

ORIGINAL COLLEGE BUILDING ERECTED AT WAKE FOREST COLLEGE IN 1834, ON THE SITE OF THE  
PRESENT WAIT HALL. THE BUILDING WAS DESTROYED BY FIRE MAY 5, 1933

# History of Wake Forest College

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By  
GEORGE WASHINGTON PASCHAL



Volume I  
1834-1865

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WAKE FOREST COLLEGE, WAKE FOREST, N. C.  
1935

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To The Memory of My Father

RICHARD BRAY PASCHAL  
March 3, 1820-December 5, 1870

AND TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

MATILDA SCHMIDT PASCHAL  
March 18, 1823-August 8, 1922

OF WHOM TWO SONS, ELEVEN GRANDSONS,  
THREE GRANDDAUGHTERS AND FOUR  
GREAT-GRANDSONS HAVE WON THE  
DEGREES OF WAKE FOREST COLLEGE

## PREFACE

When I consulted Dr. R. D. W. Connor, now Chief Archivist of the National Archives, as to what I should include in a history of Wake Forest College, he said: "Put in everything; no one will ever work over again the documents from which you draw your account, and what you omit will be permanently lost to the history of the College and the State."

With this admonition in mind I have prepared the present volume, covering the period from 1834 to 1865. By relegating much matter to footnotes and adding to the number of pages I have approximated the ideal; at the same time I have made the work a kind of source book for the history of the College, often giving reprints of matter no longer easily accessible.

The reader will observe that I have tried to make this history of the College a part of the general history of the State and to interpret its life and work in relation to the political, social, economic, religious and educational conditions out of which it arose and which modified its development from year to year. This has made it necessary often to refer to contemporary events and to parallel developments in other educational institutions and to introduce an account of the Associational academies.

Until the eve of the Civil War, Wake Forest had two fields of operations; one of these was, of course, local; the other, which was no less important, was among the churches and their members, where the agents of the institution labored for more than a quarter of a century to gain for it a support that meant its very life. Accordingly, I have told of the faithful and long-continued work of the numerous agents with almost as much circumstance and detail as of the internal administration and work of the College.

The division on the Literary Societies, covering 110 pages, was an afterthought, but to me it has proved one of the most interesting studies of my volume, since with the full records of the Societies open before me I was introduced as it were into the very company of the college students of a century ago, felt the contagion of their enthusiasm, could see what they did and hear what they said, and

learned their hopes and fears, their thoughts and aspirations. Nothing that concerned them seems mean or trivial.

In connection with the account of the Literary Societies I have devoted a rather long chapter to the score or more speakers invited by the Societies to make their Commencement addresses. Nearly all these were North Carolinians, among the ablest of their day. To the preparation of their addresses for our educational institutions they devoted their best care and thought. Some are of exceptional excellence, but whatever their merits or shortcomings they must be regarded as the best of their kind North Carolina could produce and deserve consideration as a part of the general literary history of our State, especially in the history of a college which called them forth.

While in general I hope my work will be readable, there are numerous tabulations and lists which are for reference rather than reading. In making them I have endeavored to be accurate by checking with every available document. This has cost me an unbelievable amount of toil, especially on the biographical data in the tabulations in the chapter on "The College in War."

The arrangement of the material of the volume has given me considerable trouble; I have made that which on the whole seems to give the better emphasis and sequence. In the method of treatment which I have adopted some repetition has been unavoidable. With more time at my command perhaps I could have made some improvement, but I have done the greater part of the work while teaching from fifteen to seventeen hours a week and furnishing every week about 6,000 words of editorial matter for the *Biblical Recorder*.

Wake Forest, North Carolina  
May 20, 1935

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## I THE INSTITUTE

## CENTENNIAL HYMN

*Tune Austria*, Sung at Centennial Celebration, Commencement, 1935

Hail, Wake Forest, Alma Mater,  
A hundred years now crown thy head;  
Praise we then our great Creator,  
Who through all the years has led.  
May thy torch of truth glow brighter,  
Still supplied with grace divine;  
Clear and strong and ever brighter  
On the path of wisdom shine.

Ne'er forgot be thy great mission,  
Fire the heart of noble youth,  
Guide them with thy safe tuition  
To the fount of living truth;  
Courage, faith and power inspiring,  
Fit their souls for high emprise,  
Ever to the heights, untiring,  
Patiently to toil and rise.

Dearest Mother, hear the landings,  
Of thy sons of other days,  
Sons who won the world's applaudings,  
Sons whose deeds proclaim thy praise;  
Sons whose spirit knew no terror,  
Or in high or lowly place,  
Sons who braved the frowns of error,  
Sons who served with Christlike grace.

Alma Mater, our dear Mother  
Honored ever, honored now,  
Be it ours to add another  
To the laurels on thy brow!  
O Wake Forest, how we love thee,  
Dowered with thy fostering care;  
Kindest Heaven smile above thee,  
God exalt and keep thee fair.

# I

## INTRODUCTORY

One who would understand the history of Wake Forest College must have some knowledge of the social, economic and educational conditions out of which it arose. Accordingly, as I am undertaking to write that history, I have thought it necessary to set forth as well as I can in brief compass just what those conditions were.

The population of North Carolina was small when Wake Forest Institute, which five years later became Wake Forest College, was opened in 1834. The census of 1830 showed in the State 403,295 whites, 19,543 free negroes, and 245,601 slaves. In as many as twenty counties the negroes outnumbered the whites. This population was largely agricultural, though there were important fisheries on Albemarle Sound, and naval stores and lumber were produced in large quantities in the longleaf pine districts. The largest towns were Wilmington, Fayetteville, and New Bern,<sup>1</sup> none of them with as many as five thousand people.

The counties with a large slave population were mostly in the eastern half of the State, extending as far west as Caswell on the north and Richmond on the south, but not including the Scotch settlements in Moore and Cumberland, nor the Piedmont counties of Chatham and Orange. There was a marked difference between the rich, slave-holding planters of the east and the non-slave-holding, hard-working small farmers of the west who cultivated their crops with their own hands<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In this work I use the spelling of names in current use today.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Calvin H. Wiley, of Guilford County, who traveled over the State a few years later, says of the eastern section: "Among all we observe the universal characteristics of plenty, easy manners, and hospitality. Whatever becomes of the world, without some great changes, beggary and starvation will never here be known; it ought always to be a land of plenty and a home of piety." *North Carolina Reader*, p. 38.

Of the people of his own beloved uplands he says: "We are, in fact, among a hard-working people, and all about us are signs of their industry, patience,

These distinct characteristics of the people of the two sections were kept almost static by the lack of transportation facilities and other means of communication. Only the eastern portion of the State with its water transportation had developed to any extent industries other than farming. In the central and western counties the farmers, having no market for their products, were satisfied to make a bare living for their families. The more progressive were moving to the West in search of better markets and better lands. For several decades the white population of the State was practically at a standstill.

In 1828 Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina, wrote a series of papers called the *Numbers of Carlton*, in which he urged the importance of building a railroad for horse-drawn traffic from Beaufort by Raleigh to the West. In it he gave a graphic picture of the North Carolina farmer. With reference to the lack of transportation he says:

In our present situation as a people, we are without opportunity and without motive. We are hemmed in and trammeled on every side.... As we are now situated the whole value of our flour, corn, and all other productions, except one or two, is swallowed up by the expense of transportation. By the time the farmer arrives at market, it is much the same as if he were to throw the whole into the sea... The truth is that North Carolina has within the space of thirty years past lost thousands of valuable citizens, with immense capital, to go where they might find better settlements and an open market.

In 1830 the Legislature chartered the Petersburg Railway and two years later the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad, both of which ran through some counties in the northeastern part of the State. In 1833 was inaugurated the project for the Wilmington and Weldon Railway. But as these railroads ran north and

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and economy. A single laborer with an ox, a horse, a plough, and wagon, can, on a few acres live independently and comfortably; and the lands are divided among a multitude of small farmers of this sort. They form a race of people different from any we have yet seen; these small freeholders, composing the larger portion of the population, are a people peculiar to the upland districts of North Carolina. You will find them a sedate sober, religious race; and you will find among them all those higher elements of character that dignify and adorn our race." *Ibid.*, p. 50.

south they brought no markets to the farmers of the central and western portions of the State.

This lack of facilities for transportation and travel and the consequent lack of communication between the east and the west tended to keep alive the strong enmity between these sections which they had inherited from colonial days. The inequalities in representation in the General Assembly, in which the western counties were at a disadvantage and which was one of the causes of the Regulator troubles, were in a measure continued in the State Constitution of 1776. These inequalities were corrected only after a bitter struggle, extending through many years, by the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Even to this day, while all enmity has died out, in many political councils the sectional division of our State into East and West is recognized.<sup>3</sup>

The changes in the Constitution proposed by the Convention of 1835, and adopted by the people, based representation in the General Assembly on population, abolished pocket boroughs, and transferred the election of governor from the Legislature to the people.

It is of interest to note that along with the extension of democratic ideals in government in the first third of last century there was a corresponding extension in the demand for education, which in the decade from 1830 to 1840 resulted not only in our first public schools, but, as we shall see, in founding our denominational colleges.

The educational condition of North Carolina in 1830 was bad. There were then no public schools in the State. The need for

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<sup>3</sup> "Stubbornly, and too often with undue arrogance, the East resisted every appeal to its patriotism and magnanimity.... The Western Convention met in Raleigh in 1823. . Many wise and needed changes in the organic law were suggested. A calmly vehement spirit was aroused among those who constituted a large majority of the people of the State, and threats were made to proceed to such extremities as were witnessed in the Dorr troubles in Rhode Island in 1842.... The popular vote of Hertford County did not at that time reach six hundred, yet Orange, with twenty-five hundred votes had no more weight in the Legislature. The injustice of this system could not be explained to men who had imbibed sectional feeling against the West." *School History of North Carolina*, 1879, p. 177 f.

them had indeed been recognized in the Constitution of 1776, but no effort to carry into effect the provision requiring their establishment had been made for many years. In 1802 Governor Benjamin Williams recommended to the Legislature the consideration of measures for the general diffusion of learning, and thereafter for several years various governors made what seem perfunctory references to education in their messages to the Legislature to which the Legislature paid no attention. At last, however, in 1816, after Governor William Miller had in his messages of that year and his stronger message of 1815 prodded the Legislature to action, Archibald D. Murphey, being appointed chairman of a committee of the Legislature to consider the matter, wrote and laid before the Legislature his first report on education, which is justly regarded as epochal in the educational history of our State.<sup>4</sup>

Though no definite action was taken at the time, an interest in education was created which continued to grow until 1825, when the Legislature under the leadership of Bartlett Yancey of Caswell County provided for the establishment of a literary fund as an endowment for common schools. By 1838 this fund had grown to more than two million dollars, and the Legislature of 1838-39 passed an act for the establishment of common schools, providing for their support from the Literary Fund two dollars for every dollar raised for the purpose by any county. Schools were at once established in some counties and became popular and prospered under county superintendency and management for the first ten years, and they entered on a new era of usefulness on the election of Calvin H. Wiley as State Superintendent of Public Instruction on December 13, 1852. Writing in 1855 Mr. Wiley could say that there was in North Carolina no longer any necessity for ignorance, that the schools were the greatest civil institution in the State, covering

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<sup>4</sup> Coon, *Public Education in North Carolina*, I, 99-113; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, Chap. XVI; Noble, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, Chap. IV.

every square mile of territory, and were constantly improving; there were some 3,000 schools in all and more than 100,000 children from a white population of 553,299 receiving free instruction in them ; and his hope was that in a short time they would be kept open six or eight months in the year.<sup>5</sup>

Although no public elementary school or public high school was to be found in the State before 1841, education was not altogether neglected. For primary instruction the planters of the eastern section often employed governesses for their homes who not only instructed the children of their employers, but often the children of parents in the neighborhood who were too poor to provide for their instruction. In fact, because of the sparseness of the white population this was about the only way by which many planters could provide schooling for their younger children. But among the smaller farmers of the more thickly populated upland districts subscription schools were usually maintained for a few months every year, in which the boys and sometimes the girls were taught reading and writing and enough arithmetic to enable them to cast interest and to keep business accounts. It was, however, only the more enlightened communities that regularly maintained such schools or provided teachers of good ability and character.<sup>6</sup>

Of schools and academies of higher grade the number was so

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<sup>5</sup> Wiley, *North Carolina Reader*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Reverend Brantley York, born January 3, 1805, tells of two of his teachers in his boyhood days in northeastern Randolph. He says: "The first school I attended I was only about four years old, and went only one day. The schoolmaster (as teachers were then called) was a very large, sour-looking man, and seemed to appreciate very highly the dignity of his position. And the instruments of punishment lay thick around him in the form of switches, and small paddles called ferrules, and among switches was one very large one, kept for the purpose of threshing the floor in order to frighten the urchins and keep them in awe of his authority."

"I was about six years old before I was sent to school again. The teacher was a very different character from the former; he was clever, kind and indulgent, and the scholars loved him as a father. When I went to say my lesson he would take me upon his knees, and speak very kindly to me, and when I succeeded in saying a good lesson he never failed to praise and encourage me." *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 5 f.

great as to suggest that nearly all the people in all sections of the State were eager to educate their sons and daughters.<sup>7</sup> C. L. Coon in his study of North Carolina schools and academies indexes the names of 118 academies, 6 military schools, 95 other schools, and 15 seminaries which advertised for patronage during the period from 1790 to 1840. Almost every county and considerable town had at least one such school under the direction of a board of trustees who employed the teachers, solicited patronage, and provided building and equipment. But more often the school was a private enterprise. Some of the teachers were able men-in the Presbyterian settlements often ministers of the gospel. But in most of the schools the work must have been very superficial. This statement needs no other verification than an inspection of, the courses of study listed in their advertisements. The following paragraph from the introduction to Coon's book, p. xxxiii, will help illustrate the character of teacher and teaching. He says:

For many years the Salisbury Academy was one of the leading schools of the State. In 1821, Rev. J. O. Freeman was the principal of this school. He unblushingly printed his course of study, exhibiting the following bill of mental fare: Latin-Ruddiman's and Adam's grammars; Corderiae, *Historiae Sacrae*, *Viri Romae*, Caesar, Ovid, Vergil, Cicero's Orations, Sallust, Horace, Mair's Introduction and Prosody. In Greek he taught Valpey's or Wettenhall's grammar, Greek Testament, *Graeca Minora*, *Graeca Majora*, Xenophon, Homer, Neilson's *Exercises*, and prosody. In addition he taught reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, logic, composition, and declamation.

There is much evidence in Coon's volume that the condition in the schools for girls was even worse than in those for boys. Dr. William Hooper, in a comprehensive and brilliant address delivered before the North Carolina Institute of Education, at Chapel Hill, June 20, 1832, said:

In these remarks I have had my eyes entirely upon schools for boys; but most of them may be applied (*mutatis mutandis*) to schools

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<sup>7</sup> C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 1790-1840.



for girls. With respect to the latter, it may be added that in some of our female seminaries too much is attempted. The whole encyclopaedia of knowledge is embraced in the list of studies, and in the compass of two or three duodecimos, and the young lady, by the time she reaches her teens, is in danger of thinking herself grammarian, geographer, astronomer, chemist, botanist, musician, painter and what not. She is taken from school just at the age when she begins to be capable of appreciating her studies, and having got by rote a little smattering of everything, she forgets it all.

This statement reveals well enough the conception of the proper education of women which was prevalent during the first half of the last century and is still not altogether obsolete. This will help explain why, when the general movement for better education for young men was inaugurated in the decade from 1830 to 1840, little or nothing was done looking to establishing colleges for young women.

In the address already quoted Dr. Hooper sets forth other defects of the schools of his day. In general only the sons of the rich could attend the academies, and these seldom had had training that fitted them for study.<sup>8</sup>

Parents demanded cheapness and rapidity in the education of their sons. The least expensive school and the one that got the boy through in the shortest time was patronized, while the better schools were starved out. Hooper's words are:

A teacher is chosen for the cheapness of his terms, and the rapidity with which he can push boys forward for entrance to college. Whoever can get a boy through the greatest number of books in a given time is the best teacher. Haste is everything. . . . A teacher who is a man of sense and conscience, who knows that four years at least are requisite for taking a boy through the classical course preparatory to entering our common colleges, and who wants to do justice to his employer, is mortified, perhaps, to find that his pupils are taken away, under the complaint that he carries them on too

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<sup>8</sup> There is not a sufficient stimulus upon the youth of our State to cultivate the powers of their minds. Most of those sent to school are the children of men of considerable property. Those young persons have never felt the pressure of want and the necessity of exertion. While at home they have been accustomed to pass their time in ease and amusement, and when they leave that home for school or college the change must be irksome." *Ibid.*

slowly, and perhaps he is taxed with the selfish motive of retarding their progress on purpose to swell his numbers and his emolument.

Dr. Hooper also complained of the neglect in the classical schools of the common rudiments of English education. The spelling and penmanship of young men sent from the academies to college were such as would disgrace an urchin in an old field school. He had spent many a sad hour over collegiate compositions trying to decipher the writing and correcting such monstrous spellings as "wright" and "rong," "kneighborhood," "hanous," "foliage," "seperate," "colledge," "jenius," "turrible," "persuit," etc. He called this a serious evil and insisted that, "There should then be a competent teacher of English attached to every grammar school, into whose hands the boys should pass for an hour or two every day, to be practiced in the several English branches." Along with the neglect of English went the omission of a great part of the prescribed classical course.

The teachers too were far from perfect. They were listless and showed "a lamentable want of animation and vivacity of manner, a want of spirit and energy in conducting business." They conducted their recitations by following the book in a dull, unspirited way. So great was the lack of proper educational methods among them that Dr. Hooper insisted that the only effectual antidote for the evils of the schools, the thing most needed to bring them to a high standard was a "Seminary for the Education of School Masters."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Who would have thought that a teacher in a small college in 1832, two-thirds of a century before any serious effort was made to establish educational departments in our colleges, could have formulated the argument for trained teachers so clearly as Dr. Hooper does in the following paragraph from his notable address? He says:

"Now a seminary for teachers, conducted by men of high reputation would furnish the results of all the wisdom and ingenuity that have been employed upon the science of instruction in the different countries. There a man would learn what are the best school books, what is the best course of study, what is the best mode of imparting knowledge, the best mode of managing youth, and what are the greatest attainments practical in a given time. All these important particulars he would learn, as well as bring his own scholarship to much greater perfection. A teacher trained at such a seminary would proceed with a confidence and courage and enthusiasm now unfelt. He would not take

Another handicap of the academies of that day was the lack of union and co-operation in planning for and supporting them. Even in a town where the more public-spirited citizens had united to erect and equip a school building at considerable expense, a number of petty schools each under a single teacher would spring up, and drain it of its pupils. Its promoters would finally become discouraged, leave off their support of the school, and send their sons elsewhere. The result was that both teachers and their pupils suffered from public indifference and neglect.

At this time the University of North Carolina was the only institution of college grade in the State. It had been opened for students on January 15, 1795, with Reverend David Ker as Presiding Professor "and not one student," though the number of matriculates reached forty-one by the end of the term. After a rather stormy history in which it had undergone many changes of fortune the University was already an excellent and respected institution in 1835, with 89 students. The number had risen to 169 in 1840.<sup>10</sup>

Its great director and developer and stubborn defender through its early years had been Dr. Joseph Caldwell, the first President, who coming to the University in 1796, was the chief executive with short intermissions until his death in 1835. Under his firm hand the University weathered storms of opposition that were all but destructive, but it was still ministering to few other than sons of men either rich or eminent in the professions.<sup>11</sup>

In the list of its graduates are found with moderate frequency the names of Episcopalian and Presbyterian preachers, and of five men who after their graduation became Baptist preachers,

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every step tremulously, with the hesitation and uncertainty of a man who is feeling his way and relying on his own single experiment. The public would feel confidence in such a teacher; and the certificate of having prepared one's self for a schoolmaster at such an institution would be worth more than a hundred college diplomas. It is surprising that the public has not yet seen the necessity for such an institution."

<sup>10</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 63, 65, 426.

<sup>11</sup> See statement of Dr. Hooper quoted in footnote above. The names of graduates of the University during this period, as given in the appendix to Dr. Battle's *History*, are mostly those of well known and influential families.

A. W. Clopton, Aaron G. Spivey, William Hill Jordan, T. R. Owen and William Hooper.<sup>12</sup> The latter after graduating in 1809 had first become an Episcopalian minister but was converted to the Baptist faith and baptized in 1832. Clopton and Owen did not labor in North Carolina. When in the first quarter of last century the Baptists began to desire educated ministers for their churches no suggestion was ever made that they might be trained at the State University. There were several reasons for this.

When the University was founded, many of the scholastic institutions of this country were shot through with a contempt for religion and indeed with actual atheism, originating probably from the unsettling of religious thought by the French Revolution. This was a condition that held at our University. Its first Presiding Professor, Dr. David Ker, in spite of the fact that he had been a Presbyterian preacher, was "an outspoken infidel," and Samuel Allen Holmes, a Baptist preacher of Warrenton, who became a member of the University faculty in 1796, at once became "an apostate and skepticized, and embraced the wildest principles of licentiousness," words which Dr. Battle quotes from President Caldwell. And evidence is not wanting that religion was either neglected or actually scoffed at by professors and students.<sup>13</sup>

Again, the social life of the University was not such as was approved by the Baptists of that day. In July, 1796, the students were authorized to attend dancing schools with the permission of the faculty. General William R. Davis, the founder of the University, desired that his sons should be taught to dance well. In 1833 the Trustees granted permission to the students to use the University buildings for their Commencement Ball, being convinced by the plea that "the intellectual improvement and gentlemanly accomplishments caused by dancing would justify a

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<sup>12</sup> A student of about 1830 who did not graduate was George W. Hufham of Duplin County, father of Dr. J. D. Hufham. He became a Baptist minister. *Ibid.*, I, 792. Rev. John Monroe also was said to have studied at the University, but his name is not in the list of students.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 101, 113-144. Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 545 ff., a full and illuminating statement.

special ballroom, and that balls greatly promote gentility and enhance the splendors of our Commencement."<sup>14</sup> The type of self-sufficient society dandy that could formulate such a petition would hardly have been a fit companion for a Baptist ministerial student.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to this the stories noised abroad of the pranks and excesses of the early University students were not such as would have won respect for the institution as a place to develop the sturdier virtues. The students were frequently insubordinate. In 1824 two students, "loading themselves with whiskey in the village grog-shop" armed one with a club and the other with a pistol, "sallied forth for the purpose of attacking the persons of different members of the faculty and committed 'violent outrages' on two of the persons hunted."<sup>16</sup> At some periods old and young alike swore like sailors with every breath. Drinking was common and once the entire senior class got drunk. The prevalence of keeping game-cocks required a regulation of the Trustees to prohibit it. With the reputation that such things must have brought, it is no wonder that the University was regarded with mistrust among the more serious and religious.

How even a man with the firm religious purpose and courage of President Caldwell ever brought the University through the

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<sup>14</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 349.

<sup>15</sup> Dr. Battle, *Ibid.*, 268, quotes a paragraph from the autobiography of General Edward J. Mallett of New York, which gives an amusing picture of the dandies of the University of his day: "The style of costume," said General Mallett, "and even the manners of the present generation are not, in my opinion, an improvement on a half century ago. The managers would not then admit a gentleman into the ball room with boots, or even a frock coat; and to dance without gloves was simply vulgar. At the Commencement Ball (when I graduated, 1818), my coat was broadcloth, of sea green color, high velvet collar to match, swallow-tail, pockets outside with lapels, and large silver-plated buttons; white satin damask vest, showing the edge of a blue undervest, a wide opening for bosom ruffles, and no shirt collar. The neck was dressed with a layer of four or five three-cornered cravats, artistically laid and surmounted with a cambric stock, pleated and buckled behind. My pantaloons were white canton crepe, lined with pink muslin, and showed a peach-blossom tint. They were rather short in order to display flesh-colored silk stockings, and this exposure was increased by very low-cut pumps with shiny buckles. My hair was very black, very long and queued."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

turbulence detailed by Dr. Battle may be thought a wonder. It can be explained only by the unrelenting firmness of the discipline. Early in his career as head of the institution the students learned that they could not intimidate him. For thoughtless and disgraceful conduct, all members of the class of 1811 with one exception were sent home without their diplomas. "To many students, it is probable that he appeared rather the uncompromising President than the amiable man."<sup>17</sup> He taught those under his charge to respect religion and morals, and to have high ideals of right and duty. Under such discipline the University grew both in numbers of students and friends and in reputation. The number of graduates had reached a total of 513 in 1834, while the total enrollment was twice as great. Among the alumni were scores of men who became noted for their service and character.

An important consideration in regard to the alumni of the University is that, as I have said above, they belonged for the most part to the wealthier and more influential families. The first Board of Trustees was appointed when the Federalists were in control of our State government, and being a self-perpetuating body, the Board kept the control of the University anti-Republican. The first Presiding Professor, David Ker, who was "a violent Republican," that is, a follower of Jefferson, was demoted after one year, and after that Federalists were kept in charge. Harris, Ker's successor, was a Federalist; so was President Caldwell. Though no charge of unfairness or partiality could justly be brought against either of these men, their incumbency of the office did serve in no little degree to give currency to the belief that Federalist ideals were regnant at the University.<sup>18</sup>

Thus the reader of Battle's volume finds reasons sufficient why the University was regarded in its first half century as the institution of a class or classes and not of the entire population, and why it was lacking in popularity in a commonwealth in which the

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<sup>17</sup> Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 556 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, 114, 141, 143.

democratic principles of Jefferson and Jackson were growing in favor from year to year. It is also easy to see why the rise of denominational colleges in the decade from 1830 to 1840 was welcomed as designed to minister to classes of our people which the University was serving not at all or very inadequately.

## II

### NORTH CAROLINA BAPTISTS BEFORE 1830

We now turn to trace the development of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina and the events which led to the establishment of Wake Forest College.

There were doubtless Baptists among the first settlers in the Ancient Albemarle, but the first Baptist church of which we have any record was constituted in 1727 in Chowan County, about twelve miles north of Edenton. Its founder was Reverend Paul Palmer, who a few years before had come from Maryland. This church in Chowan did not long survive but in a few years its pastor, Reverend Joseph Parker, and several of its members moved to Meherrin and began worship there, founding what is known today as the Meherrin Church, near Murfreesboro. Only a little later, certainly not later than 1729, Mr. Palmer joined with William Burgess and several others in founding the church now called Shiloh, in the present county of Camden, a church which has survived to this day.

Palmer and his followers were what are known as General Baptists, that is, they were Arminians rather than Calvinists. They were great evangelizers, and before the year 1752 their preachers, Paul Palmer, William Burgess, Joseph Parker, Dr. Josiah Hart, William Sojourner, and others had established sixteen Baptist churches in eastern North Carolina in the wide territory from the ocean to the Falls of the Tar, and from the Virginia line to the Great Cohara in Sampson County.

In the years 1751-55 the General Baptist ministers were converted to Calvinism and Particular Baptist principles by ministers from Welsh Neck, South Carolina, and John Gano, Benjamin Miller and Peter Van Horn, missionaries sent for the purpose by the Philadelphia Association. These ministers with the help of these missionaries reorganized nearly all the General Baptist churches on Particular Baptist principles as set forth in the



Philadelphia Confession of Faith. Though in most of the churches the great majority of the members were reluctant to accept the new theology yet after a decade or two nearly all had entered into fellowship with their former brethren on the new plan. But under the influence of the rigid Calvinism which the newly converted preachers ardently maintained, the wonderful evangelizing zeal which characterized the General Baptists was lost and few new churches were organized by the Particular Baptists in North Carolina.

In 1755 a third type of Baptists came to North Carolina. These were the Separate Baptists, who with their leader, Shubal Stearns, came from Boston and on November 22, 1755, settled at Sandy Creek in the present county of Randolph. These differed from both the General Baptists and the Particular Baptists in that they had no written confession of faith and no theology except such as they could get from the New Testament. Much more than either the General or the Particular Baptists their preachers relied upon the power and influence of the Holy Spirit. They were even greater evangelizers than the General Baptists. Within seventeen years after their settlement on Sandy Creek with irresistible evangelizing zeal they had preached the Gospel from the ocean to the mountains and from the Potomac to the Savannah. According to Morgan Edwards,<sup>1</sup> "Sandy Creek church is the mother of all the Separate Baptists. From Ibis Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of them who published it; it, in seventeen years, has spread branches westward as far as the great river Mississippi; southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesapeake Bay; and northward to the waters of the Potomac; it, in seventeen years, is become mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother to forty-two churches, from which sprang 125 ministers, many of whom are ordained and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America."

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan Edwards, *Materials Towards a History of the Baptists of North Carolina*. MS, *N. C. Historical Review*, VII, 384 f. 2

In particular with regard to North Carolina, the Separates held meetings and gathered churches in every part of it, in the eastern section at Lockwood's Folly and on New River and on the Trent and Southwest and at Cashie, in Bertie, as well as in the central and western sections. They went everywhere preaching the Gospel, even in those places where the Particular Baptists were strongest.

It was the coalition of the three types of Baptists just mentioned that produced the present type of North Carolina Baptists. In this present type may be found certain characteristics of each of the three constituent types.

I do not think it necessary to discuss here the steps that led to this union, deeming it sufficient for our purpose to indicate the contribution made by each of the constituent groups, the General Baptists, the Particular Baptists, and the Separate Baptists, to the general character of North Carolina Baptists of today.

The General Baptists, whose tenets were still cherished in the region now covered by the Chowan and West Chowan Associations long after their churches were absorbed by the Particular Baptists, contributed that liberality and breadth of view, that charity towards Christians of other names, that self-respect and respectability, that receptivity to new ideas, which are characteristic of their descendants even to this day.

It was the peculiar contribution of the Particular Baptists who about the time of our Revolution began to call themselves Regular Baptists, to insist upon a close church organization and a strict discipline, and regular periods for celebrating the Lord's Supper. They took care that only the redeemed of the Lord should be in their churches, and that all should be bound in a warm Christian brotherhood. In the early days they imposed a rigid Calvinism and taught the Baptists such theology as they have.

The contributions of the Separate Baptists were two. In the first place they insisted upon personal consecration and submission to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Following Whitefield

they magnified the work of the Spirit. The spiritual enthusiasm of their meetings was like that of the day of Pentecost. This same spiritual enthusiasm has contributed much to the great success of our Baptist preachers in their evangelizing labors, to which is due the wonderful spread of the Baptists through all our Southern country. In the second place, the Separate Baptists had known no creed but the Bible. Though after the union many of the Separate preachers became unyielding defenders of the Philadelphia Confession, today the original Separate view of the adequacy of the New Testament for instruction in doctrine prevails in our denomination, in North Carolina.

It was in the Chowan region that the type of Baptists uniting the best elements of General, Regular and Separate first arose. And here most fittingly arose the men who took the lead in the work that led to the formation of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina. Foremost among these was Elder Martin Ross. Coming from the church of Skewarkey, near Williamston, of which he became pastor on its constitution in 1786, he took up his work at Yoppim, near Edenton, in 1796. Under his leadership, first in the Kehukee Association, and after its organization in 1806 in the Chowan Association, the Baptists of North Carolina began to show an active interest in missions and in the improvement of the ministry, and in organic union for the furtherance of these causes. In all these things Ross was in his later years ably seconded by the able and versatile young Thomas Meredith who first came to the Edenton church in 1818.

Leaving aside here as not directly connected with our purpose the development of interest in missions in the Chowan Association, we turn to consider a matter which was primarily connected with the establishment of Wake Forest College, the increasing demand in the half century before 1830 for a better educated ministry. And first we shall consider the educational equipment of the Baptist preachers of the State before that time.

So far as records show not one of the Baptist preachers who

labored in North Carolina had a classical education until the arrival of Thomas Meredith in Chowan County in 1817. Many of the Baptist preachers of that period were indeed men of much native ability and had enough education to enable them to preach the Gospel with much power and to defend their faith against all adversaries. Paul Palmer, our first Baptist preacher, was declared by the talented John Comer of New England to be a "man of parts," and he had written a tract for publication. William Burgess, first pastor of the Shiloh Church, John Thomas of Toisnot, William Hill of Yadkin, Lemuel Burkitt of Bertie, Henry Abbot of Shiloh, William Lancaster of Franklin, and Ezekiel Hunter of Onslow, are among those Baptist ministers whose talents were such as brought them prominently into the political affairs of their time. There were many others who like Shubal Stearns had small share of learning, but were "pretty well acquainted with books."<sup>2</sup> Many others were, like Jonathan Freeman of Bertie, men of "considerable fortune" and substantial farmers, whose main equipment for the work of the ministry was good native genius, sound judgment, oratorical ability, a pious life, and a knowledge of the Bible. They at least had enough education to get a clear conception of New Testament doctrines and to preach the simple truth of the Gospel to the unlettered people of the North Carolina of their day. In the eyes of the missionaries of the Establishment they were "grossly ignorant" and ranters; perhaps some were such, but in general they spoke the words of soberness and truth. This was in the period before the Revolution.

In the quarter of a century following the close of the Revolutionary War, however, the Baptists suffered greatly for want of a sufficient number of ministers with even a tolerable education. During the War of Independence nearly all schools had been suspended; the attention of all the people was absorbed in the doubtful conflict; too little thought was given to matters of religion. The older preachers were dying out and few young

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<sup>2</sup> Morgan Edwards, *op. cit.*

men of equal ability were arising to take their places. Even in territory of the Kehukee Association, in which the advantages of education were greater and in most other parts of the State where Baptists were numerous, the supply of ministers was far below the need, and many churches were falling into inactivity on this account. To remedy the evil caused by this dearth of ministers an effort was made to provide occasional services for the pastorless churches by the use of itinerant preachers. But very little was accomplished; the churches refused to contribute to the support of the itinerant ministers, while the ministers were unable to do the work at their own charges.

Very early this unwillingness to support ministers began to have its effect. The character of this evil was brought sharply to the attention of the Kehukee Association by Martin Ross in the Circular Letter on "The Maintenance of the Ministry," found in the Minutes of the Association for 1791. According to the directions of the last Association, says Ross, he is making a few observations on the necessary support of gospel ministers, though he is sorry that there should be the least occasion to write or speak on the subject. The principal reason, he thinks, for the remissness of the churches in this duty is that the people were formerly grievously oppressed by an ecclesiastical establishment in raising money for the support of ministers of a contrary sentiment. But this establishment has been abolished by the late most glorious Revolution. Now some have fallen into an error on the other hand and are condemning the practice of a minister receiving anything at all for his ministerial labors. Then he gives many quotations from Scripture to prove that ministers of the Gospel are justly entitled to a comfortable maintenance from the people. But the neglect of duty by the people is glaring.

By this sad neglect the poor ministers of the gospel are necessarily obliged to follow their worldly avocations for the support of themselves and their families, which prevents them from reading the holy scriptures, meditating, preaching constantly, and giving themselves wholly to the work-which weakens their hands, dulls their ideas,

cools their zeal, and of necessity they are not so profitable to the churches or the cause of Christ in general.

A circular letter on the same subject is found in the Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1812, while in 1830 Thomas Meredith repeated and amplified the whole argument in the address, *To the Baptists of North Carolina*, prefixed to the Minutes of the first session of the Baptist State Convention.

But disregarding all appeals many churches continued to refuse to contribute for the support of a minister. The result was that it soon came to pass that these churches, if served by a minister at all, were served by one who was poor in character, weak in intellect, and with barely enough education to spell out the Scriptures. There is plenty of evidence that in the Kehukee Association the evil consequences of admitting such men to the ministry was felt and deprecated.<sup>3</sup> But no effectual means of debarring the unfit was found either in the Kehukee Association or any other in the State.<sup>4</sup> The number of such preachers seems to have increased from year to year. In addition to the very serious injury they brought to the churches, of which I shall speak presently, they left the newcomer among our people with the impression that all other Baptist preachers were like themselves.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Burkitt and Read, *History of the Kehukee Association*, for year 1778, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 113 f, says that Dr. Joseph Caldwell, shortly after his arrival at Chapel Hill in October, 1796, wrote: "One reason why religion is scouted from the most influential part of society, is that it is taught only by ranters with whom it seems to consist only in the powers of their throats and the wildness of their gesticulations and distortions."

<sup>5</sup> The last note indicates how Dr. Caldwell was impressed. Dr. Samuel Wait, himself a Baptist preacher, and later President of Wake Forest College, got a like impression of the quality of the Baptist ministry of the State thirty years later. He says: "The first Association I had the pleasure of attending was the Neuse, held in that year in October, at Old Town Creek, in the county of Edgecombe. Only a short time was necessary to convince the most casual observer that the state of things in the churches composing that body was lamentably low. This was but too obvious from the tone of the preaching heard at the meeting, and from the character of the discussions introduced into the Association." J. B. Brewer, "Life and Labors of Samuel Wait," in *N. C. Baptist Historical Papers*, Vol. I, 9 f.

In some associations these uneducated and ignorant preachers kept the churches unprogressive, and by so doing starved out and displaced the preachers who were interested in Sunday schools, education and missions. They themselves were ready and eager to preach without stipulated price, claiming that they freely received their messages from the Lord and would freely give them to the people. Hence they decried traveling preachers and paid missionaries, and all other preachers abler than themselves, as hirelings who preached for filthy lucre. Their combined influence, with their specious appeal to Scripture and their indirect appeal to the covetousness of the members of the churches, was sufficient to stifle the progress and often the very life of the churches. In wide reaches of the country south of the Roanoke we have the sad spectacle of Baptist churches dwindling in number of members year after year and finally becoming extinct. There was nothing in the preaching of such men to minister to the needs of the young people of the day who were now beginning to get an education. Hence districts in which once Baptists alone had churches were left destitute, and the Christians without a shepherd, until ministers of other faiths came and gathered them into their churches.

To check this growing evil which threatened to affect the entire Baptist membership of the State was no little work. In the good providence of God there was found a man for the place, one well acquainted with the forces he had to combat. This was Martin Ross of whose circular letter on the "Support of the Ministry" we have already spoken. In 1786 he had been ordained pastor of the church of Skewarkee in his native town of Williamston; in 1796 he had gone to the church at Yoppim, near Elizabeth City; ten years later he had gone to a church, which he had a part in constituting, at Bethel, Perquimans County, and this church he served until his death in 1827. In 1803 he had called the churches of the Kehukee Association to support foreign missions, and it was he who more than any other man brought the Baptists of the Chowan Association to feel the need of an educated ministry,

a condition necessarily precedent to the founding of a college.<sup>6</sup>

Ross did not himself have a classical education. Very few of the American Baptist ministers of his day were so educated. Asplund<sup>7</sup> in his roll of Baptist preachers for 1790 names only a few who had a college degree, and not one among the seventy-seven ordained ministers and an equal number of licentiates accredited to North Carolina.

By way of explanation it may be said that in these early days no need of much education was felt by many Baptist preachers. They were ministering to an uneducated people who could understand only a simple gospel, people who needed preachers enough like themselves to understand their infirmities and to minister to them in a sympathetic spirit. Though the ignorant and reactionary Baptist preachers mentioned above were hindering the progress of the churches, there were many of the class we are now discussing. They were far from being ignorant, even though of meagre education. They were most often planters, of good families and naturally intelligent, men of influence in their communities, who became preachers from a sense of obligation to minister to the religious needs of their neighbors. But none of them except Martin Ross had the qualities necessary for leadership in a reform. "His attainments," says Meredith in a

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<sup>6</sup> In the circular letter of the Chowan Association for 109, Ross addressed some cautious words to the preachers of the Association. He says: " 'Tis the great work of a minister to teach men, but particularly to teach men in the way of the Lord; and ministers therefore should be well instructed themselves in the way of the Lord. You are to feed the flock with knowledge and understanding. It is therefore essentially necessary for you to be blessed with knowledge and understanding yourselves. 'Such as I have I give unto thee.' Acts 3:4. But that which you have not you cannot give. O! brethren, give yourselves to reading, and aim to be like Apollos, mighty in the Scriptures. Where is the man that has dived so far in them that he can go no farther? Many have said respecting the knowledge necessary or useful to a minister: 'The Spirit of God needs none of man's learning.' With much greater truth and propriety it may be said, 'The Spirit of God needs no man's ignorance.' Knowledge brethren, sound gospel knowledge, is what is necessary; noises and rant, confusion and uproar, may set the world a gazing, but divine truth--it is the mighty force of divine truth that turns souls to God."

<sup>7</sup> John Asplund, *The Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America*, 1791.



"Memoir" found in the Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1828, "were highly respectable." Although he laid no claims to the reputation of a classical or critical scholar, yet he possessed an ample fund of general and useful knowledge, and on various subjects of practical importance his influence was accurate and extensive. Although denied the advantages of a liberal education he had not failed to enrich his mind, naturally lucid and vigorous, with the various fruits of observation, reflection and extensive reading. He possessed an accurate knowledge of the leading doctrines of the gospel; was familiar with the general history of the Christian church; had considerable acquaintance with the most approved theological writers; was held in much repute for his skill in church government ; and knew much of human nature and the world."

We have seen above that as early as 1790 Ross was already interested in the improvement of the Baptist ministry. Doubtless his general outlook was widened and his interest in an educated ministry stimulated by reading *Rippon's Baptist Register*, an ably edited periodical published in London, giving information of Baptist activities, of their missions, churches, schools and colleges, all over the world, and in addition much information of a more general nature with reference to other denominations and educational institutions of all kinds. This periodical was begun in 1790, and continued for thirteen years. In 1791 the Kehukee Association agreed to take fifty copies, one of which doubtless came into the hands of Martin Ross.<sup>8</sup>

It was in 1809 that Ross brought before the Chowan Association a proposition for forming a "meeting of correspondence." At first this was intended to embrace only the Chowan, Kehukee and Portsmouth Associations. But next year the scope of the proposed organization was enlarged and a committee was appointed to invite all the Associations in North Carolina to join in the meeting. The organization was finally effected at the Falls of the Tar (Rocky Mount) on Friday before the second Sun

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<sup>8</sup> See *Rippon's Register*, I, 298.

day in June, 1811. The original purpose of the "Meeting of Correspondence" was to "acquire and disseminate information upon religious topics, to promote the cause of God, and to increase brotherly love." But it soon became noised abroad that one of its real purposes was to raise money for the education of ministers. Some support was given to this supposition by an expression in an "Address to all the Baptist Associations and churches of the State," authorized by the annual meeting of 1812, held in Raleigh, in which it was said: "The preaching of the gospel is a business which we should all ardently seek to promote." At any rate, before the meeting of 1813 a very furore had arisen in some Associations, against any suggestion of raising a fund for ministerial education, and some ardently reactionary Baptists were making this one of their objections to the "Meeting of Correspondence." This is taken into account in a Circular Letter of the Meeting for 1813, written by a committee consisting of Elders Wm. Lancaster, Robert T. Daniel and Josiah Crudup. Though, as will appear below, this objection existed only on the imagination of some suspicious brethren, the committee dignified it with a reply, and at the same time let their own views be known in no uncertain terms. I give it entire as indicating how the need of an educated ministry was already felt by the more progressive North Carolina Baptists of 1813:

To this meeting it is also objected, "that the design is to raise a fund for the education of young ministers of the gospel." Permit us, brethren, in all the plain simplicity of Christians, to ask whence this objection? It is not found among the proposed objects of this meeting. Shall we be told that the Baptist General Meeting of Virginia has such in prospect? Suppose she has; and suppose, further, that she had actually brought such a thing into existence, would that prove that the General Meeting of North Carolina would pursue the same course? Is it not known that the Charleston Baptist Association has such a fund? And are there not many other Baptists who have it not? If, then, other associations can exist without such a fund, the laudable establishment of Charleston notwithstanding, doubtless other General Meetings may exist without following in all respects the examples of that in Virginia. But suppose some future General

Meeting should conceive such a design, and being patronized by the associations and churches, should create such a fund, where would be the harm? What evils would arise from such a decision? Shall we be told that the present aged servants of the Lord will be outshone by these brilliant stars? Does this objection proceed from the spirit that actuated Moses when he said, "Would to God that all of God's people were prophets," or from the declaration of an apostle, who says, "The spirit within us lusteth to envy"? If from the former, how does it appear? But if from the latter, how inconsistent with the declaration and desire of the first Baptist! "He must increase, but I must decrease." Would it not be much more honorable for those objectors, could they possess the happy temper of mind of an aged minister in Virginia, who has frequently been heard to say, "Would to God every Baptist preacher in the world had more grace, better talents, and was more useful than myself." But, alas, this degree of humility is not the portion of all while in this imperfect state; but it is the duty of all to seek after it. However, for the consolation of such as have the above objection, we have the satisfaction to say that such an establishment will never injure them; for should such a thing ever be brought into existence, ere it should produce the consequence which they at present dread, they will be delivered from their present imperfections, and if they are permitted to revisit the abode of mortals, will, with holy rapture, behold the flourishing state of Zion, rejoicing that the Lord promotes his cause by abler instruments than they were while engaged in it here below.<sup>9</sup>

The above statement indicates that while no provision for ministerial education was made by the General Meeting of Correspondence yet it had staunch friends among the most influential Baptists of the State. The most active of these, so far as our records reveal, was Martin Ross. He seems to have been reconciled to the discontinuation of the General Meeting of Correspondence in 1821, probably for the reason that that being a creature of the Associations any progressive measure might be vetoed by one of them; there was no hope that it could ever be made to serve the Baptists of the State in the promotion of missions and education. Hardly had the Meeting of Correspondence held its last

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<sup>9</sup> From "The Minutes of the General Meeting of Correspondence," published in the *Wake Forest Student* for September, 1907. Only the minutes of the years 1812, 1813, 1814, 1816, are given. There were meetings also in 1815, and in the years 1817-21.

meeting when Ross became active in planning for a new organization which should be free to pursue progressive measures. He brought the matter to the attention of the Chowan Association at Shiloh, in 1826, and was appointed chairman of a committee "to correspond with the Associations of this State with a view of forming a State Convention, and report to our next Association."

But Ross was already a sick man, and was also suffering bereavement for his wife and his only son by his second marriage. He was not able to report anything done at the next meeting of the Association, and he died in 1827. He left his ideals in the hearts of his fellow laborers, who, in 1830, carried them to completion in the formation of the Baptist State Convention.

And it may be said here that it was in accord with the plans of Ross that one of the two prime objects of the new Convention should be to provide for the education of ministers. This matter was on his heart in his last years. Addressing the Chowan Association, at Cowenjock, in 1824, he rose shortly before adjournment, and warned the body against too great readiness to accept and ordain unfit ministers. Showing the zeal for the cause of Christ which had always characterized him, but conscious that because of his age he would be able but a little longer to urge this important matter on the Association, he manifested a solicitude for the improvement of the ministry that brought a flood of tears to his hearers.<sup>10</sup> At the next meeting of the Association, in 1825, Ross again brought up the subject, and on his motion a committee was appointed, of which he was chairman, to report upon "the most judicious method of encouraging young gifts in the Church from their first exercise until the time of ordination." This committee made only a partial report at this meeting, and owing probably to Ross's ill health no further report was ever made. That his zeal in this cause was great and well known is indicated by the statement of Meredith in the Memoir already mentioned. "It is but just to add," says Meredith, "that he was

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<sup>10</sup> Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1824.

an earnest friend to intellectual improvement, especially among his brethren in the ministry. . . . He was an open and steadfast advocate for an improved and well taught ministry. He heartily disapproved of the practice too prevalent among our churches, of admitting candidates to the sacred office, without precaution, and before they were sufficiently qualified."

Before Ross died he found a man upon whom his mantle was to fall. This was Thomas Meredith, whom Ross had welcomed on his coming from Philadelphia to Edenton in 1817, and whom he had made his confidant and ally in his plans for a Baptist State Convention.<sup>11</sup> And it was Meredith who wrote the Constitution of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina adopted on its organization, March 26, 1830. In that Constitution the education of young men called of God to preach the gospel is mentioned first, but coordinate with missions, as one of the two great objects of the Convention. We shall see how this resulted in founding Wake Forest College. But our next task must be to trace the footsteps of Samuel Wait as he came to the Greenville Convention to share with Meredith and the others in the great enterprise.

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<sup>11</sup> "At Edenton, twelve miles from Hertford and ten miles from the home of

Ross, Thomas Meredith had settled ten years before, 1817. Ross had been to him as a father on his coming into the State; had introduced him to the brethren and had taken him as a companion on his frequent evangelistic journeys. Together they had organized the church at Tarborough in 1819. They had conversed freely on the proposed Convention; its importance, the practicability of it and the best methods of bringing it to pass. The idea fascinated him, and after the death of his friend he set himself to carry it into effect." Huffman, *N. C. Baptist Historical Papers*, II, 226.

### III

#### SAMUEL WAIT AND THE CONVENTION

Samuel Wait,<sup>1</sup> one of the men who helped institute the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, and who was afterwards the first President of Wake Forest College, was born in Washington County, New York, December 19, 1789. In 1806 his father, Joseph Wait, moved to Middletown, Vermont, where on March 12, 1809, Samuel Wait was baptized by Elder Sylvanus Haynes into the membership of the Baptist Church. In 1813 Wait felt called to preach. To prepare himself for his calling he entered Salem Academy in Washington County, New York, where he studied Greek and Hebrew under "the celebrated linguist, Professor James Stephenson." Even at this early day he saw the importance of an education for the ministerial calling, and is reported to have said: "I have a great work to perform, and am anxious to begin it. It is an arduous and tiresome work to get ready, but I dare not begin till I feel some strength to meet the infidel on his own ground, and this strength at this day must be derived from study." On July 13, 1815, the church at Middletown licensed him to preach for one year, and gave him unlimited license on December 16, 1815. A year later he became pastor of the Baptist Church at Sharon, Massachusetts, which church called him to ordination as a full minister on June 3, 1818. Two weeks later he married Miss Sarah Merriam, a daughter of Jonathan Merriam, and a first cousin of Rev. T. J. Conant, D.D. As a wife she proved a true helpmeet for her husband in his

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<sup>1</sup> The most important sources for the life of Dr. Wait are "The Origin and Early History of Wake Forest College," by Samuel Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. 2; "Our College," by L. R. Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. 3; "Early Life of Dr. Samuel Wait," by W. L. Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. 5; "Life of Samuel Wait, D.D.," by John B. Brewer, *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, Vol. 1; A Manuscript Journal printed and edited with notes by C. E. Taylor in *Wake Forest Student*, IV, 365 ff. *Ibid.*, 417 ff. numerous letters of Wait in the *Biblical Recorder*, 1835-1865, and notebooks of Dr. Samuel Wait, the records of the Board of Trustees and of the Faculty of Wake Forest College, and the minutes of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina.

further work of preparation and in his labors in North Carolina. With the aid of his wife, who had a kind of millinery establishment, Wait soon entered a school in Philadelphia, and afterwards went to Columbian College, now George Washington University in Washington, at that time a Baptist institution.<sup>2</sup>

On October 8, 1822, Wait became a tutor in Columbian College and continued as such until the summer of 1826, when he resigned because of the financial embarrassment of the institution. It is interesting to note that he had already shown the traits that afterwards distinguished him. A letter of the faculty relative to his resignation states:

He has distinguished himself as a faithful, able, and assiduous officer. His manners have been uniformly amiable, and his conduct as a Christian professor and as a preacher of the glorious gospel of the Blessed God highly exemplary. It is with sincere regret that the faculty of the College have learned that he intends retiring from a station which with so much honor to himself and so much advantage to the pupils he has filled.<sup>3</sup>

The financial straits of Columbian College were to have a determining influence on the future career of Wait. For when on October 23, 1826, Dr. William Staughton was elected "an agent of the Board to obtain subscriptions for the relief of the institution," he chose Wait as his assistant. Leaving Washington on December 27, 1826, they visited Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk, where they were on January 15. At this last place,

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<sup>2</sup> Brewer, "Life of Samuel Wait, D.D.," *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, Vol. I. Mr. Brewer, a grandson, gives the following statement about Mrs. Wait: "She was indeed a wife from the Lord, for the success of his work in after years was very largely due to her support and assistance.... When he first went to Philadelphia to school he was greatly encouraged and assisted by his wife. If he thought he needed more education, she determined that, so far as she could, she would help him. She kept, in a small way, what would now be called a millinery establishment, and occasionally would send him the profits of it. Once she sent him fifty dollars, which was lost on the way and never recovered. Of course this was a trying loss to them. Traveling was then very expensive, and they had to deny themselves the pleasure of occasional visits. As a fact, they were separated two years and seven months without seeing each other."

