gulf of Mexico, & never
came up.

All the cabinet officers were invited to dine out the day the
terrible news came of the execution of young Spencer. Judge Upshur
was Secretary of the Navy at the time, & had on that day received at
about twelve oclock, the fatal intelligence. On that day the Hon. John

¹The text seems incomplete, possibly containing a typographical error.
³William Branch Giles, Political Miscellany (Richmond, 1829).
⁵Nat Turner, The confessions of Nat Turner, the leader of the late insurrection in Southampton, Va. (Richmond, 1832).
⁶I.e., John C. Spencer (1788-1855) New York lawyer and politician. Spencer served as Secretary of War at the time Upshur was Secretary of the Navy.
⁷Alexander Slidell MacKenzie (1803-1848), commander of the "Somers" upon which the execution of young Philip Spencer took place, was an author of several travel accounts and -- after this tragic occurrence -- a life of Stephen Decatur.
M. Spencer (then secretary of either the War, or Treasury Department), the father of this unfortunate young man, was to come for Upshur to carry him to dinner. Upshur was in a painful position & suffered much, that he should possess news so agonizing to the heart of his friend, but kept the sad news to himself & communicated it next day to a son in law of Mr. Spencer. Of course a court of enquiry was formed, and Spencer endeavored to have a hand in the appointment of the Judges, but Upshur wisely refused this, as he thought a distressed father far from being impartial enough to select judges. He also refused to let him employ Wm. A. Duer of New York (a distinguished lawyer) as an attorney against the officers. After this time a breach was opened between these two gentlemen, which was never healed, and their difference on the Texas Question widened it distressingly. This morning it was warm & pleasant, this afternoon it is rainy. Saw the new Baltimore steamer Louisiana to day, for the first time. She is a magnificent floating palace.  

2 Had a long conversation with Mr. Hunter to day at the corner of Maine St. & Roanoke Sqv. He told me he had no affiliation with either the Know Nothing or democratic party, & would not vote for either Mr. Flournoy or Mr. Wise. Left my watch with Mr. Clift to day, to have a crystal put in. Went to hear Hunter Woodis deliver a speech before the Democratic Association, at Ashland Hall. He delivered a fine speech in favor of Civil & Religious Liberty. He spoke feelingly of his allegiance to Old Virginia next to his God, although a Catholic. I was invited by Wm. C. Whitehead, in behalf of the Democratic Association, to address them, during this campaign, I am to consider it.

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1Upshur was an ardent proponent of the annexation of Texas.

2The "Louisiana", first operated on November 9, 1854, was one of the largest boats on Chesapeake Bay. See Alexander C. Brown, The Old Bay Line, 1840-1940 (Richmond, 1940), p. 50-51.

3The Know-nothing party--so called for its oath-bound, fraternal silence--embraced fragments from the old Whig party in addition to its solid nativist core. Prior to the gubernatorial campaign in Virginia, the Know-nothings had carried state elections in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, California and Kentucky. See Barton H. Wise, the life of Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, 1806-1876 (New York, 1899, p. 202.

4Thomas Stanhope Flournoy (1811-1883), educated at Hampden-Sidney College and practiced law in Halifax Co., Virginia. Although selected as a Whig to Congress (1847-49), he was an unsuccessful candidate in the congressional campaigns of 1848 and 1850, and in the gubernatorial campaign of 1855 and 1863.

5Henry A. Wise (1806-1876), a prominent lawyer and Jackson Democrat in Congress, 1833-44. He was minister to Brazil, 1844-47, and Governor of Virginia, 1855-1860.

6The mayor of Norfolk, 1853-54. Woodis studied law at William and Mary, 1843-44.
Wrote part of an Oration on John C. Calhoun for my graduating speech & read Giddings' abolition speech on "the moral responsibility of statesmen," in Wash. Globe, June 54.

Norfolk City, April 11th 1855. Mr. Grigsby called on me this morning, but I was out. He brought me a copy of two of his speeches, the one delivered in 1831 on 4th of July, & the other on the Convention of 1829-30. The servant thought I had gone down town, but I was in the outer office declaiming the part of my oration on Calhoun that I had written the night before. I paid Mr. Ferguson $25.00 for books. Bought two coats, vest, pair pants, cravat, suspenders, & cravat buckle from N. Water & Co. Pair of shoes from Seabury's & a pair of gaiters from Clifton and Porter. Called on Mr. Grigsby, & met Mrs. Grigsby for the first time, was very agreeable disappointed, think she is a very sweet & intelligent lady. Expected nearly all day to leave for Williamsburg in the morning which troubled me considerably. I have been much relieved since Father has consented to let me stay until Saturday.

Called to see cousin Sam Lightfoot, who is very sick. He was much alarmed today, the fire to the kitchen caught on fire, & heated the chimney to an alarming degree. The sparks were large & set fire to many places on the roof. Mrs. Duncan's Raymond, a another man, succeeded by means of buckets of water in extinguishing it, before much damage was done. Lawyer Chandler was in the office today, his conversation was amusing and instructive, he is a rare specimen of humanity. Has a high opinion of Women and Charlie Lamb the poet. Poor Lamb, who with utter disregard for his own happiness, did every thing in his power to make his marine sister, happy and comfortable. Received my watch from Clift to day.

The vagrants are swarming our city now, two called on Father, to day, one a Frenchman & the other a little girl who said she was from Spain. Our mayor, should not allow this, but poor imbecile Stubbs is

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1. Ohio abolitionist, Joshua Reed Giddings, (1795-1864).

2. Oration, pronounced at the request of the committee on arrangements, appointed by the Norfolk volunteers ... on the 4th of July, 1831 (Norfolk, 1831).

3. The Virginia convention of 1829-30. A discourse delivered before the Virginia Historical Society, ... December 15th 1853 (Richmond, 1854).

4. Mrs. Grigsby was the former Mary Venable Carrington.

5. Simon S. Stubbs, Mayor of Norfolk, 1851-53, 1854-55; student at William and Mary, 1827-28. It seems the main criticism of the mayor was that he was too lenient in dealing with the element in this port city. See William S. Forrest, Historical and descriptive sketches of Norfolk and vicinity (Philadelphia, 1853) p. 276-78.
more of an ass, (in the management of municipal affairs) than he is of a man. This is a judgment upon Norfolk City for not keeping in office the best mayor, since the days of my Grandfather, 1 Hunter Woodis. If the people of Norfolk don't elect a better mayor than Stubbs, I shall run for the office myself in 1856.

April 12th 1855. Norfolk, Va. Brother 2 left for Williamsburg to day, he carried up with him, the books I purchased for the Phoenix. 3 Saw in today's Beacon, a criticism on Hunter Woodis speech. It grossly misrepresented him; & in correcting Mr. Woodis was guilty of a terrible blunder in history, which I corrected by inserting a place in to day's News headed, "Beacon vs Bancroft." The Beacon stated that Religious Freedom was first established in Rhode Island & that Hunter Woodis gave the lie to history when he said the first American act of Religious Freedom was introduced by Calvert in Maryland. Bancroft states that the Maryland act was in 1632, and Roger Williams did not settle Providence until six years after.

Borrowed from Wm. Pendleton 4 a volume of the Congressional Globe with account on the speeches made upon the death of John C. Calhoun. He presented me Obituary Addresses on the death of Daniel Webster. Heard Bishop Johns 5 at Christ Church at night, spoke to him after church, he seemed glad to see me. Noticed the Bishop had less action than usual in preaching, a decided improvement. The Know Nothings are holding a Convention here to night, to nominate a candidate for Congress, Senate, Legislature, etc. The bells are ringing for fire in the direction of the Cotton Factory, it is 11 1/2 o'clock P.M. Time for all honest people to be in bed.

Norfolk City April 13th 1855. Friday. Went down town & carried a book to Alfred Seabury to be returned to the Washington

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1William B. Lamb (1763-1852), Mayor of Norfolk, 1810-1815.
2Robert W. Lamb, student at William and Mary, 1854-57.
3The Phoenix and the Philomathean literary societies were active during this period. Lamb was a member of the Phoenix, which apparently had begun to establish a library. The Philomatheans were not to be outdone, however, for a notice in the Virginia Gazette, April 19, 1855, called attention to its "flourishing condition" (there were about thirty members) and solicited contributions "from the lovers of literature throughout the State" to establish its own collection.
4William M. Pendleton, student at William and Mary 1850-53.
5The Assistant Bishop of Virginia, Rev. John Johns (1796-1876). He was educated at Princeton, ordained priest in 1820, and served in various parishes in Maryland. While Assistant Bishop, Rev. Johns was President of William and Mary 1849-1854. He was Bishop of Virginia from 1862 until his death.
Institute.\footnote{I.e. The Washington Institute and Library Association, incorporated in 1852.}

Had a long discussion with him concerning the respective merits of Calhoun and Clay. We consider Mr. Calhoun mentally & morally superior to Henry Clay. Mr. Clay was like a rapid stream, dashing ahead only increased in beauty & swiftness by the slightest impediments thrown in its way. Calhoun was like a deep stream that rolled on, quietly but powerfully.

Mr. Woodis thanked me to day for the answer to the Beacon. Went to the Savings Bank and got Mr. Smead's book. Father went down in the Country to spend the day. Old Curry is unwell. I packed my trunk this afternoon. Began to read Porcupine's works.\footnote{William Cobbett, Porcupine's works: containing various writings and selections, exhibiting a faithful picture of the United States of America. 12v. (London, 1801). Selections of Cobbett's writings, including some of the "Porcupine," were printed London, 1835, in six volumes.}

They are spicy, but the wretch who wrote the strictures on our Washington is verily too corrupt to be digested in the gut of a cannible. Received a letter from Bob. The ladies will leave Williamsburg tomorrow. I will have the pleasure of meeting them on the wharf.

I have not yet finished my oration on Calhoun. I did hope to have it finished by this time.

Sent Mr. Griswyl two copies each of Dabney's\footnote{Probably George E. Dabney's Address "on the value of writing" delivered before the society of alumni of the University of Virginia ... June 22nd, 1849. (Charlottesville, 1849).} & Tucker's\footnote{John Randolph Tucker. Address ... delivered before the Phoenix and Philomathian societies ... 3 July 1854 (Richmond, 1854).} speech & a copy of the OaI.\footnote{A student production, the only known issue of which, dated January 1854, is in the College of William and Mary Library. Full title: The OaI; printed for the faculty by Hugh Betty Martin, Billy and Molly Koleene, Williamsburg, Virginia, Jan. 1854.}
Williamsburg, Va. April 14th 1855. Left Norfolk for Williamsburg at six o'clock in the Steamer Augusta. We had a beautiful run up the James River. Mrs. Duncan and Jesse Woodland were under my care. I met Clark—a fellow law student on the boat, he had been on a visit to Portsmouth. Came up with a large crowd of the delegates to the Know Nothing Convention, a motley crew of rag-muffins, loafers & rum drinkers. Became acquainted with John Clark's father. Met Miss Mattle, Miss Betty and Miss Julia on the wharf. Walker with Miss Mattle to the boat, she looked very sweet and pretty, she was distressed at leaving Williamsburg, because Mrs. Sheldon was unwell. I promised to let her know the state of her health immediately. My whole expenses up were $4.75 two dollars of which I paid for Maria & Henry's passage down the river the day before. I did not attend the society last evening, as I felt too fatigued. I read part of the 4th volume of Peter Forcipe's works. I was struck with his sketch of the life of the brute Tom Paine. What a stain rests upon our early history that our country should ever have patronized so base a villain, so detestable a monster, a smuggler, a thief, an inhuman husband, a traitor, a hypocrite, an apostate, a liar, & a breaker of confidence. What a concentration of hellish crimes was buried with the corrupt infidel Paine. Surely the Christian Religion need not fear such an enemy, for his loathsome sympathies were more to be dreaded than his malignant hate. Peter Forcipe states "The celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's somewhere observed that a man of talents no sooner emerges from obscurity, than all the block heads are instantly up in arms against him." How truly this is exemplified in College life, for I have observed invariably that whenever a member of a society makes an excellent speech (one a little ahead of what was expected from him), those members who consider him a dangerous rival for spurious college fame, begin to criticise it as severely as their limited understandings will allow them & if they find it is above their criticism, they instantly accuse the speaker of plagiarism. Poor fellows, they forgot that a reputation made at college by understanding the talents of others will have a short & sickly duration. True fame will come and come only from praising the talents & stimulating the abilities of others & then by studious exertions endeavoring to surpass them. Any other fame is counterfeit and will not long remain undetected. And to draw an analogy, when it is found out like a counterfeit bank note, it will be condemned & spit upon for the mischief it has done, even the little value it can boast not being cared for.

I was at Col. Armistead's office this afternoon. Poor old man he is abominably conceited & I hope I learn a lesson when ever I talk to him. I could not help thinking, when he told me how very studious he was at College & when teaching school at Old Point, "what a wonder it was he now had so little sense."

\[1\text{I.e., } John A. Clarke.\]

\[2\text{Col. R. H. Armistead, prominent Williamsburg attorney, who attended the College as a law student in 1831/32.}\]
Williamsburg April 15th 1855. It is a delightful spring day, but beautiful as nature looks I am in bad spirits, not that I have got the blues, but because I feel disheartened at the little progress I have made in my studies. The more I read, opens but new vistas which frighten me with their long lengths & I feel as if I could never learn the smallest moiety of what is to be learnt in the world. But I should not stand idle on the road, whether I progress in anything or not, every hour brings me nearer my long home, wither all mortal is destined to come. The trees are all blossoming, but even now in their youth as it were, I see the wind & decay causing them to fall, how few will become fruit worthy of their master's table. So it is with man. We are blossoms, how few of us will become fruit fit for our master's table. Gracious God grant that I may be acceptable at thy love feast. Amen! Wrote a letter to day & enclosed to Maggie a note from Miss Julia Thompson & Miss Mattie Page, thanking her for the little presents she sent up by Bobbie. I forgot to note in yesterday's diary, that I received a sweet note from Miss Mattie, a note which like the charming one I received from Miss Lizzie Carter, breathed pure and sincere friendship, for I have always felt that those were kind friends who care for my worldly prosperity, but far sweeter & dearer are those friends who care for my eternal happiness.