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

owing to the high stage fare, they bought a horse and wagon, and in this conveyance proceeded to Edenton, arriving there on February 6, 1827.<sup>4</sup>

At Edenton they met the Reverend Thomas Meredith, pastor of the Baptist Church, who wrote a letter recommending Wait to the Church at New Bern, a former charge of Meredith, but now without a pastor. Wait and Staughton reached New Bern on February 9. After a short stay there they were leaving town when their horse ran away, throwing Staughton out and demolishing the wagon. On this account they returned to New Bern and remained there a month, in which time Wait preached four times in the Baptist church and twice in the Presbyterian church. The result was that when he arrived at Charleston on March 23 he received a letter from the New Bern church inviting him to become its pastor. On his return he accepted the call. In July he went back to the North, and brought his family to New Bern in November.

During his first visit to New Bern Wait became somewhat acquainted with the condition of North Carolina Baptists. The Baptist church in New Bern was a member of the Neuse Association, which at that time had followed the Kehukee Association in passing a resolution "not to have anything to do by way of fellowship with a person belonging to a missionary, tract, education or Bible Society." Though the New Bern church "mourned" this it could not prevent it. The same year, in October, Wait attended a meeting of the Neuse Association at Old Town Creek, and gained the unfavorable opinion of the ministry and the churches spoken of above. Discussing this he says:

But a few years before the meeting to which I now refer, I was informed, a furious debate had sprung up that threatened to destroy

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<sup>4</sup> In a letter to his wife written from Edenton he says: "We came into this town Saturday last and calculate to leave tomorrow. We find the people very hospitable and kind. Nothing is more common when strangers come to town than for their friends to invite them to dinners and other meals almost every day. I am now staying at the house of Dr. Collin Skinner, a Baptist, and own brother of Rev. Thomas Skinner, of Philadelphia, who is so highly esteemed for his superior talents."



the very existence of the Association touching the expediency of preaching funeral sermons. Not a few of the strongest men of that day took the ground that the practice in question was a monstrous evil. Much, too, going to show the actual condition of the churches could be learned from the kind of questions sent up for discussion, and the answers given, and from the minutes published by the Association. . . These minutes were generally found on four pages of small size, giving only the most common statistics, such as had occurred during the preceding year. . . . On examining these minutes you look in vain for anything going to show that the churches were awake to the idea that they were living under a heavy responsibility to God, and that it was the duty of the churches composing the body to combine their whole strength for the purpose of doing the largest possible amount of good.

While in Charleston, South Carolina, in March and April, 1827, Wait had consulted Rev. Basil Manly, a native North Carolinian, as to the expediency of attempting at once the formation of a Baptist State Convention in North Carolina. Though Manly did not think the time had yet come, he did not doubt that a convention could be formed in a few years, as North Carolina Baptists already had as a stimulus in that direction similar conventions in Virginia and South Carolina.

There is no intimation in any word of Wait that he had ever heard of the work of Martin Ross and the Meeting of Correspondence. And this is the more strange since Wait was a close friend of Meredith who knew well the events in North Carolina Baptist history that preceded the establishment of the Convention. It is possible that Meredith failed to see the full significance of the work of Ross.

. In 1829, soon after Wait had begun his work in New Bern, the North Carolina Baptist Benevolent Society was formed. Though Wait was not present, the Society called upon him to preach the introductory sermon at its second annual meeting at Greenville, March 26, 1830. This fact is sufficient to show that he was already known as a preacher of ability and standing, and one in hearty sympathy with missions, Sunday Schools, and education which the more progressive Baptists of the State were beginning to consider in real earnest.

Wait's text for his sermon on that memorable occasion was Matthew 9:36-38, "But when he saw the multitudes he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest." No outline of the sermon has been preserved, but we are safe, I think, in conjecturing that the burden of the sermon was the necessity of giving a vital gospel to the people of North Carolina. And it was most probably this sermon that either suggested the fitness of Wait for the place of General Agent of the Convention or confirmed that view already entertained by the members of the Convention from his previous reputation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A word as to the formation and purpose of the Benevolent Society will not be amiss here. It had been formed at Greenville, on Tuesday, February 10, 1829. Who was the prime mover in the enterprise is unknown to me, nor is it told in the minutes of the meeting printed in a volume of the *Baptist Historical Papers*, nor do I know how many were present or on what principle of selection those present had been assembled. Certainly, they were not appointed by associations or churches. The only indication in the constitution that the "subscribers" owed any denominational allegiance is the provision in Article 4 that all officers and all on the Board of Directors be members of Baptist churches. Article 2 states that, "Every person" subscribing to the Constitution and paying the sum of five dollars and thereafter two dollars and fifty cents annually shall be a member of the Society. Article 1 declares that, "The exclusive object of this Society shall be to raise funds and appropriate them to the support of traveling ministers for preaching the Gospel and administering its ordinances within the bounds of North Carolina."

It is not clear just who were present "according to previous appointment." But Elder P. W. Dowd of Raleigh preached, H. Austin of Tarborough was chosen moderator and R. Blount of Greenville, Secretary. Elder P. W. Dowd explained the object of the meeting, and Elder T. D. Mason proposed the adoption of the Constitution. P. P. Lawrence of Tarborough was appointed Corresponding Secretary, and H. Austin of Tarborough, Treasurer. A Board of thirty-seven Directors, some of them as far west as Stokes County, was appointed. But many of them were not present. Elder P. W. Dowd was to have printed four hundred copies of the minutes with a circular letter to be written by him.

In accordance with a resolution passed in the meeting of the Board of Directors had a meeting in Tarborough in the following June and resolved to appoint agents in different parts of the State "for the purpose of soliciting subscribers, receiving donations, forming Auxiliary Societies, and remitting said funds to the Society." Following this, P. P. Lawrence, Corresponding

Those present at the meeting in Greenville on March 26, 1830, as shown in the minutes, were P. W. Dowd and R. M. Guffee, of Raleigh; Wm. P. Biddle, Samuel Wait and John Armstrong of Craven County; Thos. Meredith of Edenton; Charles W. Skinner of Perquimans; Elder J. McDaniel of Cumberland; H. Austin, P. P. Lawrence and R. S. Long of Tarborough; and Thos. D. Mason, Geo. Stokes and R. S. Blount of Greenville, fourteen in all. Of these, seven, Dowd, Biddle, Wait, Armstrong, Meredith, McDaniel and Mason were ministers. On March 27, Brother J. Hartmus of Tarborough; another delegate, and on March 29, Samuel Simpson of Fort Barnwell, also came and took their seats.

The minutes show that as the first new business of the meeting the following resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote: *Resolved*, That this Society be transformed into a State Convention.

The motion was made by Wait.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately thereafter Brother Thomas Meredith read a constitution which he had brought with him already prepared. After some friendly discussion and a few alterations it was unanimously adopted.<sup>7</sup>

The readiness with which the Benevolent Society resolved itself into the "Baptist State Convention of North Carolina," and adopted a Constitution already prepared would seem to indicate that there had been previous discussion and argument on this course of action among the members of the Society. In fact, as

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Secretary, wrote a circular letter to many in the State. A copy of the letter is before me. During the year the report of the Treasurer shows that a total of \$225.62 was received, of which \$220.62 went to missions and \$35.00 to education.

<sup>6</sup> Hufham, N. C. *Baptist Historical Papers*, Vol. II, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Wait in his Journal says: "Never in all my life, have I seen manifested a better spirit than was exhibited on that occasion. Our late lamented Brother Thomas Meredith, then living in Edenton, was present, and having anticipated the wishes of the brethren, had drawn up a constitution, such as he supposed would substantially embrace their views. This document was read, article by article, and a free and friendly discussion took place. Some amendments and alterations were made, when with entire unanimity the constitution was adopted."

may be seen from the note above, the Benevolent Society was already contemplating the appointment of agents. It was also already giving money for education. The Constitution of the Convention proves on examination to be that of the Benevolent Society recast and amended, but with the addition of two or three important new features. The objects of the new Convention are three: first, "the education of young men called of God to the ministry," which was no part of the published program of the Benevolent Society; second, "employment of missionaries within the limits of the State," which had been the exclusive object of the Society; and third, "co peration with the Baptist General Convention of the United States in the promotion of missions in general." Recognizing the necessity of making known its purposes to the Baptists of the State, the Convention provided in its constitution for "an adequate number of agents whose duty shall be to visit Associations, churches, etc."

On the request of the Convention, Rev. Thomas Meredith prepared a circular to be attached to the thousand copies of the minutes which were ordered printed. This circular is entitled "To the Baptists of North Carolina," and contains sixteen pages. As a statement of principles and an apology for a new enterprise it is hardly too much to say that it ranks with the Declaration of Independence. It has the same clear statement and interpretation of pertinent facts, the same lucid reasoning, the same consciousness of right, the same enthusiasm for the new undertaking, the same calm courage, and the same vision of future success. Perhaps the rhetoric is a little less restrained than a less enthusiastic writer would have allowed himself, but it is a paper which the Baptists of the State will always regard with reverent satisfaction as an able and adequate exposition of the reasons, purposes, hopes, aspirations and visions which inspired our fathers to begin their organized work in the State. It deserves, I am sure, much more than the faint praise Hufham saw fit to bestow upon it, to wit, "From the point of view of a man

who knew but little about the State or its people, it was an able and eloquent production."<sup>8</sup>

For the present purpose I must be content to give only so much of the paper as will indicate how powerfully it must have brought home to the Baptists of the State the need of an educated ministry.

We, the Baptists of this State, have been practicing a system in almost all respects calculated to limit our resources, to paralyze our energies, and to impede our advancement in the progress of literary and evangelical improvement.

As we have had in operation no measures for the instruction of persons called to the ministry, those whose talents and attainments had been such as to induce a relish and a desire for the advantages of study, have been led to neighboring states, in order to secure the facilities they sought. And as our churches have generally wanted the means, and in very many cases the inclination, to afford their ministers a just and adequate compensation, those whose services were most valuable, have been withdrawn to other sections of the country, where they were offered that support which was denied them at home. The natural and necessary tendency of those things has been, not merely to prevent the ingress of valuable men from abroad, but also, to drain the State of the best talent of native growth, and to leave behind only those, whose qualifications were not of sufficient value to command the attention of churches in sister states. We do not mean to assert that the operation of these causes has been such as to leave no exceptions; but we mean that, like other efficient causes, their effect has been constant and uniform. And it is confidently believed, that to the agency of these causes is to be attributed that depressed state of the ministry in North Carolina which has made it almost a by-word and term of reproach throughout the country....

And it is to be borne in mind, that the causes which have hitherto operated, and engendered so much detriment, if not arrested will still continue to operate, and to propagate their pernicious consequences, in an increased ratio. In proportion as the neighboring states, by their present enlightened policy, multiply the facilities for improving candidates for the ministry, and increase the demand among their

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<sup>8</sup> "The Baptists in North Carolina," *N. C. Baptist Historical Papers*, II, 228.

churches for pastors of superior qualifications, in that some proportion will they augment their liability to extract from us whatever of talent and attainment may grow up amongst us. And in proportion as society advances in intellectual acquirements, and as other denominations present their ministers of cultivated manners and enlightened minds, just in the same proportion our ministry, and of course our churches, must fall behind in power and respectability; and there is nothing short of a miracle, that can avert the threatened mischief, but a seasonable and well directed effort to do away with the causes of evil already considered. The Baptists of North Carolina may inveigh against education, and the claims of ministers, and the employment of missionaries . . . and they may go on to persuade themselves that God's ministers should be compelled to preach, whether supported or not; and that God will do his work in his own time, independently of human agency; while their brethren in other states are draining away their efficient ministers, and those of other denominations are coming in and possessing the land; but they have got to learn, at last, that there is no way of preventing the natural effect of efficient causes, but by the application of adequate means....

These vigorous statements of Meredith revealed the condition of the North Carolina Baptist ministry and doubtless did much to create a demand among our people for a college. But his words would have soon been forgotten had not the Convention gone on to appoint a General Agent to travel through the State, visit Baptist churches and Associations, explain the objects of the Convention, and invite cooperation. The Baptists denomination of that day in North Carolina had no periodical through which the Convention could communicate its purposes to its membership of perhaps twenty thousand scattered over the length and breadth of the State. A General Agent with the functions indicated above was a necessity, and on him to no little degree depended the success or failure of the new enterprise.

Through the blessings of God the Convention was led to choose Samuel Wait as the proper man for the office. For it, he had many obvious qualifications. Although a man of education and culture he had been reared on a farm, and thus had developed a sympathy for the classes among whom he was to travel and work. He was simple in his language, had conciliatory manners

and a great amount of tact, and never allowed himself to get ruffled or drawn into profitless discussions with contentious adversaries of whom he found the woods full. In other words he had much wisdom and commonsense. Furthermore, he was keenly aware of the destitution among the Baptists of North Carolina and the poor quality of their ministry. He was impelled to accept the work from a stern sense of Christian duty and from the consciousness that no other man could be found to do it.<sup>9</sup>

Having chosen a General Agent, the Convention was ready for its work. Wait tells us that at its final meeting "a deep and solemn feeling seemed to pervade the entire body." In sending him forth it seemed to have that strong sense of responsibility that the Church at Antioch had when it sent forth the first missionaries. It was committing its all to him. He was to go among people often suspicious of its purposes. He was to do his work single-handed, backed by churches few and feeble. But after

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<sup>9</sup> Wait says with reference to his accepting the work: "A difficulty now presented itself. I came with reluctance to North Carolina. All of the family friends of myself and wife were left behind. Before any step had been taken for the formation of the Convention, I had commenced negotiations preparatory to a return to the church of which I had been ordained pastor. The arrangements were nearly completed. Only one obstacle stood in my way. A stern sense of duty had brought me to North Carolina after I had been favored with some opportunity to know the actual condition of the churches.

"I could not, therefore, forget the last meeting I enjoyed with a large number of my friends at the North before leaving for a residence in North Carolina. The text was, 'For ye are not your own,' etc. It was a deeply affecting time. I was preaching in the pulpit first occupied by my venerated grandfather Wait whose ashes were then reposing within fifty yards of the spot on which I stood. Before me was a large congregation, composed to a great extent of my relatives and friends. Within a short distance, in plain sight, stood (and as I hope still stands) the house in which I was born. Many of the older portion of the congregation had known me from infancy. As I was now about to send myself off from all the associations and endearments which naturally cluster around the place of one's nativity, I was anxious to let them know that I was influenced solely by a conscientious view of what appeared to be duty. And when, nearly three years afterwards I was led by a train of circumstance to deliberate upon the question whether it was my duty to leave North Carolina, I could not forget the considerations that brought me at first to this State. ... One circumstance contributed not a little in causing me to accept the Agency. And that was, if I failed there seemed not the remotest possibility of obtaining the services of any other man."-From *Wait's Journal*.

getting such instructions as the Convention though best he set out. And shall we not say, as was said of Paul and Barnabas, "being sent forth of the Holy Ghost?"

For the first year, as appears from the minutes, the salary of the General Agent was to be \$35 a month. Outfit for traveling and all expenses were to be paid by the Agent himself. Wait addressed himself to the work before him "with as little loss of time as possible."<sup>10</sup>

From Wait's report to the Convention at its meeting at Rogers' Cross Roads in Wake County the next year, 1831, we learn that he first spent several weeks in the eastern counties and organized Auxiliary Societies in Carteret, Pitt, Lenoir, and Duplin. Then he turned his attention to counties higher up in the State and organized Auxiliary Societies in Orange, Chatham, Moore, Montgomery, Richmond, Anson, and Davidson. He was more successful in this work of organization in Chatham and Anson than in the other counties, organizing seven in each. The report further names the counties of Jones, Mecklenburg and Stokes, as among those visited, and from which aid might be expected. But the General Agent seemed to have been most encouraged by his reception at the Sandy Creek Association which met in October, 1830, with the church at Love's Creek, two miles east of the present Siler City. He tells us that, "The brethren were much pleased to hear of this Institution, and with great unanimity immediately passed the most friendly res-

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<sup>10</sup> Dr. Wait's daughter, who later became the wife of Mr. J. M. Brewer and the mother of a noble family of sons and daughters including Mr. John B. Brewer and President Charles E. Brewer of Meredith College gives the following description of the conveyance used in their travels: "Imagine a covered jersey wagon of good size-a seat across the middle accommodated father and mother; while in front at the mother's feet was ample room for a little space in which sat their little daughter, about four years old when this work was commenced. In front of the father's feet was a good-sized lunch basket. Along with the basket was a large bottle which was often filled with milk for the comfort of the travelers; sometimes the milk was churned to butter. Behind the middle seat there was room for three trunks of pretty good size. This conveyance was the home of the little family-all the home they had-for two or three years, as they zigzagged back and forth from the mountains to the seaboard."



olutions, expressive of their approbation and their entire willingness to render us assistance."<sup>11</sup>

But not all was smooth sailing. The new plan encountered many violent storms of opposition. In many of the churches there were members who, according to the report, "really believe that the friends of education wish to educate young men for the ministry who are yet in the gall of bitterness, and that the whole missionary concern, together with Bible and Tract Societies, is only a mere speculation." And opposition was being purposely set up by the circulation of printed matter, and in some instances by the pulpit. Endeavors were also made to raise suspicion of the honest appropriation of the money contributed. On the other hand the more enlightened everywhere, both church members and many who were not, gave their enthusiastic support. During the year Wait preached 243 sermons and baptized nine. His report was received by the Convention with much enthusiasm and he was requested to continue as General Agent for another year, and "receive one dollar a day as compensation for his services."

At this Convention a Committee on Education consisting of J. Armstrong, N. G. Smith, and W. R. Hinton was appointed and reported. Their report was adopted but not printed in the minutes. Yet, it is reasonably certain that it contained no recommendation as to the establishment of a college, since a resolution was passed accepting "the offer of Elder J. Armstrong to educate young men for the ministry, and the Board was authorized to send such young men as they may approve to him, or to some school, and to defray the expense as far as the funds of the Convention will admit." The Convention was careful to assure the churches by prescribing definite and rigid rules for the admission of beneficiaries.<sup>12</sup>

The first Association which Wait visited in the second year

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<sup>11</sup> For the resolutions see Purefoy, *History of the Sandy Creek Association*.

<sup>12</sup> As these rules were long used by the Board of Education in passing on the admission of beneficiaries who desired to become students of Wake Forest College, I will give them below when I come to discuss the work of that Board.

was the Chowan. Here he was encouraged by warm and friendly resolutions. Turning his course westward and preaching at as many churches as possible, he visited the counties of Wilkes, Ashe, and Burke and attended the meetings of the Mountain, the Catawba River, and the Brier Creek Associations. While he was given a respectable hearing everywhere he says especially with reference to the Brier Creek Association that he "was much gratified to find the brethren ready to come into the measures of the Convention as soon as the nature of the Institution was fully understood." Late in the autumn he began to retrace his steps eastward.

But as in the year before the work of Wait aroused opposition from men who took great pains to counteract all that he had done the first year. They were assiduously distributing among the congregations he had visited pamphlets with misrepresentations and abuse. Wait says in his second annual report to the Convention:<sup>13</sup>

It is too often that I find myself in congregations composed to a great extent of persons totally unacquainted with the subject of

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<sup>13</sup> The character of the pamphlets issued to counteract the work of Wait may be judged from the following excerpts from the *North Carolina Whig's Apology*, published in 1830. Its author was Joshua Lawrence who in 1827 led the Kehukee Association to withdraw from their missionary brethren, and who later in 1833 by a pamphlet signed "Clodhopper" almost induced the North Carolina General Assembly to deny a charter to Wake Forest Institute.

From page 27. Hear again-2 Corinthians, VIII:21: "Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men." And tell, if you can, how to provide for honest things in the sight of God and men, but by following some honest, lawful calling, according to the laws of God and man? And if begging money from honest laborers and the poor, is so, according to the laws of God, by a hearty, hale young man-if this is honesty, God keep me from that honesty. If he's employed by a society to beg for money, and tell people it is to send the gospel to the destitute, and they give the money for that purpose and the beggar not to tell them that he and the society have made a bargain for a dollar a day to beg for them-and when the beggar returning with his booty he gets a great part-reader is this providing things honest in the sight of God and man? And if a society should hire an agent at \$40 per month, to go about and form societies, and he promise them preaching or to send them preachers for their money and send none-would this be honesty? Would it be lying for gain? Say, if a man should do this, would it be providing things honestly in the sight of God or men? North Carolinians

missions. It is perfectly astonishing to find what monstrous tales have been propagated among this class of persons and by them believed; and it is painful in the extreme to see how far in some instances brethren of more information and occasionally ministers of the Gospel have employed and are now employing their influence

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know whether any or more of such things have been done or not by priests. And if a missionary should be so zealous as to make appointments, form societies in meeting houses where the whole church was opposed to missions, and prevent church conferences without consulting the feelings of the church might we not say, bow down that I may go over you, or stand aside, ye little folks, and let these stout fellows come-money makes the mare go.

From page 24-25. Away then with your modern unscriptural, begging, title-selling systems, the inventions of men to aggrandize priests and receive cash, from doctor to printer. And I am sorry to say that it is my candid opinion that this moneyed religion is the religion of covetous priests and the devil; that it will in the end be a scourge to the church of God, and the nation to which we belong. For it never yet once failed, where money was poured forth in profusion into the coffers of priests, but distress to the church of God and nation followed; and all that now is wanting is only law to aid, and then for cutting throats and fattening money hunting tyrants with the hard earnings of laboring farmers and mechanics, in luxury, pride and aggrandizement; while their purse-guts could never be satisfied with gain by godliness. For a low, money-coveting priesthood are the worst of tyrants; the most cruel monsters; the cursedest bands of robbers; the greatest destroyers of civil and religious liberty, that have yet been experienced by any nation on earth. And oh! Americans ! ye sons of liberty---liberty purchased at the price of blood---reflect, reflect, on the danger of moneyed religion, and what other nations are groaning under upon that one account only; and be jealous, yea, hold it a prudent jealousy, to take an alarm at the first or least attempt on your liberty. For I can tell you that a money-coveting priest could see you lie in a dark dungeon, loaded with irons, separated from your wife and children, and lastly led to the stake and burnt, for refusing to pay them one dollar; for this has been done.

Then I charge you, take care what you do, both with law and begging religion, for both are equally false if not equally dangerous. And it is the interest of speculators by good words, fair speeches, and pathetic publications to keep the people duped as long as they can, because the more gain, from priest to printer. And it is well if begging religion does not become as distressing to this nation, as ever law religion did....

And I now say, with a confidence that arises from a knowledge of reading the scriptures, and making them my companion for thirty-two years, that it cannot be proved from the scriptures that one of the prophets, Christ, or his apostles, lived as your missionaries, and of course was not supported in the same manner, by forming societies, and selling membership, or begging to support the gospel ministry. Your system then is unscriptural, and is the invention of men, as the Kehukee Association has said; and is a disgrace to the gospel and the ministerial character, because ashamed to beg in their own name, but can with good grace solicit donations in the name of the societies of the day, and then divide the spoil among designing men.

to keep up a delusion which cannot by any possibility benefit a single person, but which injures multitudes.

But on the other hand the friends of the Convention were stimulated to greater zeal by this active propaganda of its opponents and at least five associations, the Chowan, the Neuse, the Sandy Creek, the Brier Creek, and the Yadkin, passed resolutions firm almost to defiance of the enemies of the Convention, and friendly and encouraging to the General Agent. Despite the exasperated energy of the opponents the baleful effects of which in some sections cannot be denied, the purposes of the Convention were furthered; "yet did the fire burn hotter and hotter." With reference to this work of Wait an able student of North Carolina history has said: "This was the first and probably the most important educational canvass ever made in the State."<sup>14</sup>

During the year Wait preached 268 sermons and came up to the Convention much encouraged. The meeting this year was at Rives's Chapel in Chatham County on August 3 to 7, 1832. The plans for a school had been slowly taking shape and when the Convention met some of the delegates had already selected a site and determined in their own minds the nature which the new educational institution was to have. They were now ready to launch their enterprise.

The Committee on Education for this meeting consisted of William Hooper, Chairman; William R. Hinton, the Raleigh pastor, and Grey Huckaby of Orange County. It was appointed on Saturday morning, August 4, and reported at the opening of the afternoon session. The pertinent part of the report reads as follows:

The Committee on Education having given to the subject submitted to them the best consideration which their time and the limited information at their command have enabled them, beg leave to present the following Report:

That we think it expedient and highly important to afford to our

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<sup>14</sup> Pittman, *A Decade of North Carolina History*.

young ministers facilities for obtaining such an education as will qualify them to be able ministers of the New Testament. That for this purpose the plan which has recommended itself to us as combining the greatest advantages, is the purchase of a farm in a suitable situation, furnished with commodious buildings; the employment of a teacher of proper qualifications, who shall take charge of the beneficiaries of the Convention and such other pupils as his duties to them may enable him to attend to; and the engagement of a superintendent of the farm who shall direct the manual labors of the young men who shall have an opportunity by their cultivation of the soil, to earn their subsistence, or pay their board.

The Committee have ascertained that such a farm as will be suited for carrying their views into immediate operation can be had in the county of Wake, within fifteen miles of the city of Raleigh, for the sum of \$2,000; a sum which they believe it to be worth. They recommend therefore, that the Convention, if they approve the measure, do appoint a Board of Trustees, such Board consisting, if they please, of the Board of Managers, who shall appoint agents to solicit subscriptions for this object from the members and friends of our denomination in all parts of our State. The Committee think that such an experiment as this will decide the question whether this project will receive the general approbation of our churches or not. If it should, the purchase money will be obtained; if not the subscription, of course, will stand void.

The Committee believe that a school of the kind, and in the situation they propose, would meet the patronage of the denomination generally, and would probably from the beginning support itself without being any expense to the Convention. The farm they have in view is highly recommended by its central, convenient, and healthful situation, by the moral and enlightened character of the surrounding population, and by the cheapness of living.

The report of the Committee was unanimously approved by the Convention, the purchase of the farm was ordered, and the establishment of a Baptist literary institution on the manual labor principle was authorized. On the following Monday a committee consisting of J. G. Hall of Currituck, William R. Hinton of Raleigh, John Purefoy of Wake Forest, A. S. Winn of Wake County, and S. J. Jeffries of Currituck, was appointed to solicit funds to the amount of \$2,000, and on securing that amount to purchase the farm. Dr. Wait in his Journal tells us

that about \$1,500 of this amount was pledged during the Convention.

Several questions remained to be answered. What had brought about the crystalization of sentiment for the founding of a college since the last meeting of the Convention? Who was the prime mover in it? Why was the farm at Wake Forest rather than any other place selected as a proper site for the college?

In a modified way all these questions may be answered by naming one man, Rev. John Purefoy. His home was within two miles of where the College stands. He owned a large farm on Richland Creek, now known as the Fort farm. He had long been prominent in the work of the Baptist denomination. He was a member of the church at Rogers' Cross Roads. He was a member of the Convention when it met with that church in 1831 and also of that at Rives's Chapel in 1832. He had long been interested in educational work and was one of the founders of the original Wake Forest Academy at Forestville. He was a near neighbor to Dr. Calvin Jones, who owned the farm that was recommended to the Convention at Rives's Chapel. According to the statement of his son, Rev. James S. Purefoy, in an address<sup>15</sup> delivered at the College on the occasion of the celebration of the semi-centennial in February, 1884,

Dr. Jones held his farm of 615 acres at \$2,500, but for the cause of education he proposed to Elder Purefoy to give the Convention \$500 and sell the farm for \$2,000. Elder Purefoy recommended the farm to the committee, and it was purchased by the Convention for \$2,000.

We are not told by what argument Elder Purefoy led the Committee of the Convention to believe that the farm at Wake Forest was a proper place for the College, except that we know from the report of the Committee that it was urged that the price was very reasonable, the farm fertile, and suitable for a manual labor institution such as was proposed. The report also states

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<sup>15</sup> "Wake Forest College-Its Birth," originally published in the *Biblical Recorder* and republished in the *Wake Forest Student* of February, 1886.

that the location was central for the Baptist population of the State and near the State Capital. In the numerous advertisements of the schools in the Wake Forest district appearing in the *Raleigh Register* and the *Star* for the decade that immediately preceded the founding of the College we find the Wake Forest district described in such terms as these: "one of the most pleasant, healthy and reputable districts of our country and which has enjoyed an almost total exemption from disease during the last year when sickness so generally prevailed everywhere."

". . . Wake Forest has always been considered as healthy as any place this side of the mountains. . . ." "One of the best neighborhoods in the State, the Forest district containing three excellent schools, (one classical), and two well constructed and well filled meeting houses for Baptists and Methodists, and has a lawyer and a doctor. The inhabitants without I believe a single exception, are sober, moral, and thriving in their circumstances, and not a few are educated and intelligent."<sup>16</sup>

Doubtless Mr. Purefoy did not fail to bring such considerations to the attention of the Committee of the Convention. But whatever were the reasons which led to the selection of Wake Forest for the site of the Baptist college, it may be said with some confidence that it could not have served the Baptists of the State better or so well in any other location.

The Committee had the money in hand and purchased the farm on the 28th day of August, 1832.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The last quotation is from Dr. Jones's advertisement of his farm. It as well as others appears in Conn's *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 532 f.

<sup>17</sup> The deed reads as follows: This indenture made this the 28th day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two between John Purify, William R. Hinton, Simon G. Jeffreys, Jr., and Jas G. Hall on the one part and Calvin Jones of Wake County on the other part: Witnesseth, that the said Calvin Jones for and in consideration of the sum of two thousand dollars to him in hand paid by the said John Purify, etc. at and before the sealing of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, he the said Calvin Jones hath granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents doth bargain and sell, etc. —beginning at a stake in Powell's Road, thence South 75 degrees east, 34 poles to a sassafras, thence South 73 degrees East 72 poles to a maple on the Spring branch, thence down the branch to an ash, thence East 63 poles to a pine on the Ridge Path, thence along the said

Dr. Jones was liberal beyond his promise and in addition to the 615 acres for which the Committee bargained, at a reduced price, he made a gratuitous gift of land now used as a part of the golf links west of Richland Creek, nearly a hundred acres. This was only the last of a long series of services to the State and to education made by this distinguished man in this State. The College has always regarded him as one of its founders. His portrait hung in the old College Building and was lost in the conflagration which on May 5, 1933, destroyed that building.

The name "Wake Forest" deserves explanation. It was originally applied to all that part of Wake County lying north of Neuse River and between the roads leading from Raleigh to

path to a pine on Powell's Road, thence down the Road 82 poles to a post oak, on the west side of said Road, thence North 70 poles to a small red oak, thence North 60 degrees West 13 poles to a small post oak, thence South 40 degrees West 75 poles to a white oak and sourwood; thence North 53 degrees West 172 poles to a large ironwood on the East bank of Richland Creek, thence down the various courses of the said Creek to the Road, thence up a large branch to the Flat Rock white oak and thence up the various courses of the Red Hill Branch to the beginning, containing 615 acres and a half, also a small piece of land on the opposite side of Richland Creek adjoining the said land, being the land which Dr. Calvin Jones purchased of Davis Battle, and whereon the said Calvin Jones now lives.

By way of explanation it may be said that the Powell Road is the one leading from Raleigh by Wake Forest. In 1832 after crossing the present line of the railroad to the south of the town it ran somewhat east of its present location, probably through the cemetery and north of the town about two hundred yards from where the railroad now is. The beginning point of the deed was about 100 feet north of the northeast corner of the lot of the public school. Most of the lines can still be traced. The point in the Ridge Road still forms the southeast corner of the land of Mr. J. C. Caddell. The long straight line of 172 poles ran from a point east of the cotton mill and hit the creek near where it is bridged by the road leading westward from Glen Royall. The "Road" spoken of in the deed was what was later known as the Forestville Road. Though long unused the place where it crossed the creek is plainly visible. It is at the southwestern extremity of the Golf Links. From there the line runs along the streams named, the last of which is still called, Red Hill Branch, to the beginning. The College, as I shall tell later, first and last sold all of its land except the Campus and the old Athletic Field. In 1916 it repurchased 135 acres of it from the Walters heirs. This lies west of the Campus and contains the Gore Athletic Field and the Golf Links. The college in 1911 came into possession of about two acres to the north of the Campus, through the gift of Mr. D. L. Gore, and in 1920 purchased the Purefoy lot opposite the Alumni building. In 1928, the college purchased the Brooks-Caddell property to the northwest of the campus, 55 acres.



Louisburg and Oxford. It was also used very early to denote a Captain's District of the militia system of the State.<sup>18</sup> It appears in the *Raleigh Register* of January 31, 1823, in an advertisement as the designation of a school, "The Wake Forest Academy" signed by Samuel Alston and Calvin Jones, which is said to be situated fifteen miles north of Raleigh and within two miles of the Wake Forest postoffice. This postoffice was established January 2, 1823, with Calvin Jones postmaster, and the office was said to be in his house. A year before the same academy-that at Forestville-was called the Macedonian Academy. After this the name Wake Forest is frequently found, and was given to several schools in the Wake Forest district.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Professor L. R. Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 22, February, 1884, says: "it is said that in the part of Wake County bounded by Neuse River on the south, the Franklin line on the north, Horse Creek on the west, and Smith Creek on the east, the original oak forest was unusually fine. On this account the section was called the Forest of Wake, or Wake Forest. Hence the name of our College."

For the Captain's District, see statement of G. W. Purefoy, *Biblical Recorder*, April 15, 1835. It was also the name of Masonic Lodge, Number 97, on the Powell Road, five miles south.

According to Mr. Arthur Chappell, the surveyor of this section, the original Wake Forest district extended from the Raleigh-Louisburg Road on the east to the Raleigh-Oxford road on the west. This roughly corresponds with the bounds given by Professor Mills. Until about 1820 there was no bridge on the Neuse River between the bridges on these roads. At that time Mr. Jesse Powell built a bridge about half a mile below the present railroad bridge and constructed through the heart of Wake Forest a road which branched just below the present town limits, one branch extending to the Oxford Road the other to the Louisburg road. This road was called the Powell road. The Powell residence, a fine old colonial mansion, still stands east of the road just south of Wyatt.

<sup>19</sup> I find the following schools advertised in the Raleigh papers and listed in Coon's book, for the decade preceding the establishment of the College: 1. The Forest Hill Academy, 1820. At this time it had already been open two years. It was 15 miles north of Raleigh on the Oxford road. John Legon, Secy; later John Martin, Samuel H. Smith and Wm. Crenshaw sign the advertisements. 2. The Macedonian Academy, 1822.... In 1823 this became the Wake Forest Academy and was so called until the establishment of Wake Forest Institute in 1834, when it again was given its original name. It was in the present town of Forestville. The building, much dilapidated, is still standing. It was a classical institution. Among its advertisers we find the names of John Purify, Samuel Alston, William Phillips, and William Alston. 3. The Wake Forest Pleasant Grove Academy, 1828. This school was first advertised by Jesse

The postoffice, except for two weeks of discontinuance early in 1830, continued with Calvin Jones as postmaster until September 26, 1832, when William Donaldson became postmaster; He was succeeded by Henry A. Donaldson on January 1, 1835, who was succeeded by James D. Newsom on April 25, 1836, and he in turn, on June 26, 1837, yielded the postoffice to John M. Fleming, who held it until its discontinuance on July 18, 1844. The postoffice was reNestablished on September 22, 1847, with William Hooper as postmaster, but was again discontinued on November 30, 1848. It had been on the request of the Trustees that Dr. Hooper sought and gained the reNestablishment of the postoffice. The Trustees again asked for the reNestablishment in June, 1852, but without success. It was not until April 28, 1873, that the postoffice was reNestablished, when Robert H. Timberlake became postmaster. From June 9, 1873 till December 13, 1883, the office was called "Wake Forest College." The statements refering to it by Dr. Hooper in the *Biblical Recorder*, October 23, 1847, would indicate that it was also called "Wake Forest College" while he was postmaster.<sup>20</sup>

Powell and later by one of its principals, Daniel W. Kerr. It was said, "This Academy is pleasantly situated in one of the most populous sections of Wake Forest." The building is still standing and is a part of the brick veneer dwelling situated south of Wyatt and across the highway from the old Powell residence, now the home of a Mr. Wm. Fuller. The school was still advertised in 1839. 4. The Rolesville Academy, 1832. The building is still standing in the present town of Rolesville. 5. Wake Forest Female School, 1831. This was in the home of Dr. Calvin Jones, on the present site of the administration building on the college campus. "The pure air and water, healthiness and good society of this place are too well known to require mention." It was advertised by Dr. Jones.

Among the family names of the inhabitants of the Wake Forest district, advertised by Dr. Jones as "sober, moral, and thriving in their circumstances," are Gill, Thompson, Winn, Fort, Crenshaw, Fleming, Sutherland (one of whose daughters married Priestly Mangum), Crawford (one of whose daughters became the wife of John Purify, another of Mr. Fort), Ligon, Harrison, Hartsfield, Smith, Powell, Jones, Alston, names which to this day suggest culture and influence. Some of the fine residences built on the estates of these families are still standing to attest the truth of Dr. Jones description of the inhabitants. . . .

<sup>20</sup> For the following list of postmasters with dates of their appointment, and notices of discontinuance and reNestablishment, and the change of name, I am

Dr. Hooper doubtless kept the postoffice in his residence, the North Brick House, and all the other postmasters before the Civil War kept it at their homes, which were all probably on the road leading from Raleigh by the Falls of the Neuse to Oxford. Certainly this was true of the home of John M. Fleming, which was where Crenshaw Hall now is, by the roads of that time full three miles from the present town of Wake Forest. This office received mails from Raleigh and Oxford twice in each week. This will explain why after the completion of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad in 1840, and the establishment of the postoffice at

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indebted to by Hon. W. W. Howes, First Assistant Postmaster-General, 1934.

WAKE FOREST, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

<i>Postmaster</i>	<i>Date Appointed</i>
Calvin Jones .....	January 2, 1823 (Established)
The office was discontinued January 15, 1830.	
Calvin Jones .....	February 8, 1830 (Reestablished)
William Donaldson .....	September 26, 1832
Henry A. Donaldson .....	January 1, 1835
James D. Newsom .....	April 25, 1836
John M. Fleming .....	June 26, 1837
The office was discontinued July 18, 1844.	
William Hooper	September 22, 1847 (Reestablished)
The office was discontinued November 30, 1848.	
Robert H. Timberlake .....	April 28, 1873 (Reestablished)
The name of the office was changed to "Wake Forest College" on June 9, 1873.	
Mary A. Timberlake .....	June 9, 1873
The name of the office was changed to "Wake Forest" December 13, 1883.	
Mary A. Timberlake .....	December 13, 1883
R. L. Brewer .....	December 28, 1885
Wiley D. Jones .....	April 8, 1889
Robert H. Timberlake .....	July 18, 1890
William C. Lankford .....	April 4, 1893
Mary A. Timberlake .....	August 28, 1897
Edward W. Timberlake ...	April 2, 1907
O. K. Holding .....	July 2, 1913
Calvin Y. Holden (Acting)	June 30, 1922
Calvin Y. Holden .....	July 31, 1922
Lawrence Harris	February 24, 1932

Forestville, possibly with daily mails from north and south, the college community preferred to get mail from the Forestville office. It seems that students and members of the faculty, who at that time comprised about all the population of Wake Forest, took great pleasure in their daily walk of more than a mile for the mail, since except for those members of the faculty who had buggies, the walk furnished a pleasant exercise and was a kind of social promenade-and offered opportunity to see the train, no little privilege in those days.<sup>21</sup>

When thinking of a postoffice the Trustees also thought of a railroad station. It was so in June, 1852, when they unsuccessfully asked the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad to establish a "place of reception," at the College. It was so again in June, 1872, when they were so successful that it was reported in June, 1874, that the station had been removed from Forestville to Wake Forest. This removal caused a great deal of hard-feeling between the two towns which extended to the dividing asunder of pastoral relations in the Forestville Baptist Church.<sup>22</sup> The cost of moving the station was \$3,002.02, which was paid by the Trustees. At first the station was called Wake, but in 1897, at the request of the College faculty, it was changed to Wake Forest.

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<sup>21</sup> That the mail came only twice a week to the Wake Forest postoffice in the early days is indicated by the following advertisement in the *Raleigh Standard*, August 20, 1838: "Proposal to Let the Carrying of Mail. From Raleigh by Wake Forest, Winway, Lemay's Cross Roads, Wilton and Pattonville to Oxford, 52 miles and back twice a week in stages."

Stories of the pleasant walk for the mail, and of incidents connected therewith were long traditions around Wake Forest. See *Wake Forest Student*, XXVII, 335, 341.

<sup>22</sup> Dr. W. T. Brooks left the pastorate of the Forestville Church at this time, since some of the members felt aggrieved at his favoring the moving of the station.

## IV

### THE FIGHT FOR THE CHARTER

After the purchase of the farm, which as we have seen was made on August 28, 1832, preparations were begun for the opening of the Institute. The minutes of the Convention show that Rev. Samuel Wait continued his work as agent for another year, with unflagging zeal, finding the character of the opposition to missions and all benevolent objects still kept up in some places, without material change. Wait met all the untrue assertions from pulpits and in books by a plain exhibition of facts. With reference to the matter he says in his report to the Convention of 1833, which met at Dockery's meeting House in Richmond County on November 1-6:

No man at this day may expect to have the support of the religious, or any other respectable portion of the community, while endeavoring to establish a system that rests upon such assertions as shrink from the light.

During the year, from August, 1832, to May, 1833, he visited the Country Line and the Flat River Association, and other churches in the counties of Rockingham, Caswell, Person, Granville, Warren, Halifax, Nash, Edgecombe, Johnston, Robeson, Bladen, Columbus, Moore. Early in May he was "prostrated upon a sick bed" and remained for fifty days in the home of a "kind friend" near Friendship Church in Moore County, of which he writes a most interesting account in the *Interpreter* under the date of July 2, 1833. Later he was employed in the counties of Montgomery, Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rutherford, Buncombe, and Burke. It is to be noted that all through its history the College has had students from nearly every one of these counties. Wait gave up his work as Agent at the meeting of the Convention in 1833, declaring that there was "great cause to be encouraged," while the Convention expressed its appreciation of his services in the following resolution:

Resolved unanimously, That this Convention highly appreciates the discretion, the faithfulness and the success with which our agent has uniformly discharged the difficult and laborious duties of his station, and that we deeply regret the dissolution of a connexion, which has been productive of so much satisfaction to us, and, we trust, so much advantage to the cause in which we are engaged.<sup>1</sup>

This session of the Convention of Dockery's Meeting House was busy with matters pertaining to the opening of the new school. Samuel Wait was appointed a special agent to collect funds for it, the agency to continue until February 1; a committee with T. Meredith as chairman was appointed to prepare a schedule of the items necessary for the Institute, and reported recommending (1) an agent for the Institute; (2) the appointment of a farmer; (3) the furnishing of a farm with provisions, tools, etc.; (4) providing necessary buildings and the repair of those on the farm; (5) the appointment of a person to receive applications for students; (6) the appointment of a committee to make regulations for the conduct of the school; (7) the appointment of a steward; (8) and an inquiry into the condition of the farm.

Following a report of a committee of which Mr. Charles McAllister of Fayetteville, "a man of large estate and great capacity for administration,"<sup>2</sup> was chairman, the Convention elected forty men a Board of Trustees, with the provision that nine should constitute a quorum, and appointed a committee consisting of Stephen Graham, Joseph B. Outlaw, Alfred Dockery, David Thompson and Samuel Biddle to secure the incorporation of the new institution from the Legislature. The Board was named by a committee of six, of which Charles McAllister was chairman, and was approved by the Convention. Their names will be found in the Charter of the Institute given below.

The committee to which was intrusted the duty of securing a

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes Baptist State Convention for 1833.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, "The Times and the Men," *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, January, 1909, p. 193.

charter for the Institute lost no time in bringing the matter before the Legislature which began its session on November 14, 1833. On December 4, Mr. William H. Battle, a member of the House of Commons from Franklin County, "presented a bill to establish a Literary and Manual Labor Institution in the County of Wake." At the same time Mr. Hargrove of Granville presented a bill to incorporate the Greensboro Academy and Manual Labor School.<sup>3</sup>

Both bills were stubbornly opposed in their passage through both houses of the Legislature, but it is probable that the Greensboro Academy charter would have been approved as a matter of course had it come up by itself. The real hostility was against the Wake Forest Institute.

The bills were referred to the Committee on Education, that for the Wake Forest Institute on December 5, and that for the Greensboro Academy on December 7.<sup>4</sup>

On December 11, the Committee on Education reported the bills favorably "with sundry amendments." The chairman of this Committee was Mr. R. H. Alexander, representative from the town of Salisbury. It was owing to the fact that he was a man able to detect the sophistry of the arguments against the bills that the charter was granted by the Legislature. His name deserves to be held dear forever at the College along with that of William D. Moseley, Speaker of the Senate. According to the *Raleigh Register*, Mr. Alexander on reporting the bills made a statement justifying a favorable report. Fortunately Mr. Coon has found this statement among some unpublished documents.<sup>5</sup> With the omission of the first paragraph it is as follows

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<sup>3</sup> *House Journal*, 1833-34, p. 166. Though I consulted the Legislative documents independently, the reader may save time by using the valuable work of Coon: *Public Education in North Carolina*, pp. 660 ff., in the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The Mr. William H. Battle, was a brother of Rev. Amos J. Battle, who built the South Brick House, and the father of President Kemp P. Battle of the State University.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *Public Education in North Carolina*, pp. 660 ff.

Your committee are aware that apprehensions are entertained that if these bills be passed into laws a class of individuals in their corporate capacity may have conferred upon them privileges, if not incompatible with our Constitution and the Bill of Rights, yet inconsistent with the freedom and genius of our institutions. These bills having no object but to found and establish institutions to promote learning and disseminate knowledge, it would seem to us that no just apprehension could well be entertained.

It appears, from the legislation of the State heretofore, that the principles of these bills have been clearly sanctioned, if not transcended. An act was passed in the year 1796, entitled an act to secure property to religious societies or congregations of every denomination, which act authorized any religious society to select trustees who were empowered and vested with full and ample authority to purchase and hold in trust for such religious society any lands, houses, or tenements, and to receive donations of any nature or kind whatsoever for the use and benefit of such society. And by an act passed in the year 1809, amendatory of the act of 1796, the trustees were enabled to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded. These acts were manifestly passed to enable the several religious societies of this State to advance and promote religion. The aim and intent of these bills are to diffuse the blessings of an education and a knowledge of the mechanical arts.

In the year 1831, an act was passed to incorporate the Ravenscroft Academy in the town of Fayetteville, which embraces principles analogous to these bills. Your committee conceive that, if this act remains upon your statute book and these bills are forbidden to be passed, upon that contingency, there would then be established by law a set of men entitled to exclusive privileges and emoluments, which is forbidden by the Bill of Rights.

Your committee are aware that the State can not at this time, without imposing an exceedingly onerous burden on the people, comply with the 41st Section of our Constitution, which imperatively requires that a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters paid by the public as may enable them to instruct at low prices. To effect this noble purpose, the instruction of the youth of our State, associations of individuals, whether of the different denominations of Christians or not, have asked of us the common privilege of incorporation, which has been so freely bestowed by the Legislature on associations of individuals for inferior objects.

The Committee beg leave to submit another remark: that as all



political power is vested in and derived from the people, it becomes the duty of the Legislature to diffuse information and knowledge amongst the people. And it does appear to your Committee that this duty can be performed to a great extent by passing these bills into laws and enacting others of a like character. In doing so, we are not impugning another section of our Constitution which forbids the establishment of one religious church in this State in preference to any other.

This statement shows that the opposition to the bills was very serious. Dr. Hufham says <sup>6</sup> that the principal opposition came from anti-missionary Baptists. Their leader at this time, whom Dr. Hufham describes without naming as "a man of unusual ability and great force of character, though without culture," was Elder Joshua Lawrence of the Kehukee Association. He prepared a pamphlet which was entitled "A North Carolina Whig's Memorial and Remonstrance," signed it "Clod Hopper," and laid a copy on the seat of every member of the Legislature.<sup>7</sup> Though this pamphlet is no longer extant, the character of its argument may be judged from the statement of Mr. Alexander given above. We get more particular information in a review of it found in the issue of the *Baptist Interpreter* for January 4, 1834. From this we learn that the opponent of the charter for the Institute had warned the Legislature that the incorporation of a Theological School, with clear reference to Wake Forest Institute, would entail "a meddling with religious matters, . . . the making of laws in matters of religion, . . . a trespassing on the Kingdom of God, . . . the supporting and maintaining of a Christian ministry," while such Theological Schools were more dangerous than the Spanish Inquisition, and "the first step to a rich church and a proud and pompous ministry ; that they always have been, are now, and ever will be a curse to the Church

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<sup>6</sup> How We Got the Charter," *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. XVII.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. E. W. Sikes in his excellent article on "Wake Forest Institute," in the *Bulletin of Wake Forest College* for January, 1909, speaks of two articles, one signed "Clod Hopper" and another, "The Remonstrance of an Old Time Whig," but very likely the learned author was mistaken. All other authorities speak of only one pamphlet, that by Lawrence signed "Clod Hopper." See Pittman, "A Decade of North Carolina History," in the *News and Observer*, April, 1910.

of God and to the nations of the earth." The preachers educated in such schools, "these school priests," are ready to rob the poor, drain the coffers of the rich, and are the most dangerous robbers and murderers and ever ready to cut throats.<sup>8</sup>

In consequence of the pronounced opposition, the bills as we saw above, were reported "with sundry amendments." Leaving

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<sup>8</sup> As an example of Meredith's "most excoriating style," I give the following excerpts from the review:

"It is a learned and eloquent effort to set forth the diabolical nature, tendency and effects of Theological schools.... and is designed to open the eyes of the Legislature, and to put that body on their guard against the intrigues of those who are plotting the destruction of the country. We have no doubt that the General Assembly have been vastly enlightened by this effusion, and that the whole population of North Carolina are immensely indebted to the author for this generous and masterly production.