There were few at church to night. I felt unwell & did not listen attentively to the sermon, which I generally do. Mr. Wilmer did not preach long. Mrs. Washington was kind enough to play the organ for us. I heard to day that a fellow Jennings from Hampton is the nominee of the York Democratic Convention. So there are two candidates now, Hort & Jennings. Wonder if old Joe Segar will run, poor old coon he has been living in hopes of some higher nomination ever since he left the legislature. He would have been happy to have received any thing. How he must covet old Tom Bailey's place. But by the way this isn't fit for Sunday. I go for rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's but they should be rendered up on the week days & not on the sabbath. Another Sunday has passed, how many more will pass, e're I pass away? Who can tell? No one expects to die young or at least very few, & yet how many do die. Would to God I could choose "that better part", which will save my soul when my body is lost.

Williamsburg April 16th 1855. To day I attended my law lecture. The Judge gave me a long, dull & tedious lecture, at least is seemed so to me. We are now in Adam's Equity. 2To day as I was preparing my law lecture I heard a great outcry & looking out I saw the whole town in commotion on account of a fox chase in town. I rushed out & joined in the fun. The dogs soon overtook him but he was taken away & allowed another chance. After another exciting race he was caught, but before

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1Rev. George Thornton Wilmer, Rector of Bruton Parish Church, and later Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1869-1876.

he could be rescued from the dogs he was so disabled he could not
again run. He was then tied by a rope around the neck & dragged
by a horse some distance, when the hounds were set loose to see
the sport of their following his trail. I was as a matter of course
"in at the death," & I carried away the "brush." I called on Mrs.
Tucker & family to night. I found them kind & agreeable as usual.
Mrs. T. stated that Doctor Totten informed her, he had reasons to
believe the bricks of which the college are built & also the church,
were not imported from England, as has been supposed. Don't know
Dr. Totten's authority for saying so, & I beg to differ from him.¹
I also read to day, that the brave Lawrence who fell on the Chesapeake,
"bleeding at every wound," did not say "Don't give up the ship,"
but "Fight until she sinks." I never like to have what I considered
an old familiar fact, controverted especially when there is no use
in it. It does no good & causes us to be suspicious of all we
hear, which is not good. I wrote a letter to Miss Lizzie Carter to
night, thanking her for the sweet & precious book she sent me, she
is indeed a sweet girl, blending most happily piety with cheerfulness,
which reminds me so much of dear brother Richard. Met Mrs. Ewell²
to day, he sent for me to get the names of those upon whom honorary
degrees were conferred since the year to which the records run back.³
He is looking very badly, he was in good spirits & told me some
amusing jokes. Old Buck is a glorious fellow. I told him I expected
to go to Cambridge, he merely asked if I wanted to make a Yankee of
myself. He told me he heard a lawyer who had attended lectures at
Cambridge say, that Old Justice Story⁴ would instead of lecturing to
his pupils, tell them anecdote after anecdote, & when the bell would
ring, he would gravely take out his watch & say, we take no note of
time but by its loss, & then adjourn. It is right cool to day, fires are
comfortable.

¹The bricks used to build the "College," or the main structure
known today as the Wren Building, were made on the spot by Col. Daniel
Parke, who received 14 shillings a thousand for them. William and Mary
Quarterly (ser.2) vol. 8 (October, 1928), p. 220. Except for those
brought as ballast, most colonial tidewater structures were made of

²Benjamin S. Ewell, Pres. and Professor of Mathematics and Natural
Science, "Old Buck," as he was familiarly known to generations of students,
graduated from West Point in 1832; taught there and at Hampton-Sidney
College before coming to William and Mary in 1842. He served as acting
president, 1843-49; president, 1854-1888; and president-emeritus from
1888 until his death in 1894.

³Lamb had access to a matriculation book containing student's
names from about 1780 to 1827, now lost, although in 1855 the
records were "exceedingly imperfect and in a mutilated condition."

⁴Joseph Story (1779-1845), associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court,
and Professor of Law, Harvard University, 1829-1845.
Williamsburg April 17th 1855. Retired at one o'clock last night & arose at seven this morning, six hours sleep is plenty for any one, I intend as soon as it is too warm for fires to get up at half past six. Wrote by to day's mail to J W Randolph a bookseller of Richmond concerning some old political tracts, etc., he offers for sale. Saw notice of a new book called the American Debater & wrote after it. I omitted to note on Saturday that Davidson paid me $5 for the library. The prospects for Henry A Wise seen to be brightening. God save the old Dominion! Wrote a part of my oration on Calhoun. I shall endeavor to finish it as soon as possible, so that I may write another on Government. As I have spoken three times in the College chapel & once on a public debate in the Phenix Hall, I do not desire to speak again at College. If I finish my essay on Government in time I shall hand it in, & if I find the Faculty wish me to speak I shall withdraw it, & present my oration on Calhoun. Found to my sorrow to day that the expenses of Bob & myself since Christmas have been over $260, & this when we had paid our session fees & board till 23d of February last. This independent of our private pocket money. Mr. Brell is confined to bed; I regret it sincerely. I hope he is not seriously ill. Have had a distressing attack of dyspepsia today which as usual rendered me unfit for study. I believe I have lost more than half of time at college from sickness. I have not thought intently of any subject to day. I believe I will try & think on some subject of importance every day.

April 18th 1855. To day is one of the warmest days I ever experienced. Mr. Smelz said in the morning the thermometer in shade & in the slight breeze was 89. Surely April has borrowed a day from August. Wrote a long letter today to Miss Mattie who is now in Richmond. Received a letter from Randolph he said the political tracts had been sent to the State Library & he did not know how many the Librarian would keep. Find my law very tough. Adam's Equity is very hard especially when we have to get such long lessons. I think from reading the papers there is every prospect for a war with Cuba. I think self preservation & the voice of humanity demands it of our country, & now is our chance when our jealous rivals France & England have their hand full, at Sebastopol. Grissald and Hains arrived to day from Richmond.

I donned my summer coat to day for the first time this season. White pants & summer clothes were flourishing extensively in the streets this afternoon. The dreaded fish season is coming in Williamsburg, the delectable period when all our market offers is shad & Sturgeon or

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2The character of the Virginia State Library can be discerned in its *Catalogue of the Library of the State of Virginia*, arranged alphabetically under different heads (Richmond, 1856).
sturgeon & shad. How I hate to hear those miserable fish horns, harbingers of the above named season. Williamsburg is evidently growing, we expect soon to have a new Court House & perhaps a Baptist Church, the foundation of which has been laid nearly two years. If these buildings are completed I hope for the benefit of those that follow me at college some butcher will be tempted to erect a stall & then we can have some variety in the eating line during this season of the year.

April 19th 1855. To day is again excessively warm, a little breeze has been blowing to keep us from suffocation. It seems to me that when the weather gets so warm suddenly we should have violent winds, according to the philosophy of some the expansion of the air by heat, puts it in motion which causes wind, & we know that from about 30 of latitude north to 30 south there is a constant westerly wind called the trade wind which is said to be caused by the action of the sun, which is moving from East to West, expands the air immediately under him, & thereby keeps a current or stream of air following in his course. This general cause is we know modified by many particulars, yet if the great cause we have mentioned be sound philosophy, we should think that the very sudden change from such a day as Tuesday to that of yesterday would have been followed by a terrific hurricane caused by the great & sudden expansion of the air. Finished Stephen’s on pleading1 to day, & in the Junior course we have now to read the Va. Resolutions & Report of 1798-9.2 Our ideas on Government have ever since I have thought on the subject been the same. We believe man never did nor ever can exist without Government, & we believe that government best which governs least. The protection of man’s rights do not certainly imply the restrictions of the rights of others, for those are certainly not rights which interfere with the rights of others. There is no such thing as natural rights if we mean thereby the rights of a man free from society, for man never did nor can he exist out of society. The partly fabulous story of Crusoe is the only example we have on record & he did not exist in that state long. God has endowed men with different faculties, different natures, mentally moral & physical. Men are adapted for different stations in life. God only is to be the judge of this, not human laws. Any unnecessary abridgement of man’s liberty is wrong. For it must diminish his happiness, & that is against nature & the revealed will of God. Slavery some may think is an unnecessary abridgement of man’s liberty, & therefore wrong because it diminishes the happiness of the slave.

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1Henry J. Stephen, A treatise on the principles of pleading in civil actions (London, 1824); also numerous American editions.

2This, of course, refers to Madison’s Virginia Resolutions and Jefferson’s Kentucky Resolutions, (1798-1799), the first major enunciations of state rights and nullification.
This is an untenable & false assertion. The institution of Slavery is of divine appointment. It was tacitly allowed & recommended by the great reviser of the Jewish Code, our Lord and Savior. There are three million of an inferior race held under this institution in the Southern States; this race can never become the equal of their master race. The idea of amalgamation is as revolting to human nature as it is contrary to the law of God. This vast population are happier in bondage under these circumstances than when free, few cares fall to their share, & every necessary is supplied. If they are happier, if they cannot become equal, their abridgment of liberty is justified by human nature as it is by the revealed word of God.

The declaration of Independence written by an infidel says, "all men are born free and equal." the holy Bible written by the hand of inspiration, tells a far different story. This in the declaration is a mere theoretical speculation, the Bible statement is corroborated by facts.

Called on Mrs. Duncan this evening, had a right pleasant time. Received no letter from home today, which was quite a disappointment.

April 20th 1855. To day is pleasanter than yesterday. The Judge had his class at 9 instead of 12 ock & left this morning for Norfolk. I sent the money by him for the Americana Encyclopedial & Hallam's Constitutional History, for the Phenix Library. There has been a violent gale blowing this afternoon, no doubt from the sudden change in the temperature of the weather. Mrs. Sheldon come down stairs to night, she had not been down since November. It is wonderful how patient & happy she seems under her affliction. Rheumatism with other diseases have made her a cripple and yet her Christian resignation buoys her up. How happy those should be who are blessed with health; no one knows the kindness of Providence, in giving them health until affliction comes upon them. I read an elegant Historical essay on the "abuse of unrestrictd power" to day. This pamphlet was written in 1773 & was printed in London, on the title page is the following quotation, "What more savage, wild and cruel than man, if he see himself able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to overbear, the laws where unto he should be subject." Hooker's Ecclef Polity. The learned but unknown author displayed vast historical erudition, an intimate knowledge with the classical writers. His illustrations concerning I believe with Herod, (Titus) are drawn from Persian, Grecian, Roman, Italian, French and English history. I was forcibly impressed.


with the fact that the author could have drawn further illustrations, of course in a more modified form, from the annals of our country, eye from the reign of King John Adams, & perhaps if this detestible Know Nothing furor is not crushed, new illustrations may be added as the history of our country advances. Which God forbid!

April 21st 1855. Again I am sitting by a fire. These sudden changes are certainly dangerous to our health; how wonderful are these changes of nature! I fear we will lose much fruit if we have many more of them. The Library committee met to day, of which I am chairman. The committee have requested me to draft a circular for distribution which I did tonight. I am not to make a speech about my 4th of July speech. I find Mr. Calhoun's life so illimitable that I fear I can do nothing to him in the few minutes I have to speak. There is no justice to him in the few minutes I have to speak. There is another thing I dislike: I do not know whether to write in a plain simple style to suit myself or to please the people by a string of metaphors, tropes, etc. There was quite a discussion at the meeting of the common council of Williamsburg to day. It seems sealed proposals were advertised for building a Court House, there were three bids: Sands, Bowman & Bowery, & a Richmond mechanic who is erecting a store for Dr. Griffin in this place. The bid of the Richmond mechanic was some six hundred dollars less than Sands, & his bid was accepted, but he failed to get security, & at the last meeting of the Common hall, Mr. Sands (ex mayor) offered to take the bid of $4,999 & the hall accepted his proposal. So the bid, of Bowman & Bowery was some $2 or $300 less than Sands they complained that justice was not done them, and this (to day's) meeting was called. Mr. Comanhan, a member of the hall acting as their attorney, moved a recommitting of the contract with Sands, for divers reasons, but it was lost by six to five, the mayor would have decided against Sands. Some right hard things were said against Sands, one was that he reported that the Richmond mechanic would lose $2,000 by the contract & by thus telling a falsehood, prevented him from getting any one to go as his security. I fear Sands will never complete it.

April 22nd 1855. I did not go to the Society last night as I felt tired and had no inclination to go. The Philomatheans called the members of our Society over to their hall last night & challenged us to meet them in debate. We accepted, & elected Pendleton, a law student, and Randolph as our champions. The debate is to come off on next Saturday night. The appointment of Pendleton I think judicious that of Randolph rather unjust. There are many in our society superior to Randolph in point of debate, He has a fine reputation because he always writes & commits his debates, but here are men who can almost equal him, without preparation; these with the preparation they would have made could have distanced him. I have never met Randolph prepared, yet, I would not hesitate to meet him on any question under the sun, if I could prepare. How I wish I was a Philomathean just to get on debate against Pendleton & himself. I would strain every nerve, I would leave no stone unturned to gain a victory. Friends and foes
told me last year that I was the cause of the Phenix victory, & if
the Phenicians have slighted me, they may yet rue it, but I hope we
will win the day. I am not so selfish as to desire a defeat even
to humble the conceit of our champions. A miserable and disgraceful
affair happened in our society last night, & I am glad I was not pre-
sent. Randolph deserted his friends, proved a traitor to sacred
friendship, & made himself ridiculous. Wise and Jett proved them-
selves asses, and Pendleton played the contemptible bully, this comes
from the election of that Blackguard Dixon to the presidency.

April 23rd 1853. (i.e. 1855) Judge Searburgh returned from
Norfolk to day he brought with him to the Phenix, the books I sent to
Barclay for. He also brought me a letter from Father containing $20.
The debate is quashed as the lawyers say. After choosing the Inter-
vention Question, our men having the first speeches, we considered
the sides so unfair, that a proposition was made to have a new question,
which resulted in the champions of the Philomathean's, Spring fellow &
Clark, withdrawing the challenge of their Society. Clark from the
first desired this, what a miserable blackout. Bugh! To day immediately
after the question was chosen, Randolph came to me to get books etc.
He also asked me to get for him from Dr.
Dr. Galt if he had it. I called on the Dr. but he did not have it, but
he lent me another fine book, & also presented me with a pamphlet
entitled, "Political Essays" written by himself. 2

To night there was a political discussion at the Court House
which I attended, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Jennings of El. City,
the democratic nominee for the house of delegates, he was truly a poor
stick. He was followed by Hurt, 3 the rum seller of Musburg, who is
an independent candidate for the same office. He was extremely witty,
& no doubt if he had been educated would have made a smart man. What
a disgrace it would be before the Know Nothings to elect him, but they
are capable of every mean & disgraceful action. I received to day
from Geo. Musgrave Giger, four speeches, & a catalogue of Princeton
College. He is the professor of Latin there. 4 Ewing 5 the editor of
the Gazette asked me to night to write an editorial notice of the
meeting for him, I have done so. The last copy of the Gazette, is the
first since the 22d of February that has not contained one or more
editorials written by myself. I should have omitted the one directly
after the 22d, that contained nothing by me, but it had a notice of my
address on Judge Upshur.

1Dr. John M. Galt, Superintendent of Eastern State Hospital in
Williamsburg.

2The Political Essays contained two of Dr. Galt's contributions
to newspapers, and was published--probably in Richmond--during 1852-53.

3E. Hurt, who, "prompted by good feelings to all mankind and Love
for my country," announced himself as an Independent candidate for the
House of Delegates in the Virginia Gazette for March 29, 1855. Hurt
maintained a grocery and "Variety store" in Williamsburg.

4Giger was Professor of Latin at Princeton from 1854 until his
death in 1866.

5J. Hervey Ewing assumed the editorship of the Virginia Gazette
with the issue for February 15, 1855.
April 24th 1855. The Judge lectured on Government to day; he told me nothing new. The doctrine of States Rights seem to have been inherent in me. Although I believe in the doctrine of Nullification yet I deem it impracticable, & don't suppose it could be resorted to without producing a Revolution. The Judge in speaking of a constitutional case that might arise, which could not possibly be brought within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to elicit a decision, mentioned that "Congress might declare that the small states of Delaware and Rhode Island should only have one Senator apiece." There was a called meeting of the two societies this afternoon. I did not attend the Phoenix. The Philomatheans sent in a message that they withdrew the challenge, our society did not wish this, & immediately challenged them. They returned as an answer that they would not accept & they wanted to have nothing to do with us as a society, whereupon our society passed a resolution, repudiating them as a sister society. To night I was startled, by the cry of fire & hearing Tommy Tucker call for buckets to be brought over to their house. I immediately seized the bucket in my room and rushed over to Mr. Tickner's, I found the fire nearly extinguished. While there Mr. Washington handed me a keg of powder & I carried it out immediately. The fire was evidently the work of some base incendiary. One of his drawers had all of its contents consumed without its being found, some valuable lectures were consumed. This fire was within a few feet of the powder. The large mass of papers in the office closet had also been set fire to, and had burned the wall, etc. This was soon extinguished. This fire alarmed the family considerably, & we regret its occurrence, as we have no police in our town to watch for incendiaries, & no engine to put their hellish conflagrations out. Mr. Sheldon & myself carried the powder & placed it in the root house, at the back of his garden. How improvident was this act; of keeping a keg of powder in an exposed place. A few minutes more & there would have been an awful explosion. Mr. Washington missed his keys, & it looks very much as if some one had stolen his valuable papers, & to prevent detection had endeavored to set the office on fire.

April 25th 1855. Further developments show that $40 was stolen from Mr. Washington's drawers. It has been discovered that through divine interposition Mrs. Tucker's family were miraculously saved. After the papers were removed from the closet a keg was found, containing enough powder to have blown the house to atoms. It was charred through on one side, so that it could be crushed with the fingers, & a few inches above the powder a hole was burnt through the keg. If Mrs. Washington had not discovered this fire until a few minutes later, the whole family who were collected in the office around the burning drawer would have been killed or maimed. Suspicion having fallen on

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2Some may have been stolen, but a good deal of correspondence and his notes on the Jefferson papers are among other documents in the Henry A Washington papers, College of William and Mary Library.
"Bella," a servant of Mrs. Tucker's, she has been arrested and put in jail. Have been suffering terrible with dispepsia to day. Heard that old Hurt was going down to Hampton to meet Tom Bayly to night. Some think that he is crazy. The Southern Sun to day was loaded with Billingsgate articles. I received the American Debater, Wrote to Miss Battle to day, & also to the Secretary of New York Hist. Soc. Editor of So: Sun, & Prof. Thos. Caryrew. Dr. Peachy in speaking of Fitzhugh's Sociology to day, says he does not think his arguments are very sound on slavery but very ingenious. He proves conclusive by the failure of Free Society, & shows slavery to be a remedy for it.

April 26th 1855. Yesterday I attended the funeral of Mr. Thomas L. Savage. I became acquainted with his daughter last year, she staid here sometime. The Judge attended, & had no class to day.

There was a meeting of the 4-DK's this afternoon, there was a disturbance on the "green" this afternoon, a young man by the name of Kayton. Lindsey was drunk & chased Kayton with an open knife, who in self defense struck him with a brick in the face & stomach, & also defended himself with a stick. At the suggestion of Dr. Peachy, Kayton went home. Lindsey collected a crowd around him, & was swearing vengeance & death to Kayton, when his poor father came & took him away. It made every heart feel sad to see a poor father's heart crushed at the sight of his son, a married son, dead drunk & in a street brawl. What misery! What horrors! arise from "rum." We oppose the Maine liquor law, but what good reasons would that father have to advocate it.

We have had good reason to change our opinion concerning Clark a law student at this college. We did think he was a good fellow and a talented one, but his prejudices and self conceit combined have made him the most consummate ass of our acquaintance. We began Stanhope Burleigh to day, the great Know Nothing Novel, it has no pretensions to be considered a fine literary production. Its style is common place & heavy. Its only merit is its gratifying the public appetite for stories & lies against the Catholics. Some parts of the book we consider absolutely silly, & the miserable attempts at wit are shocking. No talented man would have prostituted his learning on such a subject, & the plagiarist who is the author will never get a reputation even among the "Know Nothings" for such a scrawl. No doubt the brainless

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1George Fitzhugh, (1806-1856), Sociology for the South, or the failure of a free society (Richmond, 1856). Fitzhugh, a lawyer and journalist, was one of the first pro-slavery advocates to expound a positive good in the slave system.

2Helen Dhu (pseud. Mrs. Ellen Lester), Stanhope Burleigh: the Jesuits in our homes; a novel (New York, 1853).
writer imagined it would be a second "Uncle Tom" but he should have recollected that that work was a finely written Romance. I thought once perhaps Mrs. Stowe was Helen Dhu, but since I have read the book I have changed my mind.

April 27th 1855. I have determined to write on the subject of "the dangers of unrestrained power." for the 4th of July. I have found it impossible to abridge the speech on Calhoun to an oration of fifteen minutes. I received a charming letter from Miss Mattie Page. It gave me much pleasure. I know of few pleasures more innocent and agreeable than that of receiving letter from absent friends. Every letter received from home and from a friend has been a ray of gladness lighting up my soul, which from my constitutional gloominess need something to drive away melancholy.

I read that part of Stanhope Burleigh, to day that speaks more particularly of the disciples of Loyola. The Jesuits certainly were if this is a true exposition of them an unaccountable set of men. I cannot see the object of their self sacrificing, principles, why they labored so hard, and were willing to undergo, poverty and nearly every evil for the sake of their order. I cannot see the grand incentive to this, all could not hope to be the General, many knew that their toil and labor would never be repaid. I therefore greatly wonder that the hearts of these men could be so desperately wicked, so given to dissimulation, fraud, trickery, & utterly devoid of truth. How strange is the nature of man, how incomprehensible the motives to bad actions. Certainly it is easier to do a good action than a bad or as easy. Conscience must reprove the most hardened, and yet what a tale History records, of cruelty, of barbarism, arising from unrestrained power. No man however good, pure and virtuous should be above responsibility, if he is unaccountable to all of his kind, a desire for power, & the possession of it intoxicates his brain, & he is lost.

April 28th 1855. Finished Stanhope Burleigh. I think it a dangerous book; it is calculated to work on the prejudiced & ignorant mind; it gives an extravagant picture; it is after the style of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Revised Hill Carter's graduating speech and gave him some suggestions etc. I think Hill is a noble boy, his disposition is so good that I cannot but love him, I hope that he may prosper in after life. Went to Nickol's room in the afternoon, met a crowd of tipplers, and did not stay long. The more I see of Robertson of Petersburg, the more I dislike him, no student that I am acquainted with cares a cent for him, & I am sure I can consider him no better than a contemptible puppy.

I did not go to the Phenix, as there was nothing of interest likely to transpire, and as the present administration is contemptible in my eyes. I received a letter from sweet home to day. It announced
old Mrs. McIntosh's death, I expect the old man, will soon follow. How many old people have passed away since I can recollect.

April 29. To day was bright Sabbath day, but I felt too unwell to go to Church. I read to day among other things Campbell's address on Government it is a deep production, but after all, no Government can get on without religion, (although) we may have any amount of intellectual knowledge. The great problems of Republican Institutions may be demonstrated on paper and in speeches, but it will not, cannot, have a practical operation without strong basis of morality. France was a wild scene of anarchy when she attempted to establish a Republic, and no wonder, for although the God of Reason was there, Christianity and with it, morality was forgotten.

History records no fact more palpable than that in no country can Liberty be permanent without the conservative spirit of Christianity. I made some additions to Hill Carter's speech. I commenced late to night to read Greenleaf, but soon got sleepy, read about the destruction of the Israelites at Ai & went to bed.

April 30th. 1855. To day I arose very early, the morning was beautiful. The air was balmy and delightful, the breeze was wafting the fragrant perfume of lilac & jessamine to my couch, & the birds were carolling their sweetest songs—all seemed so happy without that I could not help participating the spirit. We began Greenleaf to day. While the Judge was questioning Clark, (e) he asked him how soon after the blow is inflicted must a person die in order to accuse the person who dealt the blow with murder. Some one who knew no better than himself whispered 48 hours & he yelped it out. This turned the laugh on him, & I felt bad for him & whispered across the room, one year & a day. The Judge heard me & although in the regular routine three would have been questioned before me, he began to ply all the questions he could to puzzle me for breaking the rule, but I stood the fire well. I think Greenleaf the easiest work I have yet read. I was well prepared although I had only read the lesson over once as we had 70 pages in his Evidence for to day. Mr. Boll gave two of the General Catalogue of the College to me to day, I sent one to Mr. G. Musgrave Oger, who sent me the General Catalogue of Harvard. I sent off for a certificate in the Art Union Society. I think the one dollar could have been better expended but I desire to encourage the fine Arts, & then I may get a handsome picture for our parlor. I was invited to Mrs. Em's Peachy's to night but politely decline, I have no taste for parties, especially in warm weather, they are humbugs. Took a long walk with Tom Shead this afternoon, he is a nice fellow, & I consider him a mathematical prodigy, all mathematics melts before him, & he seems to be able to demonstrate the hardest proposition, and solve the most difficult problem in intuition.

May 1st 1855. May has come at last, bright joyous May with its sunshine and flowers. Only two months more must pass ere I leave this old village never to return, at least to College. Then I will launch
my tiny bark on the great waters of the world. I know I will succeed. I feel something within that tells me if I make an effort to rise, I will not fail. I don't know whether it is right or wrong to think that a person has an inspiration that he is to be great, but it is certainly true that Alexander had no doubt that it was his destiny to rival Achilles. Caesar exhibited the same inspiration concerning his destiny when he exclaimed to the affrighted oarsmen, "Juld times? Caesarem vehis." All who have read Napoleon's life must perceive that all his matchless exploits, whose effects will never die, are due to the one inspiration of God, that it was his destiny to regenerate France and revolutionize Europe. Where is the great man, not great by accident, that has not had a similar dim prophecy of success, a constant impulse indefinable within, driving him onward? It may be foolish, silly, & ridiculous, but I have always felt that I was destined to be prominent in the world; — whether for good or evil I do not know. I read this morning an excellent oration by William Wirt, I delivered before Rutgers College, I know that I derived benefit. He inculcates decision of character & independence of action. He recommends to the perusal of the young Locke's, "Conduct of the Understanding." I had the pleasure of seeing a total eclipse of the moon to night.