"We must acknowledge too, that by the perusal of this paper we have been not a little edified ourselves. Until now we had always been in the dark with regard to an act of incorporation. We had always thought (very foolishly no doubt) that when a church, a school, or any other body became incorporated, it simply received a legal existence, and a right to hold and acquire property. But we have now learned that the incorporation of a Theological School would necessarily imply a 'meddling with religious matters' . . . 'the making of laws in matters of religion' . . . 'a trespassing on the dominions of God' . . . 'the supporting and maintaining of the Christian Religion' . . . 'a legislating on the ministry' . . . in a word, the subjecting of all the important provisions of the gospel to legislative enactments. Now, as this information comes to us sustained by the most invincible proof . . . even the positive 'confidential' assertion of the author, we are of course bound to receive it without further inquiry.

"These Theological Schools too-what monstrous things they are!—The Spanish Inquisition—the Pope-or even the sea-serpent is nothing to them! 'They are the first step to a rich church and a proud and pompous ministry! 'They multiply clergy until they swarm like Egyptian locusts! They have already subverted the governments of France, Spain and South America, and have, no doubt, overturned the empire of the Man in the Moon! They have distressed the kingdom of Great Britain-have set the members of Parliament by the ears-and have absolutely turned the head of 'Lord King' himself. In this country they have endeavored to stop the mail-have erected opposition lines of stages and steamboats-have absolutely stretched great chains across the streets of our cities-and have been, no doubt, the secret cause of all the earthquakes, tempests, pestilences, witchcraft, and falling stars that have ever visited our hemisphere! To sum up the whole in one pithy sentence-'they always have been, are now, and ever will be a curse to the Church of God, and to the nations of the earth.'

"And these 'school priests'-what demons they are! Lucifer and his heroes are no touch to them! They are the originators and supporters of these Theological schools, and of course the contrivers and infamous perpetrators of all the mischief which these schools have produced! Besides this they have robbed and oppressed the poor-drained the coffers of the rich-propped up the

now the consideration of the Greensboro Academy bill, which passed both houses by fair majorities, we find that after the Wake Forest bill was reported it was further amended and passed the House on its second reading by a vote of 91 to 36.<sup>9</sup>

For reasons not stated, on December 1, the bill was recommitted to the Committee on Education. On December 18 this committee reported the bill the second time with the recommendation that it be passed as originally reported.<sup>10</sup> After the defeat by a vote of 32 to 90 of a motion of Mr. David Settle of Rockingham that further consideration of the bill be indefinitely postponed it was passed on its third reading and ordered engrossed.<sup>11</sup>

In the Senate the bill to incorporate the Institute found much more formidable opposition. Certain Senators seemed to fear that the Institute might depart from its proper work, and such restrictive phrases were added as, "for the purpose of educat-

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thrones of tyrants-shed human blood by river fulls-and without a doubt have had a hand in all the intrigues, treasons, gun-powder plots, etc., etc., that the sun has ever shone upon!-And these enemies of all righteousness, it seems, abound in our own State, and in the very midst of us ! Aye, and under our very noses, they are hatching their wickedness and plotting our destruction-setting their snares to entrap our liberties, making their bags to hold our money, and whetting their knives to cut our throats!"

<sup>9</sup> Those who voted in the affirmative were Messrs. R. H. Alexander, Barco, Barringer, Battle, Blackman, Brandon, Brower, Burgin, Calvert, Cansler, Carter, Clement, Coleman, Corpening, Cotten, Courts, Daniel, Dawson, Ennett, Fisher, Gillespie, Graham, Grier, Guinn, Hardee, Hardison, Hargrove, Haughton, Henry, W. Horton, Irion, Irvine, J. B. Jones, Wm. Jones, Wesley Jones, J. D. Jones, Kennedy, King, Kittrell, Latham, Leonard, Lilly, Locke, Lyon, Macklin, Malloy, Marsteller, Martin, Mixon, Moore, Monk, Montgomery, Mullen, Murray, M'Cleese, M'Geehe, W. M'Lean, M'Leod, M'Neill, Outlaw, Peeples, Phelps, Poindexter, W. Potts, Powell, Rand, Register, Relfe, Roberts, Riddick, Saunderson, Seawell, Shepard, Sloan, Smallwood, J. L. Smith, C. Smith, Stephens, Tatham, Thomas, Thompson, Tillett, Watson, Waugh, Weaver, Welch, Willey, Whitehurst, Wilson, Wyche, Ziglar. Yeas 91.

Those who voted in the negative were Messrs. G. H. Alexander, Allen, Allison, Boddie, Brown, Bynum, Cherry, Cloman, Cromwell, Dodson, Edmonston, Foreman, Foscue, Grady, Hammond, Harper, Hawkins, J. Horton, Houlder, Jasper, R. Jones, Judkins, Ledford Leffers, Long, Pierse, J. W. Potts, Pugh, Raper, Settle, Smithwick, Stockard, Taylor, Wadsworth, Williams, Wiseman. Nays 36. *House Journal*, 1833-34, p. 178.

<sup>10</sup> *House Journal*, 1833-34, p. 167; *Legislative Documents*. Coon, *Public Education in North Carolina*, p. 664 f.

<sup>11</sup> *House Journal*, 1833-34, p. 191 f.

ing youth, and for no other purpose whatever." After this and other amendments were incorporated, the bill passed its second reading, and on the same day, December 21, 1833, it was "read the third time, amended on motion of Mr. Spaight, and passed—ayes 29, noes 29, the Speaker voting in the affirmative."<sup>12</sup> The House concurred in the amendments and thus the bill became law.

An inspection of the vote both in the House of Commons and the Senate shows that the opposition was centered in those counties in which the anti-missionary sentiment and influence were strong. Both Senators and members of the House of Commons from each of the counties of Ashe, Caswell, Davidson, Edgecombe, Greene, Jones, Martin, Orange, Person and Pitt voted against the bill, as did the Senator and one of the two representatives from the counties of Carteret, Haywood, Hyde, Johnston, Tyrrell, Warren, and Wayne. Although the Orange County delegation was counted solidly in the opposition some of the

<sup>12</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1833-34. Those who voted in the affirmative were: John Beard, Jr., of Rowan, Joseph P. Caldwell of Iredell, John Clayton of Buncombe, Josiah Collins of Washington, Henry B. Elliott of Randolph, Herod Faison of Northampton, Edward C. Gavin of Sampson, Charles L. Hinton of Wake, Shadrack Howell of Robeson, John E. Hussey of Duplin, Edmund Jones of Wilkes, Reuben Kendall of Montgomery, Alexander Martin of Richmond, William B. Meares of New Hanover, A. W. Mebane of Bertie, George C. Mendenhall of Guilford, Matthew R. Moore of Stokes, William A. Morris of Anson, Washington Morrison of Mecklenburg, Enoch Nash of Camden, Thomas W. Norman of Granville, Martin P. Shuford of Rutherford, Henry Skinner of Chowan, Richard D. Spaight of Craven, Nathan A. Stedman of Chatham, Thomas G. Stone of Franklin, John Vann of Hertford.

Those who voted in the negative were: Samuel Arrington of Nash, Mark Brittain of Burke, Benjamin S. Brittain of Macon, Otway Burns of Carteret, Jesse Cooper of Martin, William, D. Dobson of Surry, Weldon N. Edwards of Warren, Hardy Flowers of Edgecombe, Thomas Foy of Onslow, William R. Hall of Brunswick, James Harrison of Jones, John A. Hogan of Davidson, Daniel Hoke of Lincolnton, James Kerr of Caswell, Daniel Lindsey of Currituck, Ephraim Mann, of Tyrrell, Isham Matthews of Halifax, William Montgomery of Orange, Wyatt Moyer of Greene, Alfred Moyer of Pitt, George Phillips of Ashe, Dameron Pugh of Hyde, Gabriel Sherard of Wayne, Luke R. Simmons of Columbus, William Sitton of Haywood, Joseph M. Skinner of Pasquotank, Robert VanHook of Person, John Walton of Gates, Hillory Wilder of Johnston.

Casting vote in affirmative by Speaker William D. Moseley of Lenoir.

Those not present or not voting were: William E. Smaw of Beaufort, Robert Melvin of Bladen, George Klutts of Cabarrus, Daniel McCormick of Cumberland, Duncan Murchison of Moore, Robert Martin of Rockingham.

strongest friends of the charter were alumni of the University of North Carolina. Among these was William D. Moseley, the Speaker of the Senate. Others in the Senate were: H. B. Elliott, Chas. L. Hinton, Matthew R. Moore, Washington Morrison, and Richard Dobbs Spaight, while others interested in the University as Trustees or active friends were Edmund Jones, Alexander Martin, G. C. Mendenhall, Nathan A. Stedman, Henry Skinner and Joseph B. Skinner. But for the active support of these men the bill of incorporation would not have passed. No Senator who was a University alumnus opposed the bill. It is also worthy of note that the members of the Legislature from those counties in which Presbyterians were numerous and influential, such as Mecklenburg, Robeson, Rowan, Iredell and Guilford, favored the bill, just as uniformly as did members from counties where there were many missionary Baptists.

The College honored the memory of William D. Moseley, who as Speaker of the Senate cast the deciding vote for the charter, by hanging his portrait in Wingate Memorial Hall. This was done largely as a result of an article entitled "How We Got the Charter" written by Dr. J. D. Hufham, and printed in the *Wake Forest Student* for March, 1898. The portrait was lost in the fire that destroyed the building. In this article we are told that Mr. Moseley came of a long line of distinguished ancestors. On January 4, 1711, his grandfather, Fully Moseley, was born in Holland, whither his Baptist parents had been driven by religious persecution from Wales. Emigrating to Maryland, he there married. His only child was a son named Matthew, born November 9, 1755, who in 1777 came to North Carolina and settled in Lenoir County. In 1783 he married Elizabeth Herring and settled near LaGrange. He was a Baptist. William was the fourth of his eleven children, and graduated at the University of North Carolina in the class of 1818. He was a member of the Senate of North Carolina 1829-38, and Speaker of that body in the session of 1833-34. In 1838 he removed to Florida, of which State he served a term as Governor. "The College which

he had saved was always dear to him. His son was for a while a student there." He died at his home on the St. John's River, Palatka, Florida, in 1863. The statement has been made that his vote for the Wake Forest charter prevented his being elected Governor of North Carolina, but this was probably only expression of opinion.<sup>13</sup>

Recognition should here be made of the services of the Committee appointed by the Baptist State Convention to secure the charter. Even in the Convention the question of constitutionality had been raised, and the Committee was instructed to ask for a charter-"in accord with the Constitution of the State." At Raleigh they found fierce opposition. But they were men of ability and influence, and versed in political methods. Stephen Graham is said by Dr. Hufham<sup>14</sup> to have been "not only the most prominent physician but also the most influential Baptist of Duplin County," the son of a Baptist preacher, and a member of the Legislature a few years before. Dockery of Richmond and David Thompson likewise had been members of the body; the Biddies of Craven County were wealthy, and the Outlaws of Bertie had long been conspicuous in politics. All were experienced and skillful fighters and not to be outdone.<sup>15</sup>

The charter as it came from the Legislature was as follows:

#### AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A LITERARY AND MANUAL LABOR INSTITUTION IN THE COUNTY OF WAKE

*I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That William P. Biddle, John Armstrong, William Sanders of the county of Craven; Isaac Beeson of Guilford; James Watkins of Anson; Thomas Boyd of Mecklenburg; John Portevant of Brunswick; Thomas Stradley of Buncombe; Hugh Quinn of Lincoln; Alfred Dockery of*

*Richmond; William Crenshaw, George W. Thompson, Allen S. Wynn, William Roles, Alfred Birt [Burt], John Purify of Wake; Simon J. Jeffers [Jeffreys], Thomas Crocker, Allen Bowden of Franklin; James King of Person; John Culpepper, Sen., of Montgomery; John*

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<sup>13</sup> Sikes, "Wake Forest Institute," *Bulletin of Wake Forest College* January, 1909, p. 200.

<sup>14</sup> "How We Got Our Charter."

<sup>15</sup> Sikes, "Wake Forest Institute."

McDaniel, Charles McCallister of Cumberland; Aaron J. Spivey, Joseph B. Outlaw, Turner Carter of Bertie; Henry Austin of Edgecombe; Daniel Boon, David Thompson of Johnston; Paul Phifer of Rowan; Alexander Moseley of Lenoir; George M. Thompson of Pasquotank; Joseph Halsey of Tyrrell; Charles W. Skinner of Perquimans; William Hooper of Orange; Amos J. Battle of Nash; Josiah Wiseman of Davidson; Stephen Graham, Geo. W. Huffham of Duplin; and David S. Williams of Sampson; be and they are hereby, constituted a body corporate and politic for the purpose of educating youth, and for no other purpose whatever, by the name and style of "The Trustees of the Wake Forest Institute" and by that name shall have a perpetual succession and a common seal, and be able and capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in all courts either in law or equity; and shall take, demand, receive and possess all moneys, goods and chattels which may be given; and all donations made shall be applied according to the wish of the donor, to the purposes therein declared; and by purchase of otherwise to take, hold and possess, to them and their successors forever, and lands sufficient for the purpose of said institution, rents and tenements, in special trust and confidence, and to apply the same, together with the profits arising therefrom, to the use and purpose of endowing and supporting said institution; and may purchase and hold for the purposes aforesaid such chattels and personal property as they may deem necessary: *Provided*, the amount of real and personal estate held by this institution shall not at any one time exceed fifty thousand dollars.

II. *And be it further enacted*, That in case of the death, resignation, refusal to act, or removal from the State of any of the said trustees for the time being, then the surviving trustees, a majority being present, shall fill said vacancies.

III. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Trustees shall have power to appoint their own president, secretary and treasurer, and such professors, tutors and all officers in and over the said institution, as they shall deem qualified to discharge the duties of their several offices, and may remove the same for misbehaviour, inability or neglect of duty; they shall have power to make all necessary by-laws and regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the State, for the government of the said institution; and the said trustees shall hold meetings from time to time, as often as necessity may require, and that nine trustees shall constitute a quorum to transact all manner of business in relation to said institution.

IV. *Be it further enacted*, that all the real estate belonging to the said corporation shall be subject to taxation as other real estate.

V. *Be it further enacted*, That the provisions of said act shall continue in force twenty years and no longer.

In this charter, as Dr. Sikes has remarked,<sup>16</sup> there was nothing dangerous; its powers were meager and did not even authorize the granting of degrees; the amount of real and personal property allowed the Institute was limited to fifty thousand dollars, while all the real estate belonging to the corporation was subject to taxation as other real estate. And as a last ugly provision it was stipulated, "That the provisions of this act shall continue in force twenty years and no longer." It is hardly any wonder that the Board of Trustees at their first meeting agreed to accept it only after long discussion and deliberation.<sup>17</sup> But the hostility manifested against this new enterprise of the Baptists aroused among them a keener enthusiasm and caused them to rally to the support of the school.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the Board of Trustees for 1834.

<sup>18</sup> Hufham, "How We Got Our Charter."





THE JONES RESIDENCE AS IT APPEARS IN 1935; BUILT BEFORE 1820

## V MANUAL LABOR DAYS

After the Convention of 1832, the Board of Managers of the Convention had been taking measures to secure teachers and officers for the Institute and making other necessary provisions for its opening. At a meeting of this Board in Raleigh on September 25, 1832, it was resolved that the new institution should be called the "Wake Forest Institute." The Board at the same time received a report of the Committee appointed to purchase the farm, in which it was stated that \$550.50 of the \$1,525 pledged to pay for the farm was unpaid, and that the members of the Committee had advanced on their individual account part of the money, after using a \$500 note which was in the hands of the treasurer of the old North Carolina Missionary Society and a gift of \$200 from Cullen Battle of Georgia. The Board adopted such measures as were thought necessary to commence operation as early as February, 1833. A committee was appointed to secure a principal for the new school, but this committee after corresponding with several men in the North had accomplished nothing when the Board was called together again in Raleigh on December 15, 1832. At this meeting a new committee appointed to secure a principal named Samuel Wait, and he was formally elected and accepted at another meeting of the Board at Cashie in Bertie County on May 10, 1833. At the Raleigh meeting in December, 1832, the opening of the Institute was postponed until February, 1834, and the farm committed to the care of John Purefoy, W. Crenshaw, Foster Fort and G. W. Thompson.<sup>1</sup>

For Dr. Wait's part in the preparations for beginning operations we are fortunate in having the following graphic account from his own pen:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of John Armstrong in the *Baptist Interpreter* for March 1, 1834.

<sup>2</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, II, 50 f.

Some time before this, we began to look around for some one to take charge of our contemplated school. A committee was appointed to correspond with distinguished men at the North. For no one seemed to think that any one living in the South would answer our purpose. This committee did what it could, but reported a failure. No man possessing the requisite qualifications could be obtained. The farm was purchased in August, and in December following a meeting of the Board of the Convention took place in Raleigh.

To secure a Principal, a committee was appointed consisting of Brethren William Hooper, T. Meredith, J. Armstrong, and myself. We found the committee previously appointed had accomplished nothing. We were deliberating in the house then occupied by our Brother Meredith. Some of the committee expressed a wish to have a consultation in the piazza in the back part of the house. And there the other three of the committee informed me that they had agreed to appoint myself Principal of our contemplated institution. Nothing could have surprised me more. I told them at once that I was not the man for that place; but, that I would join with any two of them to appoint the other. Brother Meredith remarked very kindly that, perhaps, it would be of some service to me, and help a little in deciding the question of duty to know that, before they had consulted together at all, each had made up his mind to recommend myself; or had thought of doing so, if the others concurred. Some of the Board, Brother Armstrong particularly, were for commencing operations on the first Monday in February following. I told them that would be impossible. We lacked the requisite funds. Nor had we time to make the preparations, even if we had the funds. Brother Armstrong wished to know how much better off we should be for commencing one year hence than we were now. I told him, no better off, if we spent the year in doing nothing. But, if we would be active during the year, we could make preparation for commencing the next year to advantage. The farm was to go into operation at the same time with the school. And the school was to be prepared to furnish boarding and lodging. , The conclusion was to appoint a committee to rent out the farm to the best advantage they could for that year, and request me to continue my agency for the Convention another year, and do what I could, in the meantime, in collecting funds, or any kind of furniture, for the comfort and advantage of the institution. By this means an opportunity was afforded to make known more fully the plan of the school among the churches and to collect aid. And here, I would remark, that, just as we expected, many were found, especially among the sisters, who could, in the course of the year, procure a blanket,

sheets, pillow cases, comforts, bed, bedding, or something else, that would, at a fair valuation, be of more use to the school than the real worth in cash.

As my family was with me, having traveled with me nearly three years, my wife was able in this, as well as in laboring for the other objects of the Convention, to render most valuable assistance. So that in nearly all the portions of the State visited during the year, something was done for the promotion of the good cause. If a lady could not furnish a bed, she could probably spare a towel. The value of these labors was seen when we actually commenced operations, on the first Monday of February following. All was done that I, aided by my wife, could do in calling attention to the subject of education. I have a good cause for believing that some who now show themselves to be useful, and extensively so in the ministry, were induced, by the efforts of that year, to change their whole course of life and seek an education. By this means, their usefulness has been greatly increased.

The Convention this year, 1833, was held at Cartley's Creek, Richmond County, called also Dockery's Meeting-House, commencing Friday before the first Sabbath of November. This, as well as the one held the year before with Rives's Chapel Church in Chatham County, was a most interesting meeting. The weather was remarkably pleasant, and the accommodations, owing to the energy and liberality of the church and friends in that neighborhood, were most ample. Arrangements were made as far as possible for commencing what we now call Wake Forest Institute, on the first Monday in February following. Many articles were obtained in this place for the Institute. I brought as many as I could in my two-horse buggy. As soon as the meeting closed, I came with what speed I could to this place, destined to the scene of my future labors. On arriving in the neighborhood, I visited the spot not far from the 10th of November. Here was the farm, with the fence and out-buildings much out of repair; no implements of husbandry, no stock but my two horses, no corn or fodder, no furniture, but the few articles I was enabled to bring with me from the meeting of the Convention I had just attended.

Here I must remark that our furniture was in New Bern. When, on commencing my agency for the Convention, we discontinued housekeeping, we put our furniture in a condition convenient for moving. Quite providentially, three wagons were in New Bern from some of the counties above this (Wake). Having disposed of a few of the heavier articles, the balance were found quite sufficient to fill these three wagons, although from the kind of furniture brought, the three

loads weighed only thirty hundred pounds. This furniture was used by the Institute just as though it had been the property of the Trustees. Our trip to New Bern was, from necessity, a very hasty one, and we were soon at our posts. Sometime before this, arrangements had been made with Brother C. R. Merriam,<sup>3</sup> a brother of my wife, to take charge of the farm. He also aided, in fact had charge of the steward's department. We returned from New Bern about the 1st of December. Only two months now to the time when the session was to commence.

And in that brief space, much remained to be accomplished before we could take the first step in the business of teaching. Provisions were to be laid in for the family. Beds and many other comforts were yet to be provided. The Trustees urged me to spend as much of the two months that remained in trying to collect funds as would be possible. As I told them, I had not an hour for this business. I could not resist their importunities: I went out, and, by much labor, collected nearly two hundred dollars. Late as it was, I expressed a wish to Brother Foster Fort to sow a little wheat, when he very cheerfully gave me ten bushels for seed, and Brother William Crenshaw "gave the sowing and the ploughing it in," as he called it. This ploughing and sowing was completed, I think, on the 3rd of December. We harvested 112 bushels, and had 101 bushels of wheat after paying toll at the threshing mill. This wheat was of the very best quality. In making arrangements, we found some difficulty, from the fact that we had no means of knowing for what number of students it would be necessary to provide.

Dr. Jones had left the premises of Wake Forest soon after he sold the farm in the autumn of 1832.<sup>4</sup> And they had been unoccupied since that time. The dwelling stood on the spot where now stands the Wait Hall, which is on the site of the old College Building. When this was built the house was moved, first, about fifty yards to the west, then, about one hundred yards further to the spot where it still stands in a fair state of preservation. It was owned successively by President John B. White and

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<sup>3</sup> Mr. Merriam remained in charge of the farm for one year, and was then steward until his death, April 9, 1837. It seems that he was a victim of tuberculosis. Shortly before his death he called his niece, Dr. Wait's daughter to his bedside and exhorted her to devote her life to Jesus Christ. He had a triumphant death. His age was 28. *Biblical Recorder*. Major Ingram speaks most affectionately of him. *Student*, Vol. XIII.

<sup>4</sup> Haywood, *Calvin Jones*, p. 25.

by Dr. W. T. Walters and his heirs. In the year 1916 it came again into the possession of the College, and is now used as a private boarding house. Originally the house faced east, looking down an avenue through a grove of magnificent oaks, a few of which still stand, to the front gate opening on the road. That there was a flower garden in front is proved by some bunches of jonquils and daffodils which every spring put forth their yellow glory to testify that the lady of the house, Mrs. Calvin Jones, or the wife of the builder, Mrs. David Battle, loved flowers. Some box bushes also standing near the Lea Laboratory are a survival from the days of private ownership. In the rear was the well which served the College until the installation of water system about the year 1895. Near this stood and still stands the finest elm in all this region. The vegetable garden was to the north, where we find another bunch of jonquils. The carriage house was near the vegetable garden to the north of the administration building about where the Gymnasium now stands. The barns were to the southwest. Seven cabins built for the slaves were further removed, some beyond the vegetable garden to the north, while others were in a field to the east.<sup>5</sup> There was no other house near, no other road, no street, no railroad. On nearly all sides were the fields of the plantation. According to Major Sanders M. Ingram,<sup>6</sup> "briars, weeds, and bushes were growing on the best land; the hillsides were washing into gullies."

The house was furnished with the furniture of the Principal and was the home for his family, including his brother-in-law, Mr. C. R. Merriam, who was to have charge of the farm. The seven cabins, which Dr. Wait found to be of excellent construction of hewn white oak, with good doors and floors and with one exception with windows, were cleaned and given a coat of whitewash. They were provided with good new furniture, including feather beds, so long as feathers could be had. The outhouses

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<sup>5</sup> "My room was in a field northeast of the college building." A. G. Headen, *Wake Forest Student*, XXI, 85 f.

<sup>6</sup> S. M. Ingram, "Manual Labor Days at Wake Forest," *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 192.

and fences were in bad repair. For the farm, the faithful horses that had carried Wait and his family from sound to mountain ridge and back again for three or four years, were stabled in the stalls, ready for service. They were both white, old "Tom," high, long, and raw-boned with white mane and tail, and "Dick," short, more compact, with black mane and tail, but both alike remembered with affection to her dying day by Dr. Wait's daughter, Mrs. J. M. Brewer. Before the end of the spring the number of horses was increased to five. For a wagon, at first, they had only the old jersey <sup>7</sup> in which Wait had traveled around the State. Though the funds available amounted to barely two hundred dollars, provisions were laid in for the kitchen. Servants also were secured by Dr. Wait during his short agency for the Institute, but not without difficulty, owing to the lateness of the season.<sup>8</sup>

The requirements for admission to the new school and some regulations for its operation had been set out in the meeting of the Convention Board on September 25, 1832. The object of the school was declared to be both to enable young ministers to get an education at moderate cost, and to train youth in general to a knowledge of science and practical agriculture. It was to be open to the reception of all youth of good character; the number for the first year was to be limited to fifty. The minimum age of students was to be twelve years. Every student was to provide himself with an axe and a hoe, a pair of sheets and a pair of towels. Further he was to labor three hours a day under the direction of a scientific farmer, and be subject to the control of a principal teacher who was to be a minister of the Gospel. The total expenses were to be \$60 a year, of which \$25 was to be

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Major Ingram tells this story about the jersey which shows the tact and humor of Wait. Once when he was traveling in this section of the State as agent for the Institute, he happened to get among some Hard-shell Baptists. They were opposed to the Institution and to the missionary cause. They said that Dr. Wait was traveling around as an agent in his fine two-horse carriage. This came to Dr. Wait's ears, and he carried them up to his vehicle and said, "Now, brethren, if you see anything fine about this old jersey wagon, just take a broad-axe and hew it off."

<sup>8</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

paid in advance; but from this total were to be deducted the student's earnings as a laborer on the farm. There was to be one vacation from the middle of December to the first of February.<sup>9</sup> As this program had been extensively advertised in the *Raleigh Register* with the request that it be copied by other papers in the State, and in the *Interpreter*, as well as at the associations and conventions, the aims and purposes of the Institute were well known throughout the greater part of the State.

The day set for the opening was Monday, February 3, 1834. Wait dwells on the fact that the weather was remarkably fine, the days as delightful as days in the month of May. Thus kind Providence with sunshine and balmy winds bringing the perfumes of southern fields and woods seemed to be blessing the new undertaking.

On the opening day more boys than were expected were on hand ready to enroll as students. The first to matriculate was John M. Crenshaw, son of William Crenshaw, at whose home Principal Wait had been staying.<sup>10</sup> He was but a lad of twelve or thirteen, but he lived long to enjoy the distinction of being the first matriculate of Wake Forest. He was a farmer, merchant, and mill owner, and added to a fair patrimony by his industry and enterprise a considerable property. His elegant home was three miles west of the College. He took great pride in the College, especially in the Philomathesian Society of which he was a member and in the hall of which is his portrait. He died in 1910. Sixteen students registered the first day, and forty within the first few weeks; before the end of the year, seventy-two.<sup>11</sup> Of these students only four were preachers." Only eighteen were professors of religion.<sup>12</sup> Most of the students were sons of farmers,

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<sup>9</sup> Digested from an advertisement over the name of John Armstrong, Cor. Sec., in the *Raleigh Register*, November 23, 1832, and quoted in Coon's *North Carolina Schools and Colleges*, p. 694 f. This advertisement is referred to as hampering the Institute by Dr. Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II, 50 f.

<sup>10</sup> Sikes, "Wake Forest Institute."

<sup>11</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 50 f.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of Luther Rice in *Christian Index*, reprinted with editorial note in *Baptist Interpreter* of July 5, 1834.

18 Sikes, "Wake Forest institute."



whose parents were doubtless influenced to place their sons at Wake Forest by the considerations that they would be under religious influence and discipline, learn habits of industry, and at the same time be instructed in improved methods of farming, all at an expense of \$60 a year.

The list of the students for the first year is as follows: From Wake fourteen: John M. Crenshaw, E. A. Crudup, R. A. Harrison, Ezekiel Holland, L. K. Jones, R. M. Jones, S. B. Jones, William Jones, William Ridley, R. B. Seawell, C. H. Shaw, LeRoy Strayhorn, Michael Thompson, Dallas Wood; from Bertie eleven: W. T. Bush, David Harrell, Nazareth Leggett, J. S. Lucas, James Moore, Joshua Moore, W. L. Moore, D. G. Outlaw, W. M. Outlaw, W. G. Sutton, R. E. Weston; from Chatham eleven: J. H. Brooks, W. T. Broods, Elisha Burns, M. W. Burroughs, John Cotton, W. C. Council, J. W. Hackney, Robert Hackney, A. G. Headen, James Holt, John Holt; from Richmond six: J. C. Dockery, S. M. Ingram, R. J. Steele, T. W. Steele, A. W. Thomas, W. D. Ussery; from Chowan four: F. W. Bond, J. W. Hoskins, R. M. Noxon, J. H. Skinner; from Craven three: B. A. Ernul, F. T. Riggs, George Washington; from the State of Alabama two: N. W. Price, O. H. P. Prince; from Edgecombe two: Nathan Matthewson, W. R. Powell; from Franklin two: Henry Harris, W. H. Jones; from Hertford two: J. A. Delke, M. M. Wise; from Montgomery two: Spencer Holton, David Wright; from Orange two: W. H. Merritt, W. C. Watts; from Warren two: J. M. Collins, John Watson; from Anson one: Philip Gatherings; from Cumberland one: Benjamin F. Atkins; from Currituck one: T. W. Sanderson; from Duplin one: J. M., Hufham; from Lenoir one: W. H. Haywood; from Moore one: H. K. Person; from Pasquotank one : A. F. Williams ; from Perquimans one: W. C. Skinner ; from Person one: J. M. Norfleet ; from South Carolina one: M. N. Strickland; from Virginia one: W. H. Walthal.<sup>14</sup>

The students whose number from the first was increasing daily

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<sup>14</sup> Compiled from Taylor, *General Catalogue of Wake Forest College*.

had to be taught, housed, provided with beds, fed and trained to work on the farm. The burden of all this rested on Wait alone, for with the exception of the farmer, he had no assistant.<sup>15</sup> Wait found that their preparation was of different degrees and their objects in coming to the Institute various. Some wished to be prepared for College in as short a time as possible, "and others could only, with difficulty, read in a common spelling book."<sup>16</sup> Major Sanders M. Ingram says that his preparation had been very poor and that he found English Grammar so difficult that he planned to run away from the Institute.<sup>17</sup> The textbooks used in the lower classes were Murray's Readers and Grammars, and Pike's Arithmetics.<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Wait spent the forenoon in teaching, rising before day, and hearing a class by candle-light before breakfast.<sup>19</sup> And this he kept up during the first year. The youthful students appreciated his instruction, and there is evidence that he was inspirational, provoking his scholars to a desire to become able to take their stand as men of culture, learning and usefulness. The students greatly admired and respected their teacher.<sup>20</sup> Wait in turn appreciated his opportunity. In speaking of the work of the first year he says: "I had now a pretty large amount

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<sup>15</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 192 f.

<sup>18</sup> Sikes, "Wake Forest Institute."

<sup>19</sup> "I have recited many a Latin lesson to him by candle light before daybreak in the morning; our lamps frequently burned until midnight." Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 196 f. See also letter below from *Biblical Recorder* of April, 1935.

<sup>20</sup> Mr. A. G. Headen, *Student*, Vol. 21, p. 86, says: "No purer, better man ever lived," while Major Ingram is more circumstantial: "He taught us to think a great deal of ourselves, to set our mark high, to study hard and get our lessons well. He encouraged us to believe that we would eventually fill high offices and make great men. It did not take us long to come to the conclusion that Dr. Wait was one of the greatest men that ever lived, and that we were next." And again, "Dr. Wait liked to see the students well dressed and neat and clean, and that their wardrobes were kept in good condition. Dr. Wait himself dressed neatly, was dignified in demeanor, and, withal, was a fine-looking man. It is a great deal to say, but I know of no man who has lived in North Carolina who has done more good to the world than he." *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 475, 196.

of raw material on which to work. In every instance in which I thought there might be the most distant prospect of ultimate success, I impressed the importance of trying to acquire a collegiate education. And I have the happiness of knowing that even these early efforts were not altogether in vain.<sup>21</sup>

Twice a day the Principal assembled the students for prayers; once at the dawn of day, and again a little before sunset.<sup>22</sup> During this first year there was no other place to assemble the students for lectures and morning and evening prayers than the old carriage house.<sup>23</sup> This was a building sixteen by twenty-four feet. It was supplied with desks and benches, but the large doors were left without alteration.<sup>24</sup> The students were housed in the cabins and were well pleased with their quarters. Dr. Wait says that although it was known that these cabins were originally built for slaves and occupied by them, he never heard the least objection to them from any student. Some of the students had brought beds with them, and these supplemented the supply of feather beds with which the cabins had already been furnished. But the number of students was so much beyond expectation and increased so rapidly that there were more students than beds for them. To meet this want Dr. Wait and his family often worked to midnight making shuck mattresses so that no student might be forced to return home for lack of bed. The students soon numbered more than the contemplated fifty. There was no thought of turning any away. As more and more came and the accommodations became more and more inadequate,<sup>25</sup> the Trustees, one or another of them, sent to the Principal almost daily, expressions of their joy with urgent request to receive all that came, while, if left to himself, the Principal would have not

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<sup>21</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. XIII, 197. "We could not all get into the classrooms at the same time. We had to study our lessons in the grove and go in to recite to the professors by sections."

<sup>24</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

<sup>25</sup> Students came from every direction, several from Virginia and South Carolina. Every house, and even the barn, were filled to utmost capacity. Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 197.

overcrowded his accommodations with more than forty students.<sup>26</sup> As an assistant in looking after the students and serving as matron, Principal Wait had secured Miss Betsy Parker of Montgomery County, whose acquaintance the Waits had formed while he was traveling as agent of the Convention.<sup>27</sup>

These students had also to be fed. The equipment for preparing and serving was also very inadequate. The kitchen and cooking fixtures were such as were sufficient only for an average family. The kitchen stood apart from the house and near it was "the poorest sort of an apology for a brick oven." And here meals had to be prepared for seventy students, students with the appetites peculiar to the adolescent age and whetted by farm labor. The cook was a negro man. (Ingram). The dining room of the house was far too small, about eighteen feet square. It was not possible for more than one-third of the students to take their meals at one time. Accordingly, Principal Wait divided the students into three divisions in alphabetical order: "The several companies took their meals in rotation. The first division at first in the morning and last at noon, and so on in regular rotation. Nine times a day, therefore, our table was obliged to be set, and such care taken in dividing the meals as would be most likely to give satisfaction. At length, this plan being so laborious, we constructed a cloth tent nearly 70 feet long; and here, for the first time, we took our meals together."<sup>28</sup>

As the supply of servants was short of the need and no more could be procured, the Principal found it necessary often to throw aside his dignity, and take a hand in getting the table ready. Many a time when he had ended his teaching about noon, he would hasten to the tent and assist in setting the table or doing anything needful to hasten on the dinner.<sup>29</sup> Only a few notes

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<sup>26</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

<sup>27</sup> Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 196.

<sup>28</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXI, 86. "Our dining-hall was a tent minus the sides covered with canvas which was very pleasant when the weather was warm and bright but when it rained was rather rough. Many happy frolics we had under that tent at meal time." Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest."

<sup>29</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. II.

of dissatisfaction with the board during the first year have made themselves heard. Then as now in college boarding houses the staple meat was beef. Many of the students had not been accustomed to it as a daily dish; and one big fellow aroused an approving laugh one day by proposing: "Fellows, let us do our endeavor and eat up all this beef."<sup>30</sup> Dr. J. A. Delke<sup>31</sup> in a note taken from his autobiography, shows that he found one dish not to his liking. He says: "We were furnished at breakfast with a dish which we called Hodge-podge, similar, I suppose, in its ingredients and getting up, to Shakespeare's Hodge pudding. At any rate, though highly flavored, it was not sweetly savored." But what did he expect for four dollars and fifty cents a calendar month?

We have seen that Wake Forest Institute was chartered as a manual labor institution. Schools of this kind had come into much favor in the United States because of the success and fame of Fellenberg's manual labor institution in Switzerland. Philip Emanuel Fellenberg was a noble Swiss who in his early years took an active part in affairs of state. But becoming disgusted with politics, while he was serving on a diplomatic mission in Paris, he returned home, bought an estate of six hundred acres at Hofwyl, near Bern, and on it, in 1797, established his school on the manual labor system with agriculture as a basis. This school he kept up, making improvements from time to time, until his death in 1844. Ridiculed at first his school gradually "began to attract the notice of foreign countries, and pupils began to flock to him from every country in Europe, both for the purpose of studying agriculture and to profit by the high moral training which he associated with his educational system."<sup>32</sup>

The most notable result which came from the Hofwyl institution was the impulse it gave to the development of manual labor schools in the United States. To it many of our colleges which

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<sup>30</sup> A. G. Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest," *Wake Forest Student*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>31</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, X, 324.

<sup>32</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, s. v. Fellenberg.

have long since dropped the manual labor feature owe their birth. The movement for the organization of such schools in this country began before 1830. They were first established in New England; in Connecticut in 1819, in Maine in 1821, in Massachusetts in 1824. The Oneida Manual Labor Institute at Whitesboro, New York, was in existence from 1827 to 1834. Nearly all the Southern Baptist colleges, such as Mercer and Howard, began as manual labor institutions. The purpose of all of them was to unite training in agriculture and mechanical pursuits with ordinary school studies.<sup>33</sup> The Manual Labor Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was organized in New York in 1831, for the purpose of "collecting and diffusing information calculated to promote the establishment and prosperity of manual labor schools in the United States." The first and only report of the Society was published in 1831.<sup>34</sup>

It was doubtless the influence of this Society and its report that led the Baptists of North Carolina to adopt the manual labor plan for Wake Forest Institute. Dr. Wait<sup>35</sup> tells of the considerations in deciding what kind of school the new Institute should be. The first thought was only for the education of young preachers and this was never lost sight of. Though many believed that the highest object should be to give "a plain English education," it was soon recognized that there was a demand for something more. The next question was how to make the school selfsupporting. There was no hope of this if the school was to be for preachers alone, for preachers were usually poor, and in theological schools in that day as well as in this paid no tuition. Accordingly it was decided to "remodel the original plan so as to admit as students any young gentleman of good character, whether professors of religion or not. This would afford a prospect of being able to support the school, and no other plan was suggested that would do this." It was in the Convention year 1831-32 that the manual labor plan was agreed upon, that is,

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<sup>33</sup> Monroe, *Cyc. of Educ.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, II, 49 f.

shortly after the report of the Manual Labor Society, mentioned above, was issued.

After the purchase of the farm the promoters of the Institute brought before the people of the State the many excellencies of manual labor schools. Meredith in the *Interpreter* of May, 1833, filled a page with extracts from the literature of the subject, all going to show how necessary to the health of students manual labor was. He also quotes statements from the heads of Maine Wesleyan Seminary, Oneida Institute, Cumberland College, and Pennsylvania Manual Labor Institute, that at these institutions students were earning their board by their labor. On January 19, 1833, Reverend John Armstrong delivered in Raleigh a lecture on Manual Labor Schools. In it he repeated in oratorical style the argument of the report of the Manual Labor Society,<sup>36</sup> though it is evident that his main purpose is to commend Wake Forest Institute. It is believed, said he, that by this system an education may be placed within the reach of every poor man's son in the State. At a manual labor school such as that proposed a knowledge of practical farming can be gained along with literary instruction. In this the needs of an agricultural State like ours can be met just where our University, like colleges generally, fail; for they prepare youth only for the professions and for literary and scientific pursuits. Again the manual labor school gives the bodily exercise indispensable for physical vigor, the lack of which in so many educated men cause diseases "which embitter their whole existence and eventuate in early dissolution." "Now in manual labor institutions the time devoted to idle exercise in other literary establishments is employed in productive amusement, and by this simple arrangement, a scientific knowledge of farming is imparted and a healthful body and a vigorous mind are cultivated and preserved." Such a system of education will also keep down the baser passions of youth such as envy and selfish ambition, and the dissipation which is so common among the youth

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<sup>36</sup> This lecture was printed in full in the Raleigh *Register* for February 1, 1833. It is given by Coon. N. C. Schools.... p. 750 ff. A synopsis of the report of the Manual Labor Society is found in Monroe, *Cyc. of Ed.*

of our colleges, at least, "it would ever tend to diminish the influence, circumscribe the effects, and soften the inveteracy of the worthless and vicious passions of man." Manual labor is honorable-consider Cincinnatus and Washington. Again with the energy of body produced by manual labor will come vigor of intellect, strength and accuracy of thought and promptness and perserverance in action. "Now extend the facilities of instruction which this system affords, so that every youth may receive its benefits, we shall have a race of hardy, perservering, enterprising men who would never rest until the State should be a garden possessing all the advantages of communication which the improvements of the day so felicitously confer." "With skillful management the youth of our State may be well educated, with an expense so very trifling that the most indigent of our citizens may furnish themselves with all its advantages."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Mr. Armstrong closed his lecture with the following roseate picture: "Let us now place a youth at one of those institutions, accompany his progress, and follow him into the station which he shall occupy in active life. On entering he is immediately introduced to the modus operandi of the establishment. Seven hours of the twenty-four will suffice for sleep, three will be required for labor on the farm; fourteen will remain, from which the principal will select for the purposes of study and instruction, leaving whatever remains to be appropriated by the student himself to reading, amusement or labour. In the literary department, he becomes familiar with books and sciences; he gathers strength to comprehend the thoughts of others and to master his own. The treasures of mind are spread out before him-he is taught to select from the thought of others, and to think himself. He is led over the broad fields of science-the objects, as they command his attention, furnish him with employment in examining and analyzing and comparing their various forms and nature, their peculiar usefulness and importance. And as his views extend over the infinitude of the region through which he is progressing, he feels his capacity to receive expanding, and his taste to admire improving. He is conducted into the garden of literature, in which he may regale himself upon the brilliant and the sombre, the gay and the melancholy-he may feast upon its dainties, or philosophise upon its productions. In the agricultural department he becomes familiar with the seeds and with grains, the nature of the soil and the process of cultivation. The progress and results of experiments perform their wonders before him-a feeble and sickly soul under kind nursing, grows vigorous and fertile; and fills the hand that nourished it into health. He will make the discovery, though it be contrary to all the instruction which he may have received from his fathers, that poor lands, like poor men, become rich from activity, and not from resting. Having finished his course of instruction, with a mind enlightened by science, accomplished by literature, and enriched by practical knowledge, with a body vigorous from healthy labor, our



From such commendations as these the manual labor feature of the Institute had come into favor with the people of the State, especially with the farmers. Much interest already at the time was taken in scientific farming as it was called. But the farmers had scant means of learning it. Agricultural periodicals with their weekly or monthly suggestions were rare. Occasionally some information was got from a wandering lecturer that claimed to be a "model farmer." The owners of large estates at least were eager to find something better. Accordingly they welcomed the opportunity to put their sons in a school where they expected them to be trained for the successful and profitable management of the plantations which they would some day inherit, while at the same time they would get sufficient literary education to fit them for places of influence in social and political life. And it was these owners of large estates and plantations whose sons made up the greater portion of the students during the first years of the Institute. The tale is told by such names as Cotton, Headen and DeGraffenreid from Chatham; Ingram, Dockery and Steele from Rockingham; Jones, Crenshaw and Crudup from Wake; Norfleet, Moore and Outlaw from Bertie, which are found in the list of the first year students.<sup>38</sup>

And it was owing to the fact that this expectation of instruction in "scientific farming" was not realized, more than to anything else, that the manual labor feature was abandoned after five years. There is no evidence that the farmer in charge of the plantation for the first year, Mr. Merriam, knew more of farming

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youth steps into the arena of active life. In a short time the effects of his education begin to show themselves about his home. The moral and social virtues are cultivated. A thousand little luxuries grow up around him. His farm exhibits the improvement of an industrious hand, and the attractions of a cultivated mind. His influence is felt in the neighborhood-subjects of common improvement and general interest are agitated-his expanded views are listened to, and the community is half disposed to adopt them, shake off their apathy, and reduce them to practice. This is a child of a Manual Labor Institute."

<sup>38</sup> "There can be no doubt that it is a considerable degree owing to this distinguishing and valuable feature of the plan, that so many of the principal men of our State are anxious to have their sons educated at Wake Forest." From report to Board of Trustees, Nov. 3, 1834.

than the system used in his native New England in the early days, under which the hillsides were denuded of their soil. The farmer who succeeded Mr. Merriam did not do much better. The students were never asked to do anything beyond humdrum farm work; they could maul rails, build rail fences after conveying the heavy rails from the woods on their shoulders; they could plow and use a hoe. Bounteous crops of vegetables were grown, and ordinary crops of corn and wheat.<sup>39</sup> But there seems to have been little planning or prevision, and in the first and second years not more than half the crops was planted that the students could easily have cultivated. There were no trial or demonstration patches on which could be tested the value of certain methods of cultivation, varieties of grain, fertilizing, and such things. There seems to have been no effort to improve the soil, or to prevent its washing into gullies. The poorer land was abandoned to weeds and briars.<sup>40</sup> It remained for Mr. Priestly Mangum to invent the Mangum terrace which keeps even the light rolling land of this section from washing, and retains its fertility. Such things as proper building of barns and stables, dairying, feeding of horses, cattle and swine, their breeding and raising, were unheard of. The Institute did not seize its opportunity by which it might have greatly promoted improved agricultural methods in North Carolina and at the same time have made for itself a name and place comparable to the school of Fellenberg at Hofwyl. But had it done this it would perhaps have remained an institute and never have developed into a college.

A much more modest aim was before President Wait. According to him the main object of the manual labor feature "was to promote the health of the students and contribute somewhat towards the establishment of habits of industry." In this respect it was a success as is well attested both by President Wait and the students.

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<sup>39</sup> "Amicus" in *Biblical Recorder*, June 27, 1838.

<sup>40</sup> Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 192. To the same purport "Amicus," *Biblical Recorder*, June 27, 1838, and letter of J. C. Dockery to S. M. Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 15.

Our labor was performed, says he, quite late in the evening. By this arrangement we escaped the heat of the day. This exercise produced a good effect. I speak from my own experience, having invariably taken part in this service with the students. There was no time in the whole day when I felt more like giving myself entirely to my studies than I did at night, after the performance of our usual task. This feature of the Institution was continued five years. To show in what light this matter was viewed by the students, I will mention one circumstance. About three or four years after the Institute went into operation a meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the Institute. It was reported among the students, that the Trustees were deliberating upon the expediency of discontinuing the manual labor of the Institution. A consultation was at once held by them, the result of which was that a committee was forthwith appointed to draw up a memorial to present to the Trustees, assuring them, in the most respectful manner, that they had no wish for a change, but that they desired the present state of things to continue.<sup>41</sup>

Though it proved irksome to some,<sup>42</sup> and others "played sick" occasionally,<sup>43</sup> in general during the first years the students fell in heartily with the manual labor requirements.<sup>44</sup> Nearly all were in one or another of the three squads that went out at three

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<sup>41</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 57.

<sup>42</sup> "The most objectionable feature connected with this school was its manual labor department." Delke, *Wake Forest Student*, X, 324.

<sup>43</sup> "At that time Wake Forest was a Manual Labor School, and it was pretty hard to go out to work on hot afternoons, therefore we had a great deal of afternoon sickness, I remember so well being called before the President for failure to attend some agricultural duty; my excuse was that I was sick; he inquired if I ate my dinner, and I had to say, 'Yes sir,' for I had eaten, and while I was not feeling well, my sickness was not serious enough to have prevented me from joining in something more pleasant than work. And after that when I wished to be excused I did not eat dinner." Ileaden, *Wake Forest Student*, XXI, 86.

"The utter distaste which many of the students had to the system was but too evident when the bell rang for labor. When the roll was called some were taken suddenly ill (?)—unable to work. But when supper hour arrived it was very apparent that their sickness was not unto death." W. T. Brooks, Alumni Address, 1859.

<sup>44</sup> "I was put to plowing Old Tom. I had learned at home to run a straight row, and this work suited me very well, for I could do as good plowing as any of the boys. One morning I went to the stable to get my horse, and lo! some mischievous boy had cut off his mane and the hair of his tail. I could not find out who did it, or there would have been a fight or a foot-race." Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 192. Dr. Sikes tells us that Major J. M. Crenshaw told him that he was "water boy" and enjoyed the work.

o'clock in the afternoon and worked for three hours. In the first year General Alfred Dockery, one of the Trustees, gave the Institute a set of blacksmith tools. Major Ingram tells us that he liked to blow the bellows because they came from Richmond County, and that he was always glad to get out of the schoolroom to work. He also says that W. D. Ussery, a mechanical genius, made plows and everything that was needed of iron or wood, and had so much of that work that he did not work in the field.<sup>45</sup>

The following letter written after the Institute had been running a year shows the enthusiasm of the students at this time for the work of the college including manual labor. It was signed, "G. W.," initials of George Washington, a student from Craven. It was published in the *Biblical Recorder*, April 1, 1835.