May 2d 1835. Mr. Curtis from Gloucester was speaking to me to day, about Know Nothing. He wanted to know if in Congress there was a contested election, between a Democrat and Know Nothing, how would the Committee decide? Would they not have to decide for the democrat, if it was known that the Know Nothing voted sworn to a religious test, as the Constitution declares there should be none? There was a convention in York. The sneaking Know Nothings have nominated no one to oppose that drunken puppy Tom Bayly. Mr. Curtis told me that the other day at Middlesex, Tom Bayly solicited all who were doubtful about his position to ask him any question they chose. A gentleman very politely asked him one, which happened to puzzle him, whereupon he drew a letter from his pocket & said he has just received this letter from his wife & she told me to answer no impertinent questions. The only excuse I have heard offered for this ungentlemannly conduct is that he was drunk. I attended the Methodist fair & spent 87½ cts. last evening. I did not feel well & I went into supper, they gave me a poor one & although I only ate a small cheese cake, they charged me 75 cts. The Episcopal ladies charged only 50 cts. The Methodist ladies didn't charge me anything, for I didn't see a "lady" there, but the women stuck it to me.

I began to read "Locke on the Conduct of the Human Understanding." I went to "old Bob's" to night, he was very lofty & grand, having a little more than he could conveniently carry. Mr. Saunders, Col. Garlick, and

1William Wirt, An address delivered before the Philanthropic and Philological Societies of Rutgers College (New Brunswick, 1830).

2John Locke's An essay concerning human understanding had been in use at William and Mary for many years, although apparently Lamb read it upon the authority of William Wirt rather than upon the advice of the faculty.
Mr. Clopton, came to the fair rather tight. It was really extremely amusing to see the Mr. Saunders who is very large was bowing and scraping in a very ridiculous manner & the Col. who is very large & Mr. Clopton, who is very thin were grimming at a great rate & jumping one side and taking off their hats. When Mr. Saunders carried the party to the house it was extremely ridiculous. He made old Billy Ashlock go along who is a low half-witted fellow, he personalized most excellently Scotts "Lamb" in Yankee: as liquor had made him bright and witty. The scene could not be described. old men acting like monkeys, under the exhilarating effects of London Dock.

May 3d, 1855. Listened to another lecture on Government. The Federal Gov. says Judge Scarborough has no sovereignty; it is a mere agent of the states. Locke recommends the study of mathematics. I have always noticed those students who cannot get on in Geometry, are always poor reasoners. Their argument is always confused and as they generally bluster at a great rate, no body can understand them & of course they understand nobody. Wrote a letter to Miss Bittle last evening. Hill Carter brought me the rest of his speech to look over. It is witty and well written. Mr. Washington is going to Richmond tomorrow! There was a refreshing shower this afternoon. it has made everything look beautiful.

May 4th. Mr. Washington went off to day. It is much colder than it has been for some time past. I continued my reading in Locke. I feel conscious that it improves me; I know of no book better calculated to do good to the student than his invaluable essay on the conduct of the understanding. I commenced for the first time to write my speech for the 4th. I have written on the "Danger of unrestrained power." I find my extensive knowledge of history invaluable. If it helps me as much in the future as it did to night I shall never regret the time I spent in reading history last year although I know I neglected my languages to do it. It seems to me my fondness for History & Science of Government shows that I have a natural propensity to be a statesman. Oh! that I could engrave my name on our Country's escutcheon, with that of Calhoun, Clay & Webster. I hear a voice saying: study, study, study, & your destiny may be brilliant, your name may be inseparably interwoven with the history of that country, you so dearly love. Amen.

May 5th. Attendedoot Court. 1 Had to write a decree for partition, the Judge laughed and told me we would have some of that work to do. I

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1The "root court" was an innovation in the teaching of law begun by George Wythe and continued by his successors at the college. Wythe, "ever attentive to the improvement of his pupils," held the Root Court; "monthly or oftener in the place formerly occupied by the Gen. Court in the Capitol. Mr. Wythe and the other professors sit as judges. Our audience consists of the most respectable of the Citizens, before whom we plead causes given out by Mr. Wythe." John Brown to William Preston, July 6, 1780; cited in R.H. Hughes, "William and Mary: the first American law school." William and Mary Quarterly (ser.2) (Jan.1922), p. 42.
I said laughingly I thought the clerk of the Court had that to do, whereupon Clark made some sneering remark about me. I did not notice it, & perceived he seemed out that I took no notice. Nous verrons as old father Ritchie use to say who is to be the most distinguished lawyer. Got on a tender to day, with Griswold & Farrin first, & then Cyrus Grandy, Hunter & John Murphy, had a glorious time.

I must confess I have wasted most of to day & have nothing learnt. Attended Society to night, heard Randolph deliver a fine oration on the progressive influence of Christianity. As I was elected some time since Monthly orator and did not perform & as many members want me to speak I think I shall deliver an oration on the Progress of the mind & show the other causes besides Christianity, The question debated was "Whether Elizabeth was justifiable in beheading Mary Queen of Scots?" Norlin & Pendleton spoke in the afferm. Blocham in the Neg: on regular debate. No general debate as it was stale question. Decided in Negative.

May 6th. Griswold expected to meet his parents in Yorktown today & we went there in Mr. Smead's buggy with Judge Christian's horse. In going we lost our way & after riding several miles down the wrong road we turned & came back nearly to town, & then went on our way to York. We met some very pretty girls on the way to Cheese-cake Church. Mr. Griswold & wife were not in Yorktown, we dined at the old Swan Tavern (the oldest in the Union), walked over some of the old entrenchments. We got a fine dinner by the way, one that would have done credit to a New York hotel.

I heard down there that old Bob Anderson the infidel was out for Congress against Bayly. Of course he will get very few votes. He has offered himself often for Congress. He came out I recollect against Burrall Bassett who was elected, & Judge Upshur, in 1823, we crossed over to Gloucester, & looked around. We met with a very kind old gentleman over there. We returned to Wmsburg, about 6oclk. Little Miss Hally Curtis is staying with us at Sheldon Hall.

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1The popular name for Chiskiac Church, about five miles from Williamsburg on the old road to Yorktown. John Smith's map of Virginia identifies the region as "Kiskiack." Abandoned early in the 19th century, the building was used for a time by a congregation of Baptists. It was finally torn down to furnish bricks for Federal Officers' quarters in Williamsburg. George C. Mason, Colonial Churches in Tidewater Virginia, (Richmond, 1945) p. 229.

2First opened in 1722, destroyed by fire in 1863. In 1935 was reconstructed for use as headquarters of the National Park Service at Yorktown.

3Student at William and Mary, circa 1732. He served in the House of Delegates and Senate of Virginia, as well as in the U.S. Congress.
May 7th 1855. Judge received a call by a special messenger to come to Washington immediately, to see Atty. Gen. Cushing. No one knows what it is about. Many surmise are on foot, some say it is to receive an appointment, others that it is about Cuba, some say it is about a case before the Supreme court, so we will be on our own for more than a week. I went to college to day to see a contemplated fight between Sully and Robertson. Robertson is larger than Sully, but he procured himself a stick & waited for Robertson before prayers to come down before the students, but he staid in his room. After prayers he sneaked off as quick as possible to the French class.

On the afternoon Sully met him alone opposite Mrs. Maupin's, & asked him for a retraction, which he refused, whereupon Sully called him a coward, & a scoundrel. Robertson made a dash at him & collided him. Sully then drew a pistol & Robertson backed out. The Faculty, those that are here, are in quite an excitement. Sully perhaps was wrong, but he has had very just cause as Robertson has perhaps was wrong, but he has had very just cause as Robertson has been tormenting him for a very long time. The affair was brought about by Robertsons writing a blasphemous parody on Solomon's Songs & applying it to Sully, which was read in the Philomathean Society.

I expect Sully will be dismissed, but partially may keep Robertson, in that case I would go for tar & feathering him. There was an election to day for Common Council men. I electioneered my best for Cosmah. The vote resulted thus: Dr. Gann, 55; Col. McCandlish, 53; Cole, 78; Linsden, 78; Joyner, 63; Bowden, 68; Col. Armstrong, 65; Durley, 75; Sweeney, 60; Cosmah, 51; Smith, 48; Coke, 46. These were elected; the other votes cast were 39 for H. Mecer Waller, 36 for Mahone, 41 for Bowery, 31 for Hurt, 42 for Peacock, 33 for Slater, 23 for Bunting, 6 for Pierce, 5 for Brooks, 2 for Small, 1 for Barham & 12 for Curtis whose name was withdrawn.

May 8th. The College has been in an excitement about the Robertson and Sully affair. A paper was signed by many of the students stating that they thought the provocation justified Sully in his course. I signed it. Mr. Ewell called me to day to talk the matter over. I think he is partial to Robertson. I received an address & letter from Prof. Corprew to day. I understand the Faculty have decided "after mature deliberation" (as usual) that Sully must leave for a month & Robertson for two weeks. This is glad tidings. Mr. Griswold arrived to night. It was so chilly this afternoon I had to have my fire made up. Sam Harris, an old college student is here on a visit, he is now an MD. He leaves tomorrow. I forgot to mention yesterday in my journal.

1Samuel Goode Harriss (1835-1896), who graduated from William & Mary in 1853. He studied medicine at the University of Va. and at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. George B. Goode, Virginia Cousins (Richmond, 1887), p. 231-2.
that there was a call meeting of the Phenix to elect some one to speak before the Phenix on the 3d of July. I did not enter the room until the motion had passed to call a speaker, & I was sorry for I wished to oppose it, as on that day Mr. Grigsby expects to speak before the Phi Beta Kappa, & Mr. Jno M. Speed before the Soc. of Alumni. I knew if we elected a speaker there would be one elected by the Philomathes, & four would be too many. But to try to prevent either of the two from receiving majority I arose while the ballot was going on, & proposed L H Chandler of Norfolk, I had of course no time to press his claims. The ballot resulted thus Willoughby Newton 2 of Westmoreland Va. 11, Stephens3 of Georgia 4, Chandler of Norfolk 3. If I could have proposed him before the ballot had been taken, & many voted I could have got at least three two from Newton & one from Stephens, which would have given him 6 to Newtons 9, & Stephens 3, but then the president would have decided no doubt for Newton if it had required a majority.

May 9th. I received a delightful letter from father to day, our family have gone down to Palestine (on the bay shore) to spend the summer. I saw Hyer Myers in the street to day & spoke to him. Old hurt is coming round against the Know Nothings. I would not be surprised if he went for Wise in a short time. He would be quite an acquisition although he is a low character.

If Lemuel J. Bowden 5 had not played the traitor Williamsburg would in all probability have gone for Wise. I saw by the Norfolk Beacon, to day, that that conceited ass Wm. D. Roberts the timber had accepted the American Nomination for House of Delegates. If Norfolk elects him she is eternally disgraced, & deserves to rot away in her corruption. Certainly no gentleman could vote for such an inconsistent ignoramus.

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1Student, 1835-38. Speed (1815-1866) was a noted lawyer of Lynchburg. He served in various civic positions & for a time was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates.

2Newton (1802-1874) attended the College 1817-18, 1822-23 & practiced law in Westmoreland County. He served in the House of Delegates & in the U.S. Congress 1843-45 and was active in State Agricultural affairs, serving as President of the Virginia Agricultural Society in 1852.

3Alexander H. Stephens (1812-1883), U.S. Congressman from Georgia and, in later years, Vice-president of the Confederacy.

4L.B., 1832. Bowden practiced law in Williamsburg, was a member of the House of Delegates 1841-46, and the State Convention of 1850/51. He was elected mayor of Williamsburg for several years.
May 10th. I was quite unwell to day, took three of Gilbert's pills. Heard to day that Judge Scarborough has received the appointment from the president of a seat on the bench of the Court of Claims. Mr. Dwell got after me to day about signing the paper to get Sully off, but he couldn't make anything out of me. The family to day had a meeting & let both of the fellows off, I regret Robertson was not punished.

Mr. Dwell sent this afternoon for me, he told me Mr. Bright wished to know all about Hains, as he has reasons to believe he is courting Miss Sallie Betty Edloe. I shall tell him the whole truth & I think it will take our (once) friend Hains aback. But nevertheless he deserves to feel the sting of his rascality. Poor silly goat. I pity his superlative ignorance! Robertson to day wanted to make a society matter out of Sully's paper, verily he is a contemptible puppy & do long for an opportunity to thrash him soundly.

May 11th. Mrs. Tucker sent me a dish of ice cream last evening after I retired, she is indeed very kind. She left for Gloucester to day. Mr. Thompson told me the ladies had come down the river to Shirley, this is later than they expected, they will be here on Thursday next. I heard to day Mr. Small the baker is doubtful about which way he shall vote; I shall go to see him to morrow. I have been hard at work on old Hurt, who came out as a candidate & in favor of Sam, he told me he would withdraw from the order, but did not think he would vote for Wise. The election is approaching, the times are doubtful. The Know Nothings declare they have over 30,000 members, we believe this of course, but believe to be a lie. I still continue unwell. I wrote home last evening. I have written some to day on my essay. I have it now sufficiently long.

May 12th 1855. Saturday. The Judge did not return to day as expected. I wrote a letter to Father to day. Mrs. Clopton's boards & some of the students went on a frolic to Jamestown. Went to Gwynn's room to day, he had a treat of lemonade and cake. Bob Hand carried me to his to day & gave me a speech of AAH Stuarts at Staunton. It was quite a fine piece of oratory, but devoid of argument. There was quite a handsome compliment to Fillmore as a matter of course.

There was a political discussion at the Court House to night. Peyton led off in a long and forcible speech for the Democracy. Sydney Smith followed with no arguments, & a little wit for Sam alias the Know Nothings, they Peyton followed in a forcible speech, utterly annihilating the poor attempt of Smith, who followed with a flat & insipid tirade against Democracy. Smith was lacking in the rules of Grammar. Poor Smith!

1Several of Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart's speeches were published in separate form, but this one apparently was not.
The law class met to day & passed sundry resolutions concerning Judge Scarburgh's appointment. The resolutions were ordered to be published in the Norfolk News, Va Gazette, and Richmond Enquirer.

Sunday, May 13th. To day is the anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown. It was settled May 13th 1607. ¹

I wrote to Pryor of the Enquirer, sending a short account of yesterday's discussion, over the signature of Veritas, also the resolutions of the Law Class. I found a great many references to Howe's Hist of Va. ² about the students of Va. Mary & recorded them in my copy of the General Catalogue.

Monday May 14th. Heard one of the richest treats to day at the Court House I ever had the pleasure to listen to. The three candidates for the legislature in the representative district of New Kent, James City & Charles City spoke. Col. Bush for the Know Nothings, he was a funny old fellow unused to speaking, he soon stopped. He was followed by a Mr. Epperson, an old Clay whig from Charles City, a man who I was told by a Whig could command a great many votes. He stated he always voted for a Whig & he was still a true Clay Whig, he was opposed to Know Nothingism because he objected to secrecy, Religious intolerance & unequal rights. He made an elegant speech against the midnight order, which I know had great effect on his Whig friends present. He said Mr. Wise was true to the South, he was a courteous gentleman, he knew that he had wounded the Whig party, but the wound had now healed, & Mr. Flournoy had inflicted a deeper one. Yes, Mr. Flournoy had struck the death blow to the noble Whig party of Virginia. He asked his friends whom he should vote for first, Henry A. Wise, who left the Whig party nearly 15 yrs ago & who had boldly declared his opposition, or T.S. Flournoy who left the Whig party after the Winchester Convention & who in secret had taken an oath to discard his old political principles? Mr. E. declared he intended to cast his first Democratic vote for Henry A. Wise, & his example will be followed by many Whigs in Charles City, James City, & New Kent. Mr. Drake, was the third speaker, he is old fogy candidate, belongs to no party & is in favor of Internal Improvements. The speakers indulged in much wit & each others expense, altogether the speaking was rich. I never knew such political excitement in my life, bets were offered high for Flournoy's election. Nevertheless next week I pray to him who presides over the destinies of nations that Henry A. Wise may be elected Governor. Old Virginia never tire.

¹May 14th is the accepted date of the first landing of Jamestown.

²Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, (Charleston, 1845, and later editions).
May 15th 1855. Nothing of importance transpired during the day. But to night the Theta Delta Chi celebrated its second anniversary.\footnote{1} Fourteen of us attended the supper. There were many toasts, each of which had a beautiful sentiment attached. The first toast was to Virginia. Griswold of Richmond answered this in an excellent speech which was finely delivered. The 2d was, Wm & Mary. Murphy of Westmoreland answered; he was rather corned & therefore his speech was flighty yet some parts were exceedingly fine. 3d. The \(\Phi\) D X. Charles R Grandy of Norfolk, responded in a feeling & beautiful speech. 4th Constitution, Cassius Carter, answered in quite a sensible & elegant sentiment. 5th The day we Celebrate. This I answered to the best of my ability. 6th Patrick Henry. Gwynn answered in a high compliment to this illustrious man. 7th Union. Bloxham answered in a free & eloquent style; as B can so well do. 8th Washington. Answered in a felicitous way by Graves of Wythville.

May 16th. Made the acquaintance of a very gentlemanly & excellent fellow from King & Queen, Young Notly. He was called here to deliver an address by the Democratic Association. As the Minstrels had possession of the G House the Democrats or a few of them paid them $10 to leave. I gave $1. In the evening Mr. Notly was introduced to the audience by Col R H Armstead. He delivered a logical, & eloquent address of 2-1/2 hours. His speech was the best I have heard in this canvas. After he got through the Know Nothings called for Pendleton, he arose & made a few unfounded declarations. Notly answered with a withering blast that blew his sawdust arguments to the winds. In his rejoinder Mr. P. charged Mr. Faulkner with abolitionism, when Col. Armstead attempted a reply, but he was prevented by the noise of the Know Nothings, who afraid to hear the truth, acted in a shameless & disgraceful manner, imitating the miserable mob at Chicago. The squirts gained nothing by it.

May 17th. The contemptible KNs are lying about last evening's conduct, the day of retribution "is coming with giant strides from the Peloponnesus." The \(\Phi\) D X had its regular meeting this afternoon. I was elected (hurrah) I have been thinking strongly of returning next year to take an AB, I only lack two tickets\footnote{2} which I could take with ease & which I would have taken had I managed right when I first came.

\footnote{1}{Theta Delta Chi was founded at Union College October 31, 1847. Epsilon, of the College of William and Mary, was the 4th chapter to be established.}

\footnote{2}{i.e. "certificates of proficiency," awarded to those who successfully passed a "departmental" examination. For the A.B. Degree, a student would have had to show proficiency in four of the College's six departments (1, Latin and Romance languages; 2, Greek and German; 3 Philosophy, and belles-lettres; 4, History, Political economy and constitutional law; 5, Chemistry and natural philosophy; 6, Mathematics) and attain the "junior" rank in the other two. A certificate would be awarded, upon examination to any student whose previous preparation warranted it.}
May 18th. To day I have been electioneering & doing everything to further the cause of Wise. Oh! that I was old enough to speak. I feel even now as if I would give worlds to be able to have a hearing my heart & head tell me I am right. God has given me a flow of words I am posted up in the canvass, & I would give anything if I could be called out.

Is this egotism? I hope not, if so egotism go to the D - old Scratch. Got on a bender as we call it, with Chas Grandy & Stephen Pendleton.

May 19th. To day there was a vote taken in College between Wise and Flournoy. The whig fellows go it up without notice, & many of the democrats were absent. Cyrus Grandy made a harum scarum speech slaying grammar, etc. The majority for Flournoy was declared to be 18, but the commissioners were told to call on all who did not know of the election, & to night Flournoy's maj is reduced to 4, standing 38 to 34. Several Wise students have lately left College. Chilton, Davis & McCandlish. I know of no whig who has left college.

I believe Morrissett Jr will vote for Wise that will make F. maj 3. Slaughter who voted for Flournoy, did not vote for Beale of Hocoma, & voted for Bacoek so if N votes it will stand 3 maj for F. 2 for Beales & 1 for Patton. I neglected to state yesterday that I received $10 from home & also my summer hat.

May 20th. Went to church with Miss Mattie Page to night. Miss Julia Thompson read a beautiful sermon this afternoon.

On May the 17th I neglected to state that Miss Mattie, & Miss Julia Thompson arrived. I was delighted to see them & old Sheldon Hall seems itself again.

Miss Mattie brought me two beautiful roses from Shirley & a sweet note from Lizzie Carter.

May 21st. Received a letter from home to day. The Commissioners for the College polls closed & Flournoy & beale had 5 maj & Patton 4. There was unfair play. The were entreated so hard that they changed from Wise to F. They are contemptible squirts. Miss Tucker Bryan a very nice young lady from Gloucester spent this evening here.

May 22d. I have had sport to day, this morning playcards were stuck all about, headed American's Rally, & a notice that Joe Segar would speak to night. For fun Morrissett & some others & Myself with old Hart's permission, had some cards printed headed with large letters, Rally. Then a cut of a foot square, representing an Elephant underneath General Hart the Independent candidate will address etc. to night at
the C.H. The evening Joe Segar spoke, it was certainly a failure.
He labored hard but I think in vain to show the K N's were not
affiliated with the Abolitionists. Hurt spoke in a wild incoherent
style. In the course of his remarks he read an extract from my lord
Coke, to show that a representative of the people should have three
qualities of the Elephant. It is in the 4th book of his Institutes.
Mr. Peachy showed it to me & I gave it to Hurt. I have been trying
hard to persuade Hurt & Mr. Small to vote for Wise.

Judge Scarburgh has not yet returned.

May 23d. I heard this morning that Judge Scarburgh had returned.
The town is in a state of great excitement on the eve of the election.
There was a Democratic meeting to night. Col Amastead spoke for some
time. Coshahan followed in a witty speech, telling a good many anec-
dotes, among others "Little Billey the pet sheep getting in the wrong
flock." Pendleton said a few words.

May 24th. To day is the grand battle day of the Old Dominion.
The forces on both sides are rallying to the polls. There has been
considerable excitement all day; this afternoon about an hour before
sundown, we had a heavy shower, followed by a beautiful rainbow.

There are three polls held in this town. Two at the C H, one
for Wmsburg & the other for James City Co, & one at the Raleigh tavern
for York Co.

Vote in City of Wmsburg.

Gov Flournoy KN. 70 2 of these contested Wise D. 51 KN maj 19.
Lieu. " Beale " 67 " " " " McComas 47 H of D
Att Gen Patton" 69 " " " " Bocock 48 Segar KN. 60
B P W. Harris " 65 " " " " Holladay 51 Jennings 46
Congress Bayly 1 75 " " " " Anderson KN. 1 Hurt 1 9
Garnett (no cand.) 11 Saunders (no cand.) 10.

Raleigh Precinct York Co.

Jennings 12.

James City Co. 1st Pre.


I took supper with Mr. Saunders to night. I feel confident that
the miserable Know Nothings have carried the day. Woe betide the Old Dominion if it be so. The Jacobins are elated.

May 25th. To day the suspense is great, the political heart of Williamsburg beats audibly.

The hack has arrived, glorious tidings have come for the K H, old Norfolk is gone & from the rumors afloat the whole state has gone by the board. The mail came in this afternoon, the KN loss is great in Richmond a gleam of hope lights our political horizon. The democrats are covering their painted spirits, the noble Spartan band of Richmond have gloriously fought the good fight. Mr. Sheldon & wife left to day for Sussex on a pleasure trip, we have had a fine romp to night, a regular Virginia breakdown.

May 26th. To day I had a long talk with Judge Scarborough. I feel certain about my degree. I attended most court, to day, while in there Mr. Swell called me out and told me that I had been elected valedictorian by the faculty, this is the highest compliment I ever had paid to me. I am the first law student to whom the valedictory was ever given.

To day the most cheering and glorious news came by the Richmond boat, Wise is certainly elected. What a glorious triumph. I attended the society to night. Joe Sagar was elected honorary member, whereupon I proposed James Gordon Bennett, who was refused on account of his personal character. Then Blockan reconsidered the vote for Sagar, & was spoken & denunciatory terms of him, and defended Mr. Bennett. Sagar was stricken off the honorary members list. I did not again propose Bennett. I joined in the general debate, & declaimed an anecdote about Mr. Wise. I made a motion to call Mr. Law to address the Phenix, & was appointed chairman of a committee to call him.

May 27th. Hear Mr. Wilmer to day, or rather I sat before him but I don't think I heard what he said. Dr. Doggett was in town to day, he drew crowds to the Methodist church, he is certainly an accomplished divine. Walked home to night with Miss Tucker Bryan. Wrote to Lucy to night.

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1 James Gordon Bennett (1795-1872), editor of the New York Herald was at time in his fabulous career quite sympathetic to the South and the Southern attitude toward slavery.

2 David Seth Doggett (1810-1888) who was educated at the University of Virginia and later taught at Randolph-Macon College. In 1866, he was elected Bishop of the Methodist Church (South). Matthew Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 386.
I have been requested to purchase a pencil for Gateswood, by the middle Mathematical class to cost $20. The meeting that met May 12th passed resolutions also appointed a committee to present the Judge with a suitable present. I was as a matter of course on the committee, we decided to day on a cane with a gold head with this inscription.

Judge Scarburgh
from
His Law Class of
1854-5
William and Mary.

Some K Nothings haven't given up the ship, poor fellows, happy delusion. Went in the garden to day, and gathered some strawberries and cherries with Miss Mattie.

May 28th. Recited a lecture in Greenleaf to day. The news from Norfolk is cheering for Wise, Tom Martin says he has about 7000 maj at least. Was at Uncle Ben's to night & I toasted Mr. Saunders who was present in very complimentary terms, he replied, and paid one of the highest compliments I ever received. He said...but I will not write it even in my private journal, for it may make me vain.

I had quite a jollification with Perrin, Adams and some others to night.

May 29th. To day I wrote home, It is the birthday of my dear mother, The anniversary of freedom, the birthday of Washington, is not dearer to the Americans than this the natal day of her I love above all, is to me.

The news came to day confirming Wise's election, he is elected by about 10,000 maj. Guns have been fired, and all sorts of demon-

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1 Mr. (later Rev.) Gateswood graduated from Virginia Military Institute in 1849, taught in the Norfolk Academy for a year before coming to William & Mary as "Adjunct Professor of Mathematics." He was ordained priest in 1859 & served as a chaplain in the Confederate army. Following the war he was Rector of Lynnhaven Church, Princess Anne County, 1865-1872, and St. Paul's Church, Berkeley, Virginia, from 1872 until his death in 1909.

2 I.e., at President Buell's.

strations of joy have been made! I rode this afternoon to Bigler’s mill with Joshua Walker. It has grown to quite a village, there are some thirty white men at work down there, they have called the place Yorkville. There was a meeting of the democrates to night to rejoice at the election of Henry A. Wise. Cosmahan & Peachy spoke. Mr. Washington was called for, but would not speak. Whereupon I was loudly called for & Mr. Cosmahan came down from the platform and tried to get me to speak. So it was the first time I ever was called on I was a little frightened & respectfully declined. I went to see Mrs. Tucker this evening, and I took tea there.