BROTHER MEREDITH: Taking it for granted that you would be pleased to learn some of the particulars of our operations here, I have taken it upon myself to give you a brief detail of our internal movements, and I might say, external movements; for never was a set of fellows kept so constantly on the go. I will begin at the dawn of day, when the loud peals of the bell arouse us from our sweet repose. We are allowed about fifteen minutes to dress ourselves and wash, when the bell summons us to prayers. At this second sound of the bell, the whole plantation seems alive with moving bodies; a stream of students is seen pouring in from every direction-some, while on the way, adjusting the deficiencies in their dress, which they had not time fully to arrange while in their rooms-some with vests wrong side out-some with eyes half open-and all in haste to reach the chapel in time to answer to their names. Prayers being over, just as the sun raises his head from behind the distant forest the Virgil class to which I belong, commences recitation. Other classes are reciting at the same time. At half past seven, the bell rings for breakfast; a few minutes after which, study hours commence. Every one is now kept at the top of his speed; some in recitation, and others preparing for recitation, until 12 o'clock, when the bell announces the dinner hour; and almost immediately after this we start on the same mental race. This is kept up through all the classes until three o'clock, when the bell rings long and loud for the toils of the field. While the bell is ringing the students assemble in the grove in the front of the dwelling house;- some with axes, some with grubbing hoes, some with weeding hoes and

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<sup>45</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 195.

some empty-handed, all in a thick crowd. You must now imagine that you see Mr. Wait in one place, Mr. Armstrong in another, and Mr. Dockery in another. Mr. Dockery, though a student, frequently takes the lead of one company. Now the roll is called, when as their names are called off, the students take their appropriate stations around their respective leaders, axes with axes, hoes with hoes, and then we start, each one following his chief. Those with axes make for the woods, where they fell the sturdy oaks and divide them into rails; the grubbers take the field, and sweat with heavy blows over the roots and shrubs that have been encroaching upon their clear land. Those with weeding hoes find much variety in their employment; sometimes they cut down cornstalks, sometimes they take up leaves, and now you may see them in the barn yard piling up manure. We students engage in everything here, that an honest farmer is not ashamed to do. If we should draw back from anything here that is called work, we should feel that we had disgraced ourselves.

Those who are empty-handed make up the fences, and harden their shoulders under heavy rails. The fact is we are always busy –always ready for recitation, and always ready for work. We are cheerful and happy-merry in a joke and hard to beat in a hearty laugh. We are sometimes tired when we quit work, but never so bad off that we cannot outstrip a common fellow when the supper bell rings. I am attached to the mauling corps and know but little about the other companies. Mr. Wait leads out our company-when we reach the woods our coats are laid off, and we set to with a good will and hard blows. Our chief sets the example:

"Nee non Aeneas opera inter talia primus

Hortatur socios, paribusque accingitur armis."

Blistered hands we consider here as scars of honor, and we show them with as much pride as Marius exhibited his scars to the wondering multitude.<sup>46</sup> That you may form some idea of our execution, I will state that two of our corps yesterday mauled one hundred and twenty seven rails in two hours and a half, and that the fence corps led on by Mr. Armstrong, in two evenings, made a fence and staked it near a half mile in length, and most of the rails were carried on the shoulders at least three hundred yards. You now see that we are not afraid of hard work. A little bell calls from the field-we enter the chapel for prayers, and immediately after take supper. We now have

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<sup>46</sup> In describing the first examination, Major Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 198, says, "The Trustees examined our hands to see whether we had the scars of honor or not."

about half an hour for amusement, when the bell again calls to study. There is no place like Wake Forest at night. The stillness of the graveyard possesses the whole outdoor establishment. It is now night -the pale face moon is shining beautifully, and all without is absolute solitude-save when a solitary student is heard winding his way with a pitcher in his hand to the well-soon again all is silence. O what a place for meditation!-how calm, how still-nothing but the gentle breeze stealing among the dead leaves as they hang upon the trees. But hark there sounds the deep notes of the bell-'tis nine o'clock. Now listen-how soft and melodious are the tones of those flutes-how beautifully do they harmonize with those of the violin the sharp hissing sounds are from the Dulcimo. Moonlight and music!-but enough. There's no place like Wake Forest. Good night.

G. W.

With such a promising beginning the manual labor plan proved so unsatisfactory that at the end of the fifth year it was abandoned. The main reason for this dissatisfaction was that already stated above, the plan in actual workings did not turn out men trained in scientific farm methods, as the Hofwyl institution had done, and as so many had been led to expect the Wake Forest Institute would do. The story of the system at Wake Forest Institute is similar to that of it at all other institutions in the United States at which it was tried-enthusiasm at first, abandonment in a few years. Wake Forest Institute like other American schools of the kind made no proper provision for instruction in agricultural methods, but was content with the hope of giving its students the very valuable incidental benefits of the Fellenberg plan, health and habits of industry, and education at less cost. Accordingly, when the principal men of the State, who General Dockery says were at first anxious to send their sons to the Institute, realized that they were not getting the main thing here -scientific knowledge of agriculture-they lost their interest and withdrew their patronage. The farm was an ordinary farm, made ordinary farm products, wheat and oats, corn, potatoes, and, in the last years, cotton. The records of the Board of Trustees show that it was about self-

supporting for the five manual labor years.<sup>47</sup> But the farm paid little or no returns on the investment. General Alfred Dockery, one of the most active members of the Board, who according to Major Ingram was one of the greatest friends the College ever had, and would leave his farm any day and drive in his gig all the way from Richmond County to look after matters at the Institute, took a great interest in the manual labor feature. A large farmer himself he knew the interest the principal planters of the State had in it. He was disappointed at the farm results the first year, and was chairman of a committee on the farm that reported at the meeting of the Board of Trustees at Cashie, in Bertie County, November 1-3, 1834. As Mr. Merriam was resigning, Dockery suggested the appointment of a man in his place who could apply the methods of farming as practiced in North Carolina. Calculating that 100 students working three hours a day-a requirement which the Trustees at this time insisted should be rigidly applied-would be equal to twenty fulltime field hands, he advised that for the year 1835 a crop of not less than 250 acres should be planted, 150 acres in corn, 75 in cotton, 25 in peas and vegetables. He also advised the building of two shops, one for a turner, another for a joiner, in which

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<sup>47</sup> From the report of the farmer for 1834, it was ascertained that the farm yielded during the year the following items, viz.:

130 barrels of Corn  
 8,000 weight of Fodder  
 6,000 weight of Hay  
 112 bushels of Wheat  
 17,000 weight of Oats  
 25 bushels of table Peas  
 150 bushels of Potatoes

The product of the garden was estimated at \$100. It must not be forgotten that the farm suffered immensely from the drought in the month of August, and also that the crop was pitched for thirty students only, although there were seventy during the last session. This report satisfied the Trustees that the Agricultural Department would sustain itself-for after having paid the students for their labor, allowing an appropriate sum for the expenses of the horses, and paying the salary of the farmer, there was a balance of a few dollars in favor of the Department. Records of Trustees, Nov. 1834. In 1836 the proceeds of the farm were \$1,628.00, expenditures \$1,258.90, profit \$369.10. "Amicus" *Biblical Recorder*, December 7, 1836.

students might be trained in mechanical arts, and at the same time make chairs, tables, and bed frames to furnish the college dormitories.

Doubtless if the farm could have been under the management of a man of General Dockery's business capacity, it would have been made to yield a handsome profit. But for the next year, the new farmer, Mr. Henry Wall, made no better success than was made the first year. He got into cultivation "only half as much as the students could cultivate owing measurably to the unusual severity of the weather" that spring.<sup>48</sup>

The measure of the dissatisfaction of the Trustees with the farm is shown by the fact that at their meeting, July 1-3, 1835, it was thought necessary to instruct the faculty, under whose management the Board had put the farm, "to have a lot or small field sowed in clover as an experiment." Later the Board gave orders about such details as repairing fences and cutting ditches and filling up gullies.<sup>49</sup> The business-like suggestions of General Dockery as to planting cotton were not carried out. In 1835 no cotton seems to have been planted, and while there is reference to a fine field of cotton in 1836, it was estimated by the Board to have yielded no more than 3,000 pounds.<sup>50</sup> With the faculty busy with their teaching and the farm under the direction of an ordinary farmer at a salary of two hundred dollars it is hardly surprising that it did no better. It lacked that management that some of the Trustees saw that it must have if it was to prove profitable to any large extent.

With the farming methods of 1834 it was also found difficult to provide work for the students at all seasons. This is revealed in the records of the Board of Trustees for the first year. For the last ten weeks of 1834 hardly any farm work was done. General Dockery in the report mentioned above deprecates any remission

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<sup>48</sup>J. C. Dockery, in a letter to S. M. Ingram, *Student*, XIII, 115.

<sup>49</sup> Records of Board of Trustees, July, 1835, November 25, 1836.

<sup>50</sup> Records of Board for Nov. 25, 1836. "Carolinus" in *Biblical Recorder*, October 12, 1836, extravagantly declares that this cotton cost twenty-five cents a pound to make.



from the requirement of three hours a day of every student without exception. He urges raising cotton because the picking would furnish labor for the students in the fall of the year. The Trustees insisted that no student should be admitted who would not conform to the manual labor requirements, and that three hours of labor a day for every day in the week except Sunday should be required of all. But it seems to have been found impossible to enforce these requirements. The Board on December 25, 1836, modified them so as to require no work on Saturdays, and when the faculty should consider that amount sufficient only two hours a day. In actual practice the students worked not more than one hour a day on the average.<sup>51</sup>

There were other minor troubles; one was the matter of employing colored help on the farm. At first the Board prohibited it; later the farmer was given permission to employ "three black boys to follow the plough." At first also students did not object to any kind of work, "that an honest farmer is not ashamed to do," but after two years we find the friends of the system insisting that the students were called upon to do no "dirty work"<sup>52</sup>

Soon the Institute began to receive students of a different type from those of the first year, that is boys who had proved failures at other schools and were sent to Wake Forest for amendment.<sup>53</sup> These men were reluctant to work either in their classes or in the field.

It was a matter of disappointment to many that the amounts received by the students for their labor were too small to make any great reduction in the cost of their education. Skilled mechanics like William Ussery, J. L. Prichard, and W. H. Walthal were allowed eight and one-third cents an hour, but the highest farm wage for students, as we have seen, was three cents an hour. After the first year provision was made for four or five "laboring students" who probably did very little literary work, and earned their way by doing extra time on the farm. But the regular stu-

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<sup>51</sup> "Amicus," *Biblical Recorder*, November 2, 1836.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> W. T. Brooks, Alumni Address, 1859.

dent earned very little by his labor. For the first year the records show that the greatest amount accredited to a student for his labor was \$19.73 1/2. This student was John M. Norfleet of Person County. The average credit for the year for labor was four dollars.<sup>54</sup>

As the earnings must have dwindled progressively as the students were given shorter hours, the Trustees finally put the keeping of his account for labor in the hands of each student, and in November, 1836, ordered that the students should receive at the end of each month their earnings as pocket money.

The advisability of keeping the manual labor to feature came up at nearly every meeting of the Board, and there is evidence that it had opposition from the first. The Trustees always had many advisers on this matter. Among them was a writer signing himself "Carolinus," in three letters addressed to the Board of Trustees published in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 5, 12, and 19, 1836. Dr. Wait says that the writer was a teacher in the College. He was probably H. L. Graves, tutor in the Classical Languages for 1836 and 1837, and later the first President of Baylor University. He favored the manual labor system but only for the purpose of guarding the health of the students and giving them correct habits of industry; for this one hour of labor a day was sufficient and no more should be required of students, nor should they receive pay for their labor. He would also change the character of the farm, make it a dairy farm with luxuriant fields of corn and small grain, timothy and clover, of which farm he gives a luxuriant imaginary panorama from the viewpoint of the top of the college building. These letters were answered in the *Biblical Recorder* by a writer over the name of "Amicus," said by Wait to be a student, though not named. In point of argument the reader of today will agree with Wait and Meredith that the student had the better of it, but Wait attributed to the article of "Carolinus" reluctance on the part of certain students to

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<sup>54</sup> Sikes, *Wake Forest Bulletin*, III, 203. In the records of the College, is a complete statement of the earnings of every student for his labor under the manual labor system.

meet the manual labor requirements of the Institute and the increased opposition to the system.<sup>55</sup>

At the November meeting in 1838 the Board of Trustees ordered the suspension of the manual labor system, "for the present." In the *Biblical Recorder* of January 5, 1839, is published a circular on the College over the names of Thomas Meredith, Samuel Wait, and Alfred Dockery, Committee. In it is a statement with reference to the suspension of the manual labor feature, in which the reasons given for the action were (1) that the system had proved unprofitable financially to students and Institute alike, (2) that it was growing unpopular with students and patrons. "It at length became plain that the labor must be dispensed with, or that the school must be sustained without students-which reduced them precisely to the alternative either of giving up labor or abandoning the institution." Hence, though the Committee recognized the right of those who had contributed to the Institute to protest, it was hoped that all would acquiesce gracefully in the action of the Board.

Thus the manual labor feature came to an end at Wake Forest. It had been good in its day but Wake Forest had grown much in the five years and now had a wider outlook on a broader field of usefulness and was aspiring to the rank and dignity of a college.

In leaving the manual labor feature, I must not fail to state, as Dr. W. B. Royall reminds me, that it had left a permanent and beneficial impress upon the life and character of the College. Wake Forest College still retains the democratic spirit of its early days; snobbishness has no place on the campus; it is still thought honorable here to work one's way through; and at the

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<sup>55</sup> *Student*, II, 57. It is probable that, as Dr. Wait says, the manual labor plan still had many supporters to the last. A strong argument is made for it in the *Biblical Recorder* of April 7, 1838, by a writer who signs the name "A Baptist." He is sometimes rather bitter. "Tis true," says he, "those disposed to form the 'beau monde' may find a powerful argument against it in the tendency to soil their slippers, deface their collars, etc., or destroy the silky softness of their hands."

College still a student may get an education at a cost low enough to encourage any aspiring youth however poor.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Several amusing stories about manual labor days were long current. The following is told by Dr. T. E. Skinner in his *Reminiscences*, p. 335:

"When I reached the prescribed age, my father, true and loyal to the Baptists, removed his promising scion-promising to him only-to the College, where he remained without any special distinction, save that he was summoned before the Faculty-that star chamber of the neophyte-once for cutting up the promising corn crop at hilling time, instead of supporting the growing grainery, for which he received the very moderate punishment of twenty stripes, with Rev. Langdon C. Hinton, and William Hunter, afterwards a Baptist, and now an Episcopalian preacher; with Sister Wait, of blessed memory, standing near, dear woman, with uplifted hands, praying: 'Hold, enough;' I thought she was the greatest, best and most charitable person ever encountered by this scribe. The whole affair was a farce on discipline; but we offered no protests, save that a few weeks after the same individuals were sufficiently suspected of grabbling potatoes in Professor White's patch. We thought that the object we beheld in the corner of the fence was a barrel, but lo! it was he. Still we all turned out to be preachers."

Mr. G. H. Wall told the following story of his father, Mr. Henry Wall, who was overseer of the farm of the Institute:

One cold, frosty morning he was given a squad of students to pull the corn on the bottom on the east bank of Richland Creek just below the bridge on the road from Glen Royall west. When the boys saw the frost on the ears they protested.

"Oh, it is not cold; your hands will soon get warm," said the overseer.

"Well," said the boys after going apart and laying their heads together, "it is so nice and warm, you must have a bath," and overpowering the overseer they dropped him into a pool in the creek.

When he came out of the water, shivering and dripping, he said to the laughing boys: "Now you'll catch it!" The boys understood, and bought off Mr. Wall with many intreaties and a purse of three dollars, which was all the money in their pockets. And such work as they did do in pulling that corn! One of them was Skinner.

Major J. M. Crenshaw, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 304, tell the following story:

"Mr. George Wall's father was manager of the farm. I myself was watertoter to the workmen and carried water in an old tin bucket. There were two little frame houses built after the College started, at the north and south ends of the Campus. Professor Armstrong and Mr. Wall roomed in one of them. Wall and Armstrong slept together, and as Wall was a great snorer, his snoring disturbed the learned Professor Armstrong. One night when the snoring had kept him awake for hours, Armstrong could endure it no longer. He laid violent hands on his bedfellow, exclaiming, 'Wake up, wake up, you've been calling hogs all night.' Farmer Wall rolled over and answered, 'And I haven't found but one hog, either.'"

## VI THE TRUSTEES AND THEIR PROBLEMS

During the five years in which the manual labor feature was maintained at the Wake Forest Institute the school was taking definite shape and direction and assuming the character that even now distinguishes it. We shall come to a clearer understanding of this as we consider the men who proved to be the actual working members of the Board of Trustees, where they lived, their standing in state and church, their ideals and plans and labors and gifts and sacrifices for the institution. It will also be necessary to see how the Board began and carried to completion its building program, how it provided a faculty of constantly improving quality until after five years it was fit to take charge of the little college into which the Institute had developed, and how this faculty under the oversight and direction of the Board of Trustees worked out a curriculum of studies and put into operation the regulations that the Board of Trustees made and required the faculty to enforce. It will be to our purpose also to learn of the students, of their work in the classroom, of their literary societies, of the keen rivalry which sprang up between these societies, and of their great formative and cultural influence. Then too, we can learn something of the social life of the students and of how religion was a powerful factor in the institution from its first years. After discussing these things we shall try to find indications of the influence of the institution on the social, educational, and religious life of the State.<sup>1</sup>

In the first months of the Institute the requisite number of

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<sup>1</sup> The primary sources for the period of the Institute, February 1, 1834, to February 1, 1839, are:

1. *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, copied into a large record book from the original books in 1888. It is written in a clear and legible hand. It does not contain reports of committees which are referred to in the record by letters of the alphabet and are probably lost. In the vault of the Bursar's office. 2. The *Interpreter*, 1833-35, Edenton, New Bern. In the College Library. 4. The *Raleigh Register* and *Raleigh Standard*, 1834-38. Bound volumes in the State

Trustees to constitute a quorum which the charter fixed at nine, failed to attend at the time appointed for the meetings of the Board. It was not until May 3-5, 1834, that a quorum was obtained and the first meeting of the Board held.<sup>2</sup> This meeting was at the Institute.

Library, Raleigh. 5. Minutes of the Baptist State Convention, 1834-88, and of the Chowan Association for the same years. Bound volumes in the College Library. 6. The record book of the Wake Forest Baptist Church. In the Bursar's vault. 7. Diary of William Tell Brooks, student during the period of the Institute. In the College Library. 8. Papers of President Samuel Wait and published article "The Origin and Early History of Wake Forest College." in Vol. II of the *Wake Forest Student*. 9. Articles by students of the period printed in the *Wake Forest Student*. 10. Manuscripts, contracts, balance statements, etc. In Bursar's vault. The *Biblical Recorder*, 1835-38, New Bern, Raleigh. The best secondary source is Professor Mills's account "Our College," in Vol. III of the *Wake Forest Student*. It is drawn for the most part from the *Proceedings*, mentioned above. Valuable also are, Gorrell, "History the Grounds," *Bulletin* II, 99 f., and Sikes. "Wake Forest Institute," *Bulletin*, III, 99 and "The Genesis of Wake Forest College." "The First Board of Trustees," *Wake Forest Student*, *Publications of Historical Commission* for 1901-05 p. 528 f. Taylor "The Time and its Men," *Bulletin*, V, 182 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The following letter of Rev. Samuel Wait to Rev. John Armstrong of New Bern has the matter of a quorum for its burden. It also discusses some other matters to which I shall refer below:

"Wake Forest Institute, March, 4, 1834.

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"My dear Mr. Armstrong

"Our number of students is now 27. Three arrived to day from Richmond Co. A son of Judge Sewall is coming to morrow, and three others being in the neighbourhood are expected daily. About forty will, we expect, be on the ground in a short time. One of the three just from Richmond is a good blacksmith, carpenter, &c., &c. He comes highly recommended by Br. A. Dockery. We have five from Richmond.

"No difficulty at all about labour. All are willing to take hold. The only difficulty is want of funds. Provisions being this year very high, we have as much as we can do to 'go ahead.'

"Could not get a quorum of the B'd of Trustees in Dec. tried again on the 12th of Feb, and failed; and now a third trial is to be made at the meeting of B'd of the Con. which takes place, you know, on Fri. before the first Sab. in May. about one mile from this place. Do, by all means, attend that meeting. Arrangements *must* be made at that time, if not before, for enlarging our accommodations. Unless the brethren who have charge of the Institute as Trustees shall fall into a deep sleep, and fail of making due preparation for students, it is more than probable that in less than one year from this, there will be in the Institution more than one hundred students. But the Bap. in Wake, with a few, and a very few honorable exceptions, are fast asleep.

"Seeing that something must be done at the time we failed to get a quorum in Feb., three of the brethren, viz., McAlister, Biddle & Wait, put into the hands of the Treasurer one hundred dollars each, stating, at the same time,

The members present were Rev. John Armstrong of Craven; Rev. John Culpepper, Sr., and Gen. Alfred Dockery of Anson; Charles W. Skinner of Edenton ; George W. Thompson, W. Crenshaw, William Roles, and Rev. John Purefoy of Wake Forest, Thomas Crocker and Allen Bowden of Franklin; Dr. J. B. Outlaw, Rev. Turner Carter, and Rev. Aaron J. Spivey of Bertie; Rev. Daniel Boon and Rev. David Thompson of Johnston ; Rev. David S. Williams of Sampson; and Rev. Amos J. Battle of Nash<sup>3</sup>

When these men had met they called D. Thompson to the chair and asked G. W. Thompson to act as temporary Secretary. First they discussed the unsatisfactory charter and, as was stated above, "after much deliberation," accepted it. Then they effected permanent organization by electing William Hooper, though ab-

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that the Institute might pay them when it should be able to do so, and not before. The last named br., poor fellow, had to borrow his hundred dollars, for which he gave a note payable on demand. It cost a considerable sum to procure all that it was absolutely necessary to procure, and commence operations on the farm and in the school

"Our Br. A. Dockery is Br. Dockery still. A recent letter authorizes the purchase of a complete set of Blacksmith tools at his expense, and, in addition, states, that we may expect at least one hundred dollars from his Co. in the shape of donations in the course of this year. Br. A. J. Battle too has done nobly. I have thought for some time past, that if the Br'n. and friends in Newbern knew how hard we are struggling to keep this concern up, that they would feel a pleasure in lending a helping hand. Do you think that they would? Do you think that they have done all that they ought to do? If we can only get started, I am confident, the institution will entirely support itself. Mr. Dockery intends to attend the meeting of the B'd in May... .

"Necessity compels me to beg you will say to Br. \_\_\_\_\_ that I shall want a part of what he owes me this spring. I shall not be at all surprised if I should be under the necessity of using a few hundred dollars more of my own money, before I shall have the pleasure of seeing the proper arrangements made for the accommodation of all the students who will yet wish a situation here.

"The first note is dated June 29, 1831, amount \$428.73. The second was given August 29, 1831, amount \$170. The third is dated August 17, 1832, amountd \$350. Br. \_\_\_\_\_ may pay the two first if convenient. As I have already borrowed one hundred dollars, my situation is considerably urgent.

If, however, it should happen to be a matter of convenience to Br. \_\_\_\_\_ to do so, he may pay only the first. The money can be sent on by yourself, and the notes returned in the same way. I will thank him to present his account for payment, some little loss you know on S. C. bills.

"I must in closing repeat my request, that you will attend the meeting of the B'd in May....

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, May 3, 1834.

sent, President. Mr. G. W. Thompson, Secretary, and William Crenshaw, Treasurer. At the second meeting thereafter in December, 1834, the Board, received information that because of poor health Professor Hooper could not accept, and elected in his place Dr. Joseph B. Outlaw, who served until December, 1838, when Rev. Thomas Meredith became the President. Mr. Thompson resigned on November, 1835, and was succeeded by William Roles of Rolesville. At the meeting in June, 1839, since Mr. Roles had left the State, Professor J. B. White was elected Secretary.<sup>4</sup>

Only seventeen of the forty members of the Board were present at the first meeting of the Board and not quite so many at any subsequent meeting during the years of the Institute. Many of the original forty never attended a meeting. As many as twenty of them had resigned or died or left the State before November, 1838, and their successors had been elected. In addition to the men named above those reported in the *Proceedings* as attending one or more meetings of the Board in this period were W. P. Biddle of Craven ; Rev. George W. Hufham of Duplin ; Rev. Charles McAlister of Fayetteville ; Rev. Reuben T. Sanders of Johnston; Professor William Hooper of Chapel Hill; and John Foushee of Chatham ; Allen S. Wynne, Samuel Wait, Foster Fort, David Justice, and William H. Jordan of Wake; Simon J. Jeffreys of Franklin ; and T. B. Barnett of Granville.

It may be well here to call attention to the geographical distribution of these men. It will be found that almost without exception the Trustees who took an active interest in the institution were from the slaveholding sections of the State. At the first meeting only Dockery and Culpepper were present from a point west of Wake Forest. During the entire period of the Institute interest in the school was centered chiefly in the stretch of country lying to the northeast of Raleigh, including the Chowan Association, of which, with some show of reason, Wake Forest College has been called "the foster child."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, 1834-39.

<sup>5</sup> Delke. *History of the Chowan Association*, p. 50.



It may be well to take a somewhat closer view of the men who assumed the burden of caring for the Institute during its early days. Among them were such laymen as William Crenshaw, William Roles, Alfred Dockery, and Charles W. Skinner, and such preachers as John Culpepper, Sr., Amos J. Battle, David W. Thompson, and Aaron J. Spivey.

In the autumn of 1833 William Crenshaw had helped toward starting the Institute by giving the "sowing and plowing in" of ten acres of wheat. As Treasurer of the Institute he put his wealth to its credit and at times advanced thousands of dollars to pay its accounts. His son, the late John M. Crenshaw, a lad of eleven years in 1834, was the first student to matriculate in the school. It is fitting that his portrait hangs in the College Library.

William Roles, who gave his name to the village of Rolesville, proved a very efficient Secretary of the Board. In 1835 he was elected Treasurer of the Baptist State Convention but did not accept, probably because he was making ready to leave the State.<sup>6</sup>

General Alfred Dockery was a man of distinction in the social religious and political life of the State. He represented his district in Congress and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. He was a member of the committee which secured the original charter of the Institute from the Legislature of 1833-34, and also of the committee that got the revised charter in 1838-39 by which the Institute became a college. The records of the Board of Trustees are full of evidence that he put his fine business talents unstintedly to the service of the Institute. But for him the farm would have proved a failure from the first. He not only outlined the general plan but looked closely after the details of its operation. He was a member of the committee on the farm and of many other important committees of the Board. He also served the Institute by gaining it favor with the Baptists of the State. This he was able to do the better because his brethren honored him with places of distinction in their organ-

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<sup>6</sup> Minutes of the N. C. State Convention for 1835.

ized work. From 1834 to 1841, inclusive, he was President of the Baptist State Convention. He was unanimously elected again in 1848. As is evident from his correspondence published in the *Interpreter* and the *Biblical Recorder* he kept open house and often entertained his brethren of high or humble degree at his Pee Dee home. Wake Forest was the darling of his heart and he was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Board.<sup>7</sup>

Another friend of Wake Forest, both as Institute and College, was Charles W. Skinner of Edenton. At the first meeting of the Board he presented the school with a bell, and subscribed five hundred dollars to the building fund. To this he added two hundred dollars at the meeting of the Chowan Association in May, 1838. All this was only the precursor of his princely gift of five thousand dollars which he made to the endowment of the College at the Baptist State Convention in Raleigh in 1856. He was a member of the building committee and other important committees of the Board and was a constant attendant at its meetings. He was the builder of the brick house which still stands in good preservation to the northeast of the campus. He provided the money for its building with the understanding that he should receive only the interest on the cost until the Board raised the money to pay for it. How intelligent and practical was his interest may be judged from the contents of a long report on the Institute which he as Chairman of the Committee made to the Chowan Association in 1838.<sup>8</sup>

Rev. Amos J. Battle came of the distinguished family of that name, and was the brother of Judge Wm. H. Battle, the father of Dr. Kemp P. Battle, long president of the University of North Carolina. From 1835 to 1838 he served the Board as its traveling

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<sup>7</sup> There is a comprehensive sketch of the life of General Alfred Dockery in Wheeler's *Memoirs of Eminent North Carolinians*, p. 382 f. It closes as follows: "His benevolence was proverbial. The poor and needy of all races always found in him a friend. No one really in need of help was ever turned away empty from his door. His contributions during his lifetime to the churches and to different institutions of learning aggregate a large sum." He was born Dec. 11, 1797, and died Dec. 3, 1873. A fuller sketch is that of Paschal, *Wake Forest Student*, XLVI, 108 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of Chowan Association, 1838.

agent. He also was on the building committee. His interest led him to build a companion house to that built by Mr. C. W. Skinner, and on the same terms. It is the brick house opposite the church.

Equally faithful and zealous were Rev. John Culpepper, Sr., who later became the agent of the Baptists State Convention; Rev. Turner Carter, who died after a year; Rev. David S. Williams; Rev. A. J. Spivey, who came to the first meeting bearing a gift of \$103, and Dr. Joseph B. Outlaw, member of the building committee, and first president of the board. To these names should be added that of Rev. John Armstrong, but his labors for the institution form no small part of its history and will be treated below.<sup>9</sup>

It was the men whose names I have recorded above who gave our institution start and direction, chose its faculty made regulations for its government, determined the character and scope of its curriculum, erected its buildings, assumed its financial obligations, defended it against detractors and malcontents among their brethren, won for it name and respect throughout the State, and, in spite of many difficulties, in five years developed it to such an extent that a charter as a college was granted it without question by the State Legislature.

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<sup>9</sup> I add the following statements from "The Times and the Men" by Dr. C. E.

Taylor, *Bulletin* III, 193 ff.: "James McDaniel, a zealous advocate of missions and education, was so honored by his brethren that for 19 years he was made president of the Convention. He possessed in rare measure the gifts and graces of an orator and many are the traditions of the power and pathos of his eloquence.

"George W. Hufham, an alumnus (he did not graduate) of Chapel Hill and a thorough classical scholar, had fitted himself for the practice of medicine. But God called him to a nobler work and for more than fifty years he was an earnest and effective minister of the gospel.

"Another graduate of Chapel Hill, Aaron J. Spivey, of Bertie, was endowed with such powers of speech and grace of manner as to make him welcome in the social circle and more than acceptable in the pulpit.

"John Culpepper, Josiah Crudup, Alfred Dockery, John Kerr, representing their districts in Congress; A. J. Battle, Stephen Graham, William Hinton, Alexander Moseley, George W. Thompson, the peers in social standing of any men in the State."

Although the few named were faithful it was often impracticable for some of them to attend the meetings of the Board; for this reason and because of the continued indifference of others the number in attendance often fell below the nine required by the charter to constitute a quorum. The fact that such a small number attended the meetings of the Board caused much discouragement, which extended to faculty and students. This became especially acute in the years of 1837 and 1838, when the school was burdened with the debt of building.<sup>10</sup>

The method of electing Trustees to fill vacancies caused considerable trouble as soon as the necessity for such election arose. The charter provided,

That in case of the death, resignation, refusal to act, or removal from the State of any of the said Trustees, then the surviving trustees, a majority being present, shall fill said vacancies.

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<sup>10</sup> Just how acute conditions were may be judged from the following excerpts from editorials in the *Biblical Recorder*. "We were surprised and mortified, however, to see so few of the Trustees in attendance. This is a most discouraging circumstance both to teachers and students, and is therefore to be greatly regretted. For those who live remotely from the scene of action, the inconvenience of attending must, we suppose, furnish some apology; but those whose residence is comparatively near, thereby discover a lack of interest which cannot fail to have an injurious effect on all concerned." July 7, 1838. . . . "It ought to be known that, for some considerable time past, there has been an entire failure in the meetings of this Board, solely for want of a sufficient number present to form a quorum. The consequence has been, that much important business has been deferred from time to time, until it can be deferred no longer without serious detriment to the institution. That the interests of this school should be allowed to suffer in this way, merely for the want of a little energy and self-denial on the part of the Trustees is, in our view, wholly inadmissible, and is, in fact, a reproach to the denomination." October 13, 1838. . . . "We are requested to state that a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest Institute, will be held at the Institute commencing on Tuesday the 18th inst. at precisely eleven o'clock. Business of importance, and which cannot be deferred, demands attention. Punctual attendance, on the part of members of the Board, is therefore indispensable to the interests of the establishment. It may not perhaps be improper to add, that a large proportion of the perplexity which has attended the operation of this school, has arisen altogether from inattention on the part of the Board. The interests of the institution must be attended to, they must be attended to by the Trustees, and they must be attended to in season and with due deliberation; otherwise the whole will inevitably prove a failure."

Nov. 17, 1838.

After the Board in December, 1834, had appointed a committee to adopt measures for filling vacancies, George W. Thompson, Secretary of the Board, seemingly following the instruction of the committee, published in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 10, 1835, a notice of a meeting of the Board at the Institute on the first of July next, and urged every member to be present for the election which could not be made without a majority present. This advertisement called forth a most vigorous protest by one who signed himself "Trustee" in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 8, 1835. The writer declared that the original plan of the Convention was to leave to the Convention itself the nomination of trustees for the Institute, and that the charter method of election was agreed to only to save it from defeat in the Legislature, and that the understanding was that vacancies occurring in the Board "shall now and forever be filled out of nominations made by the Convention."<sup>11</sup>

This letter came up for consideration in the next meeting of the Board of Trustees, who appointed a committee consisting of John Armstrong, David Thompson, and A. J. Battle to answer

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<sup>11</sup>The letter was probably written by some member of the committee that purchased the farm from Dr. Jones. It reads: "Brother Meredith-I have observed in a later *Recorder* a notice for the Trustees of Wake Forest Institute to meet for the purpose, among other objects, of filling vacancies by the appointment of other Trustees. Now it is well known that the Institute was an offspring of the Convention, and accordingly incorporated by the Act of the Legislature. It will also be remembered that it was made the duty of the Committee to apply for an act of incorporation to have it inserted, if it seemed probable to pass, that the vacancies occurring in the Board of Trustees should be filled from the nomination made by the Convention. But it was thought advisable not to press that clause into the act of incorporation, as it might be considered exceptionable, and the passage of the bill thereby endangered. This review is intended to settle and confirm the fact, that there was and still is an agreed and implied understanding and obligation subsisting between the parent and the offspring, the Convention and the Institute, that the vacancies taking place in the Board of Trustees, shall now and forever be filled out of nominations made by the Convention so long as it shall exist.

"The Trustees themselves are witnesses and parties to these facts, and how they should authorize a notice as above seems strange; and if they have not directed it, how any individual should undertake to dictate for the whole Convention seems stranger still. It seems to me that the Institute will prove a powerful engine of truth or corruption, and it should therefore be regarded with corresponding vigilance."

it. This committee reported at the same meeting but no answer was published. At the next meeting of the Convention, that of 1835, at Union Camp Ground in Rowan County, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That inasmuch as the Wake Forest Institute is, in point of fact, the offspring of the Convention, the Trustees of that institution be requested to accept from this body a nomination out of which to choose members to fill all vacancies occurring in that body.<sup>12</sup>

To this request the Board promptly agreed with the added stipulation that the Convention should make two nominations for every vacancy to be filled.<sup>13</sup> The plan worked well and there was no further friction. The Convention at that time, as since, was directed by men who were active members of the Board of Trustees of the school. Its president was General Alfred Dockery, and it was he who appointed the nominating committee. This was almost always made up of members of the Board of Trustees, and their nominations were accepted so much without question that the names of those nominated were not even published in the minutes of the Convention. After the Civil War it was only occasionally, as in 1875, that the Convention made nominations. Later, its right to do so was forgotten, and the Board of Trustees filled vacancies on its own nominations. This arrangement continued until December, 1912, when a modification of the method of election was made which will be mentioned later.

It seems probable that the question of the right of the Board to fill vacancies in its membership was connected with the trouble that the Board had in getting a title for the farm, which, as we have seen, was conveyed in 1832 by Dr. Calvin Jones to a Committee of the Convention, consisting of John Purefoy, William R. Hinton, S. G. Jeffreys, Jr., and Jas. G. Hall. As this committee had not deeded this land to the Board at the time of its meeting in May, 1834, the Board appointed a committee "to superintend the transfer of the land belonging to the Institute

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<sup>12</sup> Minutes of the Convention for 1835.

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, November 26, 1835.

to the Board of Trustees, and to report at the next meeting." At this next meeting, that at Cashie in November, 1834, the committee was continued and "requested to obtain the transfer as soon as possible." Again in July, 1835, the Board found it necessary to continue the committee. The delay was probably due to the reluctance of the committee which purchased the land for the Convention to release the denomination's interest in it to a Board which legally was beyond denominational control. There is evidence that this committee in making deeds in accord with the request of the Board had insisted on making the title still vest in the denomination and not primarily in the Board. At its meeting on November 26, 1835, the Board voted to consult "some distinguished lawyer" as to validity of the various conveyances attempted, and also as to the "practicability of conferring the title of the same to the Baptist denomination."<sup>14</sup> It was only after the Convention was reasonably sure that the Board of Trustees would fill vacancies from nominations made by the Convention that it later at the same session voted to transfer the title to the land to the Board.<sup>15</sup>

At the meeting in July, 1835, nine vacancies were reported to the Board. Two Trustees, Turner Carter and Stephen Graham, had died; six, W. P. Biddle, James King, Thomas Boyd, Thomas Stradley, Alfred Burt, and Daniel Boone, had resigned, and one, Hugh Quinn, had left the State. At this time seven new members were elected. They were Peter P. Lawrence of Edgecombe; Archibald H. Davis; David Justice of Wake; John Foushee of Chatham ; William H. Jordan, Raleigh pastor; Thomas Graves of Caswell; and Reuben T. Sanders of Johnston. At the next meeting the resignation of Charles McAlister was reported, and that of Aaron J. Spivey in November, 1836, at which time, though no further resignations are reported in the *Proceedings*, ten new members were elected. These were Thomas Meredith of Raleigh; James McDaniel of Fayetteville; James C. Stephenson of New

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<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings*, November 26, 1835.

<sup>15</sup> Minutes of the Convention for 1835, p. 9.

Bern; Thomas B. Barnett of Granville; Dr. Godwin C. Moore of Hertford; Samuel J. Wheeler of Murfreesboro; George W. Thompson, Foster Fort, Samuel Wait, and William Crenshaw of Wake Forest. This list contains names of some who were already Trustees. It is also worthy of note that the President of the Institute was named a Trustee, along with three others from Wake Forest, probably with the purpose of making it easier to secure a quorum.



## VII

### THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS

We now come to consider in its various aspects the work to which the Board of Trustees laid their hands in developing the institution. We shall see that it was a great work, and despite the opposition and scoffs of some and the misgivings and fears of others, the chosen few of those named as Trustees performed the work in a great way.

And first we turn to consider the Board's work in providing buildings for the Institute.<sup>1</sup> At the first meeting, following the report of the Building Committee, it was decided to erect a permanent building as soon as the funds would permit, and to erect immediately one two-story house 50 by 30 feet, and eight houses 26 by 12 feet, with stack chimneys and ten-foot sheds.<sup>2</sup>

Work on these temporary buildings was immediately begun and pushed with such vigor that the large building and two of the smaller buildings had been completed before the end of the year. The large building stood about where the gymnasium now stands. The first floor was used for recitation rooms and probably for college chapel. The second floor was divided into lodging rooms. This building seems to have been of poor construction. It was hardly complete before the question of alteration to secure its strength was raised.<sup>3</sup> A proposition to put a cellar underneath to serve as a dining room does not seem to have been accepted.<sup>4</sup>

Two of the smaller buildings were erected, one in the north end and the other in the southern end of the campus.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "A committee was created consisting of Messrs. Carter, Dockery, Outlaw, Skinner, and Spivey, whose duty it was to present a plan of buildings necessary to the successful prosecution of the Institute, and to report on Monday Next." *Proceedings*, May 3, 1834.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, May 5, 1834. <sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, December 22-25, 1834.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Dr. J. H. Gorrell, "History of the Grounds," *Bulletin*, July, 1907, p. 101, says with reference to one of these: "The north 'Long Building' was bought in 1842 by President Wait who moved it to a lot he had purchased on Main Street.

The records of the Board of Trustees<sup>6</sup> indicate that the large wooden building and one of the smaller buildings were built by Isham Young. For the large building he was offered in full payment \$769, and for the smaller \$528.75, but on his refusal to take these sums was paid somewhat more. The other small building was built by Mr. Foster Fort, who received \$20 more than the estimated cost.<sup>7</sup>

At the meeting in December, 1834, the Board ordered that the construction of further small buildings be discontinued. But during the next year the students "erected a comfortable house with four commodious rooms."<sup>8</sup> This house served as a professor's residence. That this was regarded with pleasure by Trustees may be inferred from the fact that the Board at its meeting, November 26, 1836, authorized the building committee to construct another "to be built by the students."<sup>9</sup> As no further record of this building appears its construction was probably never begun, the plan being superseded by a much more promising one, as we shall see below.

To provide funds for the erection of the buildings was a task that the Board had to face at its first meeting, and it faced it squarely. The Trustees present began by taking a collection among themselves, subscriptions to be payable in five equal annual installments.<sup>10</sup> Charles W. Skinner subscribed \$500, David S. Williams \$500, while "many others gave \$250 each."<sup>11</sup> The total amount of the subscriptions made by the members of the Board at this time was more than three thousand dollars.<sup>12</sup>

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For many years it formed the rear part of the residence of Dr. Wait, and subsequently of Dr. C. E. Taylor. It was afterwards removed to a lot situated on the corner of Pine and Middle streets, and forms the main part of the humble residence to the writer." The south building is also preserved and forms a part of a cottage on South Middle Street formerly belonging to Mr. F. M. Purefoy.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings*, December 23-25, 1834.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the Baptist State Convention for 1835, "Report of the Committee on Wake Forest Institute."

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, May 5, 1834.

<sup>11</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 56; Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 227.

<sup>12</sup> Statement in letter of Luther Rice, *Interpreter*, II, 147, reprinted from the *Christian Index*.

As interpretative of this manifestation of devotion to the Institute by the Board and of its other wise and progressive measures at this meeting, the following words of Thomas Meredith must have been very encouraging to the friends of the institution:

Heretofore we dreaded a failure in this school because we thought the Board wanted the enterprise and intrepidity adequate to the occasion. But we think they have now taken a position worthy of themselves, of the cause, of the denomination. We are confident of a vigorous and, with the blessing of God, of a successful effort. Let Baptists and the friends of Baptists put forth their strength together; let the voice of the caviler, of the fault-finding, of the prognosticator of evil, cease to be heard; let the cold, the callous, the indifferent, the jealous, the suspicious keep out of the way; let the prayers of the pious, the substance of the rich, the influence of the enlightened, and the sons of all be liberally contributed; and beyond a doubt, the object will be easily and completely attained-an object which can not fail to prove a blessing to the denomination, the State, and to posterity.

Rev. John Armstrong, the New Bern pastor, a member of the Board, and also engaged to begin work as a professor of the Institute at the beginning of the next session, was appointed to present the needs of the Institute to the people of the State and to solicit funds for the erection of the building.<sup>13</sup> Although he waited a few weeks to begin this work,<sup>14</sup> he was from the first more successful in obtaining subscriptions than could have been anticipated,"<sup>15</sup> and after working only four months, in which, as the pages of the *Interpreter* reveal, he was busy with other matters of much importance, and after traveling in only four or five counties in the interest of the agency,<sup>16</sup> he had secured when the Board met at Cashie in November, 1834, more than \$10,000 in addition to what had been previously subscribed, in all

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<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, May 5, 1834.

<sup>14</sup> *Interpreter*, II, 142. <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 206.

<sup>16</sup> *Baptist Interpreter*, II, 269; II, 238, says he visited the Country Line

Association in Caswell County in August, 1834, and was purposing to visit Chatham, Moore and Richmond before the Convention. He also secured a considerable amount in Johnston County. Letter of David Thompson to Wait, March 14, 1837, speaking of \$200 for Armstrong."

\$13,500.<sup>17</sup> Before the first of the next February he had made the total about \$17,000.<sup>18</sup>

Other agents, W. H. Jordan and A. J. Battle, by May, 1838, had raised the total of \$21,000.<sup>19</sup>

With the encouraging report of Mr. Armstrong at Cashie before it the Board immediately began to take measures for the erection of a permanent building. It adopted "in general outlines" a draft of the building which, along with a letter, had

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<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings*, November 3-5, 1834.

<sup>18</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 56. Wait has spoken in somewhat derogatory terms of this remarkable achievement of Mr. Armstrong. I mention this fact here as it may throw some light on why after a few years the Institution lost the services of this able man. Wait's words are as follows: "While there is no wish to depreciate the value of the services of our late brother it is due in justice to the claims of other agents to state the facts that belong to the case. The importance of a public institution of learning to a Baptist denomination in North Carolina was felt by many at the commencement of the Convention. And that it was absolutely indispensable to success in building up our churches was distinctly seen by all before the first anniversary of the Convention. Hence this point was frequently discussed among the brethren. It had been often noticed by the Institution. And one year before the termination of my agency for the Convention, I had been appointed Principal of the contemplated seminary, and requested by the Convention to do all I could towards procuring the means requisite for a successful beginning. Efforts were accordingly made, not only to raise money, but also to procure any kind of furniture that could be useful in a public boarding school. This was an important part of the business of Mrs. Wait and myself during the last year of my agency. But more than all, the school was actually commenced, and now in successful operation. More room was needed. All seemed to regret that the Institute should be retarded for the want of more ample accommodations. The school was indeed full. From the Trustees I received almost daily expressions of their joy at the prosperity of the Institute and urgent requests to receive all that came. Had the whole establishment been my own, I think I should not have attempted to accommodate more than thirty-five or forty students. The statement now made will enable any one to see that Brother Armstrong commenced his agency under most favorable circumstances. The novelty of the character of the Institution supplied with many a powerful incentive to immediate action. And the field was the entire State, no part of which had ever been visited by an agent laboring for this Institution. The best portions, of course, of the spacious field before the agent were visited first. Of this no complaint was ever made. Nor is it denied that our brother was very active and very successful. It is only urged that almost any one possessing respectable talents could hardly have failed of success under the circumstances."

"Minutes of Chowan Association for 1838. "Report on the Wake Forest Institute." Statement in Archives of College, "report of financial committee for the year ending 31 December, 1837," indicates that the amount of subscriptions and donations up to that time was \$21,855.50.

been sent to the Board by Captain John Berry, a contractor and builder, and himself a Baptist and later a member of the Board of Trustees.<sup>20</sup> A building committee was appointed to contract for and superintend the building. This committee consisted of William Crenshaw, Sr., Charles W. Skinner, Amos J. Battle, A. J. Spivey, and Joseph B. Outlaw. At this meeting Armstrong, Bowden and Jeffreys were appointed a committee to locate the "College Building," the first instance in which, so far as I have found, the word "College" was used with reference to Wake Forest.<sup>21</sup> Afterwards the new structure was called in the records "The College Building."

As the plans for the building were immature the Board of Trustees had another meeting, December 22-25, 1834. At this meeting the Board rescinded its action in adopting the plan for the College Building made by Captain Berry and substituted for it one made by Mr. Ligon, of which the dimensions will be indicated below. Captain Berry was consulted by a committee to learn "the difference in laying the College walls with brick or stone." The committee on location reported advising that the building be placed "in front of the present mansion," and the Board so ordered. But later, at the same meeting, the Board rescinded its action and ordered that "the College Building be located in the place of the present mansion."<sup>22</sup>

The Building Committee had already selected Captain John Berry<sup>23</sup> as builder and contractor. In accordance with the action of the Board they now agreed upon the terms, \$13,000

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<sup>20</sup> The plan offered by Captain Berry was for a building of most substantial structure. It was to be three stories high with wall of brick, 42 inches thick at the bottom and 14 at the top, with as many as ten rooms on each floor. *Proceedings*, November 3-5, 1834.

<sup>21</sup> *Proceedings*, November 3-5, 1834.

<sup>22</sup> This house, the former residence of Dr. Jones, was first moved back to the west about fifty yards so as to be out of the way of the builders. Later, in 1842, it was purchased by Dr. J. B. White and moved to its present location on Wingate Street. Professor White sold it to Dr. Walters and it again came into the possession of the College when the Board of Trustees purchased the Walters estate in 1916. Gorrell, "History of Grounds," *Bulletin* II, 103.

<sup>23</sup> *Proceedings*, December 22-25, 1834. Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 227.

payable in three annual installments, January 1, 1836, 1837, 1838, but with the proviso that the building was to be completed by January 1, 1837, a circumstance which added to many others of like character goes to show that Captain Berry showed much liberality to the Institute.

Nor must we fail to state that the members of the Building Committee by pledging their private property secured the prompt erection of the College Building. The spirit of sacrifice which they showed in this matter seems to have caused much enthusiasm among their brethren. Nor was recognition of their noble action confined to this State. It was told all over the Union, and I think it fit that I should quote here a letter which appeared in the *American Baptist* of Philadelphia, July, 1836. It reads:

It is with no small degree of surprise as well as pleasure that I have learned the rapid progress the institution-Wake Forest Institute-has made, and the despatch with which its friends have procured the erection of commodious and substantial buildings. Not quite two and one-half years have elapsed since the Institution commenced operations, and amidst opposition and indifference in a section of country where such efforts were somewhat novel and were complicated by long established prejudices. The number of students has become 120, as large a number as can at present be accommodated, and a handsome, substantial structure at a cost of \$20,000 *is* nearly completed. I have recently learned in conversation with a gentleman who is well acquainted with the origin and progress of the institution the secret of this unlooked for advancement. Several individuals constituting a building committee nobly pledged their own private property to the cause, and thus secured the immediate execution of the work. The names of Charles W. Skinner, Dr. Joseph B. Outlaw, William Crenshaw, Amos J. Battle, and Aaron J. Spivey should be known as an example of others. Let their zeal and liberality stimulate their Northern brethren to similar exertions.<sup>24</sup>

At the meeting of the Board on July 1, 1835, David Thompson, John Armstrong and A. Dockery were appointed a committee on ceremonies in laying the corner stone of the College Building, and the committee reported. There was, however, no

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<sup>24</sup> Reprinted in the *Biblical Recorder*, August 10, 1836.

corner stone; there were no ceremonies, and it seems that Professor Armstrong acting for the committee contented himself with laying a lead plate in the north corner of the front projection, inscribed on one side with the names of the President and Governor and the President of the Convention, and on the other with the names of the officers of the Institute and of the Literary Societies and that of the architect.<sup>25</sup>

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25 The records of the Literary Societies show that they desired to have part in the *Exercises*, but were informed that they would be "entirely private." Eu. Society Records, August 17, 1835. After the burning of the old College Building, on May 5, 1933, a plate of lead was found in the north corner of the front projection, about three feet above ground. This plate, somewhat irregular in outlines, is about 9 1/2 by 3 1/2 inches, and of heavy plate. On one side, beginning just below the center is the inscription:

A. Jackson Prs.

U. S.

D. L. Swain

Gov. N. C.

A. Dockery

Pr Convention

On the other side the following inscription covers the face:

Wake Forest

Institute

Sep. 1835

Sam Wait, Prin.

J. Armstrong, Prof. Lan.

H. L. Graves, Tut

J. B. Outlaw, Prof. Anat & Phi.

W. Crenshaw

J. B. Outlaw

C. W. Skinner

A. J. Battle

A. J. Spivey

Buil. Comm.

Philomathesian Society

J. C. Dockery, Pres.

A. L. Yancey, V. Pres.

W. W. Childers, Sec.

E. Holland, Trs.

Euzelian Society

E. Burns, Pres.

H. Hinton, V. Pres.

W. T. Brooks, Sec.

J. H. Brooks, Trs.

J. Berry, Arch

According to the plan of Mr. Ligon the building was to be 132 by 65 feet; the central part projected in front about six feet and in the rear about two; it was three stories high, the first floor serving as chapel, the second for classrooms and library, the third for society halls. The two wings were four stories high, each entered from the end into a passage way with three dormitory rooms on each side on all the floors, forty-eight rooms in all, to accommodate 96 students. The fourth floor of the wings and the third floor of the central portion were on a level, with the passage way extending the length of the building. The classrooms of the central portion, on the second floor, were approached from the passage of the third floor of the wings, by a drop of two steps. The building looked towards the east.

The contractor, Captain Berry, went about his work with promptness and dispatch. The bricks were made in the vicinity, on the small stream to the east of the northern end of the Campus. How long the making took, or how long a time was consumed in assembling the other materials is not known. The work was already in progress in August, 1835, and was going on apace when Rev. Thomas Meredith was at Wake Forest in November of that year. In an editorial in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 18, 1835, he gives a pleasing picture of Captain Berry busy at the work.

The buildings are going forward under direction of Captain Berry, architect and contractor, with a regularity and dispatch which promise their completion by the time stipulated, January 1, 1837. The edifice is of brick, 132 by 65 feet, four stories high, and, besides a chapel, library, philosophical room, etc., will afford accommodations for a hundred students. It will be a handsome and substantial structure, equally creditable to the ability of the contractor and to the enterprise and liberality of the Trustees. We consider it due to the parties concerned, to say, that the Board have been most happy in securing the services of Captain Berry. Few other men would have conducted the perplexing operation of a large building in the midst of 100 students, with the ease and dignified equanimity which have uniformly marked the movements of this gentleman, and which have secured him the universal respect of both students and instructors.



Again we are told in the *Recorder* of April 6, 1836, that "the building is rapidly advancing under the efficient management of Captain Berry." The *Raleigh Register* had noticed the building as early as March 21, 1836. In the same paper of January 17, 1837, William Roles, Secretary, announced that the Trustees were happy to state that the College Building would be in readiness by the beginning of the first term, February 1, 1837.<sup>26</sup>

When completed, it was perhaps the best college building in North Carolina, and until its destruction by fire on May 5, 1933, the stateliest on the Wake Forest campus. The labor of making the brick and of building was done by the slaves of Captain Berry, two of whom lost their lives by a fall from the building. They were buried in the Wake Forest cemetery both in one pit grave with walls of brick extending about two feet above the ground, but now leveled.

A further word may be said about the materials used in the building. The bricks were of poor quality, since the clay of which they were made contained too much sand for brick, as does all the clay near Wake Forest. Except on the outside courses of brick the mortar used was too poor in lime. The result was that in the chimneys cracks developed. After the building was burned most of the bricks powdered on being handled, and the mortar

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<sup>26</sup> It is stated in the "History," *Bulletin* I, 4 ff., and frequently reprinted, that, "the first college building was completed in 1838." There is no authority for that statement. In addition to the statement of Mr. Roles mentioned in the text there is much other evidence that the building was completed and in use before 1838. Rev. John Culpepper in a letter in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 19, 1837, speaks of the building as being finished. A writer of a series of articles on the Institute, in the *Recorder* of January 27, 1838, says, "This building has been completed within a few months." The records of the Philomathesian Society of 1837 show that the Society was having some work done on the hall assigned it on the top floor of the building. These alterations, done by Captain Berry, are possibly what the writer of the "History" had in mind in saying that the building was not completed until 1838. The following statement from the report on "Wake Forest Institute" made to the Chowan Association at its meeting May 12-15, 1836, shows at least what was expected. It reads: "The college building is now progressing rapidly, and it is expected that by September or October next a considerable part will be ready for use." Brooks in his *Diary* says that the dormitories of the College building were occupied on Wednesday, August 24, 1836, and that worship was first conducted in the College Chapel on July 2, 1837.

poured like sand. The roof was of zinc, by agreement after contract was let. Of this 10,000 pounds were used, at a cost of 10 1/2 cents a pound for the 70,000 square feet of the roof; the additional cost was \$180. The zinc, however, made a very bad roof, since it soon cracked and became leaky beyond repair.

The need of houses for the professors was very keenly felt from the first. Although the students had, as we have seen, built a four-room cottage, and had been asked by the Board to assist in erecting another, the Trustees had in mind much better structures when at the meeting in November, 1834, they authorized the Building Committee to have erected "two houses, 36 feet long, and 32 feet wide, two stories high, for the professors to occupy." Before the project for the last wooden building got well under way, the Board had a very generous proposition from two members of the Building Committee, C. W. Skinner and A. J. Battle, to erect houses of brick as first planned. The terms which these gentlemen proposed and which were accepted by the Board were that they should advance the money for the building which the Board was to repay when some friends should donate it to the Institute. In the meantime, Messrs. Skinner and Battle were each to receive interest on the money he might spend not to exceed three thousand dollars for the building and improvements.<sup>27</sup>

These houses were nearly completed in May, 1838, and the cost of the two was stated by Mr. Skinner to be \$6,000 or \$7,000.<sup>28</sup> The final cost of the house built by Mr. Skinner was \$4,125.<sup>29</sup>

Another concern of the Board was to secure the erection of a hotel, public house, tavern, inn, or house of entertainment, at Wake Forest. Though the Board passed frequent resolutions

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<sup>27</sup> *Proceedings*, November 25, 1836.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1838, "Report on Wake Forest Institute."

<sup>29</sup> Letter of Mr. Skinner in *Proceedings*, June 12, 1850. The extra cost was probably for the lot and other improvements. The original contract for both buildings in the Bursar's vault shows that Captain Berry built them for \$3,000 each. The contract was let November 26, 1836; Mr. Skinner paid on Nov. 8, 1838, Mr. Battle on Nov. 10, 1838.

and appointed many committees, and offered many concessions in their efforts to get such a house of many names, none was built during the years of the Institute<sup>30</sup>

We now turn to consider the struggle of the Board to raise the necessary funds to pay for the completion of this rather ambitious program of building. Although Rev. John Armstrong was, as stated above, wonderfully successful in securing subscriptions, the Board of Trustees found great difficulty in meeting the payments of the College Building. Mr. Armstrong gave up the agency February 1, 1835. Rev. W. H. Jordan was appointed his successor,<sup>31</sup> but served only a short time, being succeeded in November, 1835, by Rev. Amos J. Battle who served until 1838, when President Wait was relieved of his duties as President and asked to take the field as agent. These men kept the needs of the Institute before the Baptist membership, secured further pledges and made collections. To encourage giving, the Board passed a resolution declaring that any one who should subscribe the sum of \$25 or upward should be named a "patron of the Institute."<sup>32</sup> But after paying for the temporary buildings the Board of Trustees found it necessary to borrow some money to make up the amount of the first payment on the College Building on January 1, 1836.<sup>33</sup> At this same meeting a committee consisting of Battle, Roles, and Dockery, reported on the state of the Treasury showing that the Institute was about \$3,000 in debt.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Proceedings, *passim*, from 1834 to 1837.

<sup>31</sup> Proceedings, December, 1834.

<sup>32</sup> Proceedings, December, 1834.

<sup>33</sup> Proceedings, November 26, 1835.

<sup>34</sup> A copy of this report, dated December 30, 1836, is preserved in a large record book, unlined, which contains also lists of students for the years 1832-36. First, it gives financial summaries of the various departments of the Institute, amounts due by students, and so on, and adds the following interpretative note. "We find that the Institute is indebted up to the close of the last session of the present year the following sums to the following persons: To Samuel Wait the sum of \$517.04. To reduce his balance to that sum, he has relinquished \$400 of his salary for the year 1835, and \$200 of his salary for 1836, and his claim to \$100 loaned to the Institute in 1834, with this understanding, that the Trustees are to pay to the treasurer of the building committee of the Institute the sum of \$500 as a donation from him. To William Crenshaw, treasurer, \$2,307.91. To Charles R. Merriam, steward, \$518.26, making together the sum

During the next two years, 1837, and 1838, the records of the Board give little information of the financial condition of the Institute, for, as Professor Mills remarks,<sup>35</sup> the balance was on the wrong side and correct bookkeeping under such circumstances was no pleasant work.

During the year 1837 came the great financial panic of Van Buren's administration; specie went into hiding and there was none to be had to pay postage or federal taxes or custom duties, the result being that the national government found itself unable to pay officers and employees. Banks failed all over the country, all but three even in New York City going to the wall.<sup>36</sup> The Institute found it difficult to continue to exist at all since the number of its students and the fees they paid were greatly reduced, while those who had made pledges had very little with which to pay them. As early as 1832 "a gold piece of money was a curiosity" to people generally, though not to the people of North Carolina, owing to the fact that our gold mines were then among the most productive in the Union. A legislative committee on currency and banks had reported in 1833 that the State was almost "destitute of a circulating medium," as the banks were closing up their business, while in the State there was estimated to be not more than a million dollars in currency to pay twice that amount of debts due to the banks. The Legislature, however, had by an enactment in 1829 provided that the payments to the banks should be distributed over a series of years ending January 1, 1838.<sup>37</sup>

This will explain why the panic did not begin to be felt in our State in all its severity until the year 1838. The above facts also will enable us to have a more adequate appreciation of the great achievement of the agents of the Wake Forest Board of

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of \$3,343.21. To discharge the debts in part we have in balances due from students for 1834, '35, and '36, \$2,477.86<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, and a firm trust in the goodness of Divine Providence to crown with ultimate success our efforts to pay the balance \$865.34<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>."

<sup>35</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, II, 28.

<sup>36</sup> Larned, *History of Ready Reference*.

<sup>37</sup> Dr. T. M. Pittman, "A Decade of North Carolina History."

Trustees in raising subscriptions to the amount of \$21,000 in those very years of stress from the 20,000 Baptists of the State. And what is equally remarkable is the fact that \$13,000 had been realized on these subscriptions by May, 1838, at which time the Chowan Association under the leadership of Charles W. Skinner pledged \$1,800 additional, of which \$200 was given by Mr. Skinner himself.<sup>38</sup>

It was probably this burden of debt that first caused the Board of Trustees to consider the expediency of laying off a town at

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<sup>38</sup> "Reports of Wake Forest institute," signed by W. C. Skinner, Chairman, in the minutes of the Chowan Association for 1838. "The subscriptions taken some years since for the purpose of erecting buildings amounted to about \$21,000; of this sum about \$13,000 have now been collected, leaving \$8,000 yet unpaid. Of the money collected, part had been paid out for improvements before the college building was erected. This building cost about \$15,000, of which about \$8,000 is paid; leaving yet unpaid about \$7,000. It will be seen, therefore, that the amount of subscriptions yet unpaid exceeds the debt now owing for the building by \$1,000. But it is probable that there will be a loss on the subscriptions of at least \$3,000. It will then fall short of paying the debt by about \$2,000. Besides, there is a debt on the Institute, separate from the building department of about \$1,800, making the whole debt of the Institute, which it has not probable available means of paying, about \$3,800."

I find in the archives in the Bursar's vault the following:

*Statement Showing the Condition of the Wake Forest Institute from its Commencement to the First of January, A. D. 1838:*

Cost of the College building complete .....	\$14,200.00
Cost of land when first purchased .....	2,000.00
Cost of 2 houses built by Young and 1 by Fort .....	1,500.00
Cost of Professors' Houses .....	3,000.00
Cost of all other buildings supposed .....	300.00
Amount due the Institute from Subscriptions .....	10,915.88
Amount from Institute to Capt. Berry .....	\$10,000.00
Amount due for Professors' Houses .....	6,000.00
Amount due from all others from Institute.....	1,966.56
Cost of household, kitchen furniture, stock, crop and every article of property on the premises not before mentioned .....	<u>22,949.32</u>
	\$37,915.88    \$37,915.88

P.S. Agreeable to the valuation of the property above  
 .at first cost with debts due the Institute the real gain  
 in favour of the Institute is to first of January 1833..\$22,949.32

The statement is incorrect in omitting \$3,000 cost of one professor's house in column of assets and shows other discrepancies. The amount due Capt. Berry, \$10,000 includes the cost of additional work he did on the College Building and other buildings, a total of \$1,320.65. Statement in archives in Bursar's vault.

the Institute and selling a portion of the land, "in suitable lots for family residences and other necessary purposes."<sup>39</sup> On December 20, 1838, the Board authorized the execution of a note for \$4,000 to pay an obligation at a bank. There was yet a much greater debt, the \$10,000 due Captain Berry on the building. We shall see later how this debt made for the building continued to hamper the College during its first quarter of a century. On the other hand, these buildings were from the first the biggest material asset of the institution. In the eyes of the denomination and the people generally they gave local habitation and name to a purpose which without them would have seemed visionary. The institution which was now becoming a college could hardly have been maintained at all during the trying years 1838-50 had it not been for the completion of the noble building program of a few members of the Board who were men of vision. They builded wisely but not more wisely than they knew.

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<sup>39</sup> *Proceedings*, November 27, 1837.

## VIII

### THE TEACHERS OF THE INSTITUTE

We have seen that for the first year of the Institute Principal Wait was the sole teacher. Others who were on the teaching staff during the period of the Institute were Rev. John Armstrong, A.M., Columbian College, 1825, Professor of the Ancient Languages, February, 1835, to July, 1837;<sup>1</sup> Henry Lea Graves, A.B., University of North Carolina, 1835, Tutor, August, 1835, to December, 1837;<sup>2</sup> Alban H. Hart, Tutor, February, 1835, to December, 1836;<sup>3</sup> Henry A. Wilcox, Tutor, February, 1837, to December, 1837;<sup>4</sup> John B. White, M.A., Brown University, 1832, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, from February, 1838;<sup>5</sup> Daniel Ford Richardson, A.M., Professor of Ancient Languages, February, 1838, to February, 1839;<sup>6</sup> and Professor of Hebrew and Rhetoric, February, 1839, to December, 1839;<sup>7</sup> and Stephen Morse, A.M., Brown University, 1832, Adjunct Professor of Languages and Principal of the Preparatory Department, February, 1839, to July, 1839, and full Professor of the Ancient Languages from July, 1839 to June, 1841.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Appointed May 3-5, 1834, *Proceedings*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Graves was first employed by the Faculty under authority of the Board of Trustees given at the meeting in July, 1835. In the Report on the Institute made to the Baptist State Convention of that year Graves is spoken of as Tutor. The Board, at the meeting at this time, again authorized his employment. A year later his salary was increased by the Board to \$600.00, and he was in addition given the rent of a house. *Proceedings*, pp. 17, 21, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hart was employed by the Faculty. Hence there is no record of his appointment in the records of the Trustees.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Wilcox was appointed November 24, 1836. *Proceedings*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> White was appointed by the Executive Committee on November 27, 1837. This action was later approved by the Board of Trustees. *Proceedings*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson was appointed by the Executive Com. Nov. 27, 1837. *Proceeding*, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Richardson was appointed to this new position June, 1839. *Proceedings*, p. 49. Professor Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 269, says that he left the Institute at the end of 1839. His church letter was granted the next October. See Wake Forest Church Records for October 11, 1840.

<sup>8</sup> Morse was first appointed November 29, 1838 (*Proceedings*, p. 33), and advanced in July, 1839 (*Ibid.*, p. 49).

In addition to the above the following other appointments were made but not accepted: Thomas Meredith was elected to take the Chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in May, 1834; Dr. William Hooper was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in December, 1834; Dr. Joseph B. Outlaw, previously of Windsor, but at the time a resident of Wake Forest and President of the Board of Trustees, was elected Professor of Anatomy and Physiology on July 1, 1835; and George W. Thompson was elected Tutor on December 18, 1838. Meredith, however, had the more important work of editing the *Biblical Recorder*; Hooper was at the same time called both by Furman Theological Institution and South Carolina College, and went to the former; Dr. Outlaw, a physician, was probably busy with his practice, while Thompson remained Principal of his Forest Hill Academy, on the Oxford Road near Neuse Falls.<sup>9</sup>

We may add here that the first manager of the farm was Charles R. Merriam, a brother of Mrs. Wait, appointed by the Trustees on May 3, 1834. He was succeeded the next year by Henry Wall who in turn was succeeded in 1836 by Jesse Jones. The salary of the first two was \$200 a year, of the last \$150.<sup>10</sup>

After his term as Manager of the farm Merriam became steward, and continued in that office till his death on April 10, 1837, when he was succeeded by G. Ryan, who continued in office until the Institute became a college. In addition to these we find that the Board of Trustees, in November, 1835, provided for the appointment of a seamstress, Miss Betsy Parker of Montgomery County, to attend to the washing, mending and distributing of the students' clothes.

The character of a school is determined to a great extent by the character of the teachers, especially in the school's first years. Wake Forest Institute was no exception to the rule. We have already seen what was the great influence of Principal Wait. We shall here consider the teachers named above.

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<sup>9</sup> Professor Mills thinks Thompson possibly taught in the Institute a few months. *Wake Forest Student*, III, 270.

<sup>10</sup> Sikes, "The Genesis of Wake Forest College."



The first teacher to come to the aid of Wait was John Armstrong. He was born in Philadelphia in 1798, and was in his early years a tinner, but having conceived a burning desire for an education, he overcame the handicap of poverty and pressed on until he graduated from Columbian College with a degree of Master of Arts in 1825.<sup>11</sup> In 1828 or 1829 he came to North Carolina, first as a teacher in Nash County, and in 1830 succeeding Wait as pastor of the New Bern Baptist Church. He was one of the men who organized the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, and became its first Corresponding Secretary, serving in that capacity until he left the State in 1837. At the second meeting of the Convention, which was held at Roger's Cross Roads in Wake County, in 1831, he, by previous appointment, preached the introductory sermon. He was asked to superintend the printing of the minutes of this session, and was made the delegate of the Convention to the General Baptist Convention of the United States. He was also appointed chairman of a committee on Education, of which the other members were N. G. Smith of Chatham County and W. R. Hinton, the Raleigh pastor. His interest at this time in ministerial education is shown by the following minute:

*Resolved.* That the Convention accept the offer of Elder John Armstrong to educate young men of the ministry, and that the Board be authorized to send such men as they approve to him or to some school, and to defray the expense, as far as the funds of the Convention will admit.

At the next meeting of the Convention, that at Rives's Chapel in 1832, as chairman of a committee he made a report recommending a religious periodical for the denomination in the State. In fact, so long as he was a member of the convention he had a prominent part in its work.

His labors for Wake Forest Institute began as soon as its establishment was proposed and continued with unabating zeal and en-

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<sup>11</sup> Letter to J. L. Prichard in Hufham's *Life of J. L. Prichard*; See also Cathcart, *Baptist Encyclodaedia*.

thusiasm, not to say passion, until he left the State. If he did not propose the idea that the new school should be conducted on the manual labor plan, his speech in Raleigh, from which we give extracts in a former chapter, would indicate that he was its most influential advocate before the public.

He was one of the charter members of the Board of Trustees, and continued a member of that body until 1840. At its first meeting the Board assigned to him the important duty of suggesting a course of studies for the Literary Department of the Institute. The records show that he was trusted by his fellow trustees with other most important matters. We have already seen how successful he was in securing in a few months subscriptions to the amount of seventeen thousand dollars for the erection of the "College Building," and that too at a time when there were hardly seventeen thousand Baptists in the State.

In February, 1835, he entered upon his duties as Professor of Ancient Languages in the Institute. Brooks in his Diary speaks in appreciative terms of his work in the classroom. But he was much more than a master of classes. The letter of the student George Washington printed in a former paper, shows that he was head of one of the manual labor squads of students. He was an inspirational leader of young men. The students were ready to do almost anything at his bidding. We shall see later how many of them abandoned the use of coffee for a drink of molasses and water at his behest. He also induced many of them to give up the use of tobacco. But the most of his work was positive. He helped the young men of the Institute in their social and other public functions, stimulating their religious zeal, taught their Bible classes, and shared with Principal Wait the burden of preaching to them and to the Wake Forest Baptist Church, which he helped to organize and of which he was assistant pastor. The diary of Brooks shows that he preached more often than the pastor, and that his sermons were thoughtful and powerful. Many of his sermons were strongly evangelical. In revival meetings he was great. He won the admiration and following of the

ablest young men of the Institute, among them Mr. J. C. Dockery, who went with him on his two-year trip to Europe. Professor Mills says that he was a very "handsome man," and very popular in the State.<sup>12</sup> He was, according to Prof. J. T. Alderman at one time Grand Master of the Freemasons of the State.

His engaging personal and social qualities may be inferred from the fact that on his trip to Europe he enjoyed the companionship of Dr. E. G. Robinson, later President of Brown University, and of John J. Audubon, the great naturalist.<sup>13</sup>

And yet there was some opposition to Armstrong when in 1834 he was first elected to a place on the faculty of the Institute; after the lapse of years it is difficult to determine just what it was. We only know that he offered his resignation to the Board a few months after his election and that the Board promptly reappointed him.<sup>14</sup>

After he had taught at the Institute two years and a half, in July, 1837, the Trustees voted that "Professor Armstrong be permitted by this Board to take passage to England, at his own expenses for the purpose of improving himself and that he have leave to remain abroad two years, except his services be sooner required."<sup>15</sup>

Sikes<sup>16</sup> mentions a tradition which seems to be authentic that a further purpose of Armstrong's going abroad was to study the educational systems of Europe with the purpose of introducing them in the college which the Trustees were already planning, and of which it was expected Armstrong himself would ultimately become president.

The departure of Armstrong for Europe and the resignation before the end of the year 1837 of Tutor Graves made it necessary to find other men for their places, at least temporarily.

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<sup>12</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, III, 269.

<sup>13</sup> Cathcart. *Baptist Encyclopedia*.

<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings*, November 3-4, 1834, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> "The Genesis of Wake Forest College."

Probably because of the failure to obtain a quorum of the Trustees for any meeting the duty of selecting these new men fell to the Executive Committee, which at this time was composed of James B. Outlaw, William Crenshaw, and William Roles, all of Wake Forest. On November 27, 1837, they chose John B. White, A.M., to be Professor of Mathematics and History, and Daniel Ford Richardson, A.M., to be Professor of Ancient Languages. A year later their election was confirmed by the Board of Trustees and the salaries fixed for each at \$800 and board, a hundred dollars more than the salary for the first year.<sup>17</sup>

White who, in 1848 became the third President of Wake Forest College, was born in Bow, New Hampshire, March 10, 1810. He graduated at Brown University in 1832, having been in this institution a student of Dr. Francis Wayland whose work on Political Economy he had studied in manuscript. After his graduation he taught for several years in New Hampton Institute in New Hampshire. Then resuming the study of law, which he had left off on becoming a teacher, he obtained license and was admitted to the bar in Greenville, Illinois, in 1836. But his tastes were those of a teacher and when invited to come to Wake Forest he readily accepted.<sup>18</sup>

In 1838 he married Miss Mary P. Merriam, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Merriam and a sister of Mrs. Wait. She was probably the Miss Merriam of whom Brooks says in his Diary under date of September 11, 1837: "Miss Merriam is quite an interesting female indeed, sings delightfully. Although she is a lady of extensive education there seems to be no affectation about her; her manner is easy and engaging, and Piety withal has

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<sup>17</sup> The minute of the Executive Committee recording their election was probably written by White. Its language suggests the lawyer. It reads: "Resolved, That John B. White, A.M., be and is hereby appointed to the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Wake Forest Institute. at a salary of \$700 and his board per annum." With change of name the same minute is made of the election of Richardson.

<sup>18</sup> These facts are found in a short sketch of his life found in the *Wake Forest Student*, XIV, 233 f., based on article in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopaedia*.

thrown her charms around her, which crowns her loveliness and makes her more interesting."

White proved a valuable addition to the faculty. When he had been at the Institute less than a year he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Trustees and their Treasurer and Receiving Agent, and on December 18, 1838, the Board of Trustees requested him to act as President in the absence of President Wait, whom the Board was sending into the field as agent. He was licensed to preach by the Wake Forest Baptist Church in January, 1839, and ordained in 1849. As to his Christian character and influence at this time, Major Sanders M. Ingram has this to say.<sup>19</sup>

In the evening we met in the chapel for prayer and Sabbath school. Professor White superintended the Bible class and explained the Scriptures to us. After recitation he made some very appropriate remarks from Psalm XXXVII, 37-"Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." I thought Professor White came as near being a perfect man as any man I had ever seen, and the more I became acquainted with him the more I appreciated him. . . . He had been an able lawyer and judge in Illinois. I asked him why he left the bar and the judge's bench to come to Wake Forest to become a professor. He replied that he could not deal in law and always stick to the truth, and that he would do more good to the world as a teacher than he could at the law. His wife was an accomplished lady, and taught the young ladies of Wake Forest.

Some have said that White was a very impractical man and did not understand the character of Southern youth<sup>20</sup> Perhaps it would be better to say that White's being a New Englander and an ardent admirer and disciple of Dr. Wayland, whose antislavery argument was well known, made him increasingly obnoxious in a slave State, as sectional bitterness increased. That White did have a most intelligent understanding of the educational needs of the boys and girls of North Carolina is shown

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<sup>19</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 474.

<sup>20</sup> Sikes "Genesis of Wake Forest College," Hufham, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 339.

by his Report on Education to the Baptist State Convention of 1843, in which he appeals to the Baptist ministers of the State to support common school education as the supreme need of its people and one of the best means of improving the churches. We shall return to White later in our history.

Daniel Ford Richardson, elected to the place of Armstrong, was also a New Englander, but I have not been able to find at what college he obtained his degree. Sikes, who had his information from a student of the time, the late Mr. J. M. Brewer, says that Richardson was "small of stature and rather testy in temperament."<sup>21</sup> Hardly had Richardson reached Wake Forest when he was ordained to preach.<sup>22</sup> He seems to have been a preacher of fair ability.<sup>23</sup> The files of the *Biblical Recorder* for the period in which he was at Wake Forest show that he had several country churches and had some success as an evangelist. He did not seem to like his work as teacher of Latin and Greek, but he knew something of Hebrew. It was probably at his instance that the Board of Trustees in February, 1838, appointed a committee to consider the advisability of establishing a theological department, a departure which had been considered for some time. This department was not established, but in July, 1839, Richardson was elected Professor of Hebrew and Rhetoric, while Stephen Morse,<sup>24</sup> who had come to the Institute in February,

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<sup>21</sup> "He came from the North by the old stage road that passed through Rolesville to Raleigh. The stage dropped him at Rolesville. There was only one way for him to reach the 'Hill,' and that was to walk, which he did. On this tramp he was accompanied by a new student who was in the same predicament. That new student was our honored and respected townsman, J. M. Brewer," *Ibid*.

<sup>22</sup> Record Book of the Wake Forest Baptist Church, minute for April 6, 1838. *Biblical Recorder*, April 28, 1838.

<sup>23</sup> Brooks mentions only one or two sermons by him, but when President Wait took the field as agent for the Institute and the Convention in 1839, the church made Richardson "co-pastor." Record Book of Wake Forest Church, February 16, 1839.

<sup>24</sup> The following are the records of Wilcox, White, and Morse, taken from the Graduate Records of Brown University:

Wilcox, Horace Alexander, A.B., A.M. Student Newton Theological Institution; ordained Baptist minister, 1835; pastor Wilmington, Conn.; professor Wake Forest College, N. C.; Agent American Baptist Home Mission Society,

1839, as Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages, was advanced to full professorship of Languages. In all this Richardson was probably taking shelter against the return of Armstrong which was now due.

This was the situation when in 1839 Armstrong came back from Europe. A new appointment for his place was made right in the face of his return to take up his work. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this was done with the acquiescence if not in accord with the plan of President Wait and those whom he had nominated to places on the faculty. At any rate Armstrong came before the Board of Trustees at their meeting at the time of the meeting of the Baptist State Convention at Grassy Creek in Granville County in 1839, and tendered his resignation of his professorship at Wake Forest.<sup>25</sup> Although the Board indefinitely postponed the reception of his resignation, Armstrong insisted, and the Board at a later meeting was forced to let him go.

This was the first serious break in the ranks of the supporters of Wake Forest College. Armstrong's friends were indignant. Sikes<sup>26</sup> says, "Armstrong had been very popular in the State. Thomas Meredith loved him like a brother. G. W. Hufham went to his grave feeling that Armstrong had been greatly wronged."

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Ga.; resident Providence, R. I., Manhattan, Kans.; b. Ludlow, Vt., March 6, 1807; d. Manhattan, Kansas, April 15, 1865.

White, John Brown, A.B., A.M., D.D. Teacher New Hampden College, four years; lawyer Alton, Ill.; judge of probate Greenville; professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, Wake Forest College; ordained Baptist minister, 1849; president Brownsville Female College, Tenn.; Almira College, Greenville; principal of school for girls, Champaign, Ill.; U. S. Military service, 1864-65; chaplain, principal school Upper Alton, Ill.; b. Bow, N. H., March 10, 1810; d. Greenville, Ill., Feb. 12, 1887.

Morse, Stephen, A.B. 1835; A.M. Teacher Wake Forest College, N. C.; admitted to bar; merchant Greenville, Ill. Paola, Kans.; one of the founders of Almira College, Greenville; b. Methuen, Mass., Feb. 14, 1808; d. Paola, Kans.

The Brown University records also show that Wilcox married Sarah B. Howell, and had five children; White married Mary P. Merriam in 1838, and Elizabeth R. Wright in 1857 and had six children; Morse married Almira Blanchard and had no children.

<sup>25</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 49. Armstrong was a delegate of the Convention from the Smithfield Church, and in the absence of Rev. James McDaniel, the appointee, he preached the Introductory Sermon. Minutes of Convention for 1839.

<sup>26</sup> "Genesis of Wake Forest College !"

He was the one man who had been able to impart his enthusiasm for the new school to the Baptist people of the State and to enlist their support. Owing primarily to the financial stringency of the times but partly also to the fact that the Wake Forest faculty was composed of men from New England who were hardly in sympathy with Southern ideals, of which fact the enemies of the Institute seem to have made much, the number of students at Wake Forest had declined to such an extent, the total number being fifty-one in 1838, that in the report that year, it was declared that the want of students was the principal discouragement under which the Institute was laboring and the chief obstacle in the way of its progress. After this year no report on Wake Forest College was made to the Convention. It was a time when such a man as Armstrong was needed. He might have done much to reawaken interest in the College and reestablish it in the affections of the Baptists of the State. His going brought division and apathy in the ranks of its friends at a time when it was in sorest need.

Armstrong went in 1841 to Columbus, Mississippi, where he became pastor of the Baptist Church; in 1842 he married Mrs. Pamela Pouncey a lady of fortune. He died on September 15, 1844.<sup>27</sup>

For some reason, which does not now appear, the Executive Committee of the Board removed Richardson from his professorship at the end of 1839, and their action was approved at the full meeting of the Board in July, 1840. That he still had friends at Wake Forest is shown by the fact that the Wake Forest Baptist Church gave him on October 10, 1840, a letter of dismissal and a "recommendation." He is reported in the list of Baptist ministers in the State in the Convention minutes of 1842, with Raleigh as his postoffice. Somewhat later Wait recommended him to Dr. R. C. B. Howell, then at Nashville, Tennessee, as a proper man for a professorship in Bethel College; probably he went to that place. After the War he had several

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<sup>27</sup> For a comprehensive sketch of Armstrong see Paschal, *Wake Forest Student*, XLVI, 341 ff.



letters in the *Biblical Recorder*, the last in December, 1871; he was then at his old home in New Hampshire; he wrote with appreciation of his former friends at Wake Forest and showed genuine Christian sympathy for the distressed Southern people.

Horace A. Wilcox was a graduate of Brown University. He had attended the Baptist State Convention at its meeting at Country Line Church in Caswell County in 1836, as agent for the American Baptist Home Mission Society. On the Convention he made a most favorable impression and was appointed chairman of the Committee on Home Missions and that on Foreign Missions, and signed both reports, while the Convention passed a resolution cordially receiving him and hoping he might be greatly successful. At the Institute he taught Logic<sup>28</sup> and probably the entire course in Moral Philosophy. But he was not a very inspiring teacher or lecturer. Brooks says of his lecture in Logic that it "was not very interesting," while of his sermons and addresses he says in one place, "his discourse was not very interesting," and in another "was unexpectedly detained by Brother Wilcox with a verbose and uninteresting lecture upon the study of the Scriptures which completely tired us all out." He remained as teacher only for one year when he was appointed agent of the Institute and served during the first half of 1838 and possibly the entire year.

Of Alban Hart, the tutor who served in 1836, we know but little. "There is some reason for believing that he was a scholarly Englishman, who had studied in Paris, Italy, and Spain, and who after leaving Wake Forest, started a school in Oxford, North Carolina."<sup>29</sup>

The following statement by Brooks<sup>30</sup> is in complete consistency with what Sikes had to say of him:

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<sup>28</sup> Brooks's Diary, under date of September 24, 1837.

<sup>29</sup> Major J. M. Crenshaw, a student of the time says: "We had a military company of which Alban Hart was the major. Professor Hart knew everything in the book, but very little out of it. He had come from England and lived in France and Spain. He was the teacher of languages in the Institute, and spent all his vacations in hard study with the family of Mr. Foster Fort." *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 305.

<sup>30</sup> Diary, February 8, 1836.

Recited Cicero to Mr. Hart; found him quite particular in giving a precise translation. No doubt but that he is a first rate scholar, but I am not so well pleased with him as I am with Mr. Armstrong. Regretted very much when he gave us to Mr. Hart.

Only Henry Lea Graves of the instructors of the time of the Institute was a born North Carolinian. He belonged to the famous Graves family of Caswell County. He was born in Yanceyville on February 27, 1810, and was a graduate of the State University in the class of 1835. He was licensed to preach by the Wake Forest Church and ordained in November, 1837.<sup>31</sup> Brooks in his diary speaks in appreciative terms of his sermons and work in the Institute. Geometry was among the subjects he taught. After leaving Wake Forest he went to Georgia, where he established a manual labor school. Afterwards he made his home in Texas, where in 1846, he became the first president of the Baylor University. He was the first president also of the Texas Baptist State Convention, which place he held for sixteen years.<sup>32</sup>

Some, have been disposed to find fault with Wait for surrounding himself with New Englanders. In all probability these New Englanders failed to understand the character of Southern boys and in the time of growing sectional bitterness they were doubtless looked upon with suspicion by many of our people. Perhaps Wilcox and Richardson were pedantic and assumed superior airs which made them unpopular with the students. But in general these teachers were able men and well equipped in scholarship for their work, three of them being graduates of Brown University with the degree of Master of Arts. There is a further consideration that will go far towards excusing Wait for getting them on the Wake Forest faculty. They were about the only educated Baptists available. In a letter to the *Biblical Recorder* of June 10, 1853, Wait says that not one Southern teacher could

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<sup>31</sup> Wake Forest Baptist Church Record Book, Oct. 11, 1837.

<sup>32</sup> Cathcart. *Baptist Encyclopaedia*, Supplement. Dr. Graves lived a long and useful life, both as an educator and a minister of the Gospel. Dr. J. M. Carroll, *History of Texas Baptists*, 233, says of him: "Dr. Graves, who was known well and intimately by the author, was a princely gentleman, a ripe scholar, a strong and dignified convention presiding officer, and a splendid school man.

be procured. Possibly there were others who had graduated at Columbian College but only a few of them would have been ready to take a place in a small educational institute at a small salary. Only in the case of Armstrong is it probable that Wait failed to measure up to his responsibilities. Armstrong was too good a man to let go. He had helped found the institution. He had resigned an important pastorate to take a position on its faculty. He had won it favor among the people of the State and had raised the money for its building program. He had been an inspirational teacher and a powerful influence with the students in all matters pertaining to their development, especially in religion. He had come back from Europe well equipped for better work. All these considerations would go to show that Wait ought to have used his influence to keep him. But herein Wait failed. He allowed Armstrong's place to be filled on the eve of his return by a man who made little impression on the life of the institution, and who resigned after a few years in a period of stress while another man who in all likelihood engineered the scheme to bring about Armstrong's resignation was removed almost immediately by the Board of Trustees. In the wake of all this came great distress for the young college. Many friends of the institution lost their interest in it; they no longer supported it with their means, and allowed it to stagger under a burdensome debt, and sent to it very few students. And this doubtless led to the resignation of Wait as President in 1845.

The salaries paid in the period of the Institute were low. The highest was \$1,000 and a house and board for himself and family, paid to President Wait. Armstrong received \$800 in addition to board and lodging, while White and Richardson after the first year were given the same. Of the tutors Graves after a year of service was voted a salary of \$600, Wilcox received \$400 and a house and board. The other tutors were elected with salaries of \$200 each including board and lodging.

## IX

### THE STUDENTS, WORK AND RECREATIONS

At its first meeting the Board of Trustees appointed a committee with Armstrong as chairman to recommend a course of studies for the Literary Department.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the whole period of the Institute the Board kept up a strict supervision of this kind, assuming a function now universally left to faculties. Just what studies were pursued will appear in the account of the examinations given below.

The Board of Trustees also supervised examinations through committees of their own appointing, but often including members not of their own number. These examinations were oral and public, in accord with the general practice of the day. Especially in the private schools and seminaries the public examination was considered the most important event of the school year as well as the best test of the school's proficiency. In every recitation both student and teacher had the examination in view. Girls were trained to answer all of "Magnall's Questions"; while boys were drilled on the genders of Latin nouns so as to be able to meet the terrible ordeal of the examiners on the great examination day. It was really the school rather than the scholars that was affected by the showing made. And the glory of that school was great if an examiner of high degree, a governor or a judge, could be secured who knew how to ask the right kind of questions, or if uncertain as to what questions were proper to take the list which the teachers were doubtless ready to provide. And the cup of the teacher's joy was full if the examiner was kind enough to write out and publish in the *Raleigh Register* an account of the wonderful proficiency displayed by the students, a sufficient proof of the industry, ability, and scholarship of the faithful teachers, and a reason to employ the same teachers for the next year.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Many such accounts may be found in Coon's *Documentary History*.

It was examinations of this kind that were held at Wake Forest. One of the first actions of the Board of Trustees was to appoint "an Examining Committee of ten whose duty it shall be to examine the students in their studies and report to the Board."<sup>3</sup> This practice was kept up all through the period of the Institute and longer. The first catalogue of the College<sup>4</sup> shows that the Board still regarded the holding of examinations as a very important part of its duty. Under the head of "Scholarship and Examinations" after giving minute directions for the guidance of the faculty in grading the daily work and attendance of the students on classes, the Board made the following rule as to examinations.

"There shall be two public examinations in every year, one at the close of every session, at which the Trustees of the Institution shall attend and literary gentlemen in general shall be invited. These examinations shall be conducted in a manner so thorough and exact as to exhibit to those in attendance the evidence of the diligence and attainment of each student."

The first Examination Committee appointed in 1834 was composed of Messrs. A. Spivey, S. P. Biddle, D. Williams, W. H. Jordan, A. Dockery, D. Thompson, S. Graham, A. J. Battle, John B. Outlaw and William Hooper. At the first examination they had to help them Governor Swain and Judge William Gaston of the Supreme Court. The following account of it was published in the *Raleigh Register* of August 12, 1834.

The examinations of the students of this Institute took place on the 31st ult. in the presence of the Examining Committee and many other friends, among whom were his Excellency Governor Swain, and Judge Gaston.

The young gentlemen were examined on Geography, English,

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<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, May, 1834, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A copy of this has been preserved and is in the Library of the College. It bears the title: "The Charter and Laws of the Wake Forest College, North Carolina; Published by the Corporation, December, 1838. Raleigh: Printed at the Recorder Office, 1839." It contains the charters of 1833 and 1838, the Laws of Admission, Course of Studies, Regulations, etc., but no list of students; however, it does contain the names and chairs of the members of the Faculty.

Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Natural Philosophy, *Historiae Sacrae*, Caesar, Cicero's Orations, Greek Testament, etc., etc.

The Committee having learned from the instructors that no portion of the above studies had been selected, upon which the proficiency of the students should be tested, and that they were prepared on any and every particular of the course embraced by the session, were highly gratified with the promptness and precision with which they met the various questions propounded on the English studies and the facility and correctness with which they construed Latin and Greek.

With the whole examination the Committee are well satisfied. They are convinced that the young gentlemen have a good understanding of the studies to which their attention has been directed, and as far as they collected the opinions of the visitors, similar views with those of the Committee were entertained and equal satisfaction expressed.

The Examining Committee are reluctantly compelled to announce to the public that owing to the want of room for the accommodation of students no further additions to the present number of students can be admitted during the present year. Between sixty and seventy are engaged for the ensuing session.

Signed by David Thompson,  
Chairman, and David S. Williams, Sec.

Brooks, in his Diary, says that Mr. Gaston examined him on *Historiae Sacrae*; Major Sanders M. Ingram, who was then a student at the Institute, says that the Trustees examined the hands of the students "to see whether they had the marks of honor,"<sup>5</sup> while Sikes in his "Genesis," says that Judge Gaston took part in this examination of the students' proficiency in their manual labor. Major Ingram also remembers that Judge Gaston paid the students the high compliment of saying that they generally acquitted themselves well, considering the chance they had had.<sup>6</sup>

The list of studies mentioned in the account of examinations may seem rather long for one instructor, and it is difficult to understand how Dr. Wait alone could have prepared students to stand examinations on all of them, but the number of studies

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<sup>5</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 198.

<sup>6</sup> Judge Gaston, though a devout Catholic, was welcome to a Baptist school. Living at New Bern, he was well acquainted with Wait, Armstrong, and Meredith, who had lived there also." Sikes, "Genesis."

is moderate compared with what many of the teachers in the academies and seminaries professed to teach. For the year 1835, when Armstrong had come to the assistance of Wait, the number of subjects on which the students were examined was eighteen, with two or three classes in some of them, such as English Grammar. To the subjects on which the students had been prepared in 1834 were added Orthography, History of the United States, Greek Reader, Vergil, Sallust, Arithmetic, Algebra and Declamations.<sup>7</sup> A writer in the *Raleigh Register* of July 5, 1836, in reviewing a catalogue of the institute says: "The studies pursued are the English, Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish languages, with all the branches of science taught in our best seminaries."

During the first years the Institute was gradually finding itself, getting rid of the superfluous and concentrating on the more solid subjects. At first there was no distinction made between the preparatory and collegiate departments, although the Board of Trustees very early were planning to separate the two, and it is probable that the various tutors employed were put in charge of the more immature boys. After the appointment of Professor Morse in November, 1838, the "academical" department was put under his control, and the restriction that students should be twelve years old or more was withdrawn.<sup>8</sup>

In the collegiate department there is no doubt that the quality and the grade of the work were advanced from year to year. Brooks in his Diary tells of his work in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, etc. He found the languages easy but had difficulty with his algebra and geometry. He was also studying Political Economy, probably with Professor White. Brooks had come to the Institute the first year with hardly more than a grammar grade education. After five years of study he was given the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with the first class in June, 1839. But Brooks was a very bright and quick student and like other students in that day he worked

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<sup>7</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 2, 1835.

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 33.

under faculty supervision day and night. He had probably completed the course of study outlined in the catalogue of December, 1838, mentioned above. This is given in full in the chapter on curriculum below.

According to the academic standards of the day the course of studies was very respectable. It was strong in language study and mathematics but weak in what today is known as the sciences. It was a day when the study of the natural sciences was just beginning in our colleges. The Board of Trustees from the very first were awake to the importance of scientific instruction and sought to make provision for it, but were at a loss what to do. In December, 1834, the Board appointed a committee "to procure a Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus for the Institute,"<sup>9</sup> and such committees were frequently appointed thereafter, but not much was accomplished. The Board did not realize that a piece of scientific apparatus without a competent instructor is hardly more than a toy. Twenty years before this time President Caldwell of the State University had learned this and brought to the State the first trained teachers of the sciences.<sup>10</sup>

The elementary character of the scientific instruction at Wake Forest in these years may be inferred from such statements as the following from Brook's Diary: "Investigating the different colors refracted by means of a Prism, the rainbow, etc.; find the study of Philosophy very interesting." "Much delighted this evening in the study of Philosophy. Description of the eye very wonderful indeed."<sup>11</sup> But few of the colleges of the country had anything better for several decades to come. Taking the course as a whole it is probable that the four young men who, at the Commencement in June, 1839, were given the degree of Bachelor of Arts after five years of study in the Institute and one-half year in the College were not much inferior in mental training to the college graduate of today.

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<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*.

<sup>11</sup> Diary, under dates of September 27, and October 1, 1837.



We now turn to consider the rules and regulations which the Board of Trustees enacted for the Institute. For the Trustees, so far from entrusting the management of the institution to the faculty, made regulations for faculty and students alike. It was the function of the faculty to execute the laws prescribed by the Trustees.

It was the duty of every teacher to attend prayers and all public functions and to devote his entire time to the work of the Institute. The faculty were also required regularly to visit the students' rooms, to see that they behaved and worked as they should and went to bed and got up at proper hours, and to preside at the students' meals.

The regulations adopted for the students formed an elaborate code.<sup>12</sup> Students were required first of all to reside and take their meals at the Institute and to conform to all the regulations of the Manual Labor Department; not to leave the premises on any occasion or for any purpose without the permission of the Principal; to rise in the morning and to retire to their rooms at night at such hours as the faculty might from time to time designate; to attend prayers twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening; to attend religious services twice on the Lord's Day; not to purchase from any shop or store any article whatsoever—all necessary articles were to be purchased by the Principal or some member of the faculty; to hand over to the Principal all money they might have brought with them, while no student should be allowed more than five dollars a year for pocket money; not to keep any dirk, sword-case, fire arms or any other weapons of defense.<sup>13</sup> Seemingly after a year it was thought that the Principal was too compliant to the student's in their desire to spend more than the prescribed amount, and it was resolved, "That there shall be nothing purchased for any student of the Wake Forest Institute, unless an order be received from the parent or guardian to the Principal or some other mem-

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<sup>12</sup> These rules were prepared in the first year by a committee consisting of T. Meredith, J. S. Stevenson and William Sanders. *Proceedings*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 6 ff., 12, 19, 20.

ber of the faculty limiting the amount to be laid out and also defining the articles for which it is to be laid out." It was also resolved that this regulation be published in the *Biblical Recorder*, and that parents and guardians be advised in the same publication to provide boys sent to the Institute with clothes before they left home.

But students in those days were very much like students both before and after. They knew the rules, for the Secretary of the Board had been instructed to make copies of them and post them in conspicuous places around the Institute, and to send another copy to the Principal, but they were soon getting around some of the restrictions. For one thing, the good-natured Principal was allowing them to leave the premises more often than was meant, and for this the Board of Trustees reprimanded him.<sup>14</sup>

The students gave much trouble about the limited supply of pocket money also. The Trustees were compelled to modify the regulation about it in this way and in that, and finally to repeal it, but not before they had voted to allow the students to have for pocket change all the money they might make by their labor on the farm of the Institute. This was rather a cruel advantage to take of the boys since many of them earned hardly more than half the five dollars first allowed.<sup>15</sup> And probably the hope of more pocket money did not induce the lazy to work. As for the weapons of defense, tradition says that no student ever confessed to having any. A few minutes before he registered he had given his havings in this line to his roommate. But it was only such regulations that the student made of no effect. In general the young men of the early days were well behaved and it is on record that they yielded cheerful obedience to the regulations. This was due largely to the fact that President Wait had the respect and admiration of the young men, and knew how to call out their better qualities. In the letter on the

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<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 9. "In the opinion of the Board the Principal should exercise great caution in permitting the students to leave the Institute."

<sup>15</sup> After a close examination of their accounts for that year, I find that they made on an average for the year's work four dollars and four cents." Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 227.

first public examinations from which we have already quoted is found the following paragraph:

The Rev. Samuel Wait, Principal of the Institute, by his dignified manners and conciliatory conduct, commands the obedience and respect of the students. The happy influence which he exerts is perceived in the emulation of the students to please by their deportment, and to excel in their studies. Such indeed has been the disposition on the part of the young gentlemen to yield obedience to the mild and reasonable regulations of the Institute, that the session has passed without the occurrence of a solitary case of punishment.

Other information is abundant that confirms the truth of the above statement. This will become more evident as we consider the means by which the students of the Institute were developed in social and manly virtues, qualities no less essential than mental training.

There was very little opportunity given for social relations with young women to the students of Wake Forest. The students were allowed to have them as their guests at their celebrations of the Fourth of July, but these were almost the sole occasions for companionship with them. With the exception of an occasional visitor the only young lady on the premises was the daughter of the President, and with her from the very first year, although she was a mere child, the young gentlemen were desperately in love.<sup>16</sup>

From young ladies in general the *young* gentlemen were sedulously separated even in religious services on Sunday. The following shows conditions as Major Ingram found them on his return to the Institute in April, 1838:

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<sup>16</sup> Headen, "Early Days at Wake Forest," *Wake Forest Student*, XXI, 87, says: "He—Wait—had one child, a pretty daughter, and being always susceptible to female charms, I fell desperately in love with her, but both being young, I suppose it was what you term 'puppy love,' and ended with our separation."

Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 475 in the same line says, "He had one daughter, intelligent and beautiful." When of proper age she became the wife of J. M. Brewer, a student, and the mother of a mighty race.

On the first Sabbath morning we all put on our best, and at the ringing of the bell we all went into the chapel for service. Mr. Wait preached an eloquent sermon from Job XIX, 25-26. I marked many of his texts in my Bible and can refer to them now. I enjoyed Mr. Wait's sermons very much, and was surprised that so few of the people of the neighborhood attended service at the Institute. There was a fine commodious auditorium. The able sermon was delivered to nobody but the students and those on the Hill. A young lady of the neighborhood visited us. I asked her why the young ladies did not come to church; adding that we would like to see them out. She replied that they would come at the drop of a hat, and drop it themselves, but that they had heard that Mr. Wait said that he wished there was a wall fifty feet high and ten miles square around the place, and a young lady not permitted to come inside it. I told her that Mr. Wait did not say any such thing, and asked her to tell them all to come on Sabbath and Mr. Wait would be glad to see them. She remarked that I could not make them believe that. I understood that they had captured several of his boys previously.<sup>17</sup>

The young men were thus thrown back upon themselves for their social life. Very early they developed a strong college spirit. Faculty and students formed one family, with instructors and students partaking of food at the same table.<sup>18</sup> They were ready to resent in a most vigorous way adverse criticism of the Institute. About April 1, 1835, three students ran away, telling no one of their destination, and went to Petersburg.<sup>19</sup> Very probably with no special malice but to justify themselves they alleged as the reasons of their leaving the poor quality and insufficient quantity of the food they had got and the prison-like confinement at the Institute. These stories were "seized upon and zealously propagated by the enemies of the school and in too many instances credited by the wavering and suspicious."<sup>20</sup> When

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<sup>17</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 473.

<sup>18</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 5, 1836.