May 30th. To day I have been suffering with headache. Nothing of note has occurred to day. I sauntered to lecture to night, just as Mrs. Wilmer was closing. What strange thoughts come over a body when they stroll through a grave yard, on a still moonlight night, Thoughts of the past, of gone generations; & then the venerable & moulderig old monuments speak in "classic pathos," of the past, & eloquently rebuke us for that ingratitude which has allowed them to crumble away.

To night I have begun to think about my valedictory.

May 31st. Nothing of note occurred to day. The excitement of the election has subsided and all is calm; George Wise, Clarke, and myself paid Uncle Ben a visit. Clarke is very foolish about somethings, he cannot bear to hear the know Nothings abused, he takes it all to himself. I think the person who cannot draw a distinction between a reflection upon a party and a personal reflection is a ridiculous ass, unworthy to have any care taken not to disturb his sensibilities.

June 1st. The last month has come, this will soon glide by, and then comes commence ment day with its hopes and fears, and then comes the joys and happiness of home. To night Mr. Washington gave a large party to his classes; it was a splendid affair; the company assembled at about nine and broke up at about 2 o’clock. There was dancing; contrary to my usual course of proceedings I joined in it and danced with Miss Frout of Washington, and Miss Tucker Bryan. The later is a sweet Gloucester girl of 19, free & happy in conversation, & extremely interesting. I can’t say that I was pleased with Miss Frout, to tell the truth I see very few ladies that I am pleased with.

Bob received a letter from Mother to day.

June 2d. To day it rained and I did not attend most court. Miss Tucker Bryan and Miss Betty Page were going to Gloucester to day but it rained so that they could not go.

1Bigler’s (or Biglow’s) Mill was a small village in York County, near Williamsburg.
Mr. & Mrs. Sheldon arrived to day from Sussex.

June 3d. To day I heard two excellent sermons from Mr. Wilmer. On the morning he had some pertinent remarks against Unitarianism. For myself I cannot comprehend how any one can doubt the divinity of Christ. To doubt it is to doubt the authenticity of the Bible & anyone who doubts that, is surely forsaken by God, or willfully blind. I walked from church this morning with Miss Tucker Bryan it rained very hard, & we had quite a difficult time in getting her home, the ruts had turned into rivers, & the paths into pools.

Went to church tonight with Miss Mattie Page. She is truly a sweet girl. I cannot help loving all who take an interest in my spiritual welfare. Wrote two letters to night.

June 4th. Miss Bettie Page and Miss Tucker Bryan left for Gloucester to day. At night we had a royal romp, we had an orange ball & dancing among the home folks. Mr. Sheldon for our amusement danced with Miss Mattie Christian & promenaded with her, it was ludicrous in the extreme. Hill Carter came to see me to night. Mr. Brewell is desirous for him to write his speech in an abridged form, so that he can speak it on the 4th.

June 5th. I have been feeling quite unwell to day. I had my hair cut at Losoya. Had a pleasant chat with Miss Mattie Page to night. I feel every day the benefits of ladies society. I can talk fluently before Gentlemen, but I cannot express myself with ease to ladies, I always feel when in the company like a witness than can testify to matters of fact but must not express his opinion.

June 6th, 1855. Received a letter from dear Mother to day, and one from Grigsby saying that he would be up on Friday if clear.

I was invited by many of the committee to day to go out to the Democratic Celebration at a grove on the York road not many miles from here. I went and spent a glorious day. I cannot describe it. The dinner was sumptuous, all sorts of wines and liquors were at hand, & plenty of speaking and plenty of toasts. I was called on and made my first extempore speech before the sovereign voters of the land. I shall never forget it as long as I live. I hardly know what I said but I certainly surprised myself. Col. Armstrong tried to speak just before me, but he nor Judge Christian could not appease the multitude. Unexpectedly I was toasted, being called on I jumped on the table & blazed forth. Strange to say that the noise stopped when I told one or two anecdotes, a pin could almost have been heard, in that crowd of jolly souls.

When I was nearly done speaking an Irishman named Connolly pulled
me by the leg, and yelled out he's got legs like Wise, he's got legs like Wise. When I had finished, every body was shaking hands, and my friends paid me the most extravagant compliments. Mr. Wm. S. Peachy, a fine lawyer of this place told me it was the best speech he had heard in the canvas. Many old fellows came up to me and gave me their names and giving me a hearty shake of the hand, said they gloried in seeing a beardless youth speak as I did.

When I first got up I was rather frightened and my voice was tremulous, whereupon, an old fellow hollers out, louder my boy, louder! I am glad I went down. My speech has been much spoken of in Williamsburg, of which fact I am glad not for my own, but my father's sake. There was considerable firing of cannon on the C H green when we all returned. Poor Geo D Wise was tight & acted rather badly on the green.

Mr. Washington kindly offered me his horse, & I borrowed Mr. Smead's buggie. I went out by myself, but brought Barnes back with me.

I continue to hear favorable reports of my speech. Miss White has arrived in town. She is to read Shakespeare to night. To night I went to the Raleigh Institute with Miss Mattie Page, we heard Miss White read, she did it so excellently well if there was any fault it was that she declined instead of read. While we were there a powerful rain came up, and it showered so incessantly that when we started to go home we found we had to wade through perfect lakes. It was pitch dark, & Miss Mattie and myself had great difficulty in getting along. I held her as tight as I could yet notwithstanding this, she ran against Dr. Camms lower step, & fell nearly down.

Griswold who was with Miss Julia, lost his gaiter shoe in a mud puddle, but fished it out before he left it, keeping Miss Julia in the puddle all the while. We heard old Deneauville fell down a cellar, and naught was to be seen but his feet. His lovely daughter we understand was quite distracted. Thus ended a night of fun. Brother Robert has been so unwell all day that I got Dr. Mercer to visit him this evening; he said it was nothing serious.

June 8th. The Dr. called again this morning he said brother would be up in a day or so; he is still unwell.

Mr. Crabbeau came up to day, Mr. Grigsby did not come. The Judge and Mr. Ewell gave me permission to meet him, and I thereby missed preparing my lecture. Judge says if we can get the maximum mark on Parson's the book we entered to day, he will not examine us on it. Every student is wondering who the Valedictorian is, they hear he is appointed. I wonder along with them. I will have completed my valedictory to morrow.

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1Theophilus Parsons, The Law of Contracts (Boston), 1853-55, 2v.
June 9th. Sweet day of rest has come. Today I finished my valedictory. To day the ladies had a nice dinner in celebration of Griswold's birthday that comes tomorrow. Gwynn dined with us, we had a dance after dinner, just a little home, hop, skip & a jump. Yesterday I neglected to mention I received a letter from Mr. Lacy, he has refused to call, having promised to address the alumni of Washington College. To night we had a long session of the society, it did not adjourn until 12 o'clock. The question before the house was, whether the power of the Pope extended to temporal as well as spiritual things. The regular debate was able & so the general Blockman took the side that the Pope had no temporal power, and he used poor Randolph completely up.

To night I nominated Robert Tyler of Phil., for our orator and Griswold seconded it. Blockman nominated Mr. Howard of Richmond & someone seconded it. We supported respectively the claims of our candidates Mr. Tyler carried the house by all but two or three, no doubt because he was an alumnus. Poor Randolph he has a good stock of sense he is so inordinately vain that he ruins everything. He has been spoilt with compliments.

June 10th. Felt too unwell to attend church this morning. It rained very hard this evening, so much so that none of us could get to church. I walked home with Miss Maltie Christian to Tasselwell hall. Had quite a long and pleasant chat with Mill Carter this evening I advised him to read medicine or law for a year before he entered life.

June 11th. Mr. Grigsby arrived in town to day, he went to the college and all over it, seeming to enjoy the venerable and rare objects of curiosity. The chapel is being handsomely "lazed" by W. B. Harrison one of the visitors. He has employed skillful painters. He has also furnished the Library with a fine piece of oil cloth to cover its floor. This is very commendable, & Mr. Mewell has requested me to mention it incidentally in my valedictory.

I recited my first lesson in Parson's on Contracts to day, & recited it perfectly.

I have been suffering with a severe sore throat.

June 12th. To day I have had such an intense headache & sore throat that I have staid in bed most of the day. Mr. Grigsby went

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1 Robert Tyler (1816-1877) prominent journalist, lawyer, and politician in Philadelphia, was the son of President John Tyler, see Philip G. Auchampaugh, Robert Tyler, Southern Rights Champion (Duluth, Minn., 1954).
down to day, I failed to see him this morning. The Law class met again yesterday, & were not pleased with the stick the committee ordered, so I wrote to day and countermanded the order. So much thanks for our trouble. The students at the request of Mr. Ewell had a meeting last Saturday and Nichols was called to the chair, whereupon motions were made to appoint certain committees to see about a dinner to be given on the 4th by the students and faculty. By accident Nichols appointed on the committee only two who were not O D's. So yesterday some squirts made a great to do about it, swearing and lying about our fraternity but taking good care not to let any of our members hear them. By lying and swearing that our fraternity had played the students at large a trick, they got enough money subscribed to have a separate dinner. We consider those who originated this as low mean and detestable puppies, and we have not hesitated to proclaim all engaged in it as such.

June 13th. I have been confined by rain to my room most of the day to day. The faculty met yesterday and appointed speakers, among others they have appointed Robertson; & it has caused universal disapprobation. Several speakers have declared their intention not to speak, if he does,

Some of my enemies & several disappointed aspirants are terribly put out because I have received the valedictory. Poor pukes let them rage & fume, but it is only a laughing stock to me. Bah!!

I heard with deep sorrow this afternoon that Randolph had perjured himself by disclosing some of the secrets of the O D if so he is ruined irreversibly in my estimation. Poor fellow from my heart I pity him. The more I see, & the better I know Tom & Peter Smith, the better I like them.

June 14th. I rejoice to say Randolph has acquitted himself nobly in some respects; in others, there is a shadow of doubt about his sincerity. He is too careless for a Christian Brother received a delightful letter from Father to day; he wished me to speak if appointed by the Faculty. I have determined to day, hereafter to make no compromises with my enemies, but openly to show them my contempt.

June 15th. I am again unwell to day. I almost fear if my health is not better I will loose my diploma. To day I thought I would write a speech to preface my valedictory which I shall shorten. I wrote the speech from this morning to 12 o'clock, occupying some four hours of that time about it, & I believe although I wrote it in a great hurry it is the best I have ever written.

To day I wrote for the Judges cane, we have at least settled it, to the satisfaction of all.
The inscription has been changed, to the following: Hon. Geo. P. Scarborough from the Law class of Wm. and Mary 1854-5.

Received a letter from Robert Tyler to day he says that he has accepted an invitation to address the alumni of this college and therefore cannot accept the invitation of the Phenix. Sent to Burgess in Albany to day for Hunter's badge, & also sent on several badges to have inscriptions put on.

June 16th. Wrote my Valedictory &c. off to day & found my speech too long to preface it, so I had to leave nearly all out. I regret this because I will have little or no thought displayed in what I will deliver — little else besides figures, metaphors & pathetic language. Little of nothing transpired to day of any consequence.

June 17th. Rainy again on Sunday. Did not go to church. Read a long article on the use of tobacco. We had some delightful singing at home to night. How I love to hear hymns sung in a parlor on a sabbath evening, it is sweet. I am a strange thing, I love piety, I love religion, I feel deeply my indebtedness to God for all his goodness to me, & yet I do not seem to grow in grace. Oh! for a new heart, I believe I want nought but piety to make me happy.

June 18th. To day nothing of interest transpired, to night I read my Valedictory to Mr. Ewell and he seemed very much pleased with it. I also read him the speech I wrote to deliver with the valedictory but which was unfortunately too long. My ideas in that were so original & peculiar that we talked for several hours over it. I intended that we were apt to follow the fate of the poor Indian, & be like him swept from this continent. And I thought without political conservatism religion could not perpetrate our Institutions. I discussed & leaned favorably towards perhaps a true but melancholy proposition, "that like the fabled Sisiphus of old, the nations of the earth are ever moving in the never ending, still beginning circle of progress & decay." Mr. Ewell & myself had a long talk upon many subjects. I am evidently a great favorite of his. Although the president of an Institution of which I am but a student, he treats me as an intimate friend.

June 19. To day I recited my last law lecture, perhaps the last lecture I shall ever recite. The future is now before me, & in its womb there lyeth hidden, heaps of joy & heaps of sorrow.

The Judge delivered a short lecture on Government, referring especially to the clause, "necessary and proper."

He then ended with an eloquent and touching valedictory, which made all of us feel sad to part with one, whose noble qualities had
endeared all of us to him. Unfortunately Peyton, (through the best
motives of his heart), hardly let the last word die on the Judge's
lips, when he abruptly jumps up, and makes a motion to have the
valedictory published, of course we were all taken by so much surprise
that a very faint assent was given. Consequently as soon as the Judge
left I was called to the chair, and Stephen J. Pendleton made a motion
to appoint a committee of three to wait of Judge Scarburg and request
of him, a copy of his address for publication; which being carried
I appointed, Pendleton, Clark & Jett. Then we adjourned. Received
a News from Norfolk to day containing a notice of the democratic cele-
bration. It mentions that I was among the speakers.

June 20th. Yesterday at the request of Mr. Dwewl, I wrote to
Baker P. Lee1, editor of the News, inviting him to attend the Faculty
dinner on the 4th, and also attend the addresses by Grigsby of Norfolk
& Robt. Tyler of Phil. I also wrote the same by his request, to Wm.
F. Ritchie2, O. F. Baldwin of Richmond3 & to the Editor of the Petersburg
Express.4 I have determined to show Dr. Totten my valedictory before
I speak it. I have been cramming hard on Law to day. Tomorrow exam-
inations begin.