<sup>19</sup> Brooks's Diary under date of April 5, 1835, says, "Heard the melancholy news this evening that three of our students have left the Institute and not been fully found out what was the cause or where they intended to go. Poor thoughtless youth. I think they have taken a leap in the dark. I hope they will retrace their steps and repent of their doings." That they made their way to Petersburg before going home is told in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 27.

<sup>20</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 27, 1835.

the students learned of this by a "letter from the eastern part of the State" they met in mass meeting and passed resolutions denouncing the stories as slanders and declaring that they were satisfied with their situation, that the food though plain was wholesome and abundant, with occasional delicacies, and while they were always glad to see their parents they were at the Institute of their own free will with the purpose of getting an education, "a happy family, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding," and determined that no one, whether student or not, should slander them or the Institute with impunity.<sup>21</sup>

There is evidence, however, that the students of the Institute liked to supplement the table fare with clandestine collations in their own rooms, a thing not so very easy in the midst of a six hundred acre farm and only five dollars a year to spend. The following story from Major Ingram<sup>22</sup> will indicate how it was done the first year when the boys lived in log cabins

I remember that there was a shrewd old negro who came to the Institute every Saturday night. Peter did a lively business in the way of chicken pies, which he sold to the boys. On one occasion we thought he had made a mistake, for he brought some pies whose material revealed an anatomy quite unlike that of a chicken. The boys tackled Peter for selling them puppy pies. Peter said, "Dar aint no dog in 'em a 'tall. When olde hen aint handy, old har'll do jus' as well." As no one was hurt by the pies Peter came off clear. But this put an end to night suppers. Peter frequently brought in bags of watermelons. Robert Steele (afterwards an eminent physician in Richmond County) and I made a contract with Peter to bring us a bag full, and to whistle when he came in hearing of the house. In a few nights we heard him whistle, and went out to find him and bought his load in the dark. When we got them into the house, lo! they were all pumpkins. We had Peter up about it. His excuse was

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<sup>21</sup> The account of the students' meeting and resolutions is in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 27, 1835. It is accompanied by an editorial expression in which it is said that "The reasonable and dignified proceedings on the part of the students will not only be regarded as an unanswerable refutation of the ridiculous charges against the concern, but will be apt to prevent the recurrence of similar conduct in the future." The chief offender of the absconding students was expelled from his Society and his name published in the same paper.

<sup>22</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 199.

that he had gathered them in the dark, and that pumpkins would do to eat just as well as watermelons. But he had the money and kept it. We had the experience, and never bought any more in the dark.

After the boys got into the new dormitories the steward was instructed to see that no food be carried to the rooms except for sick students.<sup>23</sup>

A rather amusing incident in connection with the dining room was the movement set on foot by Professor John Armstrong for giving up the use of coffee soon after he came to the Institute in February, 1835. After the subject had been discussed for some time the students had a meeting on March 14, 1835, to hear what could be said in its favor. It was shown that its use as a beverage was recent, dating from the seventeenth century, and to it was traced the degeneracy of Italians, Turks and Englishmen. On the other hand the beasts of the field, including lions, which drank only water had retained their ancient vigor. Man alone had degenerated. "Here it was shown that coffee had had a large share in consummating this mischief. It was also declared that the use of coffee produces many other diseases dominated nervous, and that palsies are not infrequently traceable to the use of the same beverage." The result was that twenty-six students resolved to renounce coffee and substitute therefor molasses and water, asking that a separate table be given them, while ten others "formed a society for the use of pure water." They pledged themselves to continue the experiment three months, but whether they held out is not recorded. The molasses and water society was headed by Elisha Burns and H. K. Person, while J. C. Dockery and George Washington headed the pure water group.<sup>24</sup>

Returning now to the means President Wait used to develop the manly qualities of the young men under his charge it should first

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<sup>23</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 29, July, 1837.

<sup>24</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 22, 1835. Brooks, Diary under date of March 28, 1835. "Met in the Academy and heard a very interesting speech delivered by Pro. Armstrong relative to the use of coffee. Came to the conclusion to abandon its use for the space of three months and substitute molasses and water in its place." Brooks's next minute says that he had a headache in consequence.

he said that he loved them and took great pride in them.<sup>25</sup> He also knew how to appeal to their self-respect. We have seen that he liked to see them well-dressed, neat and clean with well kept wardrobes.<sup>26</sup> At first their clothes were plain, but, says Major Ingram, in 1838 they were dressing much better, and parting in the middle their hair which hung down to their shoulders, giving them the appearance of girls.

In fine weather, on Saturday afternoons they would assemble in the grove, all freshly bathed and in clean linen and their good clothes and spend the afternoon in song, music and talk and laughter, with President Wait as leader.<sup>27</sup> When the weather was more inclement they would gather in the college chapel, at least those of them who loved music.

"We had a large bass drum; violins, clarionets, flageolets, and flutes were brought into requisition. George Stevenson, a dear lover of music and a splendid performer on the violin, led the band and tuned the instruments to a chord. Mr. Wait took his stand on the rostrum, marked time and performed on the flute. He seemed to enjoy the music as well as the boys. We played anthems, duets, and quartets. Among our favorites were 'Road to Boston,' 'The Last Rose of Summer,' 'Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow,' etc. The old tunes are familiar to me yet and I often think of the happy days of Auld Lang Syne."<sup>28</sup>

In fact, music played no little part in the life of the students. It seems that the hour from nine to ten in the evening was set aside for such as wished to play. And here may be recalled the words of George Washington in the close of the letter printed above.

But hark there sounds the deep notes of the bell-'tis nine o'clock. Now listen-how soft and melodious are the tunes of those flutes how beautifully do they harmonize with those of the violin-the sharp

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<sup>25</sup>Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 475.

<sup>26</sup>*Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 196, quoted above.

<sup>27</sup>A. G. Headen, verbal statement in 1900.

<sup>28</sup>Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 473. Wait's flute is now in the college museum.

hissing sounds are from the Dulcimo. Moonlight and music!-but enough. There's no place like Wake Forest. Good night.

Rarely some form of recreation, such as a fishing party was given the students to break the long monotony of the hot work in hoeing cotton and corn already ruined by grass in the low-grounds of Richland Creek. Such an event was talked of for weeks before, and on the eve of it the students would be so much elated as to forget to study. When the day was come they were up by candle-light and off to the fishing ground. When they had caught what fish they could, they prepared their own dinner, to which hunger gave a keen relish, though it was very crudely cooked. Towards night they would return, foot-sore and leg-sore, so much fatigued that they could not study that night, but well satisfied since they had gone "for the amusement of the thing, not the profit."<sup>29</sup>

Another very successful expedient of President Wait was the formation of a military company. One Saturday morning in the first year the students were ordered to assemble in front of his residence. He stood on the portico with a flute and played martial airs, such as "Hail Columbia" and "Star Spangled

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<sup>29</sup> Such was the party of August 19, 1836, thus described by Brooks in his Diary: "Friday Morning 19th. Bell rang quite early this morning to arouse us to make preparation for the long contemplated fish. Took breakfast before light. All divided off into messes of ten. Arrived at the Falls of the Neuse in good time; found the place quite romantic. Large rocks show their mossy heads, almost in every size, which is calculated to strike the beholder with mingled awe and delight. The whole establishment, the mills and other things included, seem as though they may bring in considerable profit. River very muddy so that we made but little speed catching fish. After we had quit fishing, we then commenced cooking, which was truly diverting. We had two large ovens in which we broke up corn bread, and also put in the fish with the bread after they had been cleaned and salted, and in addition to this, fat as seasoning. We stirred this composition together until properly done, which I assure was quite palatable. After the dinner was prepared every student prepared him a leaf plate, or got a piece of pine bark and spread leaves over it, and made wooden forks which answered every purpose. We dined as happy as kings, notwithstanding our manner was so very singular. After dinner we started for Institute; sun shining very hot. Quite fatigued before I reached Institute: feet and legs very sore; unable to study Friday night, though well satisfied with my trip. I went for the amusement of the thing, not the profit."



Banner," with much skill and great military pride, impressing the young men as one who would have made a great general. Then they organized "Wake Forest Invincibles" with J. C. Dockery, who had had some military training, as Captain, after which President Wait addressed them as follows:

Young gentlemen, you must recollect the deeds of the heroes of the Revolution-of Washington, Lafayette, Putnam, and your own ancestors; imitate their example. If your country is ever invaded, defend it. Be men; set your mark high. If you try to throw over the moon, you will throw higher than if you throw over a bush. If we ultimately succeed in making this a great institution, it will depend in no small degree on the efforts of those who have been the first to enter as students.

After the address the company marched with flying banner and to the music of flute and drum around the grove, then a half mile along the big road, where they met and captured a jenet. On her without saddle or bridle they placed their captain and returned in triumph, yelling at the top of their voices. The music and the drill cured those who were homesick and after that they could not have been driven away. They had fallen in love with the place and with one another.<sup>30</sup>

How long this amateur company was kept up is not known. It was probably discontinued altogether when Major Dockery left with Professor Armstrong for Europe in the summer of 1837. The Board of Trustees had voted against the petition of the students to be allowed to form a military company.<sup>31</sup>

It must be considered greatly to the credit of both faculty and students that the Institute was little disturbed by disorder. It was a day when disorder was common. Until the "College Building" became available, the Institute must have been carried on under very adverse conditions. Students were crowded four or five in a room, some of whom were often very uncongenial roommates. The accommodations in the way of dining room, chapel, society halls, etc., were very crude. It was the summer of 1836

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<sup>30</sup> This account is condensed from Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 193 f.

<sup>31</sup> Proceedings, p. 23.

before the students got into the new dormitory, and a year later before they were using the chapel and the new Society halls.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Brooks under date of Monday, August 22, 1836. Evening. "Had quite a disagreeable job this evening cleaning out our room in the college building. The dust almost stifled us. The new rooms look very inviting, especially to a student who has been crowded in a room with five or six, and some of them a very worst kind of boys. Expect to move in a few days; hardly can express my satisfaction on the occasion. Wednesday 24. Today very interesting. Preparing to move into the college building. Had quite a tiresome evening's work, preparing our beds, etc. Moved enough of our furniture so as to quit our old room which has become very tiresome. Slept in the new building. Had a very sweet night's rest indeed. Rose in the morning with fresh vigor. Thursday 25. Passed the day with considerable satisfaction in anticipation of the pleasant situation. We are now situated where we are not eternally annoyed by small boys, vexed and perplexed half to death-I say we, meaning Josiah H. Brooks and myself." Brooks has also the following notes on the first services in the new chapel: "Sabbath, July 2, 1837. Attended worship in the new chapel. August 28: Met for worship this morning in new chapel."

It was early in 1837 that the halls of the fourth floor of the college building were turned over to the two Societies. The Euzelians seem to have taken their hall without alteration, but the Philomathesians contracted with Captain Berry to have a rostrum erected at the end of their hall and to have the walls and ceiling finished with hard plaster, a cornice and a centre-piece. On August 12, 1837, they "Resolved, That the society is well pleased with the neat and workmanlike manner in which the work has been executed by the skillful and highly esteemed architect, Capt. John Berry," and called for their bill. In his reply Captain Berry was equally as courteous, giving the young gentlemen a Roland for their Oliver, and in addition a donation of ten dollars on the bill which amounted to \$115. Records of Phi. Society.

## BEGINNINGS OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

We now come to consider the Literary Societies. For the first three quarters of a century they exerted a greater influence than any other student activity. In the first year of the Institute the students had organized a debating society which they called "The Polemic Society,"<sup>1</sup> with C. R. Merriam as President. They had interesting debates, the first being on the query "Does Washington deserve more credit and honor for defending his country than Columbus for discovering it?"<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the opening of the second session of the Institute in February, 1835, came the organization of the two Literary Societies. On the fourteenth of this month a meeting of the students was addressed by Professor Armstrong, who was just beginning his work in the Institute, on "The Value of Polemic Societies." At the close of his address two students, J. C. Dockery of Richmond County and Hiram K. Person of Chatham County, were appointed to divide the students into two groups equal in talents and numbers, and to report to a meeting one week later. When they assembled at the next meeting, Mr. Dockery withdrew with his group to another room in the same building, leaving Mr. Person and those whom he had chosen. Both groups then proceeded to temporary organization and appointed each a committee to draft constitution and by-laws, a work in which they doubtless had assistance of some member of the faculty, as the plan of organization and the constitution were practically identical for both.<sup>3</sup> Sikes thinks that the names of the Societies, Euzelian and Philomathesian, were probably suggested by Professor Armstrong. The Euzelians seem to have taken their name from the first, but

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<sup>1</sup> Pritchard, "Brief History of the Literary Societies of Wake Forest College." *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 195.

<sup>3</sup> The above information is found in the first record book of the Euzelian Society.

it was not until the second meeting that the Philomathesian name was adopted by Mr. Dockery's group. This meeting was on February 28. At this time each of the Societies adopted its constitution and by-laws and elected officers. These officers were President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, Censor, Librarian, Senior Critic, Junior Critic, and a General Committee. In the Philomathesian Society the name Censor was afterwards changed to Supervisor. The first President of the Euzelian Society was Hiram K. Person; of the Philomathesian Society, Charles R. Merriam of Wake County.

The records of the Societies show that in the beginning the meetings were fortnightly.<sup>4</sup> They had three lines of literary work, debate, declamation and dissertation, or essay. All were very helpful and developing but the debate was the most interesting. In regard to the debates the practice in each Society was the same. When the question was proposed two disputants were appointed to represent each side. In the Euzelian Society the first query was "Is there more pleasure in the pursuit than in the possession of an object?" This was proposed on March 28, discussed on April 11, and decided in the negative. The first query debated in the Philomathesian Society was, "Would it be policy in the United States to declare war against France?" This was proposed on March 21, debated on April 4, and decided in the negative.

No less important than the literary work of the Societies was the training they gave in parliamentary procedure and the methods of dignified formalities and diplomacy. We have an instance of this in the very first records of the Societies. In some way not now known the arrangements for the celebration of the Fourth of July was left to the Societies. The Euzelian Society by formal action, recorded in the most dignified language, left the choice of an orator for the occasion to the Philomathesian Society, and appointed a committee to wait on the other Society and give formal notice. The Philomathesian Society made reply

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<sup>4</sup> From the first the meetings of the Euzelian Society were opened and closed by prayer, but this practice was not adopted in the Philomathesian Society for several months.

in language equally as diplomatic and polite, delivered by a committee.

Soon an intense rivalry had developed between the two Societies. This was due chiefly to the fact that the proceedings of each were secret and attendance compulsory. These things engendered a group spirit which was the more intense because the groups were small. Before five months had passed there was already keen competition for new members, a competition that lasted for many years and brought out many ingenious practices, some of them of questionable nature. A writer in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 7, 1835, says that the state of things among the students owing to this Society spirit was most unhappy. The two Societies absorbed all feelings and interests; "jealousies arose and then antipathies; and hostilities were finally carried so far as to divide brethren of the same profession. This state of things became quite alarming." It was finally mitigated by the great revival of the summer of 1835.

But it was only a truce that was brought by the revival. A year later hostilities were as violent as ever. In August, 1836, two of the students, William Tell Brooks, Euzelian, and James W. Hoskins, Philomathesian, the two deacons of the church, had a hot quarrel when Brooks upbraided Hoskins because of his methods of soliciting new members.<sup>5</sup>

This rivalry existed for many years and is not yet altogether dead. Many amusing incidents arose from it, but it had one very

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<sup>5</sup> Brooks's account of the affair in his Diary under date of August 5, 1886, is as follows: "Passed most of the day in almost perfect confusion in consequence of having a dispute with James Hoskins, the great I am. This dispute arose from some statements he made relative to our society. The method he adopts in gaining members on his Society, I deem entirely derogatory to the character of a gentleman. The dispute wounded my feelings the more because of the fact that we are both members of the same Church, and what is worse, deacons of the Church. The course I should pursue on this occasion seems to me somewhat difficult. To make concession to him for having attack him seems too much when I consider the course he has taken, a course which in its very nature must be ungentlemanly." The next day Brooks has this entry: "Still dissatisfied in mind. Church met in the evening. Members quite cold to each other. But little of the spirit of religion among us. The cause of this has arisen from the Societies. Such things I know ought not to be."

beneficial influence, in that it brought strong support for the Societies and an eager desire on the part of every student that his Society should have the best trained debaters and writers, and the best scholars. Up to a certain limit the degree of this rivalry has been a good index of the vitality of the Societies. When it wanes interest in Society work also wanes.

For the first quarter of a century the Societies did not have a public celebration of the anniversary of their foundation. The chief celebration during the years of the Institute was that of the Fourth of July. The Orator of the day was a member of one the Societies. In 1835 this was J. C. Dockery, Phi.; in 1836 Hiram K. Person, Eu.; in 1837, W. W. Childers, Phi.; in 1838, Josiah H. Brooks, Eu. The Societies saw that their speeches were published in pamphlet form while the Board of Trustees requested that Mr. Dockery's should be published in the *Biblical Recorder*. All may be found in the College Library. They are fair student productions, Dockery's perhaps the best of all.

For several reasons much interest attaches to the celebration of Independence Day in 1835. The program, in the preparation for which the students had the advice and direction of Professor Armstrong, was well carried through; the Society banners were presented and publicly displayed for the first time; and by happy reference to each of these banners Mr. Dockery in closing his speech aroused great enthusiasm; and for the first time the students had the young ladies of the community as their social guests. All of these things, especially the fact that they had seen some of their own number surprisingly able and successful in public functions, kindled an enthusiasm in the young men, of which we can, as we read the accounts of the celebration, still feel the warmth. For a description of the events of the day we are indebted primarily to a writer in the *Raleigh Register* of July 28, 1835, over the signature "A Friend."<sup>6</sup>

A digest of this article with some new matter added was made for the *Biblical Recorder* of August by "A student." I am giving the first part of the article from the *Register*:

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<sup>6</sup> Alban Hart, tutor in the Institute.

The Anniversary of Freedom's Birthday was celebrated by the Students of the Wake Forest Institute, in a manner the most interesting, perhaps, ever witnessed in any part of the Union; and, I am certain, an impression has been produced, that will last as long as memory holds her seat in the minds of the many fair ones, who graced by their presence and smiles this spirit-stirring scene.

For some days previous I had been a guest at the Institute, and was aware that a celebration was intended, but never dreamed that it would be anything more than an attempt to copy after similar ones in the Towns and Cities. In this, I was agreeably disappointed, for it exceeded the utmost expectations of the warmest friends and supporters of the establishment, and I am convinced, every beholder went away perfectly delighted and satisfied with the proceedings of the day. I have seen in Europe, as well as in this country, larger assemblages and more gorgeous displays, but never anything like the one I am about to describe.

The sun had not quite raised his brilliant head above the horizon, when the iron-tongued summoner tolled long and loud for matins. In a few moments, all the dormitories sent forth their occupants, and a living stream was seen pouring into the temporary chapel from all quarters. After prayer the beloved President, the Rev'd. Mr. Wait, gave some wholesome advice to those under his fatherly protection and dismissed them with a blessing. All was now bustle and activity, and the students were seen walking forth in their holiday apparel, with smiling faces, and decorated with the ribbon, or badge of their respective Societies. Carriages with "nature's last and best," equestrians and pedestrians in groups, soon swelled into a little multitude; friends met friends, parents their children, and guardians their wards.

"Smiles that might as well be tears," shone on every face, and the dew of affection like pearls, sparkled bright in virtue's richest diadem. I turned my eyes away, for I felt emotions within me that recalled the days of my boyhood in the far distant land of my fathers; hastily I passed my hand across my brow, and hurried for relief to the scene of the forthcoming ceremony.

The rostrum was erected in a grove a short distance from the house, which, for classic beauty, might vie with those of the most celebrated of antiquity. Seats were arranged in front of the orator's stand, and on either side semicircular ones for the members of the two Societies.

After viewing the tasteful and modest decorations of the delightful spot, I returned to breakfast. The air was refreshing, for the sun, as if determined to assist in the proceedings of this memorable

day, kindly drew a veil across his burning brow; bright eyes beamed from beneath brows of spotless white, illuminating with their glances every object on which they fell, causing many a quick pulsation among the young lords of creation, and making nature joyous in their lovely presence.

About eleven o'clock, the Philomathesian Society, under the command of their captain, Mr. E. F. H. Johnson, was drawn up in military array in front of the dwelling house, and presented a scene which I shall not easily forget. At the word of the command every head was uncovered, for at that moment Mrs. Wait, the lady of the President of the Institute, made her appearance on the balcony, attended by the President of the Society and Mr. W. to present the banner. In lowering it to the standard-bearer, (Mr. Wiley A. Atkinson), the following address was delivered by that lady, in a clear distinct tone of voice, and was received with marked respect and attention by the young gentlemen:

"Sir: In committing to your protection the banner of the Philomathesian Society, permit me to express my sincere desire that all the members of this Association may become highly distinguished in the principles of the Gentleman, the Scholar and the Christian. Let the pure white of this standard, the emblem of innocence and purity, characterize your future lives. Ever bind that Gospel to your hearts, which you have, by the very significant emblem on one side of this banner, professed to hold in the highest veneration. You are among the first sons of the Wake Forest Institute. Its future character, in a great degree rests solely with you. Act nobly; and become its pride and its glory."

At the conclusion every hat waived in the air.

The banner, now displayed in due form, fluttered in the breeze, and might almost be said to keep time to the mellow strains of national music, like a thing of life. As I looked on its white satin folds, with its golden emblems glittering in the sunbeams, and read its unpretending motto,

"Esse quam videri malo,"

I could not help feeling a deep interest in the welfare of the youthful army. Every eye seemed to have added to its brightness a tear of manly affection, and each countenance bore the impress of a determination to support their motto, and protect their banner from dishonour or insult. It was a goodly sight. When the music ceased, the lady bowed, retired, and her salute was returned in the same respectful manner as on her appearance. The Ensign now took his place, and the word was given to March.



The Euzelian Society soon occupied the same ground, and under its Captain, Mr. Wise, received their banner of blue in the same manner and from the same hands. The following address accompanied the presentation.

"Sir: In committing to your care the Banner of the Euzelian Society, allow me to express my ardent desire, that the Arts, and Sciences and Literature, and an honorable course of extensive usefulness, may characterize the members of this Association, and that you may ever cherish all those kindred virtues, which happily blended, form the basis of true excellence and true greatness. You have chosen your course. The motto of this banner proclaims that you will surmount every opposing obstacle which may impede your way in the pursuit of knowledge. Go on; and while the vital spark shall continue to animate your throbbing bosoms set no limit to your researches; and when you shall have passed the boundary of time, may it be yours to explore new fields of knowledge in the realms of unsullied felicity."

The students now formed in lines, two abreast and six feet apart, behind their respective banners and made their way to the grove, to the north of the Campus, where an eager company of visitors, parents and friends, and the young ladies of the neighborhood was awaiting them. As soon as the first note of the music was heard every whisper was hushed and, every eye was turned in eager expectancy to catch the first glimpse of the approaching young men bringing their banners. Being in a depression they could not at first see the companies, but as they came in view their enthusiasm was great and they marked with wonder the skillful marches and countermarches by which the young men came to their seats, each Society in a group. Then the two Presidents conducted the Clergymen, the Reader and the Orator to the rostrum to the sound of music. Mr. Dennis, Baptist pastor at Wake Union, offered prayer, J. T. Rayner, a student from Bertie, read the Declaration of Independence, and J. C. Dockery of Richmond County delivered the Oration.

After the oration, and the benediction pronounced by Mr. Thompson, Professor Armstrong, who had drilled the young men for the *Exercises* of the day, requested the visitors to remain while

the young men again marched away with ensigns spread and got ready the tables for the young ladies in the students' dining hall. It was nearly two o'clock when they returned, and formed lines, the two Societies facing each other, while the young ladies preceded by the banners and the band, marched three abreast between them towards the dining hall. As the house was several hundred yards distant, as soon as the last of the young ladies had passed their lines, the young men would make a swift evolution and again stand facing one another, and again the slowly moving young ladies would march between the lines much to the pleasure of the youthful actors. "With a gallantry worthy of the most refined days of chivalry," says the writer quoted above, "The Societies marched and countermarched on either side of the fair ones who were formed into a procession, consisting of from one to two hundred, who may well lay claim to be called the Flowers of the Forest." On reaching the dining room the standard bearers draped their silken banners over the door that the young ladies might pass beneath them into the dining room. Here they were served by the young men. The scent of rose water was in the air, and it was a time of youthful gallantry and shy glances.

After dinner the young people were allowed an hour or two in the grove, where they found a "feast of raisins and a flow of lemonade," in the language of the student who wrote the account for the *Biblical Recorder*.<sup>7</sup> They also had prunes and almonds.

In 1836 the celebration of the Fourth of July was even more

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<sup>7</sup> The following is from the Records of the Euzelian Society under date of August 3, 1835. It shows the half of expense that was its part:

"Your committee to whom was referred the arrangement of the celebration of the Fourth of July, beg leave to report:

That they did their best to render the day interesting and pleasant. The expenses incurred for the occasion are as follows,

Half box raisins .....	\$2.50
Half box prunes .....	1.50
Six lb. Almonds .....	1.50
Half bottle rose oil .....	.30
Half jug lemon syrup .....	2.30
Total .....	\$8.10

elaborate. The Euzelian Society put forward their first man, Mr. Hiram K. Person of Chatham County. His subject was "Religious Slavery Incompatible with Civil Freedom." It was thought to measure up well to the high standard set by the speech of Mr. Dockery the year before. An even larger audience had been invited to hear it, and the people from all the country round were there. A dinner consisting in part at least of barbecued pig was served to all the company in the grove. One of these pigs though roasted to a crisp brown still held in his mouth a large red June apple. The records of the Euzelian Society show that this celebration cost that society \$28 plus 82½, though it is not quite evident whether the 82½ is cents or dollars.

At night a new feature was introduced, a play written by Professor Armstrong. As no account of it was published at the time we are dependent upon tradition for what we know of it. But this tradition was collected from eye witnesses both by T. H. Briggs and Dr. E. W. Sikes.<sup>8</sup>

I give here Mr. Briggs's account:

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<sup>8</sup> Briggs's account may be found in the *Wake Forest Student* of May 1896; Sikes's in his "Genesis of Wake Forest College." Briggs is mistaken in thinking that the play was given in 1835, at what he called "The First Commencement of Wake Forest." He says, "The facts in the following article were gained mainly from Mrs. P. A. Dunn, who, as a girl of thirteen, attended the *Exercises*, additional information was added by Mr. Richard Bullock Seawell, of the Company Players; Major John M. Crenshaw, a student at that time, and from Mrs. Brewer, the daughter of President Wait." Sikes misled probably by Briggs's statement that Brooks delivered the Oration put the play in the year 1837 when he supposed that Brooks was speaker. But Brooks did not speak until 1838, when Professor Armstrong had been a year in Europe. The matter of date and speaker of the year is settled by the following notes from Brooks's Diary under date of July 4, 1836: "Met in the grove this morning for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of our Independence; had quite a large and respectable company; performed the duties of the day with much credit to ourselves; had fine music; good marching; a first rate oration delivered by H. K. Person; spectators generally well pleased; ladies beautiful and agreeable; had but little time to spend with the ladies; formed but a very limited acquaintance. At night. Had quite an interesting time. Performed an exhibition which did us much credit. Ladies and gentlemen well pleased with the performance. Little interruption with rain at the close of the scene; quite inconvenient for neighbors to go home; very dark night." Brooks has notes on the celebration of 1835 and 1837 but says nothing of an "exhibition."

In the evening seats had been arranged on the south side of the little streamlet that runs through the same grove in which the morning *Exercises* were held, and a space cleared on the opposite side for the stage. In this way a kind of amphitheater effect was produced. The place was lighted with torches, and, after the entré by a campfire, the crowded seats were hushed except for the exciting whispers of the children, for a weird effect was produced by the wavering shadows of the tall trees and by the savage camp scene.

The play began as five or six of the company, dressed as Indians in full war paint, feathers and moccasins, rushed upon the scene roughly dragging a beautiful young girl (the late George Sears Stephenson of New Bern) by the arms, and threatened with savage cries to scalp her with the tomahawk. Finally, after lighting a camp fire, the weeping young lady was bound to a tree, and dried sticks were piled around, preparatory to burning her alive. To add to her tortures, the Indians did not begin the human bonfire at once, but lay down to sleep, leaving one of their number to keep guard. These savages must have been pretty well civilized, for their countersign or password was, "Watchman, what of the night?" While the warriors slept, their lone sentinel, pacing up and down the space before the camp-fire, resplendent in his war dress and hideous in his paint and feathers, would approach the tree to which the victim was tied and would menace her with his hunting knife; but the heroic girl with her face upturned to the heavens, did not seem to heed the wild threats.

But help was coming! The prisoner's faithful lover had followed her captors, and now he saw that his opportunity had arrived. As the sentinel paced from the girl, her lover (Mr. Richard Bullock Seawell, of Wake County) would slip from tree to tree, all the while approaching nearer and nearer to his sweetheart. Once a cracking branch almost betrayed him, and the sentinel sprang behind a tree and prepared to awaken his comrades, but after looking around and seeing no one, he resumed his march. When near enough to the captive, the young gallant waited until the Indian approached the furthest limit of his beat, and slipping out from his concealment, he cut the ropes that bound his true love and together they made a wild rush to the woods for freedom. The whole band was aroused by the noise, and began the chase. They filled the woods with their blood curdling yells and the recapture of the young lady seemed inevitable; but just at the time a drum's beat was heard, and Colonel George Washington (Michael Thompson of Wake County) at the

head of his brave Virginia regiment marched to the rescue. Several of the Indians were captured and the rest fled through the woods. Of course, the lovers were happily congratulated by Colonel Washington, and the epilogue told how they

"Did ever after happy live,  
With all the joys that Heaven can give."

Here the play terminated. All was intensely real to the younger persons of the audience ; and as the company dispersed, many a parent's hand was pressed with childish timidity, and for weeks afterwards-according to one of my informants-every shadow after dusk would suggest an Indian with tomahawk raised for murder, while the hoot of the owls would recall the wild warhoops of the savages.

This might be urged as evidence that to Wake Forest belonged the first college playmakers of the State.

In 1837 the Oration was delivered by W. W. Childers, a student from South Carolina, belonging to the Philomathesian Society; in 1838 by Josiah H. Brooks, Euzelian, of Chatham County. After this there were no more Fourth of July celebrations since with the institution of the College, the school year closed in June.

Before we leave the Societies we will say another word about the banners. From the first they contained the mottoes, and the cabalistic letters, "Sentram" for the Philomathesian and "I. C. T. Q." for the Euzelian which at present characterize them.<sup>9</sup> The designs also were the same. Who made them is not certain. A Mr. Waugh gave several lectures on art before the Philomathesian Society in the spring of 1835,<sup>10</sup> and it is probable that he suggested designs for the banners. It has been thought that since Mrs. Wait presented them she also made them. But this is not certain. Tradition says that the Philomathesian banner at least was painted by "a Virginia lady." At any rate, the records of the Philomathesian Society for November 21, 1835, show that five dollars was contributed to the total cost of their banner,

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<sup>9</sup> Pritchard. "A Brief History of the Literary Societies, *Wake Forest Student*, I, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Records of Phi. Society, and Brooks's Diary.

which was \$63.46½, "by the unknown hand of Philomelia, suggesting a very appropriate emblem for one side of the banner, for the noble purpose, no doubt, of elevating our minds and giving us a more exalted view of the greatness, goodness, and benevolence of our Heavenly Father." The central design of this banner shows an angel bursting from the clouds and flying over the earth, a trumpet in his mouth and a scroll in his hand. On this scroll are written the Greek letters which mean "The Everlasting Gospel," taken from Revelation, 13:6, which verse evidently inspired the painter. Hence the picture proclaims to the world that the Philomathesian Society has for its ruling purpose the giving of the everlasting gospel to the world. The banner of the Euzelian Society has two designs, one on either side. On the obverse is an inspiring, breezy portrait of Mother Euzelia, standing resplendent in the sunlight and inviting her sons to the fair fields of Literature and Science. On the reverse is the Temple of Fame with all its suggestive challenge to the ambitious youth to scale the rough paths that lead to its serene heights. The ground color of the Euzelian banner is blue; that of the Philomathesian banner as first white was soon changed to red, probably after four years when the Societies had new banners made.<sup>11</sup>

To the Societies is to be accredited the excellent library facilities the students had in the days of the Institute. From the first each Society had its own library. When in 1837 they got into their new halls they provided shelves for their books around the walls and made regulations for lending them to their members. Brooks tells of the interest among the students aroused by the receipt of new books. On one occasion they received more than eight hundred dollars' worth.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Records of Eu. Society.

<sup>12</sup> Brooks's Diary for August 22 and 23, 1836; "Books for our Society arrived this evening, but did not get to see them, in consequence of the great crowd of students around the box, before it was even opened.... After I got up my Livy lesson, went up to Mr. Armstrong's room; saw a splendid assortment of books, eight hundred dollars' worth. Our Society books are very elegant, some first rate works."

In the development of their libraries, the Societies had the help and advice of Professor John Armstrong who, as is shown in the *Proceedings* of the Board of Trustees, bought books for the Institute and was Librarian until July, 1837. It was probably owing to his suggestion that in the Report on the Institute to the Convention of 1836, the Committee urged that a good library was indispensable to a seminary that aspired to a high character, and needful both to professor and student.

A more detailed account of the Societies and the Libraries will be given in another chapter.

## XI

### RELIGION IN THE INSTITUTE

The development of religious interest and activity in the Institute during the first years was such as to give the greatest satisfaction to its friends.

The seventy students who were registered for the year 1834 had come for the most part from the homes of planters many of them well to do, and in most instances had only limited religious training when they came to the Institute.<sup>1</sup> They were mere lads of the age when religious instruction was the most opportune. And this religious instruction they found at the Institute. Twice a day, once before breakfast, and once again before supper, they assembled for worship, which was led by the pious and dignified Wait. On Sunday they heard preaching in the morning and attended a Bible class or prayer meeting in the afternoon or evening. In a few weeks the religious influence coming from the teaching and godly conversation of Principal Wait had brought serious concern to a few of the students. From week to week this concern continued to grow until it resulted in the first of four great revivals which followed one another at intervals of about a year at the Institute. This first revival came in the last days of August and the first days of September, 1834. Four of the students attended a camp meeting in Granville County, where two of them made a profession, and a third became much concerned. The new converts returning to the Institute, one on August 27, the other Thursday, August 28, "a day never to be forgotten," began to converse with their fellow students. By midday many students who had become seriously affected and awakened to their condition as sinners, had got together in one of the log cabins used as dormitories and were begging for mercy. I give the further description from the letter of Wait in the *Baptist Interpreter* of October 4, 1834:

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Wait in *Baptist Interpreter* of October 4, 1834.



I was then convinced that the Lord had come. The regular business of the Institute was instantly suspended and religious services commenced. These services consisted chiefly in prayers and exhortations. After continuing these services during the greater part of the afternoon, a prayer meeting was appointed to commence at early candle-light. It was also proposed that each one concerned for the salvation of his soul should spend as much of the intervening time as practicable in secret prayer to God for the outpouring of his spirit upon us.

Seeing so many deeply affected all around me, I was anxious to ascertain how many were willing it should be known that they were concerned upon the subject of religion. No attempt was made to work upon the passions. A little time was allowed for serious reflection. After which each one then resolved to seek with all his might the salvation of his soul was affectionately invited to give me his hand. Without the least disorder and in the most solemn and deliberate manner nearly every person present came forward and gave me his hand. This moment seemed as solemn as eternity. We then separated and each one sought a place to wrestle with God in prayer. Never in my life have I witnessed more apparent earnestness and sincerity.

According to appointment we met again at night. In the meantime the news of the excitement reached the ears of some of the neighbors who thought proper to meet with us. A short but appropriate discourse was delivered by our brother, Elder John Purify. The seriousness increased. It was very evident that the spirit of the Lord was in our midst. At an early hour some were enabled to rejoice in the Lord. And before the meeting closed sixteen of the students professed to have found Jesus precious to their souls. We continued meeting the next day, when others were enabled to join their fellow students in praising the Lord. We did not indeed close this happy meeting until the evening of the following Monday, before which time thirty-five of the students indulged the hope that they had passed from death into life.

Possibly the number of converts among the students was increased by later professions. In addition to the students a young man of the neighborhood and one of the female slaves also professed a hope. Writing of this great revival many years later Wait said that the spirit of the Lord came upon the assembled students like a mighty rushing wind.<sup>2</sup> Following this revival

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<sup>2</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, II, 58. *Baptist Interpreter*.

twenty-eight of the students joined the Wake Union Church and were baptized by Wait.

The revival of the year 1835 began on August 18 and continued for several weeks. Its various events are described in much detail in letters by several writers in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 2, 9, 16, and 23, 1835. Like the revival of the previous year it began with some of the students attending a camp-meeting. Again we have accounts of students going apart, each to his own place, for secret prayer; of an all absorbing religious interest that embraced practically every student; of a deep sense of guilt and cries for mercy on the part of the penitents; of calm, quiet waiting for the Lord, often in the deep hush of silent prayer, on the part of the Christians; of powerful manifestations of divine grace in the salvation of the obstinate; of young men finding the Lord while preparing their lessons, and "rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory." Great was the spiritual exaltation of the writers. As one tells of the wonderful progress of the meeting he breaks out in such expressions as "Bless the Lord, O, my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name." The number of conversions among the students was about forty.<sup>3</sup>

There were great revivals also during the last days of August and the first days of September in the years 1836 and 1837.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The following note from Brooks's Diary, under date of August 24, 1835, indicates the method of work and interest of the Christian students in this revival: "The brethren built a little Bethel in a secret spot in order that they might retire and pray for their fellow students who were mourning the love of God to know. And we can say of a truth on the following night that the Lord was pleased to bless us in a very particular manner; we indeed had the best wine for the last. Four or five of our precious young students professed a hope in Christ. O, how happy are they who the Savior obey," etc.

<sup>4</sup> The best account of the revival of 1836 is found in Brooks's Diary. It is valuable as showing the students' point of view. Under date of Saturday, July 30, he says: "Today appointed for fasting and prayer, not only for our own lukewarmness as Christians, but for the conversion of our ungodly fellow students who are in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity; who are posting their way to ruin as fast as the wheels of time can carry them along. Wickedness has prevailed to a greater extent this year than at any time since the Institution has been in operation." During all the month of August, he says, Professor Armstrong was preaching powerful evangelistic sermons. The revival began on August 28, for which Brooks has a following account:

The news of these revivals brought great joy to the friends of Wake Forest. They saw in them the seal of the Lord's approval on the Institute, while Meredith, as if answering captious critics, said, "What will the opposition say to this?"<sup>5</sup>

The "Reports on the Institute" for these years to the Baptist State Convention read like psalms of victory. The following is an extract from the Report for 1934:

Your committee cannot close this report without referring to the blessed fact of the late revival among the students of the Institution. We may say blessed, because few such incidents are to be found in the annals of history—that it should please God, in such an almost miraculous manner, to pour out his spirit upon so many, so young, by such feeble means, in so short a period, to the conversion, and we hope, the final salvation of about forty souls; but such are the facts, and though to us they may appear wonderful, yet we rejoice in their result, and take courage in the belief that God, in his good providence, is already rewarding the labor of those who have toiled to put the Institution into operation, by thus early bringing to a knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, those whose happy lot it has been to be placed in Wake Forest Institute.<sup>6</sup>

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"Met for worship. Sermon by Mr. Armstrong from Matt. 19:21. His sermon was very interesting and instructive; his appeals to the unconverted were quite touching. Evening. Met in prayer meeting. Mr. Wait gave quite a warm exhortation; considerable feeling on the occasion. After meeting Brother Jones and Brother Hoskins went down to the Bethel which was visited last year, and whilst looking about, they recollected the good times we had on last year, which had a tendency to soften their hearts, and made them feel considerably revived. After this several of the other brethren went down, and sang and prayed and exhorted. Several of the students who were not professors of religion went down also, and some of them seemed considerably affected. I hope we shall yet have a glorious revival. The signs of the times seem to indicate something good." And under date of September 4. "Met in the afternoon. Serious feeling among the students. Mr. Wait gave quite an appropriate exhortation. Met at night, and behold, the blessed Redeemer of man was with us and we had a most glorious time."

Accounts of the revival of 1837 may be found briefly in the Diary of Brooks, who says that some of the services were at Wake Union church; and in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 6 and 13, in letters of Rev. J. J. Finch and President Wait. The number of conversions was 25 of whom 14 were students.

<sup>5</sup> Baptist *Interpreter*, September, 30, 1834.

<sup>6</sup> From "Report on the Institute," in Convention minutes, Union Camp Ground, Rowan County, October 30 to November 3, 1835.

The following is from the Report of 1836:

Your committee cannot express the emotions of gratitude to God, and the joy, with which the fact that another revival has occurred among the students fills their bosoms. Three revivals in three successive years ! Is not this an unparalleled occurrence? Surely God takes delight in this institution. He has stamped it with the seal of his approbation-shall it not then continue to prosper We believe it will.

And the following is from the Report for 1837:

And most glorious of all, God has blessed it, every year of its existence, with a most remarkable outpouring of his holy spirit, upon teachers and pupils, and in the present year the surrounding neighborhood. We know of no other seminary of learning so signally blessed in this respect. In that sequestered spot of rural beauty, where the solitude and silence of the forest were only broken by the moans of the passing breezes, the lights of science now scatter their radiance, the hum of industry is heard, and by the messenger of truth, "the violated law speaks out its thunders, and in strains as sweet as angels use, the Gospel whispers peace," and the repentant sigh and heartfelt prayer of the penitent and the song of new born souls, break ever and anon, upon the ears of cherubim and men.

As a result of the first revivals came the organization of the Wake Forest Baptist Church. In 1834 the only Baptist church in the vicinity was at Wake Union, a mile to the northwest. The faculty and students of the Institute worshipped in the chapel of the school. The services on Sundays consisted of preaching in the morning and prayer meeting at night. On June 21, 1835, was organized the Society of Inquiry for the purpose of promoting the spiritual welfare of the students.<sup>7</sup> Before this society on the afternoon of August 16, 1835, a proposition was made and approved that a church be formed at the Institute. A committee<sup>8</sup> of three was appointed to get the names of prospective members.

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<sup>7</sup> Brooks' s Diary. "June 21, Sunday evening, two o'clock. Met this evening for the purpose of forming a Society, which we call the inquiry Society of Wake Forest Institute. The object of this society is for our own spiritual welfare and the welfare of others."

<sup>8</sup> Brooks's Diary, August 16, 1835.

The revival which began two days later seems to have interrupted the plans, and it was not until August 30 that the church was constituted. Never was a church formed under more gracious conditions. The revival then in progress had lifted the whole community with transports of a spiritual enthusiasm. On this Sunday morning Professor Armstrong preached a short sermon from John 3:8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.<sup>9</sup>

The simple record of the constitution of the church is told in the first minute in the "Wake Forest Church Book," as follows:

The religious part of the members of the Institute believing that it would tend more to promote their knowledge of church government, their advancement in spiritual things, and the purity of their character as Christians and followers of the blessed Redeemer, to have a Church constituted at this place, obtained letters of dismission from their respective Churches, and were constituted a church by the Rev. Samuel Wait on the last Sabbath in August. After the constitution of the church it was deemed expedient to elect such officers as are usually attached to churches for their government. Accordingly, the Rev. Samuel Wait was chosen Pastor of the Church, which appointment he accepted on condition that the Rev. Armstrong should be assistant Pastor; which was agreed to. George Washington was elected Clerk; and Rob. M. Noxon, Treasurer. The election of deacons was deferred until the next church meeting.

The following resolution was offered and received-Resolved, That this Church shall be called the Wake Forest Baptist Church.

The blessings of heaven were asked and we adjourned.

The members who were constituted as a church are: Rev. John Armstrong, Hiram K. Person, Josiah H. Brooks, William T. Brooks, Willie R. Powell, Robert M. Noxon, James W. Hoskins, Joshua Hackney, Francis T. Riggs, Burton A. Ernul, William I. Sutton, William T. Outlaw, James A. Delk, Josiah H. Skinner, William C. Watts, William C. Skinner, George Washington.

A much more detailed account is given in a letter in the *Biblical*

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<sup>9</sup> From Brooks's Diary: "He showed four different ways that the spirit of God works in the heart of man-comparing Paul's conversion to a tornado, the Jailer's to a mighty hurricane, that of the 3000 at Pentecost to piercing wind, that of the Thief on the Cross to a gentle zephyr. After the sermon we proceeded to constitute a church. The Heavenly Dove with all its quickening powers came down among us. Professor Armstrong was our organ. Rev. Pres. Wait constituted us as a church."

*Recorder* of September 23, 1835. By pre-arrangement those who were constituted into a church were immediately in front of the rostrum; those who expected to get their letters and unite later were at the left of the rostrum, while those who had been recently converted were invited to take the seats to the right. These were about thirty, "their hearts filled with gratitude and joy." After they had taken their seats the invitation was given for all who were anxious about the salvation of their souls to come forward and join the rejoicing throng, whereupon every other person in the house came. At this spectacle Professor Armstrong, no longer able to restrain his emotions, broke out in words of exulting thankfulness, "God is for us; God is with us; who can be against us?" Of the recent converts thirteen joined the church at this time. They were Lewis DuPre, John Trantham, Jesse Jackson, Oscar F. Baxter, Nicholas Prince, George May, Joseph Moore, Philip Gathings, Richard Hatch, Alfred Jordan, John C. Rogers, Nazareth Leggett, Thomas Bush, Dallas R. Wood, Edwin Hinton, Sampson Gathings. In addition to these, "Jim a Servant" was also baptized. William Jones and his wife, Margaret Jones, and Henry L. Graves were soon received by letter. Thus the little church after a few weeks had thirty-seven members, one a servant, one lone woman, a student's wife,<sup>10</sup> two instructors and thirty-three students of the Institute. The writer from whom I have quoted above saw in it "A new era in the history of our institution, yes, in our denomination in North Carolina."<sup>11</sup>

The baptism of the new candidates was on September 11. The place, described as "three hundred yards from the house,"

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<sup>10</sup> The first woman baptized into the church was a Mrs. DuPre, on October 16, 1837, "and, after Baptism, we came to Bro. Wait's dwelling, where Mrs. DuPre was received into the fellowship of the Church." Wake Forest Church Book.

<sup>11</sup> This writer was probably a member of the faculty. He is probably the same writer who signs his name "O. N." and who had an article in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 21, from which I get the information about the baptism also. In the same paper, September 23, 1835, is a letter of W. W. C(hilders), reprinted from the *Southern Baptist*, in which it is said only one sermon was preached during the revival.

was probably where the road crosses the little stream to the northeast of the Campus. A very large crowd was assembled to witness it. Professor Armstrong made an address, Rev. T. R. Crocker offered prayer, and the young men were led down into the water and baptized by President Wait. They were all dressed in black robes, giving an imposing appearance and adding to the grandeur, dignity and solemnity of the occasion. After the ceremony the congregation repaired to the chapel where the young men who had been baptized were most affectionately taken into the church, after which the Lord's Supper was taken.

The Wake Forest Church was first constituted entirely of those who were members of Wake Forest Institute, one being a professor and all the others students. The minute of its constitution quoted above shows that one of its objects was to train the students in church work. It continued for more than half a century predominantly a student church. Students filled its offices, looked after its discipline, took an active part in its public services and the church meetings, and were among the delegates to the Association and Conventions. The first clerk was George Washington, who on leaving Wake Forest, in 1836 to become a student of Yale<sup>12</sup> was succeeded by R. M. Noxon, who in turn was succeeded by W. W. Childers, who continued in that place during the period of the Institute. The treasurers in order for the same period were R. M. Noxon and Lewis DuPre. The first deacons were Hiram K. Person and Willie R. Powell. Having left the Institute they were succeeded in April, 1836, by W. T. Brooks and James W. Hoskins, the latter being succeeded in August, 1838, by J. L. Prichard.

The young church was most jealous of the character and good name of its members. In fact, it undertook to see that no one professing the name of Christ, whether a member of this church or not, indulged in things unbecoming a Christian. In accord with a resolution passed in November, 1835, the deacons closely

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<sup>12</sup> Brooks's Diary.

observed the life of all members of Baptist churches and reported to the home church any irreligious conduct. And any member of the church who proved unfaithful was excluded. In the first three years at least six students were dismissed, and another was under investigation which finally led to his expulsion. Here was a case of student self-government, for the committees that investigated the charges of misconduct were the students themselves, the deacons and others.

Nor was all the disciplinary work of the students of a punitive nature. After very sadly dismissing a member in about a month after its organization the church appointed six young men, Hiram K. Person, J. H. Brooks, Jas. W. Hoskins, W. R. Powell, W. T. Brooks, and R. E. Noxon, to divide the members of the church into classes, and to conduct regular class meetings, each for his group. These meetings, though not kept up without long intermissions, according to Brooks,<sup>13</sup> proved very beneficial and comforting.

The religious fervor of the young church may be judged from the fact that during the first years of its existence it had licensed seven of its number each to exercise his gifts in preaching, "wherever in the providence of God he may be called." These were J. H. Brooks, W. T. Brooks, H. L. Graves, J. B. White, J. L. Prichard, and Lewis DuPre. D. F. Richardson and H. L. Graves were ordained. Some of these, at least, W. T. Brooks and H. L. Graves, like fledglings were thrust forth by mother church without any warning to try their wings. Brooks tells us that much to his surprise on November 30, 1836, the ardent Armstrong after stating the great need of preachers in the denomination introduced a resolution in church meeting, "That in our estimation our Brethren Henry L. Graves and Wm. T. Brooks are called of God to preach the gospel of Christ, and it is the duty of this church to authorize them to preach the gospel wherever they may be called; and that the Pastor be author-

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<sup>13</sup> Diary for April 6, 1886.



ized to furnish them with an instrument of writing signed by him and the Clerk which shall be considered a License." This was adopted.

It is important to observe that the great religious development which we have outlined above was due primarily to the character and influence of President Wait and Professor Armstrong. The Diary of W. T. Brooks, from which I have quoted so often, contains a record of the religious work of the Institute beginning with March 14, 1835, and continuing to the summer of 1837. This reveals the great religious activity of both these men. During this time Brooks tells of no fewer than seventy-five sermons he heard at the Institute; of nearly all he gives the texts; of many he gives the outlines. He credits President Wait with twenty-four sermons, and always speaks of them with appreciation, remarking on their appropriateness, their force, their interest, but evidently finding them somewhat less animated than he would have liked. For Armstrong, Brooks mentions thirty-two sermons, besides numerous addresses and exhortations. He nearly always gives an outline and often a course of reflection aroused by them. The following notes will serve to indicate something of the enthusiasm Armstrong's sermons aroused in his youthful hearer:

Sunday, March 14, 1835. Attended worship in the new Acad. Sermon by Prof. Armstrong from 9th chapter of Luke, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, etc. Very much pleased with the services of the day. May 5, 1835. Sermon by Prof. Armstrong from Luke 16:25. "Son, Remember." I do not remember ever hearing a more searching sermon in all my life. Sunday, July 19, 1835. Sermon from Titus 2:13. I never heard a more beautiful description of the coming of our blessed Lord and Saviour in all my life. April 28, 1836. Sermon much to purpose. He made a most solemn appeal to the unconverted. May 1. He addressed the unconverted with uncommon pathos and earnestness. May 21, 1837. His sermon was really sublime.