June 21st. To day was the first day of the Senior law exam-
inations. It was very hard and I was kept in form about 10 o'clock
until half past two. We were questioned on Tucker,5 on devise, Wills,
& etc. We had 15 heads, each containing numerous questions, which were
valued at 50.

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1B. F. Lee (1830-1901) attended the University of Virginia; served
in the Confederate Army and later returned, was a journalist in Richmond.
For a time he was judge of the Circuit Court and from 1873-1896 was a
member of the House of Delegates, VaB. IV, 363.

2Public printer of the Commonwealth and editor of the Richmond
Enquirer.

3State Senator, 1852-56. His son D. C. Baldwin attended the College,
1855-57.

4The Daily Express, the first daily in Petersburg, at this time
was "Independent in politics, yet boldly an upholder of the Southern
cause." It was owned by Crutchfield and Campbell who purchased it in
1853 from the founder Samuel E. Paul. John H. Claiborne, Seventy-five
years in Old Virginia (New York, 1904), p. 95.

5Henry St. George Tucker, Commentaries on the Laws of Virginia,
(Chichestor, Va., 1836-37), 2 vol.
I carried my valedictory to the Dr. to night. He seemed pleased with it, and complimented it very highly. This had made me feel glorious. I received a letter from cousin Tom Suffs to day, also one from dear Father, which stated the distressing fact, that poor little Charley has the measles. They are still at Palestine.

June 22d. We had another long and tedious day at examination. We staid in about as long as we did yesterday. We were examined on Equity, Evidence and Contracts.

The old Judge didn’t do exactly right in this examination. He stated some weeks ago that he would positively examine us on three particular chapters that he named. As these were long and important the class studied them very hard, to the neglect of some other parts, when lo and behold he did not examine us on these. This has necessarily depreciated the mark of the class. Last night and the night before I sat up to a very late hour. There was quite a large party given by Dr. Totten to his Moral & Intellectual Philosophy class, there were a great many invited, the beauty and the fashion of Old Williamsburg was there.

Mrs. Washington, Miss Mattie Page and Miss Kate Edloe looked prettier than I ever saw them, they were decidedly the most beautiful at the party. Miss Neville a young lady from Lynchburg was there, she was very beautiful, but her face lacks expression & she is extremely awkward & graceless in her dancing. I did not talk with the ladies, feeling tired from my examinations & consequently having no disposition to do so.

June 23rd. The examination came off to day, and I have every reason to believe that I am now entitled to an I b. I feel now more at ease & as if, a heavy weight burden had been removed from my breast. I shall have all next week to commit my valedictory and prepare my declaration. Last year I did not finish my poem on the “Fall of Palmyra” until two days before commencement and consequently had no time to prepare my declaration.

I paid a visit to Mrs. Peachy & Miss Sallie Cary Peachy, this afternoon with Miss Mattie, they were too unwell to see me. I went staid in church to day while the choir were practising. I love to hear the solemn peals of the organ mingled with sweet voices praising their maker. I visited Mrs. Bright’s to night, had a long & pleasant chat with Miss Kate. I heard from her several things that I had told one or two in confidence. Some men cannot keep a secret. I hate idle jibble jabble, gossip, and neighbor slandering, as bad as I do the devil & it is strange to me so many students are given to it, as they are to lying.
Sunday, June 24. To-day I carried to Bloxham's room Kossuth's speeches, he wishes to get some ideas, complimentary to the ladies.1 Bloxham is a glorious fellow. Heard a very excellent sermon from Mr. Wilmer to-day, his remarks concerning the folly of spending all our days in searching for treasures on earth, which will never do us any good, and neglecting to lay them up in heaven, were fine.

It rained again this afternoon, we were visited with quite a severe thunder storm. This is the fourth Sunday it has rained, we have had an abundance of rain lately, and I much fear, it will rust the wheat. Nous, verrons! Mr. Wilmer delivered a fine sermon of Faith to night.

Monday, June 25th. Nothing of much interest transpired to-day. I heard that the Judge said we were all thrown. I know though that he was quizzing. Some of the class thought that he was in earnest, and were not a little frightened.

I had an interesting conversation tonight with Mr. Montague Thompson,2 concerning the great changes in the physical nature of the earth. He gave me a graphic description of some of his western perambulations. He informed me that most of the bluffs of the Missouri were rocky, and that the waters were turbid.

Tuesday, June 26th. Judge Scarborough informed me this morning that I was through in Law. My examination in the Senior class was not very excellent; I wrote it too hastily.

I went in the woods this morning and declaimed my valedictory. We received a letter from home today, dear little Charley is very ill, and Mother is very sick. This is sad! sad! indeed. The badges sent to have inscriptions put on have returned. Hunter's badge has arrived. Doctor Totten listened to some corrections I made to my valedictory tonight and approved of them. The Doctor is desirous that I should return and stay with next session, and study the niceties of the English tongue. Henry A. Wise, Jr.,3 arrived today. I was glad to see old Henry, as were the ladies at the house.

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1Leab probably refers to Kossuth's "Speech before the ladies of New York" published in Phineas C. Headley, Louis Kossuth (Auburn, New York, 1852), and reprinted in Kossuth's Select Speeches (London, 1853).

2P. Montague Thompson, student 1836-38, 1844-45, a lawyer in Williamsburg and afterward a member of the Board of Visitors.

3Son of the Governor of Virginia. He attended the College, 1852-34.
Wednesday, June 27th. Today I have been employed about nothing in particular, the weather is very warm and I am utterly disqualified for setting about any new object.

Henry A. Wise and myself took a long walk this evening down "Lovers lane" almost to the old blacksmith's shop, we had a pleasant talk about old times. He told me how he had changed several times about studying for the Ministry, but at last he had determined to go to the seminary. I predict he will make an eloquent divine.1

I neglected to mention yesterday, that Doctor Totten brought Mr. Gateswood's present down from Richmond. It is very neat and chaste. A small morocco box, with "Robert Gateswood & c., from his Middle Mathematical class & c." is neatly engraved on a silver plate on the outside. On the inside lined with velvet is, a handsome gold pencil, the largest size, with a suitable inscription and a neat gold toothpick, all of which pleased the class and for the getting of which, I have received many thanks.

Thursday, 28th. 1855. Nothing of any interest occurred. I visited Dr. Peachy's with Miss Mattle tonight. The old Doctor predicts a brilliant future for Norfolk. He advised me to edit a newspaper in Norfolk, and told me he would be a subscriber.

Friday. 29th. Nothing new today. The nights are beautiful now. I have been enjoying myself, by sitting up and chatting with Miss Mattle at the front door. I have been quietly committing my valedictory.

Saturday. I was very much disappointed at not receiving a letter from home today and am quite uneasy. I trust dear Charley and Mother will soon recover.

Went on serenade tonight, Griswold and his violin, and Thompson his flute.

Sunday, July 1st, 1855. Went to church and heard two fine sermons from Mr. Wilmer, the music was truly beautiful, our delightful choir excelled itself. At night when they sang for the last time they

poured forth in the sweetest strains of melody the "voice of grace." They seemed when singing to be conscious, that in all human probability they would never gather together in old Bruton Church to sing in praise to the great creator of all. (In margin) Ned Taliaferro, who has just graduated at Univ. of Va., is an AM, arrived with Miss Mattie Curtis. He is going home to-morrow.

Monday, July 2d. Today persons are arriving from the boats to attend commencement. The town already has a great many strangers in it. Hill Carter rehearsed his speech this afternoon, he does not know it sufficiently yet, and Dr. Totten requested him to rehearse it to me tonight. Hill had great difficulty in getting confidence enough to enable him to speak before me, but at last he got to rehearsing and did excellently well. I delivered my speech to him, he was tired of repeating his.

Tuesday, July 3d. Mr. Grigsby arrived today, and many of the visitors of the college & a large crowd of alumni and strangers. The band which arrived yesterday, discoursed sweet music to day before dinner. As they were playing at the hotel a funeral procession passed by. A man who recently moved from the North with the party that came on with Bigler & co. had died and the Masons were burying him. The band very kindly struck up "Dead March," and proceeded to the church with them and also went to the burying grounds. The Masons went through their nonsensical formula at the tomb of the deceased. We think their service heathenish, a mockery of death.

Mr. Grigsby told me, he had been suffering for some time past with severe cold and lung complaint, and feared he would not succeed. This afternoon at 5 o'clock, after the people had assembled in the college chapel and the tones of the band had subsided, Dr. Totten, president of the Phi Beta Kappa arose and introduced Mr. Hugh Blair Grigsby of Norfolk. Mr. Grigsby arose and after a few remarks commenced his able and interesting discourse on the "Virginia Convention of 1776." His manner of delivery is good; considering his deafness - fine. His position at times lacked grace, his gestures were exceptional. His address was profound, it ovined a well trained mind, a thoughtful mind, one intimately acquainted with the history of the state, both historia scriptra and historia non scripta. His portraiture were excellent, his powers of description so superior as to possess to the minds eye, the old Va. gentleman, the hardy western hunter, and the yeoman of the valley as they appeared upon the floor of the convention. His speech showed Mr. Grigsby, to be a writer of high order and a speaker of no medium degree. Unfortunately much of his speech was lost by his not hearing the plaudits of his audience. It is to

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1Evin L. Taliaferro was a major in the Confederate army and Professor of Latin and Romance languages at William and Mary until his death in 1867.
July 4th. The great day has come. The upon which I sever my connection with college life. In the morning all was stirring and bustling at Sheldon Hall. I went up to college very early and rehearsed my speech.

Henry A. Wise borrowed my Dress coat the night before and although I dispatched numerous messengers after him I found it impossible to get my coat and so I started up to college with a summer one. The ladies carried me up in a carriage. Just before I reached college I met Walker (Mr. Sheldon's servant) bringing it home. At 10-1/2 we all proceeded to Mr. Ewells and then marched with music to the chapel. Dr. Totten commenced the exercises with a prayer, music then followed as it did after every speech and the conferring of the degrees.

1. Chas. S. Stringfellow delivered an oration on "Free Discussion." He did not come up to the expectations of his friends.

2. J. B. Jett of Westmoreland on Character and Services of Alex. Hamilton. I did not consider it anything remarkable.

3. A. M. C. Nodlin of Wythe, on Ireland agreeable disappointed his friends.

4. J. R. Robertson of Chesterfield. Pretty good for old Royal. It was on "Bacon's Rebellion."

5. Wm. D. Bloxham of Florida, on the "Failure of free society in Europe. It was very excellent and considering he wrote it as an essay, to keep from speaking, it was very creditable. Success to Blox.

6. Hill Carter Jr. of Shylye. Witty, and some parts very profound he surprised his acquaintances and delighted his friends. I felt as glad at his success as my own. Hill wrote on Virginia.

7. Chas. R. Grandy of Norfolk delivered a fine speech on "The Settlement of Jamestown its peculiarity and influence." 

8. A. M. Randolph, of Fauquier, delivered a magnificent speech on Human Progress.

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1Grigsby's address was published as: The Virginia Convention of 1776. A discourse delivered before the Virginia Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in the chapel of William and Mary College...July the 3rd, 1855 (Richmond, 1855).
Degrees were then conferred by Mr. Ewell to 5 A.M's, 3 LLD's, 9 A.B's, 4 B.F.'s. Hon. degree of A.M. to Robt. Gateswood and LLD. to Bishop Johns, and Hugh Blair Grigsby. Then followed my valedictory. Owing to a cold that I contracted I did not do as well as I wished, yet I caused many to weep. Especially Old Buck, or rather Mr. Ewell. I rode back to Emond Hall with the ladies, and partook of a delightful lunch. At 4 O'clock, a large concourse comprising, Visitors, professors, students, alumni, guests, & intruders, sat down to an excellent dinner prepared by Mr. Lindsay, steward of the college.

Hill Carter and myself sat opposite to old John Tyler, 1 & Colin Clark. After dinner & dessert, although we had neither lemonade or wine to drink Mr. Ewell laughingly told us to fill our glasses. Several regular toasts were given, Mr. Macfarland 2 made the first speech, H. A. Wise, Jr. & young Jackson from the university also made speeches. John Tyler was called on & made a very happy response to a toast to Virginia. He alluded very often to Hill Carter's speech, & addressed him very often in his speech. He also alluded to my speech. I with some others was called on to respond to irregular toasts. I excused myself on account of my sore throat. Griswold who was appointed to answer to a toast about the students, did badly. He wrote a pretty response, but did not commit it. After dinner there was a meeting of the Alumni held in the Chapel. Mr. Ewell called it to order. Col. Armistead was treasurer & Mr. S. Peachy Lee. When the time came for nominating a speaker for next commencement, several nominations were made, whereupon I nominated Tiberius G. Jones of Norfolk. After awhile a committee was appointed to recommend a speaker & an alternate. The committee went out, & when it returned it nominated Mr. Jones, & Mr. Campbell as his alternate. He was elected. I was appointed on a committee with Mr. Montague Thompson of Williamsburg, to draw up a letter to send around to solicit aid from the Alumni for publishing a catalogue. 3

The meeting adjourned about seven. After tea although it was rainy & stormy, Mrs. Sneed, Miss Mattie Curtis, & Miss Hally & myself went up in a carriage to hear Robert Tyler. He delivered a fine address

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1. Ex-president of the United States and at this time Rector of the Board of Visitors.