Brooks's Diary shows that Armstrong and Wait were very helpful to the students in prayer meeting and in their Society

of Inquiry. In the latter the young men heard papers from their own members on work in mission fields; discussed questions of doctrine such as baptism, close communion, feet washing, uniformly deciding them in favor of the Baptist contention; and also matters of personal conduct. We have seen that under the leadership of Armstrong many of the students decided in favor of abandoning coffee. On April 23, 1835, Armstrong brought before them the question of tobacco also, and introduced a certain Rev. Mr. Welch to address them on the subject, who was so effectual that "almost all the students joined themselves into a Society and declared they would abandon the use of tobacco." Another question discussed was the proper observance of the Sabbath, on which after several meetings the conclusion was reached that, on Sunday it was wrong to write letters except those of religious nature, and very inconsistent for a Christian to shave; while the question of sleeping on Sunday was postponed for further consideration.<sup>14</sup>

During the period of the Institute the students had the privilege also of hearing several visiting preachers, among them some of the ablest men of the denomination at that time, Rev. Richard Furman of South Carolina on April 20, 1835; Rev. Thomas Meredith, and Rev. J. D. Hartwell of South Carolina on May 10, 1835; Dr. William Hooper on March 9, 1836; Rev. B. Manly on May 22, 1836; and Rev. Mr. Chapin, President of Columbian College, on April 16, 1837.<sup>15</sup>

At five o'clock in the afternoon of March 3, 1836, came the first death in the college community, that of Daniel Lindsay

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<sup>14</sup> Brooks's Diary, April 23, July 19.

<sup>15</sup> Brooks's notes on these men and their sermons are interesting. Of Furman he says: "Had the pleasure of hearing a very delightful sermon delivered by Rev. Mr. Furman of South Carolina, from 2 Peter 1:4;" of Meredith, "a very elegant sermon." Of Hooper, "His manners on the whole are quite engaging; he speaks mild, intelligible; and seems to adopt himself to the occasion. He indeed may be considered an honor to the Baptist cause." Of Manly, "A very excellent sermon. His sermon had the most salutary effect upon us. The dignified appearance of the man, the humble piety that seemed to grace all his actions, quite took the attention of almost every student. He is a man rather above the ordinary size, quite corpulent for a man of his age (I would suppose

Russell, a student from Currituck.<sup>16</sup> As early as July, 1835, the Board of Trustees had made provision for laying off a graveyard on the premises,<sup>17</sup> and to this on March 5, the remains of young Russell were carried by students and faculty in procession. Professor Armstrong made a talk, President Wait offered a "most solemn prayer," after which the little company laid the body away and marched back in procession to the house. On March 13, Professor Armstrong preached the funeral sermon.<sup>18</sup> On April 9, 1837, the little Institute community was saddened by the second death, that of Charles R. Merriam, brother of Mrs. Wait. It was due to the same dread disease, pulmonary consumption. We said above, he died in the triumphs of the Christian faith. His body, also, was buried in the new graveyard.

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his age between 30 and 40 years.) The wholesome admonitions I heard from his sacred lips I hope will never escape from me." Of Chapin, "He is a man of ordinary stature, grave-looking, the snow of winter up his locks, his age between fifty and sixty . . . piety and reverence for the Deity seem to mark every work and action. . . . He preached twice for us . . . Monday. Had a most delightful interview this morning with Bro. Chapin. All the professors of religion were requested to repair to Mr. Wait's dwelling.... On our arrival Bro. Chapin shook hands with us, and gave us a short address relative to the great work of the ministry. After we sang a hymn, the old saint asked the benediction of heaven upon us; his prayer was very affecting; after prayer bid us farewell, which was still more affecting."

<sup>16</sup> Brooks's Diary: "This evening was made sad to me in consequence of the death of my beloved fellow student, D. Russell. His disease was supposed to be of the pulmonary kind. Some days prior to his death he expressed his willingness to die. He was baptized not long ago. Well may they say, Blessed are they who die in the Lord, for their works do follow them, and they shall rest from their labors, and eternally rest in the Paradise of God."

<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> Brooks's Diary.

## XII

### THE INSTITUTE BECOMES A COLLEGE

At a meeting of the Trustees on November 6-8, 1838, on a report of a committee consisting of Alfred Dockery, Thomas Meredith, and W. H. Jordan, it was voted to ask for a revision of the charter, and Alfred Dockery, Thomas Meredith, and Amos J. Battle were appointed to bring the request to the attention of the Legislature, which was then assembling.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Dockery, who was a Senator from the district of Rockingham and Robeson, presented a bill embodying the desired reforms, on December 17. It provided for the extension of the life of the institution for fifty years after the lapse of the twenty years allowed in the former charter; that the Trustees were to be called henceforth "The Trustees of Wake Forest College," and that with the consent of the Trustees the faculty should have the power of conferring degrees; that the value of the property which the Trustees might hold should be increased to \$200,000, and that all property except lands in excess of six hundred acres should be free from taxation, an exemption, as we saw above, denied to the real estate of the school under the former charter. To correct the abuse of having trustees who never attended the meetings of the Board, it was provided that a trustee who was absent from the meeting for three years thereby forfeited his membership, while the Board might remove any member for disorderly conduct on a charge properly recorded in the minutes, after three months notice, and by a two-thirds vote of those present. It was further provided that billiard tables,<sup>2</sup> theatrical, sleight-of-hand and other shows should be unlawful within one mile of the College except on the written

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> In 1794 the Legislature passed an Act forbidding billiard tables within five miles of the University, the reason, as stated in the preamble, being that it was believed "they would greatly tend to create idleness and dissipation among the students." *Potter's Revisal* of 1821, Chap. 429.

permission of the faculty, while the selling or conveying of spirituous liquors to students was forbidden under certain penalties.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The charter as amended is as follows:

An Act to amend an Act, entitled an Act to establish a Literary and Manual Labor Institution in the county of Wake, passed in one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the before recited Act shall continue and be in full force and operation except so far as it may be hereby repealed, for the term of fifty years from the expiration of the present charter now to be amended, and that the successors of the Trustees hereby appointed, shall continue to enjoy all the rights and privileges thereby granted, and that in the future they shall be known by the name and style of the Trustees of Wake Forest College, and by that name shall have succession, and may take, demand, receive, possess, and enjoy, all properties or monies, which may be acquired by them, by gift, devise, or otherwise, provide that the same shall not exceed in amount two hundred thousand dollars, and shall dispose of the same in promoting learning and virtue in the establishment aforesaid, situated in Wake Forest, in the county of Wake, according to the will of the donor or donors thereof.

II. *Be it further enacted,* That the Faculty of the said Wake Forest College, that is to say, the President and the Professors, by and with the consent of the Trustees, shall have the power of conferring all such degrees or marks of Literary distinction, as are usually conferred in Colleges or Universities.

III. *Be it further enacted,* That if any member of the Trustees of said College shall fail to give his personal attendance at any of the meetings of said Board, for the term of three years, the seat of said absent Trustee shall be, and it is hereby declared to be vacated, and the Trustees are hereby authorized to fill the same, as is provided in the Act aforesaid, and that said Trustees may also remove any member of their Board for improper conduct: *Provided,* That the cause thereof shall be entered on their journal, and that the member to be proceeded against shall have three months notice of the procedure, and that a majority of two-thirds of the Trustees then assembled shall be necessary to effect such removal.

IV. *Be it further enacted,* That the lands and other property belonging to the said Trustees for the benefit of said College, shall be, and the same is hereby exempted from all kinds of public taxation, provided that the amount of lands so exempted shall not exceed at any time six hundred acres.

V. *Be it further enacted,* That no license to retail spirituous liquors at the site or within one mile of said College shall be granted, and if granted, the same shall be void.

VI. *Be it further enacted,* That no person shall set up or keep any Billiard Table or other public table constructed or erected for playing games of chance, by whatever name called, and no person shall exhibit any theatrical, sleight-of-hand or equestrian performance, dramatic recitation, rope or wire dancing, or natural or artificial curiosities at the College aforesaid, or within one mile thereof, without the permission in writing of the Faculty thereof, and any person or persons offending herein, or who shall sell, give, or convey to the students

The charter thus amended went through both the Senate and the House of Commons without opposition, except that Senator Josiah Houlder of Johnston County proposed to limit the tax-exempt land of the College to 500 acres, while Senator John C. Taylor of Granville offered an amendment to put no limit on the value of property the College might own.<sup>4</sup> Both amendments failed, and the bill in its original form passed both Senate and House of Commons unanimously, and was ratified on December 28, 1838.<sup>5</sup> The opposition which had made the grants of the original charter so meagre and niggardly did not raise its head. No Aye and No vote was demanded. This was a tremendous advance within five years. The joy of the friends of the College was great while a committee of the Trustees declared, "With a unanimity and liberality which do honor to the existing Legislature, the amendments asked for have been cheerfully granted, and the Institution has thereby been placed on a new and advantageous footing."<sup>6</sup>

It may be noticed here that Wake Forest may justly claim to be the oldest college, except the University, in the State; for although Davidson was chartered as a college the same day the vote for the Wake Forest charter preceded, and Wake Forest had already been doing college work for several years and had a class to graduate in the following June.

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of said College any intoxicating liquors at or within one mile of said College, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred dollars to be recovered in any court of the state of record having cognizance of the same, one-half to the use of the informer, and the other to the College, and any person or persons offending herein, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction in the County or Superior Court of Wake, shall be fined at the discretion of the Court.

VII. *And be it further enacted*, That this Act shall be in force from and after the ratification thereof.

(Ratified 28th December, 1838)

<sup>4</sup> In the Davidson College charter, which was before the Legislature at the same time, the real estate holdings were fixed at 500 acres. Probably Mr. Houlder thought holdings of the two institutions should be the same. On the same day an Act was passed incorporating the "Trustees of Greensborough Female College." The value of property allowed each of the three schools was the same, \$200,000. *Acts of the Legislature*, 1838-39, p. 100 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Legislature*, 1838-39.

<sup>6</sup> Circular" in *Biblical Recorder*, January 5, 1839.

In accord with an Act of the Trustees, a "Circular" was prepared by a committee consisting of Alfred Dockery, Thomas Meredith, and Amos J. Battle. The purpose was to present a true picture of the condition of the College and appeal for support. As it reveals the aspirations for the young institution of those who at that time knew it best, their hopes and fears, their faith in its future, which refused to be discouraged by prospects far from promising, I am giving a summary here. The "Circular" set forth that the College was without age, without experience, without endowment, and without fame. Yet it possessed all the needful facilities for making a fair start, and had a college building which in point of utility and convenience was second to none in the State.<sup>7</sup> Its faculty was competent in numbers and in scholastic attainments to give collegiate instruction. There were both a collegiate and an "academical" department, the last divided into two branches, Classical and English. In all, eight or more years of instruction were offered. It was hoped that none would abate in his friendly interest because of the discontinuance of the Manual Labor feature. The Steward's department, which had proved well nigh ruinous financially, was discontinued also, and hereafter students were to get their board in one of the several new boarding houses in the town, over which, however, the Trustees retained a measure of control as to prices and the quality of the food. Board and washing would cost \$8 a month. Tuition was raised in the Collegiate Department to \$45 a year; in the Classical branch of the "academical" department to \$35 a year, and in the English branch to \$25 a year. The total amount of annual expenses, even in the College, including tuition, room rent, bed and bedding, servants hire; and a \$2 deposit for expenses, would be only \$137; the total expense at the State University, according to the latest catalogue, was from \$164 to \$197; in the Hillsboro Classical Academy, \$157; and much more at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. With sixty

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<sup>7</sup> The Wake Forest College buildings were said by Wiley to be "elegant and substantial." *Third North Carolina Reader*, p. 74.

students in average attendance there would be a net income \$2,880, which would constitute the whole sum for payment of the salaries of three professors and one or more tutors. The College must have patronage and support; it had come to a critical period; its old foes were still active and powerful, while those who were in the place of friends were often bitterly critical and hostile and by their denunciations tended to rob the institution of students and support, without which it could not prosper. The College, however, belonged not to the Trustees but to the Baptists of the State, and upon them and not upon the Trustees rested primarily the responsibility for its support and patronage.

It is necessary to consider these matters a little more in detail if we are to get a proper conception of the magnitude of the task performed by the Trustees in putting Wake Forest College on a firm basis and saving it for the State and the denomination. It required undaunted courage, untiring patience, and heroic labors on the part of those who decided that Wake Forest should live.

In this day it is hard for us to realize that in the early days the College had enemies who pursued it with vindictive and relentless hate. They were survivors of that group who came so near doing to death the original charter. Their animosity still rankled in them. A ludicrous instance of it had been given within the year in connection with the publication in the *Biblical Recorder* of a series of articles on the Wake Forest Institute, written by request of the Trustees by Amos J. Battle and William Hill Jordan. These articles were eleven in number and discussed the beginnings of the school, its purpose, its work and claims for patronage, being similar in character to a series of articles on the State University that had shortly before appeared in the Raleigh weekly papers. The first appeared on January 20, 1838, the last on April 14, 1838. State papers were requested to copy, a common practice in that day. This the Raleigh *Standard* started to do. After it has published one of the articles, on "Old School Baptist preacher" of Wake County



went with his son to the office of the editor and served notice on him that the publication in his columns of another article of the series would mean the discontinuance of his subscription to his paper, a threat which he made good when the editor published a second article. Such enemies of the College were still relatively numerous and respectable. Even twenty years later they established a paper, published in Raleigh, called the *Primitive Baptist*, in which all the "institutions of the day" fostered by their missionary brethren were assailed with the most vindictive virulence.<sup>8</sup>

But the College had more to fear from the attitude of many in those churches and Associations which were connected with the Baptist State Convention, and should have been classed as friends. Only a few were enthusiastic, while many were lukewarm, apathetic, dissatisfied, hostile, critical. "This institution," said Wait, "has been grievously slandered, and that too, not infrequently, by its pretended friends. The most ridiculous tales are often set on foot."

Only the eastern half of the State manifested much interest in the College. During this period not a new Trustee came from the west. Leaving out the counties of Rockingham, Anson, Richmond and Montgomery the western half of the State, including the counties of Guilford and Randolph sent to Wake Forest not more than 36 of the 1,087 students matriculated from the opening of the Institute in February, 1834, till the suspension of the College for the Civil War in 1861.

The attendance by counties and states for the years 1834-62 was as follows: North Carolina: Wake County, 103; Bertie, 51; Chatham, 42; Granville, 42; New Hanover, 37; Franklin, 36; Lenoir, 38; Pitt, 33; Warren, 31; Orange, 28; Caswell, 27; Duplin, 26; Chowan, 22; Hertford, 26; Sampson, 20; Camden, 20; Johnston, 24; Craven and Perquimans, 19 each; Richmond and Jones 18 each; Currituck, 17; Hyde, 16; Anson and Montgomery, 15 each; Columbus, 14; Person and Wayne, 13 each; Halifax and Cumberland, 12 each; Pasquotank, Nash and Robe—

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<sup>8</sup> Raleigh *Standard*, March, 1838; *Biblical Recorder*, March 28, 1838.

son, 10 each; Gates, 9; Rockingham, 8; Davie, 7; Northampton, 7; Tyrrell, 6; Greene, Beaufort and Washington, 5 each ; Wilkes and Edgecombe, 4 each ; Alexander, Moore, Randolph, Iredell, Surry, 3 each; Davidson, Stokes, Yadkin and Henderson, 2 each; Bladen, Brunswick, Buncombe, Caldwell, Cleveland, Forsyth, Guilford, Harnett, Macon, Mecklenburg, Onslow and Union, 1 each; South Carolina, 65; Virginia, 42; Alabama, 9 ; Mississippi, 9 ; Tennessee, 6; Florida, 3; Kentucky, 2; New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, Texas, England, China, 1 each; uncertain, 15 to 18.

The facts shown in this tabulation may cause some surprises. Some counties in the eastern section, like Hyde, Jones, Currituck, and Pitt, had relatively a much larger representation at Wake Forest before the War than they have today. It is easy to find reasons for the small attendance from the western counties. In some of them like Guilford there was not a Baptist in 1838, if we are to believe a writer in the *Biblical Recorder*; in other counties the people were small farmers, who made very little that they could turn into cash with the poor transportation facilities of that day; they were remote from Wake Forest and there were no railroads or other means of rapid travel; there were very few schools to prepare students for college, though late in this period the influence of the United Baptist Institute at Taylorsville began to be felt, and it had begun to send students to Wake Forest.

While the western Associations were till 1860 largely uncultivated, there were many in the eastern section who were certain that they were competent to tell the Trustees how to improve the management of the College. Having talked the manual labor department to death, as the chief cause of all the ills of the institution, especially of the decreasing number of students, they were ready with other complaints and suggestions. Some were saying that as a denominational college Wake Forest should undertake to educate only ministerial students and confine its instruction to theological subjects. Others were loud in their cries of disappointment that Wake Forest had not been made

a free school, to which any Baptist might send his son and have him lodged, boarded, bedded, lighted, and warmed, and given instruction, without money and without price. The Trustees also came in for much reprobation because they had ceased to provide free entertainment for man and beast to as many as might choose to visit Wake Forest. To us it may seem ridiculous that people should have such views, but we must not forget that we have many today who when they have given fifty cents to a denominational budget think they are fully qualified to direct every department of the denominational work. And it is clear that many who had given even a small amount to the College were expecting to get thereby free education for their sons. We are told that they came to their expectations by misinterpreting remarks made in public speeches by those who were seeking money for the institution, from which speeches they had not yet learned to make obvious deductions. Another set of critics were certain that too much was being paid for instruction at Wake Forest, with professors receiving \$800 a year and tutors \$300. Some, on the other hand, said that life was too simple at Wake Forest: The students were badly fed, in fact, often on the point of starvation. On more than one occasion such stories gained wide currency, causing anxious parents to make written inquiry of President Wait. There were others to criticise the discipline, declaring that the students, even the youngest of them, were allowed to do as they pleased, with no kind of supervision of their work and conduct.<sup>9</sup>

The fullest and sharpest reply to these critics is found in the "Circular" mentioned above. Doubtless Thomas Meredith was spokesman. The following excerpts will show the nature of the controversy:

In reply to this allegation it will doubtless be sufficient to state, that the Board certainly never considered themselves bound to do what

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<sup>9</sup> All these complaints are mentioned and answered in one or the other of the papers I have mentioned above. See article No. 10 on Wake Forest Institute, *Biblical Recorder*, April 7, 1838; the "Circular," *Biblical Recorder*, January 5, 1839; letter of Samuel Wait, *Biblical Recorder*, February 24, 1839.

could not be done; still less, to defray out of their own private funds the expenses of other people's children. All that the Trustees were ever bound to do, was to furnish as good a school and at as low rates as the circumstances of the case would allow. And this, it is thought they have done, from the commencement to the present time. . . . The Trustees are bound to do the best they can with the trust committed to their hands-but beyond this their obligations cease. In addition to pecuniary donations which most of them have contributed in common with others, the more efficient of them have given the concern much of their time, attention and anxious thought, and in all these respects they are willing to be liberal sharers with their brethren, but beyond this they refuse to be held responsible. Over the changes of the time, the fluctuations of the market, the freaks of popular favor, etc., etc., they profess to exert no control, and of course must decline to be held responsible... . But it is said that they pay too much to their instructors... . The fact, however, is, that the professors now in the employ of the Board are not paid as much as their services would command elsewhere. They are all personal friends of the cause-they are all deeply interested in the success of the school-they are willing to make personal sacrifices for its prosperity-and accordingly they all receive smaller salaries than they would probably consent to receive elsewhere; or that, under different circumstances, they would be willing to receive where they are. To the Baptists of North Carolina the Board would respectfully state, that, having succeeded in raising a school adapted, in all respects, to the existing requirements of the denomination, they now make this appeal to the denomination for their prompt consideration and support. Brethren, the question is now confidently and solemnly submitted to you-whether the seminary at Wake Forest shall move onward, gradually, but steadily to usefulness and distinction; or whether it shall pine away and eventually expire-to the extreme disappointment and mortification of its friends. Should you think proper to yield it your patronage, thereby exercising such State and denominational partialities as are exercised by the people of other States, and the members of other denominations, the school cannot fail to receive an adequate support. . . . Should you think proper, however, in preference to this, to bestow your patronage elsewhere, it may as well be known at present as at any other time, that the school cannot, will not, be sustained. As is well known, this institution is without endowment; it is also without claims on the score of age or superior standing. Its main dependence for a useful and prosperous continuance is, therefore, on the patronage of the Baptists of the State. If they

rally for its support, it will prosper; if they neglect it, it will decline and die.

In the statement above the importance of patronage is emphasized. At this time the decrease in the number of students was alarming, and there was no great improvement for several years. In the first year of the Institute, 1834, when the school year ran from the first Monday in February to the last Thursday in November, the number of students had been 70; in 1838, 51; in the spring term of 1839, the first college half-year, the number was 62; in the year 1839-40, 87; in 1840-41, 85; in 1841-42, 84; in 1842-43, 63; in 1843-44, 54; in 1844-45, 67; in 1845-46, 92; in 1846-47, 105; but never in any other year until after the Civil War did the institution have so many students as in 1836. During the first five years of the College the average attendance in any term was seldom more than fifty. As the College was without endowment this paucity of attendance gave much anxiety to all interested in its welfare and caused some to despair.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 33, 62. I have got the number of students for the different years from the registration lists in Blank Book, Number 1. I am giving here the attendance year by year. During the period of the Institute the number is for the entire year, as there was no division of the session. For the years of the College I am giving the enrollment for the first term, then for the second, and finally for the year, omitting duplicates.

Enrollment in the Institute: 1834, 70; 1835, 111; 1836, 141; 1837, 71; 1838, 51.  
Enrollment in the College:

*Fall Spring Year*

1839 .....	-	62	-
1839-40 .....	65	61	87
1840-41 .....	65	55	85
1841-42 .....	60	64	84
1842-43 .....	55	44	63
1844-45 .....	66	75	92
1845-46 .....	66	75	92
1846-47 .....	81	90	105
1847-48 .....	78	90	109
1848-49 .....	70	74	80
1849-50 .....	74	79	98
1850-51 .....	86	84	111
1851-52 .....	81	82	104
1852-53 .....	81	71	103
1853-54 .....	65	71	89
1854-55 .....	79	93	118

For the first five years of the College the scholastic year began the first Monday in August and closed the third Thursday in June, the first term closed the third Thursday in December, and the second term began the second Monday in January thereafter. Beginning with 1845 the year closed with the Commencement on the second Thursday in June, while the first term began on the last Monday in July and closed on the second Thursday in December, and the second term began on the third Wednesday in January. The calendar continued thus until the Civil War.

Again, in 1838, the opponents of the College took advantage of the fact that the President and the two professors were from the North to prejudice the people of the state against it. A year later the circumstances connected with the resignation of Professor Armstrong caused even some of the most faithful to grow cold.<sup>12</sup>

1855-56 .....	103	93	127
1856-57 .....	54	45	99
1857-58 .....	68	28	96
1858-59 .....	68	27	95
1859-60 .....	60	16	76
1860-61 .....	—	—	67
1861-62 .....	—	—	30

The numbers in the second column after 1856 represent only the new names added.

<sup>12</sup> In 1840 William Crenshaw resigned as Treasurer and Trustee; in 1841 Thomas Meredith resigned as President of the Board and as Trustee, but was reelected Trustee in 1844. George W. Hufham did not attend another meeting of the Board of Trustees, possibly because he left the State for a period of years. He afterwards proved his friendship for the College by devising a plan to pay the College debt, of which more later.

## II THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

GOD BLESS WAKE FOREST DEAR

God bless Wake Forest dear,  
Fair be her name,  
Ever may she hold high  
Truth's sacred flame !  
Truth shall her motto be,  
Truth, too, her light  
Leading her noble youth  
Forward with might.

She leads where Wisdom's fount  
Abundant flows,  
Where Freedom's bracing air  
Forever blows ;  
For all the paths of life,  
O'er mount, through fen,  
She bids her sons become  
Strong, sturdy men.

On their twin peaks of fame  
Her daughters stand  
Bestowing gracious gifts  
With bounteous hand;  
Praise, praise their glorious names,  
Shout, shout, hurrah !  
Philomathesia,  
Euzelia.



### XIII

#### THE TOWN OF WAKE FOREST

The most serious handicap of the College was the accumulated debt. The money raised by Armstrong, of which not less than \$13,000 was collected,<sup>1</sup> had evidently been used for other purposes than to pay for the cost of the College Building. Doubtless much of it was used to erect the temporary buildings, and a part to pay for furniture, for dormitories, and kitchen, part for teachers' salaries, part for the general running expenses of the institution, including the annual deficits in the steward's department, which were said to be well nigh ruinous.<sup>2</sup>

Even the Trustees seem not to have known how great was the debt.<sup>3</sup> In December, 1838, they borrowed \$4,000 from the bank; the steward's account was in arrears to the amount of \$3,000;<sup>4</sup> and the salaries of the members of the faculty were long unpaid. For the next several years forgotten accounts for repairs on buildings and other services were brought before the Trustees at almost every meeting. And there was the unpaid account of Captain John Berry for the College Building, which at that time amounted to \$9,000, and later to \$10,000.

In all the College inherited from the Institute a debt of not less than twenty thousand dollars.<sup>5</sup> How to pay this debt and at the same time keep the College running was the problem before the Trustees for the next score of years. It was a heroic task, but the Trustees did it. When the Civil War brought a suspension to its operations, the Baptists of North Carolina had in Wake Forest a college not only free from debt, but with a respectable endowment of more than fifty thousand dollars, and with other property worth as much more; its faculty consisted of some

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1838.

<sup>2</sup> "Circular," *Biblical Recorder*, January 5, 1839.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Statement in the archives in the Bursar's office.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of J. S. Purefoy, *Biblical Recorder*, August 1, 1846.

excellent scholars and teachers, who had discontinued all preparatory work and were teaching only the courses of the college, and these courses equal to those of any other Southern institution ; its alumni were already exercising a wide influence in the State and making the Baptist denomination respected; one of her own zealous sons was president of the College and had the support of a host of warm and able friends. It shall be my purpose to tell how this was brought about.

The Board set about the pursuit of this purpose with much resolution, that is, the few faithful members who never said fail. Chief among these in the first hard years were Alfred Dockery, G. W. Thompson, S. Wait, W. M. Crenshaw, A. J. Battle, C. W. Skinner, R. T. Sanders, D. S. Williams, D. Justice, W. H. Jordan, John Purefoy and T. B. Barnett. Later, as either death or removal from the State caused some of these to drop out, other faithful men appeared to take their places. There was a noble group of these, among whom were N. J. Palmer, J. S. Purefoy, S. J. Wheeler, G. W. Purefoy, Elias Dodson, S. S. Biddell, J. J. Biggs, J. A. McDaniel, J. J. James, J. J. Finch, and William Jones. At the close of the period the names of T. E. Skinner, J. L. Pickard, A. McDowell, G. R. French, R. H. McRacken, H. Hester, W. W. Vass, and T. J. Pitchford had begun to appear in the list of those who attended the meetings of the Board.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> I give here a table made from the records showing the number of times each member of the Board attended its meetings from 1839 to 1863: S. Wait, 42; J. S. Purefoy, 35; G. W. Thompson, 30; Dr. W. M. Crenshaw, 27; J. J. James, 26; W. H. Jordan, 20; D. S. Williams, 19; D. Justice, 18; N. J. Palmer, 17; Wm. Jones, 16; G. W. Purefoy, 16; Alfred Dockery, S. S. Biddle, S. J. Wheeler, 15 each; T. B. Barnett, 14; G. W. Skinner, 13; J. J. Biggs, J. A. McDaniel, 12 each; E. Dodson and H. Hester, 11 each; J. J. Finch, 10; A. J. Battle, R. T. Sanders, 9 each; T. Meredith, Foster Fort, A. McDowell, John Mitchel, T. E. Skinner, 8 each; G. W. Jones, C. Wooten, A. M. Lewis, T. W. Tobey, W. Russell, G. R. French, John Purify, J. N. Patterson, J. L. Prichard, R. H. McRacken, 7 each; W. Hooper, T. Crocker, 5 each; S. H. Cannady, Calvin Graves, G. C. Moore, D. Thompson, R. W. Lawson, T. J. Pitchford, W. W. Vass, J. C. Averitt, A. S. Wynne, 4 each; G. M. Thompson, J. B. White, 3 each; Wm. Crenshaw, R. B. Jones, John Kerr, A. G. Jones, P. A. Dunn, N. Lennon, S. Mason, 2 each; J. Armstrong, W. P. Biddle, J. Crocker, E. Hester, Thomas Settle, A. C. Perry, J. F. Martin, L. Bond, C. D. Ellis, G. W. Johnson, J. T. Knapp, J. H. Mills, J. Crocker, Q. H. Trotman, 1 each.

When the Trustees met on February 4, 1839, they showed that they were beginning to realize the seriousness of the financial condition of the College. First, they wanted to know just what that condition was, and appointed a committee to take an inventory of the College property.<sup>7</sup>

When the Board met again, on June 17, 1839, the committee failed to report, and a new committee consisting of Dockery, Thompson and Wynne was appointed, and the next day "reported verbally." The Board wanted something more exact, and Battle, and Barnett were appointed a committee to ascertain as near as practicable the amount owed by the Board, and its resources, and to report as early as possible. The same committee with the addition of D. S. Williams was asked to take into consideration and report on the measures to meet the debt, while Fort and Wynne were asked to make the inventory. From this time on the Board showed a disposition to keep a closer and closer check on the financial affairs of the College. Now for the first time an audit was made of the Treasurer's account. Hereafter audits were made of the accounts regularly of all who handled the fund of the College, at first by a special committee, but later by a regular auditor. Before the close of the period the Treasurer was required to have his annual report printed and ready to put in the hands of the Trustees at their meeting at Commencement.<sup>8</sup> The records of the Board for these years reveal the fact that the Trustees had in their number men of excellent business capacity.

There were four sources from which the Trustees derived aid in helping them to tide over the financial stringency of the first

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The names of the following are not in the list of those who are recorded as having attended a meeting: A. H. Davis, J. Dennis, J. Fooshee, J. C. Gorman, J. Halsey, G. W. Hufham, P. P. Lawrence, A. Moseley, J. B. Outlaw, Wm. Roles, R. Sanders, J. Watkins, T. B. Carraway, S. S. Lee, H. E. Royall, Wm. Royall of Caswell, H. Bond, W. A. Graham, J. F. Jordan, Aaron Emerson, B. D. Bumpass, N. E. Cannady, T. C. Garrison, A. J. Hinton, J. C. Rogers, J. S. Taylor, R. Felton, A. Chambers, John Berry, E. G. Reade, S. S. Satchwell.

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 42. This Committee consisted of Crenshaw, Fort, and Wynne.

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 120, June 8, 1859.

years of the College. These were: (1) the sale the lands of the College; (2) the State of North Carolina, which through the Literary Fund provided the College with a loan of ten thousand dollars; (3) the bequests of certain friends of the College; (4) the Baptists of the State, to whom the agents of the College were making constant appeals during these years. It will be my purpose to show what was realized from each of these sources.

Coincident with the plan to abandon the manual labor feature and change the Institute into a College was the design to sell so much of its lands as were not needed for its purposes. The first action taken by the Trustees for this end was at a meeting in June, 1838, when a resolution was passed appointing Wait, Meredith and Justice a committee to "inquire into the expediency of laying off a town at the Institute."

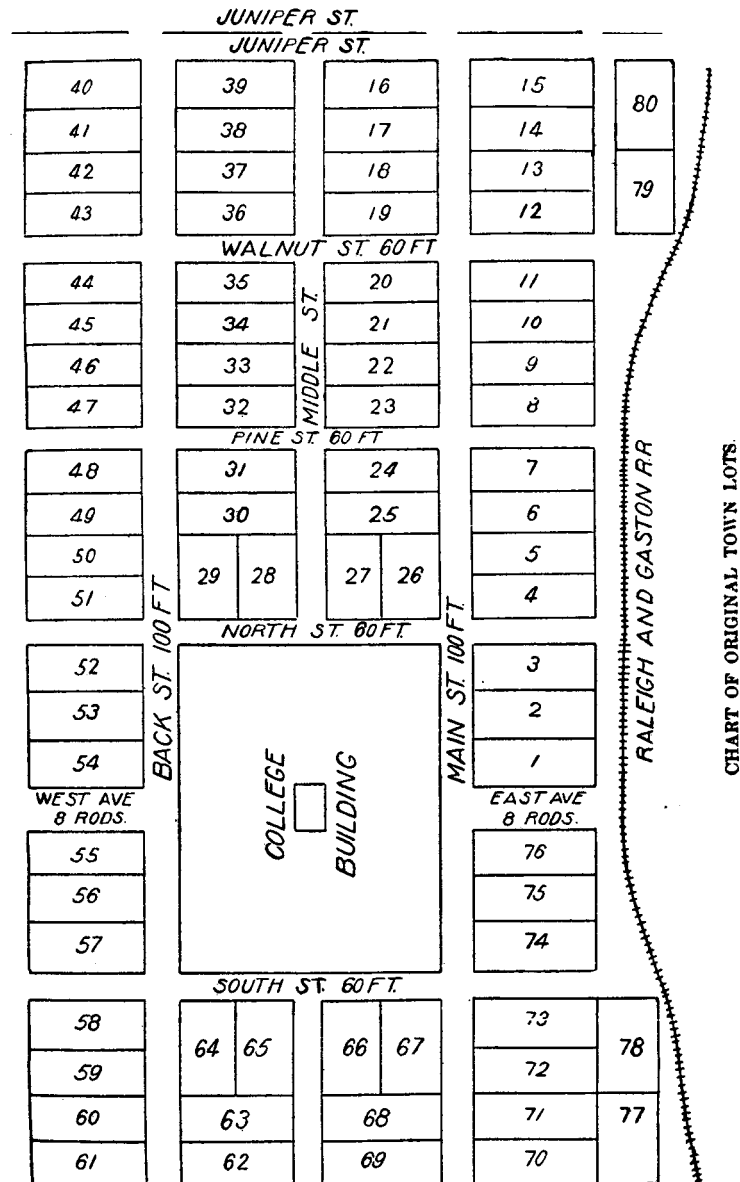
At the next meeting of the Board, in November, 1838, the above named committee through its chairman, President Wait, reported, recommending the sale of lots, and a resolution was passed:

"That a portion of the land at the Wake Forest Institute be sold in suitable lots for family residences and other necessary purposes on condition that no gambling house, no house or shops where spirits shall be kept for sale, or any other nuisance shall be put thereon, and that a good building be put thereon and inhabited in two years from date of sale." A committee consisting of Meredith, Sanders, and William Crenshaw was appointed to lay off the lots; at a later meeting Samuel Wait and J. B. White were substituted for Crenshaw and Sanders on this committee. At the same time the committee was instructed to make the lots one acre in size, and for them the price was fixed at \$100 each, but it was later agreed that the price of those on the west side of Main Street should be \$150. This committee did its work with dispatch. It had the survey made and had a map of the lots ready to present at the meeting of the Board on February 4, 1839.<sup>9</sup> A copy of this map is presented

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<sup>9</sup> Proceedings, pp. 30, 34, 42.

herewith. The committee gave the following explanation of the survey:



"The survey was commenced at the Northwest corner of lot No. 76, marked A, on a line with the South end of the College Building, and the lots are eight rods by twenty. Main and Back Streets are each one hundred feet wide. East and West Avenue are eight rods. The other streets are sixty feet wide. Main Street runs parallel with the College Building. The South lots, to wit, nos. 61, 62, 69 and 70 are parts of lots. The four lots on the East side of town are ten rods by sixteen. So also are lots Nos. 26, 27, 28, 29, 64, 66 and 67. The center of Middle Street passes through the centre of the College Building, North and South."

The farm lands of the College were not put on the market at the time of the laying off the town. For the next year the farm was left with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. At the meeting of the Board on October 3, 1840, the Executive Committee was authorized to sell such portions of the College land as they might deem expedient.<sup>10</sup> Land was no longer needed for the purposes of manual labor for the students. In June, 1841, it was ordered that all the lots belonging to the town and west of Back Street, except those immediately back of the College Square should be relinquished and sold as a part of the plantation.

Having decided on the disposal of the land, and with the oft repeated expression of purpose to use the proceeds to pay the debts of the College, the Trustees pressed the sale with much persistence. A public sale for February 4, 1839, was advertised in the *Biblical Recorder* and the secular papers published in Raleigh. In this advertisement it was stated that certain restrictions on the use of the lots would be made known at the sale. This doubtless referred to the use of the lots for gambling houses and the sale of spiritous liquors. But the copies of the early deeds in the office of the Register of Deeds of Wake County show that the provision was largely forgotten when it came to writing the deeds, and it is found only in a few of them. There

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<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 35, 51.

was another public sale of lots on June 16, 1845, when the Trustees adjourned a meeting to attend the sale. But the records show that at these sales there were no purchases.<sup>11</sup> At the meeting in 1839, the former requirement that the purchaser must build a house on his lot within two years was withdrawn, and as a further inducement to purchase it was voted that after that year no restrictions should be placed on students to prevent them from boarding with the purchasers of lots.<sup>12</sup> In addition a year's credit was offered, and a committee, Wynne and White, was appointed to sell lots at any time during the absence of the Board. This was the first of many committees appointed for the same purpose, the language of the resolution for the appointment often revealing an eagerness in this way to get the money to meet some pressing debt.<sup>13</sup> It will be recalled that the farm was bought for two thousand dollars, or about three dollars an acre. The average price at which it was sold was somewhat less than ten dollars an acre, for so much of it as was sold for farm land. Much less than the price of \$100 a lot was actually realized on most of them. Many were sold for as little as \$75, and some as low as \$50. Many were sold as farm land. Perhaps the total amount realized from the sale of both lots and land was as much as \$6,000; certainly it was not much more. But it came in a time of sore need.

I make at this point what may be considered a slight digression that I may show the manner in which the Trustees disposed of the College land and the town lots of Wake Forest.

First with reference to the North Brick House, built by Mr. C. W. Skinner at a cost of \$3,000, and the South Brick House built by Rev. Amos J. Battle at the same cost, it may be said that each of these were really the property of the builders. For some time the Skinner House served as the home of President Wait, and later as the home of President Hooper. Shortly before the Civil War the house and the lots it occupied, Nos. 4

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 64, 75, 91, 107.

and 5, and probably lots Nos. 6 and 7, on which are now the Perry and Reed homes, came into the possession of Professor W. G. Simmons. The house built by Mr. Battle very early became the property of the College. It was finally sold with the lots on which it was situated, together with lots 62 and 63, to S. S. Biddle for \$2,000, or a full thousand dollars less than the cost of building the house itself. This property extended the whole length of the block on the east side of South Main Street. The trustees authorized this sale on June 13, 1855.<sup>14</sup>

The whole number of lots was eighty. Of these the lots on all sides of the Campus, except those on Back Street were reserved for the use of the College. In addition lots Nos. 72 and 73 were also reserved.<sup>15</sup>

Most of these reserved lots are today the property of the College, though some of them have passed through other hands since 1839. As we have seen, the South Brick House was on lots 72 and 73, which were sold with the house to S. S. Biddle, and are the present Gill place. On June 13, 1850, Mr. J. S. Purefoy offered the Trustees one hundred dollars for the four acres of land between the Campus as indicated on the map and the railroad, which offer the Trustees voted to accept, instructing the Executive Committee to close the deal and give a deed for the land.<sup>16</sup> Evidently the Trustees acted without consulting the faculty, and by their hasty action came near making impossible such a development of the college grounds in this direction as we have today. On learning of the sale, the faculty, which at that time consisted of President John B. White and Professors W. T. Brooks and W. H. Owen, prepared a letter of protest which was presented to the Board at its meeting on October 15, 1850. With the consent of Mr. Purefoy the contract was canceled, and the Trustees pledged "themselves to Brother Purefoy and his legal representatives that they would never dispose of or sell said lots, nor any of the grounds described above to any

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.



person, but reserve them for College purposes or Campus. The lots referred to are in the town plot lots Nos. 1, 2, 3, 76, 75, 74." Thanks to the foresight of the faculty and the kindness of Mr. Purefoy there is now nothing between the Campus and the railroad except the public highway. Main Street was never extended through the Campus as indicated in the plot. Instead, it ran from south to north on a curve of which there are today indications in some osage orange trees, some near the church to the east, and others at the northern gate, which are remnants of a hedge which once was a fence for this part of the Campus. It was Dr. Charles E. Taylor who extended the Campus still further and enclosed the eastern half with a wall, turning corners at right angles, and leaving only sufficient space for a road between wall and railroad. This was in 1885.<sup>17</sup> Since that time there have been several efforts to have the road run straight through the Campus as indicated in the plot. The last of these was in 1923, pending the construction of the hard-surfaced highway. But this failed as the other efforts had failed, and the limits of the Campus may now be regarded as fixed.

In 1846 negotiations were begun with J. S. Purefoy to build a hotel at the College, and at a meeting of the Board in October, 1847, the sale of lots to him for that purpose was authorized. The deed shows that all the unsold land of the College west of South Street, east of Middle Street and west of the Powell Road now South Main Street) four and three-quarters acres, was sold to Mr. Purefoy for \$75. Included in this tract were lots 66, 67, 68, 69. Of these lot 67, lying opposite the Alumni Building, has again come into the possession of the College.<sup>18</sup>

Lots 26, 27, 28, 29, to the North of the Campus west of Main Street were not sold until after the Civil War. At some time after June, 1844, some of the temporary buildings of the College were moved to lots 26 and 27, the chapel being placed on the latter

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<sup>17</sup> The campus wall was left unfinished by Dr. Taylor, extending only to the church on the south and to Middle Street on the north. Mr. Earnshaw took up the work and completed the wall in 1927.

<sup>18</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 66, 68; Records of the Register of Deeds, Book 19, p. 251.

and serving after that as the "African Chapel," for the religious services of the colored part of the Wake Forest Baptist church, and also for the services of the entire church while the College Building was occupied as a hospital for wounded soldiers during the War.<sup>19</sup> The other building, which was on lot 26, was rented for a store.

After the War, lots 28 and 29 were sold to W. T. Brooks;<sup>20</sup> then they went successively to Dr. C. E. Taylor and Mr. C. D. Gore, who gave them with three houses he had built on them to the College in the year 1910. The College has never sold the lot 30, just north of the Gore property, and still retains also lots 12, 13, 14, 15, 79, 80, which six lots comprise the old athletic field.

The lots south of the Campus and west of Middle Street, Nos. 62, 63, 64, 65, comprising the square in which is Professor Sledd's residence, were sold to William Jones. He first bought lot 62 and on it built a house. The deed for this is not recorded. The deed for the other three was made in 1848, and shows that the area was reckoned at four acres and the purchase price \$50.<sup>21</sup> Though there is no record of the deed, lot 78 was very early sold to Dr. A. H. Taylor, who erected on it a dwelling. In a few years he sold it to J. S. Purefoy; it is now the home of former President W. L. Poteat. Lot 77, next to the railroad on the south, was sold in 1842 to John A. Moore and Hannah Cameron, who seem to have sold it to Dr. A. H. Taylor. Thus all the lots south of the Campus were sold before the War.

Of the lots north of the Campus those numbered 10 and 11 were first sold on June 6, 1852, to J. S. Purefoy for \$200. Of these lot No. 10 was almost immediately sold to Robert Hicks, who erected a house thereon in which he ran a boarding house. This house, now remodeled, is the Parsonage. On lot 11 is now

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<sup>19</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 60; Wake Forest Church Book.

<sup>20</sup> Records in the office of the Register of Deeds of Wake County, book 33, p. 648.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, book 20, p. 162.

Professor Gulley's residence.<sup>22</sup> Lot 20 was sold to J. A. Battle on June 7, 1853, for \$100;<sup>23</sup> lot 31 on the same date to B. J. Hackney, for \$25;<sup>24</sup> lots 21 and 32 were sold to J. M. Brewer,<sup>25</sup> and also lot 25; though I find no record of the deed for lot 25; on this last he built his residence.

And to Samuel Wait lots 8, 9, on which are now the residences of Mr. Isaac Fort and Professor Lake, and lots 22, 23 were sold as town lots, on June 28, 1842.<sup>26</sup> On lot 22 Mr. Wait built the residence in which he long lived, and which later came into the possession of Dr. C. E. Taylor. In addition to the lots named Mr. Wait bought at the same time as farm lands lots 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.

This shows that before the Civil War the College had disposed of all its lots north of the Campus, except those reserved from the sale and those making up the athletic field, and five others, lot 24, on the corner of Pine and Main Streets, where is now the residence of Mr. Greason, and lots 16, 17, 18, 19, opposite the old athletic field on the west side of Main Street. As we shall see presently it had sold also all the lots to the west of the Campus, and all its farm lands, although it afterwards came into possession of some of the lots and some of the farm lands a second time.

Of the lots to the west of the Campus only three were sold as lots. These were lots 52, 53, and 54, which at different times were sold to W. T. Brooks, lot 52 on June 25, 1842, and the last two on February 25, 1848.<sup>27</sup>

Turning now to the sale of the farm lands, we find that the first sale was made to Isham Holding. This was the northern portion extending from Richland Creek on the west, along the line of Juniper Street, past where are now the houses of Dr.

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<sup>22</sup> Records in the office of the Register of Deeds, book 21, p. 605.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, book 21, p. 602.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, book 21, p. 605. Lot 30 is named in the deed, but it was said to be a "corner lot," which fits only lot 31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, book 19, p. 407.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, book 15, p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, book 15, p. 110, and book 17, p. 446.

Cullom and Mr. Medlin, to the eastern limits of the land on what is known as the Ridge Path. This area was 113 acres, and the price named in the deed was \$681. The Trustees confirmed the sale in June, 1841.<sup>28</sup>

On October 30, 1842, there were deeded to John B. White all the College land and lots to the south and west of Back Street and a line extending from the middle point in West Avenue in Back Street to Richland Creek. This survey included the lots 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, and the land south of lots 62 and 69 to Red Hill Branch. Following Red Hill Branch along the line of Benjamin Holding, the line crossed Richland Creek at the ford of the old Forestville road. From here it ran along this road on the west side of the creek to the land "occupied by one Davis," thence around this land back to the creek, thence up the creek to where it was cut by the line down the middle of West Avenue extended. This tract contained ninety-four acres. The sale price was \$1,000. On it was the old Jones manor-house which had been moved some years before to make room for the College Building.<sup>29</sup>

The parcel of fifty acres immediately to the north of the land sold to White was, on June 25, 1842, sold to W. T. Brooks. This included lot 52, on which Mr. Brooks built his house, which later was the home of Mr. J. C. Caddell, the son-in-law of Mr. Brooks. It also included lot 51, 50, 49, and 48 extending beyond Pine Street to the north.<sup>30</sup> The price paid was \$250. In 1930 the entire Brooks property, except the lots of Dr. Bryan and Mr. Ray, again came into the possession of the College. Lots 53 and 54 opposite the present gymnasium and Bostwick Dormitory, were also sold to Brooks on February 25, 1848. In 1898 these lots again came into the possession of the College, and in 1916 the College again acquired the land west of the southern part of Back Street including the athletic field and so much of the golf links as Professor White had owned.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, book 15, p. 48.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, book 15, p. 240.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, book 15, p. 110.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, book 17, p. 446.

On June 25, 1842, the land north of that sold to Brooks and south of that sold to Isham Holding was deeded to Samuel Wait. The area was 64 acres. It included all the lots west of Middle Street and north of Pine Street except lot 32, and extended to Richland Creek. The price paid was \$600, possibly the sale price of lots 8, 9, 22, 23 being included in this amount.<sup>32</sup>

We have thus traced the disposition of the lands and lots to the west of the railroad. The right of way for the railroad, then known as the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, was given by the Trustees on July 3, 1837. On February 25, 1848, a tract of 30 acres, east of the railroad, and extending from it to the Ridge Path, and bounded on the south by the lands of "the late Benjamin Holding" was sold to W. T. Brooks.<sup>33</sup>

On January 1, 1852, Mr. Brooks bought 94 acres lying directly north of the thirty acres east of the railroad he had previously bought. The price was fixed by the Trustees at \$10 an acre, when they refused to ratify a sale by the Executive Committee of the same land at \$7.50 an acre to David Justice.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time the remaining land belonging to the College east of the railroad was deeded to J. M. Brewer. Its area was 42 acres not including the Graveyard, which was reserved, and it lay between the land sold to Brooks and that sold to Isham Holding. The price, which included that of lots 21, and 32, was \$550.<sup>35</sup>

Soon after the Civil War the College had again come into the possession of a strip of land east of the railroad extending from the original limits of the College land on the south to the land sold to Isham Holding on the north. When the railroad station was moved to Wake Forest in 1872, these lands were laid out into town lots and sold, as we shall see when we come to that period.

Above I have indicated all the sales of land and lots made before the War. They took almost all the lands of the College.

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, book 16, p. 389.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, book 17, p. 446.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, book 19, p. 410

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, book 19, p. 407.

Mr. Isham Holding owned a strip at the north; the lands to the east of the railroad had been sold to Mr. J. M. Brewer, and Professor W. T. Brooks; the farm land to the south and west of the Campus as far north as the middle line of West Avenue had gone to Professor John B. White; the fifty-two acres immediately north of this to Professor W. T. Brooks; while the property north of Brooks's land and as far east as Middle Street had gone to President Wait.

At the close of this period, North Main Street did not run farther than Juniper Street. On it were the North Brick House and the house of Mr. Robert Hicks, now the Parsonage. These were on the east side. On the west side were the houses of Mr. J. M. Brewer and Dr. Wait, the present Taylor residence. On the corner where now is the brick store next the Campus was a small building used as a store; next it where now is the residence of Mr. Powers was the Africian Chapel. On lot 31 Mr. Hackney built a small house.

On the west of the Campus were the houses of Dr. Brooks, and of Dr. Walters, who had bought the house from President White. To the southwest where the President's house now stands, was the home of President Wingate, built in 1856, burned several years ago, and further west that of Mr. Rabun, the present Lassiter house. On the south was the home of Mr. J. A. Battle, built in 1856, who on the death of Mr. William Jones a few years before had bought the lots Mr. Jones had got from the College. His house, now remodeled, is the home of Professor Sledd. The next house was the Wake Forest Hotel, built by Mr. J. S. Purefoy, which stood where is now the vacant lot across the street from the Alumni Building. Just south of it was Mr. Purefoy's store. Then came the South Brick Building, the home today of Mr. Gill, and the home of Dr. A. H. Taylor, which is now the home of Dr. W. L. Poteat. To the south was one of the "long houses," then a school house, now built in as a part of the house on the corner of Main and Foundry Streets. Still further south on the west side of Main Street was the residence

of Professor William Royall, which was built by Rev. Thomas Crocker; the house now enlarged on the lot just north of the school property, which he had bought from a Mr. Crocker. Further south on the opposite side of the road was the home of Mr. Willis Holding, the father of Mr. T. E. Holding. These latest named houses were not on the original college property. There were no houses east of the railroad, nor other dwellings, business houses or factories in the ante-bellum Wake Forest.