3. That is, a catalogue of students. This was published in this year. See Catalogue of William and Mary College, in the state of Virginia, 1855 (Williamsburg, 1855). This publication was the first attempt to list the names of the students, faculty members, bursars, and members of the Board of Visitors. It was revised and expanded following the disastrous fire four years later. The above work should be differentiated from the Catalogue and course of studies of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, 1855 (Williamsburg, 1855), which was the usual yearly announcements issue.
to the society of alumni, on the settlement of Jamestown, he is really
a graceful speaker. His allusions to old Williamsburg before he
commenced his address were peculiarly beautiful, his remark about his
wife was eloquent. Miss Mattie Curtis & myself returned, & we had a
jolly time wading through mud & water & rain & c. I shall never for-
get it, for it was certainly fun. I sat up awhile & then retired,
broken down with fatigue & suffering with a very severe cold.

July 5th. Miss Mattie Curtis & her sister Miss Hally went off
to day to Gloucester. Miss Mattie is a very sweet girl, & I believe
a few more walks like last night would make me fall in love with her.
They were accompanied with Mr. Warner Jones of Gloucester, delegate
elect, to whom I was introduced. Brother left for home to day with
many of the students, strangers, & c. I am so hourse to day I cannot
talk above a whisper. It is raining very hard. Mr. Ewell told me
to day that Dr. Totten said, mine was the best valedictory, he ever
heard delivered. What a compliment more than I deserved. Have been
feeling very unwell all day, had a very pleasant chat with Miss Julia
& Miss Mattie to night. Miss Mattie Page, one of the best girls in
the world, her kindness to everyone has won for her many friends &
secured her from enemies. I believe she likes me as a brother. I
certainly love her as a sister. Two years delightful intercourse has
bound me to all the inmates of Sheldon Hall. Presented the Judge with
his cane, privately.

July 6th. To day I finished packing. I went & told all the
Totten's good bye, the old Dr. seems to love me. I certainly esteem
him. I had an affectionate parting with old Buck. Mr. Ewell wished
me all success and happiness. I met Stephen Pendleton in Mr. Ewell's
passage, he shook hands with me and said we had not been friends, but
hope we would be now, henceforth & for evermore. I greeted him kindly
but I fear he is insincere, I trust not. I went & told Mrs. Washington
good bye. I am sorry Mrs. Tucker was too sick to see me. She pre-
sented me with a novel by Judge Tucker,1 her father. I told many of
the citizens good bye, & many of them seemed sorry parting with me.
I then went home, & found Miss Mattie crying, as Griswold & Perrin &
Hill Carter, her cousin, had gone off about an hour before. I hardly
know what to make of it. I found out, Mr. Sheldon, had informed her,
of his intention to move Mrs. Sheldon to Wisconsin & she could not leave
her mother & be parted with her cousin Harriet. She was truly distressed
at the thought of Sheldon Hall being broken up. This is wild & prepos-
terous in Mr. Sheldon. I had a very affectionat parting with many stu-
dents, especially my dear friend Hill Carter. But the trial came, I
had just finished scribbling a short account of commencement for Mr.
Ewell, when the stage horn sent a chill through my soul. Then I fully
realized that the time was come, when I had to bid farewell perhaps
forever, to the sweet scenes of my college life, to those familiar faces

1Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784-1851), George Balcombe: a novel
(New York, 1836) 2 v.
that by long intercourse had become like the sweet faces of home.
I told all good bys calmly, but when I came to Miss Mattie & Miss
Julia, the unbidden tear would steal forth, & kissing them I hurried
to the stage.

Farewell old Williamsburg, God bless you & yours. Within your
venerable walls I have been happy; pleasure has attended me along
your grass grown streets and dear old Sheldon hall; with those dear
ones, 'tis sad to part. My old Alma Mater, farewell.

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Appendix IV
Letters and other documents
about the College
in 1855
426 Park Place
Nashville, Tenn.
Oct. 3d 1892.

My dear Mr. Dewell,

I got a letter the other day from W. C. Parham, a fellow boaster at Mrs. Maupin's in those pleasant ante-bellum days of mine in old Williamsburg, in which he spoke of you, & said that you like to hear from your ex-students. I am thus moved to address you; but more than half of my motive is to elicit a letter from you, however brief. Parham implies that you had written to him.

One of my pupils - I am now a professor of the Law Department of the Vanderbilt University - handed me a letter from Parham be- speaking my good offices toward the bearer, formerly a pupil of his, & thus I came to write to him.

It jarred somewhat on my recollections of Parham to find that he had been & was now a professor of ancient languages. He is now connected with the Galloway Female College in Searcy, Arkansas. I am just in receipt of one of its circulars. The motto thereon inscribed is, "Christ is All & in All." In his reply to my letter, he says he is disappointed at my silence about my church affiliations, but hopes from my being a professor in a Methodist institution that I am a good Methodist etc. This sort of thing seems natural from him. Before quitting him, I must mention that Mr. Smead, whom we students used irreverently to call "Old Pomp," appears to have made a strong impression upon him. He named a daughter Antigone because Mr. Smead sent him a copy of his Edition of that Greek play, & he names a son Smead. This last led to Mrs. Smead's giving Parham her husband's Greek Library, & it seems that she writes to Smead on his every birthday. For myself I always took rather a comic view of "Old Pomp," & can't help smiling even now when I recall Dames' exploit in boring an auger-hole just over his cranium, & pouring down water on its shining top as he sat on his lecture-room platform. Don't you remember how, when, after Dames's expulsion for that audacious outrage, & I took a paper to you numerous signed, & praying for his pardon, you expressed a liking for him, adding, however, that you didn't him the orator I had pictured him to his father?

I saw Dames years ago, a Conductor on the Richmond & Danville Railroad. It was in 1872. I was visiting my uncle, Mr. John B. McPhail, whose plantation in Charlotte County, Va., adjoins John Randolph's, "Roanoke," & is the one on which, in that County, the bridge of that railroad over the Staunton River abuts. "Roanoke" is the name of a little stream /there/ flowing into the Staunton.
I see that Paul Edmunds, who lives in the adjoining County of Halifax, is now a member of Congress. This recalls that drinking spree at Mrs. Maplin's you questioned me about in the Laboratory, wherein Paul & Newman & little Taliaferro were involved. She complained to you - Taliaferro ran up stairs, Newman after him, & I after Newman, to prevent his hurting Taliaferro. "Old Pomp," whose room was just over that of the three, was standing near the head of the stairs, in the dark, & as I rushed by, the bony angle of my left eyebrow struck him on the cheek or forehead, & cut it. I wasn't aware of the impact. He never sincerely accepted the true explanation of the matter. These were very pleasant days to me. If I had had even some $600 a year from property, I think my plan in life would have been to snare away my life at Williamsburg. I hadn't any ambition, & I had, & always had, a deep sense of the emptiness of everything.

"When all has been done, 
When no more is to do, 
What has truly been won 
What shall truly accrue?"

This doggerel expresses it pretty well. I used to tell my father I could write him one sermon that would tell - on the emptiness of the world &c. He came out here as pastor of Christ Church here, & that led to my coming out. The war would have broken in upon my scheme of life.

I was a unionist during the war - alone of all my family. I just could not do anything else. I read all Calhoun's works, to try & poison myself with Southern virus, as I regarded it. My sentiment led me to become intimate with one of our leading unionists here - one of the foremost lawyers of the State - John Trimble -§, in Oct., 1862, I married his daughter. We have had ten children, all boys, eight now living. My eldest is a lawyer here. My next graduated last June at West Point, & has just been assigned to a 2d lieutenancy in Co. D., First Artillery, at Fort Wadsworth, New York Harbor - on Staten Island at the Narrows, & opposite to Fort Hamilton, on the other side of the Narrows. My third boy is one of my law-students.

I practiced law hard for some years; but since 1881 I haven't been working much. I saved enough to support me (on its income) & lay up, say, a couple of thousands a year, & then I did as Mr. Senior says Frenchmen do in similar plight. He says, 9 out of 10 will stop & live on their incomes; & that 9 out of 10 Englishmen won't; & someone says that, out of 10 Americans so situated, 11 won't.

I hardly know why I accepted a law professorship. It was mainly because the other two professors asked me to, the third professor, Wm. B. Reese, having died suddenly. Possibly you knew Reese. He was well acquainted with Gen. Brall & his wife. I met the latter; I remember, at your house (then Mrs. Brown), & played chess with her.
I have Constitutional Law; the Law of Torts; Criminal Law; & the Law of Real Estate. I study hard for my recitations, & try to be very sifting & thorough. I have some knack of making things plain & also interesting. The one thing I can do best, however, is to argue law cases before the Canons or Supreme Court, & especially in writing. I am writing about myself, & therefore dwell somewhat upon the subject for this reason, & not for John Randolph's, that every man is interesting to himself. I take it that you are interested in the Evolution of your old pupils. The word I have used, carries me back to Parham's inquiry about my church affiliations. My great man is Herbert Spencer, the apostle of Evolution. I believe in Darwin & Huxley, & the like. During the summer, at Beersheba Springs, Grundy County, in this State, where I have a nice little cottage, I read Haeckel, a German exposition of Darwin, who pleased me by the thorough going way he follows out his views. I first encountered Spencer in his essay on the philosophy of Style, printed in the back of Kames's Elements of Criticism, one of Dr. Totten's text books at College, & this reminds me of him. You know he died at Lexington, I think — anyhow in Kentucky — some years ago. Neither he nor Mr. Smead seemed to me to do any student any good whatever. All the real intellectual stimulus I got at College was from yourself & "Boosey" Gatwood.

What a perfect monument as a professor was old Mr. Minor! I nick-named him, from his mect, hoary aspect, "the venerable Cherub!" & after that, we never called him anything but "The Cherub." We all like & respected him, however; & he was a kind, good man. But he put us into Blackstone, & his idea was to hear us recite the text. Blackstone is so obsolete that he does a law student little good — he puzzles him, for the student knows that sort of thing isn't the law operating around him. My whole preconception of law was amiss. I thought it was en- volved from a few principles, as mathematics from axioms & definitions. The historical element was a stumbling block, & "the Cherub" made nothing any clearer.

But we all believed in you, nor I imagine has any of us changed his belief in looking back with nature eyes on those old times. I am sure I have not. I have often inquired about you from ex-Confederate friends, & to speak frankly, I have wondered why you didn't figure more extensively & conspicuously in the war, since you went into it. I explained it to myself by supposing that your habits, throughout years, had sapped your energies, & moreover, had involved a brooding over life, resulting in a loss of ambition. It seems, as a general thing, to require a certain narrowness to achieve practical success. The thing you are going for must seem a big thing to you. Caesar said of Brutus, "quicquid vult valde vult" — a thing preeminently sayable about Caesar, Napoleon, & their kind of men. "The kingdom of heaven is taken by violence" & mundane objects must be pursued with the same sort of vehement ardor, & this presupposes one's thinking them to be much bigger things than they really are. In the light of what we know about illimitable space, with
its infinite host of suns, to which our petty luminary is so small
a potato, & about the endless myriads — millions — of years, or even
ages, that have rolled away — a past eternity, in fact, — everything
looks trifling that can happen on our microscopic planet. A still,
brooding mind sees so clearly that nothing is worth fussing over or
striving after — just so that one has food & clothing & leisure — &
hasn’t the tooth-ache.

Robinson Garrett has done pretty well out here, but hasn’t,
I suppose, saved any money. He is now State Superintendent of Edu-
cation. I must have got my thrift from my Scotch ancestry.

I am told that Sneed died years ago, & that Tom McCandlish (I
am not sure about the spelling) took to drink — a form of temptation
I never could appreciate, though I have been drunk. Randolph is Bishop.
Charley Springfellow I believe is in Richmond, & no doubt a distinguished
advocate. Dick Walke I learn is the best lawyer in Norfolk. Tom &
Peter Smith I don’t know about, nor Alex nor Winter Payne. Geo. D., Wise
is in Congress. Eliza Vest I met here years ago as Mrs. Joyner. We
fellow used to discuss, over egg nogs, which was the uglier she or
Kate Pettitt. This vexed question was never then settled; but Mrs.
Joyner didn’t strike me here as ugly.

My Williamsburg days were my happiest ones. There was a sort of
semi-poetic halo around the place for me. The moonlight shone more
softly on those greens than it has ever done anywhere else — the girls
were very sweet — Kate Edloe, her elder sister Sallie Bettie, Maltie
Page, Sally Gary, Sally Peachy & that dashing young sister of hers —
Mamie I think she was called. "Old Bright" was one of the peculiar
characters that helped to give the place its flavor. Somehow Tennyson’s
Miller ("The Miller’s Daughter") always reminds me of him. But they are
not much alike. I am old myself now. I have lost about all my hair, &
look older than many who are ten years — than some who are twenty years —
older than I.

But I have tasked you enough — I feel like burning this rambling
letter, but I believe I will send it.

If you ever write letters now, I should take it very appreciatively
to be favored with one, however brief,

Very truly yours,

R. M. P. Smith.
Robinson (Royall), of Petersburg, used to figure in that jest.y. Pettitt discussion — the fellow inculpated with me in that Scriptural piece on little red-headed Sally (Sorrel whose surname is Top) that led to a fracas between Robinson & Sully, leaving me out — who wrote 9/10 of it.

This suggests another scrape I was in. I wrote some rhymes, signed that lent Joe Clover's name to it, & sent it to Mary James a carpenter's daughter visited by Joe. Every verse ended "Clover whose first name is Joe." I remember one:

"Oh hard-hearted maiden, when Death's icy paw
Hath shuts up forever his meat-eating jaw,
When laid on his bier, cruel Mary May know
That her coldness killed Clover whose first name is Joe"

All this is nonsense. But Mr. Pitt used to ask of one, when told that his conversation was sensible, — "But can he talk nonsense? — Any body can talk sense." This implies that "A little nonsense now & then is relished by the nicest men."

I should like to know what became of Robinson.