East Avenue was abandoned. So was West Avenue, which was opened only after the construction of Gore Athletic Field in 1921. The streets with the exception of North Main Street were little more than wagon roads. The owners of the property contiguous to some of them extended their fences into them. One may observe an example of this now along the line of Back (now Wingate) Street where the College property still occupies some of the original street. One may see another example of it in the property opposite the Church and extending to the railroad. In 1881, Mr. J. S. Purefoy who owned the property on which is now the home of President Poteat, found that he had encroached thirteen feet on the street on the west side of his lot, and twenty-six feet on the east side. Accordingly, especially because he had dug a well on the land designed for a street, he bought this strip from the Board of Trustees.<sup>36</sup>

The extension of Back Street to the south was never used for a street, but the title still vests in the College. In June, 1857, the Board authorized the rental of this portion of the street for a nominal sum to John Battle,<sup>37</sup> who was already living in his new house where Dr. Sledd now lives.

It is worthy of special note that at last Wake Forest had a hotel. On June 8, 1846, the Trustees had appointed a committee with authority to dispose of two or three lots to any person who would build a hotel at the College." This committee seems to have interested Mr. J. S. Purefoy in the purpose. In October,

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, book 69, p. 663.

<sup>37</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

1847, the Trustees agreed that Mr. Purefoy should have the reserved lots and the remaining lots on the square opposite the site of the Alumni Building for a hotel. The building was soon erected and was an imposing structure, with large, airy rooms, and long porches. Mrs. Martha Ryan was the first keeper. After two or three years Mr. Purefoy himself took charge. The Hotel, called the "College Hotel," filled a long existing need and was liberally patronized. During the school year it was a boarding house for students. It was said that a good price was charged and a good table set. Here visitors to the College, who were very numerous at the public *Exercises*, found conveniences which they desired. During the summer many seeking relief from the heat of eastern North Carolina and the larger towns found it here. The papers of the day, especially the *Biblical Recorder*, were extolling the climate and healthfulness of Wake Forest. Until the opening of the present century, during the time of all the various keepers of the Hotel, Mr. J. S. Purefoy, Major Dickson and Mr. F. M. Purefoy, one might find during the summer months the Hotel and the College Campus swarming with guests, cheerful, happy people, young and old, men and women of much refinement and intelligence, enjoying the hotel's fine melons and waffles and fried chicken, and enjoying, too the oaks of the Campus and occasionally a book from the College Library. On returning to their homes they gave to Wake Forest a name and a fame it would not otherwise have had. There was no place like Wake Forest.



## XIV

### THE LOAN FROM THE STATE

In 1840 the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, being hard pressed for money to meet a payment on the note for \$4,000 in the Bank of the State of North Carolina, which note, as I said in a previous paper, had been made to meet other pressing debts, borrowed \$2,000 from the Literary Fund of the State of North Carolina.

As this Literary fund was to figure in the plans of the Trustees for more than a decade to come, it may be well for me to give some explanation of its nature. It had for its purpose the "establishment of common schools" in the State, and was founded by the Legislature in the year 1825. Small amounts from various sources were donated to it by the State, and it became a respectable accumulation of more than two million dollars on the receipt of the State's share of a surplus deposit distributed by the Federal Government in 1837, amounting to \$1,433,757. Now for the first time North Carolina seriously undertook to establish a common school system. Under the wise plan proposed by the President and Directors of this Fund and approved by the Legislature in 1839, a system of common schools was put in operation in 1840.<sup>1</sup>

When first established this Fund was entrusted to a board consisting of the Governor, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Speaker of the House, the Speaker of the Senate, and the State Treasurer. But probably because the board as thus constituted was too conservative in making loans, in 1836 its character was changed and it was made to consist of the Governor, who was *ex officio* President, and three Directors appointed by the Governor for the term of two years. The management of so large a fund was no little responsibility and possibly there was a temptation to favoritism in the distribution of loans, but

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Lee Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina*, p. 168 f.

there is no evidence that any board so misused its powers. Its worst enemy was the Legislature itself, which retained the power to advise or authorize loans, and which freely drew on the income of the Fund to pay deficits that developed in the State's revenues, or losses it sustained in its banking ventures, in this way having borrowed \$97,997 by the close of the year 1845.<sup>2</sup> But the board could also make small loans on its own initiative, for it was from this board, consisting of Governor Edward B. Dudley, of Onslow, and his appointees, that the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College borrowed the two thousand dollars early in 1840. When a larger loan was desired the Trustees made appeal direct to the Legislature.

Doubtless, in the present day, many would see a violation of the principle of separation of church and state in this application of the trustees of a denominational college for aid from the State, but there is no evidence that any member of the Board at that time or any other Baptist in the State entertained any such view. And yet the support of religion in any way by the State was even more abhorrent to the Baptists of 1840 than to us. From the first the Baptists had been, if not the originators of the principle of separation of church and state, its most consistent supporters. The early Baptist confessions of faith, had declared that while magistrates should be supported they should not "meddle in matters of religion." The provincial Baptists of North Carolina had chafed under the gall of the various vestry acts, especially those enacted during the administrations of Governor Dobbs and Governor Tryon, by which taxes had been exacted of them to pay for the support of ministers whose services they did not attend nor approve, and for buying glebes and building parsonages and churches. The Trustees of the College of 1840 were almost a century nearer than we to the period when Governor Tryon was endeavoring to force the Establishment on our unwilling people, and knew better than we how large a part this had had in provoking the rupture between the province

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<sup>2</sup> Boyd, *History of North Carolina*, Vol. 2, p. 239.

of North Carolina and the Mother Country. They knew, too that the constitution of the State adopted in 1776 under which they were then living, provided in article 34, "That there shall be no establishment of any one religious church or denomination in this State in preference to any other, neither shall any person, on any pretense whatsoever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith or judgment, or be obliged to pay for the purchase of any glebe, or the building of any house of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry contrary to what he believes right, or has voluntary and personally engaged in to perform, but all persons shall be at liberty to exercise their own mode of worship." They knew too that Baptist influence had contributed to keep North Carolina from ratifying the Federal Constitution until it was certain that it would contain an amendment prohibiting Congress from making any law establishing a religion or preventing the free exercise thereof.

For all these things the Trustees who asked the Legislature for a loan in 1840 would have contended as vigorously as did their fathers, or as we should today. And yet it had never occurred to them that they were in any way violating the traditional Baptist principle when they, a year before, had sought and gained from the Legislature a charter giving their college exemption from taxation on authorized property holdings for two hundred thousand dollars. And although according to their own profession this property was intended to be used primarily for the purpose of training a Baptist ministry they had no scruples in asking the Legislature to provide by law that the people of the State should contribute year by year to their enterprise the amount of the annual tax on the property. Nor, had this thought occurred to them, would they have had any right to consolation in the reflection that the State was granting the same privileges to other denominational institutions with like objectives. There were then as now in the State many who were not members of any of the denominations so favored

who might have claimed that against their will and in violation of the Constitution they were being made to contribute to enterprises of religious denominations.

None of our States has, however, thought it inconsistent with the principle of separation of church and state to exempt from taxation property used for religious purposes. Our States do not tax the endowments of colleges, though some of them tax the real estate. In the field of education both church and state find legitimate work, and here their provinces and functions overlap. Hence the state, finding the church educating its citizens, has been willing to make compensation therefor to a limited extent in tax exemptions. But even when thus regarded I suspect we should find, if we should carry our analysis to its logical conclusion, that in this is a union of church and state unwarranted by our fundamental law.

On other and, I think, more tenable grounds, the favor of the State to so-called denominational colleges can be justified. After all, denominational schools are creatures of the State. Like other public service corporations they are created by the Legislature which determines their organization, management, powers, limitations, continuation and term of life. In granting them charters the State only authorized certain groups of individuals acting in a corporate capacity to do a work which otherwise the State itself should have to do in another and possibly less efficient way. If at the same time the church, while doing the work of the State, trains its students for its own work, this is no reason for the State's withholding its aid.

Whether the view just given be accepted or not, the Trustees of the College in 1840 certainly had no time to argue such questions. They had to have money to pay the many pressing debts of the College or allow it to be sold under the hammer. As I have said in a previous chapter these debts amounted to not less than twenty thousand dollars. The Trustees were being driven from pillar to post in their effort to stave off the day of reckoning and were now at their last stand.

At Wake Forest, among faculty and students, it was a time of gloom, but also a time of prayer. Major Sanders M. Ingram writing more than fifty years later,<sup>3</sup> gives this account of affairs in 1840-41:

Mr. Wait once announced from the rostrum on Sabbath that the College building was about to be sold for the balance of the debt that was due on it-about ten thousand dollars. This news fell amongst us like a bomb or a clap of thunder in a clear sky. He preached one of the most impressive sermons I ever heard from him, and remarked that if the building was sold it would stand as a monument to the folly of the Baptist churches of North Carolina. He prayed fervently that God would put into the hearts of the friends of the institute to do something in that time of need, that it might ever be a holy plot of ground and go on for ages working for the Master. He prayed for the students-that God would keep us as in the palm of his hand and the apple of his eye. He requested us to write to our friends and prevail on them to do something for the College. This was Wake Forest's darkest hour.

Such was the situation<sup>4</sup> when the Executive Committee reported that they had borrowed two thousand dollars from the Literary Fund of the State. The Trustees approved the action of the Committee and assumed the debt. But it did not seem to occur to them immediately that with a larger loan from the Literary Fund they might be able to tide the College over its financial breakers. It was not until a meeting in October, 1840, at the Johnston Liberty church that the proposition was adopted to ask the Legislature for the loan of the money they so much needed. They now appointed a committee to prepare a petition. This was read and approved by the Board at a later meeting on December 17, 1840. By this time the Trustees had been in com-

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<sup>3</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 477 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The students of the College rallied to the suggestions of President Wait, and in addition to writing to their friends devised other schemes of helping the College. On the suggestion of Mr. Wait that the granite of Wake Forest could be sold for enough in New York to pay the debt, the young Ingram proposed that the students should quarry it and build a railroad track to the quarry to get it away. Wait himself hoped to get some money from the sale of mulberry plantings. Ingram addressed a letter to Washington Irving, and received an encouraging reply. *Ibid.*

munication with the President and Directors of the Fund and had secured their endorsement of the proposed loan. All the Trustees were asked to sign the bond to secure the loan; the disposition of the money to be obtained was provided for-\$4,000 to the Bank of North Carolina; to Mr. Dennis and to Dunn, Brownley and Company the amounts due, and the balance to Captain Berry. Reuben T. Sanders was authorized to receive and disburse the money as directed.<sup>5</sup>

But events proved that the sanguine expectations of the Trustees had little justification. It was only by a narrow margin that the Senate voted to grant the loan. This Legislature as well as that of 1833 contained many strong and influential enemies of the College. The plan of getting the loan approved by the Legislature owed its success to the labors and influence of General Alfred Dockery, who this year was a member of the Senate from the district composed of the counties of Richmond and Robeson. An ardent Whig he had had the leading part in securing the election of Joyner of Halifax as Speaker of the Senate, and was able to command respectful consideration of any bill he favored. Probably to insure its constitutionality the bill for the loan was first brought before the House of Commons. Here it was presented by Mr. Mendenhall of Guilford, who had on other occasions showed himself a friend of Wake Forest. Brought before the House on December 22 it had gone through all its readings within a week, and was sent to the Senate. Here the final roll was on January 7, 1841. The ayes and noes were called for by Mr. Cooper the Senator from Martin, a strong opponent of the bill. The roll call revealed the fact that he had with him the Senators from those districts, mostly in the eastern part of the State, where Primitive Baptist influence was strong. Whitaker of Wake and Morehead of Guilford, soon after elected Governor, also voted against the bill, the total vote in opposition being 19, the affirmative vote being 23, while seven Senators did not vote.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 50, 51, 52.

<sup>6</sup> The vote was as follows: Ayes: Albright (Chatham), Boyd (Bertie), Bynum (Rutherford), Clingman (Buncombe), Dockery (Richmond), Gaither (Burke),

It is a striking fact that many Senators from the districts which were sending students to the College voted against the bill, while its supporters were largely from districts from which no students were coming to the College.

When the result was known the joy of the friends of the College was great. Ingram tells of Wait's return to Wake Forest with his face covered with smiles and his joyful announcement, "The College is saved! The Legislature has lent us ten thousand dollars!" while the students replied, "Good news, Mr. Wait, thank God, thank God!"

The loan was to run for four years, with interest payable and the bond to be renewed annually. The rate of interest was not stated, but was doubtless the legal rate of six per cent.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of the four years for which the note was authorized to run nothing had been paid on the principal and as payment at time was impossible, renewal was necessary. This was done by the President and the Directors of the Literary Fund without referring the matter of the Legislature. In the meantime, however, some of the first signers had either died or left the State and it was necessary to get others in their place, and several of

Hellen (Carteret), Hill (Duplin), Johnson (Granville), Kern (Caswell), Mitchell (Wilkes), Moore (Stokes), Myers (Anson), Pasteur (Craven), Puryear (Surry), Shepard (Pasquotank), Speed (Gates and Chowan), Spiers (Hertford), Waddel (Orange), Ward (Lincoln), Williams (Person), Worth (Randolph).

Noes: Arrington (Nash), Cooper (Martin), Etheridge (Camden), Exum (Wayne), Faison (Northampton), Welcher (Cabarrus), Melvin (Brunswick), Morehead (Guilford), Moyer (Pitt), Pollock (Onslow), Reid (Rockingham), Ribelin (Rowan), Selby (Beaufort), Sloan (Sampson), Spruill (Washington), Whitaker (Wake), Whitefield (Greene).

Not voting, Joyner, Speaker, (Halifax), Hawkins (Franklin), Edwards (Warren), Wilson (Edgecombe), McDiarmid (Cumberland), Montgomery (Moore), Hargrove (Davidson), Parks (Iredell), Orr (Mecklenburg).

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<sup>7</sup> The resolution authorizing the loan reads as follows: *Resolved*, That the President and Directors of the Literary Fund of this State loan to the President and Trustees of Wake Forest College, for the term of four years, the sum of ten thousand dollars, upon taking bond with a good and sufficient security for the same, to be approved of by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund. The interest of the said loan to be paid annually, and the said bond to be renewed upon each annual payment of the interest, with liberty on the part of the said President and Trustees, to pay any portion of said principal sum at an earlier period. (Ratified, the 11th day of January, 1841).

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 63. The original note is in the archives of the State Historical Commission in Raleigh. There is also some correspondence about it, in the minutes of the Board of the Literary Fund. A letter of Professor W. H. Owen addressed to Governor Graham pleads for permission to renew the note and strongly urges the claims of the College to the favor of the Directors of the Literary Fund. The note has many endorsements of amounts paid. Its face reads as follows:

One year after date, with interest from this date, we the Trustees of Wake Forest College as principals and D. S. Williams, George M. Thompson, David Justice, Jas. S. Purify, Nathaniel, J. Palmer, George W. Thompson, J. J. Biggs, William Jones, Samuel Wait, George W. Jones, T. B. Barnett, J. W. Fort, Jas. F. Jordan, John B. White, Wm. T. Brooks, Wm. Hill Jordan, Charles W. Skinner, Lewis Parham, Asa Parham, Thos. G. Barnett, Thos. Boroughs, William Strain, Thos. A. Oldham, F. R. Freeman, Geo. W. Purify, W. A. Atterson, Alfred Dockery, James Dennis, J. H. Honeycut, J. W. Justice, D. S. Crenshaw, Michael Thompson, Thos. G. Garrison, as securities promise to pay to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund of North Carolina or order ten thousand dollars for value received payable at the office of the said President and Directors in the City of Raleigh.

July 1, 1845

C. W. Skinner  
Thos. C. Garrison  
Lewis Parham  
Asa Parham  
Thos. G. Barnett  
Thos. Burrough  
William Strain  
Thos. D. Oldham  
F. R. Franian  
Geo. W. Purify  
W. A. Atkinson  
Alfred Dockery by James S. Purify  
James Dennis  
J. H. Honeycutt  
J. W. Justice  
D. S. Crenshaw  
Richard Thompson  
Alexd. Williams by J. J. Finch  
G. C. Moore by Jas. S. Purify, Att  
S. G. Wheeler by Jas. S. Purify, Att.



No payment had been made on the principal of the note when the subject was next brought to the attention of the Trustees on June 6, 1848. It was voted however, to have a committee confer with the signers of the note with reference to its liquidation. It was found that in the low state of the finances of the College payment of the interest even was becoming irksome. Accordingly a committee was appointed to ask the Legislature for relief, the relief to consist in being allowed to renew the note and be relieved from the further payment of interest on it.

Mr. George W. Thompson was the Senator from Wake for this year and probably acted for the Trustees in getting the matter before the Legislature. But it was first brought before the House of Commons, the bill being introduced by Mr. Kenneth Rayner of Hertford County, who was just beginning his brilliant career. When it came up on its final reading in the House it was found to contain as its second section the following provision:

That in case the Trustees of Wake Forest College shall pay up the whole of the principal of said debt of ten thousand dollars, to the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, as aforesaid, on or before the first day of January, 1851, then, and in that case, the interest due on said debt, from and after the ratification of this act, shall be remitted to the Trustees aforesaid, and the payment of the principal shall be deemed and held in full satisfaction of the whole debt, both principal and interest.<sup>9</sup>

This section was objected to by Mr. T. J. Person, of Northampton, and disallowed by a vote of 37 to 33. As amended the bill was passed and sent to the Senate which promptly ratified it. It is interesting to note that the same Legislature authorized a loan from the Literary Fund of seven thousand, five hundred dollars to the Greensboro Female College.

The action of the Legislature was reported to the Board in June, 1849. The note was again renewed, since the Legislature had allowed so much. But at last, owing to ten years' activity of the agents of the Board, the finances of the College were improving. At this meeting it was reported that subscriptions for

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<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Legislature* for 1848, p. 792.

the debts fell short of their amount only by the sum of \$1,713, which was raised in a week thereafter.<sup>10</sup> The Trustees now went about paying off the claims, especially the notes to which so many of their names were attached, in a good earnest. At the Commencement in June, 1850, it was reported that the debt was nearly discharged. In a few months the Berry note had been taken up, leaving further collections available to apply to payments on the debt due the State.<sup>11</sup> Payments were made as subscriptions for the purpose were paid, which was rather slowly. The debt to the State had been reduced to \$3,000 at the Commencement of 1855, at which time subscriptions for its payment were outstanding to the amount of \$3,493.30, as we are informed by Editor J. J. James of the *Biblical Recorder*, who was also a member of the Board of Trustees of the College, and who was using his paper to urge subscribers to pay promptly. But there was still something due on this debt at the time of the meeting of the Trustees in June, 1858, when the Treasurer was instructed to collect the old claims then due, resorting to legal process if necessary, and pay up the debt. Finally, in June 1860, the Trustees ordered the Treasurer to pay the debt, borrowing whatever money was necessary. The final payment of \$3,103.01 was made on June 20, 1860.<sup>12</sup>

There was, however, a very interesting development in connection with this loan, without a narration of which the story would be incomplete. The Trustees sought not a loan but appropriations from the State.

We have seen that in 1848 the Trustees asked the Legislature to relieve them from the interest on the note to the Literary Fund. One of the prime movers in this matter was Professor John

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<sup>10</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 14, 1849.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, June 22, 1850; November 23, 1850.

<sup>12</sup> See Mills, *Wake Forest. Student*, III, 272. Mills's statement is not inconsistent with that of M. C. S. Noble, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, p. 123, which shows that payments on principal amounted to \$4,151.87 and on interest, \$484.44, since Noble seems to group into one amount payments made at several times.

B. White, who, the next year, became President of the College. It was at their meeting in June, 1852, that the Trustees voted to take measures to secure appropriations from the Literary Fund for the support of the College. The records show that White was one of the most active supporters of this undertaking. It is not hard to understand why he took this course. He was a graduate of Brown University, which though to a limited extent a Baptist institution served all the people of the State of Rhode Island, and in addition to Baptists had on his board of control representatives of other denominations. It was getting no appropriations from the State, but neither was any other college in Rhode Island. So far as college education was concerned every one was treated in the same way in Rhode Island. It was easy for White to reason that the State of North Carolina also should treat all alike and that it was as much a departure for the State to compel a Baptist to contribute to the support of a school in competition with Wake Forest as it would be for others to be forced to pay for education at Wake Forest. The way to secure equality was for the State to make appropriations not only to the University but to the colleges of all denominations.

In pursuance of the plan to secure such appropriations, the Trustees at their meeting on June 8, 1852, voted to secure if possible, the cooperation of Davidson College and Normal College, which was soon to become Trinity College and later Duke University, the only other male denominational schools of collegiate standing in the State, and ask the Legislature for the appropriation from the Literary Fund. President John B. White, J. J. James and Nathaniel J. Palmer were appointed a committee to visit the other schools named and solicit their cooperation. At the next meeting which was on October 16, 1852, the Committee made an encouraging report and was continued. Both of the other colleges voted to cooperate, but when the matter was brought before the Legislature the petition was for the support by the State of normal school students, twenty-seven for each of

the three institutions, of which account will be given in the chapter on Curriculum.<sup>13</sup>

In closing my account of this section I register my conviction that but for the loan from the Literary Fund of the State the friends of the Wake Forest College would have given up in despair. Coming in the time of sorest need it was this loan alone which saved the cause of Baptist education in North Carolina and the progress of our denomination from a most serious reversal.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 86, 88. *Journal of Legislature*, 1852.

<sup>14</sup> Referring to the fact that Wake Forest College alone of the seven literary institutions which borrowed money from the Literary Fund repaid it before the outbreak of the Civil War and hence in the currency of the United States and not that of the Confederate States, Professor M. C. S. Noble, in the work cited above, p. 123, says: "This note of Wake Forest College, signed as it was by President Wait, the two Trustees, Crocker and Crenshaw, and thirty-six other Baptists, constitutes an honor roll of which not only the denomination but the State as whole may well be proud because of their sacrifice for higher education. The denomination raised the money and paid the debt before money had depreciated, and the loan cannot in any sense be called a case of state aid to a church college."

## BEQUESTS

In the period from 1834 to 1860, several friends of Wake Forest remembered it in their wills, with the provision, however, in most instance that the bequests should go to establish funds for the education of ministers.

The first to make a bequest was Mr. John Blount, a planter of Edenton.<sup>1</sup> On his death on May 13, 1836, the Trustees learned that he had provided in his will for the establishment of an endowment for the education at Wake Forest Institute, of "poor and indigent young men destined for the ministry." His property consisted for the most part of a plantation near Edenton, some houses and lots in that town, and a dozen negro slaves. Having no children he bequeathed a negro girl to each of two nieces, a negro boy to a nephew, and his family Bible and silver watch to other nephews. To his wife Rebecca he devised, for her lifetime, the use of his plantation and his negroes—Harvey, Tom, Venus and child, Mary, Emma and Lettice; also the use of his household and kitchen furniture, carriages and horses, and of his house and lots in Edenton. The remainder of his prop-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blount was the son of Charles North Blount of Durant's Neck. His mother was a Miss Clayton. He was born in 1764, and was thrice married. His first wife was Catherine Hoskins of Chowan County, died in 1826; his second wife was Miss Ann Rombough of Norfolk, died in 1829; his third wife was Miss Rebecca Bateman of Perquimans County, whom he married in 1831. All were pious and discreet and all members of Baptist churches. After his first marriage he fixed his residence in Chowan County. He was baptized into the membership of the Yoppim Baptist Church by Rev. Martin Ross in 1805. Thence he moved his membership to Bethel, and in 1816 he was a charter member of the Edenton Baptist church on its constitution. Of the Edenton church he was a deacon and highly respected. He died, May 13, 1836. His property was estimated to be worth \$8,000 to \$10,000. "During his life our brother was a warm advocate of an enlightened ministry; many of his thoughts were expended on that subject; and now that he is dead, he has left an example that is worthy of all imitation. He has taught his surviving brethren a lesson which, it is sincerely hoped, they will not fail to consider and practice." Thomas Meredith, Minutes of the Chowan Association for 1836. Also *Biblical Recorder*, May 25, 1836.

erty was to be sold and created a trust fund, the income of which was to be paid to his wife during her lifetime, but the executor of the will was instructed after her death to "pay over to the Trustees of Wake Forest Institute the whole and entire income of my estate, wheresoever and howsoever invested, in trust to be applied by them to the education of young men destined to the ministry in the Regular Baptist Church, and for that sole use and in trust forever, and to be applied to no other use and for no other purposes."

In the following article of his will Mr. Blount made it more definite that the proceeds of his property was to constitute "a permanent fund" to be administered by his executor until his death, and thereafter by a Trustee to be appointed by a court.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Rebecca Blount survived her husband more than twenty-three years. For eleven years before her death on November 9, 1859, she had been afflicted with a painful spinal trouble, and for seven years confined to her bed. For fifty-seven years she had been a Christian, "habitually prayerful and watchful," and even during her long illness uniformly cheerful. She was devoted to works of charity and used her means to promote "benevolent objects," missions and education. She had read the *Biblical Recorder* from its first number and had also been a constant reader of other religious and missionary periodicals, and kept well informed on the progress of religious work both in North Carolina and in the world.

From the above account it will be easily understood that the necessary living expenses of Mrs. Blount and the satisfaction of her normal charitable and benevolent impulses and purposes required even more income than the estate of her late husband yielded, especially during the long period of her affliction that ended with her death. The fact seems to be that she had to make shifts not provided for in the will, and that she sold two or more negro slaves to Rev. George W. Bradford, a minister of the Portsmouth

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<sup>2</sup> A copy of the will is in the College Library.

Association whose home was near Edenton, and who conducted her funeral.<sup>3</sup>

During the twenty-three years that the Trustees had waited for the estate to come into their possession they had shown much concern and almost alarm in regard to it, had made it the subject of many resolutions, and employed several attorneys to protect their interests and sent several special messengers to Edenton. Their many actions cannot be explained on any other assumption than that they feared that the estate was being squandered.<sup>4</sup> How little the alarm of the Trustees was justified may be inferred from

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<sup>3</sup> Obituary sketch by Rev. W. Judson Knapp, *Biblical Recorder*, Dec. 15, 1859.

<sup>4</sup> The bequest was reported to the Board at its meeting in November, 1836. The Board then asked C. W. Skinner to consult with Mrs. Blount on the expediency of disposing of the property and investing the funds. In June, 1842, the Board took measures to secure a copy of the will, intrusting the matter to Rev. J. E. French. The will, it would seem, should have convinced the Trustees that the interest of Mrs. Blount was paramount. Furthermore, the sketch of Mrs. Blount given above makes it hard to understand why the Trustees should have been so apprehensive that the estate was being mismanaged and the rights of the College disregarded. Evidence is not wanting that busybodies, either from interest or natural disposition to meddle, were constantly filling the ears of members of the Board with alarming tales. In June, 1843, the Board again had the matter before them, and appointed "brethren French, Skinner, Wheeler and Moore" a committee to inquire into the condition of the estate; and Mr. Dockery was asked to correspond with Mr. Moore, an attorney of Edenton, about the matter. The result of this correspondence was that the next year Moore presented a bill for \$25; he probably did no more than inspect the will and the inventory of goods. In June, 1844, the Trustees made the proposition to take over the estate and provide for the support of Mrs. Blount, which offer was declined. After this for a period of ten years the Board took no further action, but at its meeting in June, 1854, after hearing a message brought by Rev. Mr. Binford, the Board appointed N. J. Palmer, a Trustee and also a lawyer, to go to Edenton and to inquire fully into the condition of the legacy, and if necessary, to employ counsel to secure the interests of the Trustees, and make any such arrangements with Mrs. Blount as the case required. Mr. Palmer died on October 7, 1854, seemingly not having gone to Edenton. The Board meeting in Fayetteville a few days later requested Messrs. Wheeler and Trotman to go to Edenton and "make the necessary inquiries" about the estate. Their report at the next meeting of the Board, June, 1855, was evidently not reassuring, and the Board appointed Rev. Q. H. Trotman, Rev. George Bradford, and T. H. Pritchard, their General Agent, to attend to the estate and "employ counsel." The Board took no further action until June, 1859, when it instructed the Secretary to open correspondence with W. N. H. Smith, then a young lawyer, with reference to the matter. On November 9 of this year Mrs. Blount died.

the fact that, although the expenses of Mrs. Blount must have been considerable during her eleven long years of illness, the estate proved to be worth as much when it came into the possession of the suspicious and apprehensive Trustees as it was estimated to be worth when Mr. Blount died. At that time, according to the minutes of the Chowan Association its value was from \$8,000 to \$10,000; at the sale in 1860 it yielded more than \$12,000.

At their meeting in November, 1859, the Trustees intrusted the settlement of the estate to their Treasurer, Mr. J. S. Purefoy, authorizing him to have the property "sold as soon as possible by public auction or otherwise on a credit of six months with interest from date, the purchaser giving bond with approved security."

It was found that the slaves were six men, seven women and three children, their numbers showing a considerable increase since Mr. Blount's death in 1836, although two had died in the interval. Though only the use of the slaves had been devised to Mrs. Blount, Ann, not mentioned in the will, and her two children, and a boy named Thomas had come into the possession of Rev. George Bradford, an intimate friend of Mrs. Blount. Probably it was this that had given the Trustees so much concern, and now Mr. Purefoy was advised to see that the interests of the College were properly protected in this matter. Mr. Purefoy was further instructed "that great kindness be shown the servants in arranging for their future homes," and he was also asked to have proper stones erected at the graves of Mrs. Blount and her sister, Miss Martha Bateman.

In carrying out the instructions of the Trustees Mr. Purefoy acted with his usual promptness and care. In January, 1860, he disposed of the personal property for \$156.19, and made a compromise with Rev. George Bradford, paying him \$812 for the surrender of the slaves he had bought, one of whom, the boy Thomas, Mr. Bradford later bought at the sale for \$600, while Ann and her two children brought \$1,600. It seems that all were of the natural increase of the group of slaves since Mr. Blount's death, and accordingly Mrs. Blount might have supposed she had a right to sell them. It is also probable that the amount paid for their



surrender did not more than compensate Mr. Bradford for the money he had paid Mrs. Blount, money that she seems to have needed.

All the slaves, including the four recovered from Mr. Bradford, brought \$10,718. The highest price, \$1,305, was paid for Pompey, unless that honor goes to Ann and her two children, who brought \$1,600. The lowest price was for Harry, probably the same as Harvey mentioned in the will, and now superannuated. He was bought by Samuel J. Johnston for \$100. The public sale was on May 7, 1860, and at that time all were sold except a girl named Mary. Probably because she feared the ordeal of the auctioneer's block she had run away and gone to Norfolk. Here she was apprehended at a cost of \$50, beside jail fees amounting to \$4.50, and an officer's fee of one dollar; and on May 30 was sold to a Mr. Williams of Norfolk for \$400, which low price suggests that she had lost half her value by her bent for running away.

The agreed upon price for the land was \$1,055; \$24 was received for the hire of two women from January to May, 1860. This makes the total value of the estate at that time \$12,153.19. But of this the College got very little enjoyment. The slaves were paid for in notes due on January 1, 1861, but as the War was imminent, the payments were not made when due; then suits to compel payment were started in the courts but before they came to trial the Edenton courts were discontinued for the War. On November 2, 1862, the Treasurer being instructed to invest any collections from this estate in Confederate bonds, made collections on these notes amounting to \$8,710.13 in Confederate money and with it bought the bonds, all of which were lost. Lost also was the uncollected portion of the notes to the amount of \$2,295, since the War left the makers insolvent.<sup>5</sup> But the Treasurer had col-

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<sup>5</sup> I give here Mr. Purefoy's table of the sale of these slaves:

1860			
May 7	Isaac to	John Thompson	\$ 525.00
	Jim	John Hall	495.00
	Lucy	Peter White	1,285.00
	Caroline	J. H. Hall	295.00
	Pompie	Joseph Maddry	1,305.00
	Emma	John Thompson	580.00

lected enough in good money to pay the expenses of settling the estate and the physician's bill and all other claims.

After the War, the land not having been paid for, reverted to the College. It was again sold for \$1,000, on deferred payments. Soon after the sale the houses on the place were burned, and though insured the insurance money was lost since the insurance companies were ruined by the great Chicago fire. On a compromise the Treasurer accepted \$500 in full payment. This he invested in Raleigh City bonds and turned over to the Trustees in June, 1878, when with accruals it had a value of \$650. The Trustees ordered that it be placed in the permanent endowment and there it remains to this day. In speaking of the Warren Fund, bequeathed on the same terms as the Blount estate, and designated for the education of ministers, Mr. Purefoy said that the Trustees considered it proper to put it in the general endowment, since there it would be used to pay the tuition of ministers and thus carry out the purpose of the donor.<sup>6</sup>

	Nancy	John H. Leary	
		for Jos. C. Skinner	1,263.00
	Harriet and child	Peter White	1,570.00
	Joseph	Joseph Maddry	700.00
	Harry	Samuel J. Johnson	100.00
	Ann and two children	Sarah Charlton	1,600.00
	Thomas	George Bradford	600.00
May 30	Mary	Williams	400.00
			<hr/>
			\$11,797.00
1861			
January 1	Sold land to Jas. Floyd, P. E. White and John H. Hall		\$1,055.00
	February 6 Rec'd of W. J. Leary hire of Harriet and Nancy from		
	Jan. 1 to May 1, 1860		24.00

The land was sold to Jas. Floyd; both he and his sureties failed by the War and I had to take the land back. I then on January 2, 1871, resold it to Sam]. T. Bond for one thousand dollars with payments first day of 72, then 1875, 1874, 1875-he insured the property for our benefit. Before any payment was made on it the houses on the lot were burned leaving the bare ground. The insurance company broke by the great Chicago fire and I compromised the matter through Augustus Moore, Attorney, and received (\$500) Five Hundred Dollars which I invested in Raleigh City bonds, amounting to \$550.00 adding discount. Said bonds are today, January 18, 1876, in my safe with Dickson and Purefoy. January 1, 1878, these bonds removed and deposited in the State N. B. in Raleigh.

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<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 201-02, Purefoy's account book, p. 512.

The plan of the Trustees to have tombstones erected at the grave of Mrs. Blount and her sister was not immediately carried out, probably owing to the interruption of the War. But when Mr. Purefoy made his final report on the estate in June, 1879, the Board made the somewhat modified order that stones be "erected over the graves of brother and sister Blount."<sup>7</sup>

The second recorded bequest was that of Mrs. Celia Wilder of Hertford County, who in a will made December 23, 1844, and probated in May, 1847, left the College six hundred dollars, the sale price of two negro women, and the residue of her estate.<sup>8</sup> The residue was only a small amount; this with the six hundred dollars was promptly paid to Dr. G. C. Moore, appointed by the Trustees as their agent, and by him turned over to Rev. Wm. Hill Jordan, agent, early in 1848. It was probably used to make payment on the Berry note.<sup>9</sup>

Another bequest came to the College from Rev. William Henry Merritt, who died on July 3, 1850. Report of it was made to the Trustees at their meeting on October 18, 1850. Under the

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<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 26, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 96, 103, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 133, 141, 201-02.

<sup>8</sup> A copy of the will, made by W. D. Boone, attorney of Winton, is in the College Library. Mrs. Wilder's property consisted mainly of a tract of land, 89 acres, adjoining the lands of John Winborne, which she willed to Edward D. Lewis, provided he should settle on it two negroes, Catoc and his wife Sally, and make it their home as long as they lived. Two other negro women, Betty and Inez, were sold to Lewis with provision that the purchase price, \$600, be paid to the Trustees of Wake Forest College. Mrs. Wilder had daughters and grandchildren, but left only nominal sums to them. The last item of the will reads:

"It is my wish, will and desire that my worthy friend John Nowell, Sr., qualify to this my last Will and Testament as Executor, and that he, the said John Nowell, Sr., sell all the rest and residue of my property of every kind and description not disposed of or mentioned in this my last will and the money arising from said sale with also the six hundred dollars to be paid my Edward D. Lewis shall by him, the said John Nowell, Sr., be paid over to the trustees of Wake Forest College and by them expended for the interest and improvement of said College as to them may seem best."

<sup>9</sup> Letter of William Hill Jordan to J. S. Purefoy, dated April 16, 1848, in collection in College Library. "I receive but a little money-except the \$600 and upwards, which I received from Dr. Moore (the bequest of Sister Wilder) for which I sent a check to Bro. White and which I suppose has been paid to Capt. Berry."

terms of the will a tract of land of 613 acres about two miles and a half southwest of Chapel Hill, on Morgan's Creek, was left to the College, it being stipulated that the land should be sold and the proceeds invested in interest-bearing securities which should constitute a permanent fund, the revenue of which should be used for the education of young ministers of the gospel. The estimated value of the land was \$2,000, and for that amount probably by understanding of the purchaser with Mr. Merritt before his death, it was sold to Rev. G. W. Purefoy, a close friend and neighbor of Mr. Merritt's. The price was paid in four equal annual installments of \$500 each, the last in May, 1855, at which time a deed was given to Mr. Purefoy for the land.<sup>10</sup>

As was told above, the Merritt fund, which in May, 1862,

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<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 78, 82, 105. The following facts about Rev. W. H. Merritt are compiled from sketches in Purefoy's *History of the Sandy Creek Association*, and from the *Biblical Recorder*, June 14, 1850.

William Henry Merritt, son of a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in Chatham County, seemingly the northern part, February 19, 1779. He came to adopt Baptist views from reading the New Testament in school. At the time of the Great Revival, 1801-02, he professed religion under the preaching of Elder George Pope at Haw River Meeting House. Soon after he became a member of the church at Prichard's, which afterwards was moved to Mount Carmel on Morgan's Creek, two miles southwest of Chapel Hill. Many years before he became a minister he was impressed with his duty to preach, and got such preparation as he could from reading the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, a copy of which he nearly always had on his person. He was licensed in 1824, and was ordained in 1827. Though he preached haltingly at first, he persevered under the encouragement of such men as Elders Robert Daniel, and John Purefoy, and became one of the most useful and successful ministers of the Sandy Creek Association, laboring in all sections of Chatham County, and serving in pastorates at Emmaus, which he helped to constitute, Rock Spring, Gum Spring, Mount Olive (Lick Creek), which also he helped to constitute, Mount Carmel, Antioch (Haw River Mountain), Fall Creek, Bear Creek and Mineral Springs. He also gave most liberally to the building of meeting houses. In his last years he conceived the purpose of building a Baptist church at Chapel Hill. With reference to this Purefoy says: "The church owes a debt of gratitude to the late Elder William Henry Merritt for his zeal and liberality in their behalf. He was probably the first in conceiving and presenting the idea of planting a Baptist church at the University of the State. For this purpose he purchased the lots on which the church building and the female academy now stand. In addition to these lots he made bequests amounting to about \$1,200 towards the erection of the church edifice." Mr. Merritt was a successful farmer, prosperous in business, and most liberal to the poor. He died July 3, 1850, leaving two children.

with accruals amounted to \$2,600,<sup>11</sup> and the Blount fund were invested in Confederate States bonds which lost all value with the fall of the Confederacy. Though these funds were not given for general endowment but for the education of ministers, this loss was sorely felt in the days of Reconstruction and has not yet been wholly repaired.

Another bequest that came to the College was from the estate of Mrs. Lucy Mims. Mention of this is made in the College catalogue of 1858-59, but no copy of the will has been found. Mrs. Mims was probably a relative of Mr. Samuel Mims of Cumberland County, a man of good estate and a Baptist, who was her executor. He was slow in settling the estate and it was not until June 5, 1863, that the College Treasurer, Mr. J. S. Purefoy, received the five hundred dollars, and then it was in Confederate money. With it in accord with the direction of the Trustees, he bought a Confederate bond of that amount, bearing seven per cent interest. Thus this bequest also was lost.<sup>12</sup>

Another bequest came from Mr. William Warren of Person County, in 1859-60. I have been able to learn little of him except that he was a liberal giver to benevolent objects. In his will he left one thousand dollars to Wake Forest College for the education of young ministers, and also a thousand dollars to the Beulah Association for the support of missionaries. Both bequests were promptly paid in, and that for Wake Forest College was reported as yielding sixty dollars in the Baptist State Convention minutes of 1860 and for several years thereafter. In 1863 the parent fund was invested in the bonds of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company, which were salvaged from the wreck of the College finances during the Civil War, and according to J. S. Purefoy "The Warren Fund is now blended with the College endowment as the College was giving free tuition to ministers, and this is carrying out the intention of the donor."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Statement of L. R. Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 273.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Purefoy's Account Book, p. 500.

<sup>13</sup> College catalogue for 1859-60; minutes of Baptist State Convention for 1860, 1861, etc.; Account Book of J. S. Purefoy, Treasurer, p. 500 f.; minutes of the Beulah Association, 1860 and years following till 1863; when the minutes show

Still another bequest was that of Mrs. Foster Fort, who died in the fifties, some years after the death of her husband. She was much respected and loved in the college community, and like her husband had great love for the College. Her bequest was for three hundred dollars and being left to the Trustees without restriction was probably used toward paying the college debt.<sup>14</sup>

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that the fund was invested in Confederate States bonds, bought through Calvin Graves. The College and the Association had to pay an attorney's fee of \$100, each one half, but as bonds were at a discount they each got them to the amount of \$1,000.

<sup>14</sup> *Biblical Recorder*.

## XVI

### CONTRIBUTIONS—WAIT AGENT

As stated above,<sup>1</sup> in February, 1839, our institution, then beginning operation as a college, was cumbered with a debt of not less than twenty thousand dollars. To make provision for its payment and at the same time for the necessary operating expenses of the College required all the devotion, patience, wisdom, energy and resourcefulness of the wise and able men who composed the Board of Trustees.

We have already seen that something was realized from the sale of a portion of the farm which was no longer needed after the manual labor feature was abandoned; some was sold for farm land, and some in town lots. The proceeds from the sale of lots and farm land were, however, disappointingly small. In their distress the perplexed Trustees sought and obtained from the Literary Fund of the State loans amounting to ten thousand dollars, but this was borrowed money and the obligation to pay it was never forgotten. From bequests during the period before the Civil War about fifteen thousand dollars came into hands of the Board, all except one thousand dollars of which was for the purpose of educating ministers. This limitation of the gifts, however, meant less in the days when ministers were charged tuition, and even after they were given free tuition the Trustees regarded these funds as endowments making free tuition for ministers possible.

It was then to other sources than those mentioned above that the College had to look for means of paying its debt and for maintenance. Accordingly, the Trustees turned to the friends of the College. With the exception of a few in South Carolina, of whom recognition will be made in proper place, these friends were all in North Carolina. Before the Civil War there was no thought of making appeals to rich philanthropists in the North for the support of Southern educational institutions. It was quite the

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<sup>1</sup> Page 185.

other way about-the wealthy planters of the South were canvassed for contributions for such institutions as Columbian College in Washington, and indeed it was a journey to the South for that purpose that brought Samuel Wait first to North Carolina. It was to the Baptists and other friends of the College in our own State that the Trustees made appeal, almost constant appeal, in the years 1839-60, for the funds they needed to pay the debt and to maintain and endow the College.

The Trustees had reason to hope that this appeal to the friends of the Institution would be effective. Individual Baptists had already made gifts which for that day were considered munificent, some for \$500, some for smaller amounts, while two of their own number had at an expense of \$3,000 each built a brick house as home for the teachers of the Institution. Again, the campaign of John Armstrong for money to erect the College Building was surprisingly successful; in four months in 1834 he secured subscriptions to the amount of \$13,500, and before February 1, 1835, had made the amount \$17,000, which was increased by his successor, W. H. Jordan, to \$21,000 of which as much as \$13,500 was collected. Encouraged by the recollection of these things the Trustees turned with confidence to the Baptists of the State for the needed funds. Their first objective was to pay the debt, but when after a few years they saw realization of this hope in prospect they enlarged their plans, and began to ask for endowment, first, of separate professorships; then, when this was not successful, the appeal was for endowed scholarships; and finally, when the scholarships proved of doubtful value, they asked for unencumbered endowment. Thus the campaign among the friends of the institutions, beginning in 1839, was continued with growing intensity and effectiveness till the eve of the Civil War. Before its close it would seem that not only every Baptist Association and every church but almost every individual Baptist and many who were not Baptists must have heard of Wake Forest College, its needs and the promise of its future, if its debts were paid and it was sufficiently equipped and endowed.

In pursuance of the plan mentioned above, the Trustees at their



meeting at Wake Forest on February 3, 1839, the very day on which the institution which had been Wake Forest Institute was starting on its career as Wake Forest College, asked President Samuel Wait to take the field as their agent. This was a work for which he had proved qualifications. As the first Agent of the Baptist State Convention, in the years 1830-33, he had traveled to every part of the State and had become acquainted with the Baptists of every Association, and had shown wonderful skill and tact in winning them from indifference and often from violent hostility to sympathy with the new Convention in its purpose to foster missions and build an institution to train ministers for Baptist churches. In November, 1838, the Baptist State Convention had asked him to take the agency of that body, and he had accepted, probably with the understanding that the Trustees of the College would at their February meeting ask him to become their agent also. During the winter vacation of the Institute, which began in November and continued until February, he had already been working in the Convention agency.<sup>2</sup>

Before taking the field Wait wrote a letter which was published in the *Biblical Recorder* of February 23, 1839. This letter was addressed to the Baptists of the State and deals with matters both of the Convention and of the College. That part which treats of the College is interesting since it sets forth at the very beginning of the institution in its new role its condition and the means by which its president believed it might be brought to its proper place in the services of our State and denomination. A summary of this part of the letter is given here:

The work of education has only just begun; it is now impeded by lack of funds, and yet our churches are greatly in need of trained ministers. The College was created primarily to supply that need; it is the child of the Convention, the child of many prayers; the Lord has shown his approval of it; in five years it has had four great revivals. Now it needs the help of the brethren. They can help with their prayers; they can help with their patronage of which it is entirely worthy, and while all should be free

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<sup>2</sup> Convention minutes for 1840, p. 8.

to patronize the institution of their choice they should feel a peculiar obligation to their own; Wake Forest is filling a definite need among North Carolina Baptists; being an institution of their own it is causing them to appreciate the importance of education. Furthermore, the Baptists of the State should meet the expectation of our people that they will do their part toward enlightening the rising generation.

Money too is needed and will continue to be needed. Previous contributions of money have enabled the College to reach a certain stage of advancement; suitable buildings have been erected, among them the College Building at one half the usual cost for such a magnificent structure; but before all the money subscribed for its erection was collected many of the subscribers left the State and they will probably never pay their notes. This has left a deficit on payment on the College Building. To that must be added the debt incurred for other things found absolutely necessary in starting the institution. The amount now needed is eight or ten thousand dollars.

The work is not personal; the cause is the cause of God. With a little timely effort the College may be put on a firm foundation, free from pecuniary embarrassment, while debt is "a most serious inconvenience."

The College needs students and offers them the best of accommodations; its location is healthy; it is free from the temptations to extravagance and vice that are found in institutions in or near cities; the professors are worthy of all confidence; the institution has been grossly slandered; a sufficient refutation of all slanders is the character of the Trustees; surely such men would not tolerate anything harmful or immoral. Let the friends of the Institution rally to its support.

Such was the appeal Wait was making to the Baptist of the State. Though relatively numerous, being at that time second in number only to the Methodists, the Baptists of North Carolina in 1839 had only one-twelfth of their numbers in 1935. Fairly complete figures of all the Baptists of the State are given in the Minutes of the Baptist State Convention for 1843 show their total

number to be 37,854. Of these 7,174 were what are now called Primitive Baptists, and 2,072 Free Will Baptist, while the Missionary Baptists numbered 28,607. These were gathered into 400 churches which had formed 21 Associations. Of the Associations the largest and most progressive was the Chowan with 5,803 members, followed by the Cape Fear with 4,706, the Raleigh with 2,710, the Flat River with 1,997, the Tar River with 1,864, the Sandy Creek with 1,464, the Goshen with 1,276, the Pee Dee with 976, with the remainder in the other Associations whose churches had memberships numbering from 880 to 160. Of these members in such eastern Associations as the Chowan, not fewer than one-third were colored,<sup>3</sup> while the number of colored members dwindled to almost nothing in the midland and mountain Associations.

We shall understand the problem of raising money for College better if we keep in mind the condition of the State at that time. In 1840 the census showed a population of 753,419, almost exactly one-fourth of the present number. Until 1860, 98 per cent of the people were classed as agricultural. There were no large towns, the census of 1850 showing only nine with a population of as many as 1,000. Of these the largest was Wilmington, with 7,264 followed by New Bern with 4,681, Fayetteville with 4,646, Raleigh with 4,518, Washington with 2,015, Oxford with 1,978, Edenton with 1,661, Smithville (now Southport) with 1,464, and Warrenton with 1,242. There are seventeen other towns with population ranging from 176 to 903; three which are today among our largest cities, Greensboro, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem, are not in the list. Of the 139,387 inhabitants listed by occupation, 81,898 were farmers, 28,143 farm laborers, 989 overseers, 1,326 coopers, 1,587 cordwainers, 124 brewers and distillers, 175 hat and cap manufacturers, 655 tailors, 873 millers, 354 millwrights, 444 tar and turpentine makers, 113 United States and State officers, 9 college professors, 747 clergyman, 399 lawyers, 1,083 physicians, and 2,095 students.

While the above named occupations indicate that the condi-

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<sup>3</sup> U. S. Census Report of 1850.

tion of society was very different from what is now found in North Carolina or anywhere in the world, they show how almost completely our people were devoted to agriculture. In large sections of the State, however, especially in the midland and mountain counties, agriculture was pursued as a means of making a living for the family and with little thought of marketing a portion of the crop. North Carolina was not yet a great tobacco-producing State; in 1840 North Carolina, which now rivals Kentucky in the amount of tobacco produced and has for many years been first in value of crop, produced only 16,722,359 pounds, while Virginia was producing 75,347,349 pounds; in 1850 North Carolina's production had fallen to 11,984,786 pounds, but in five counties in the latter year the yield of tobacco was considerable; these were Granville with 3,420,884 pounds, Warren with 2,430,730 pounds, Caswell with 2,282,939 pounds, Person with 1,562,119 pounds, and Rockingham with 908,729 pounds; Stokes raised 393,106 pounds and Franklin 300,268 pounds and Orange 194,275 pounds, no other county as much as 50,000 pounds. The other important money crop was cotton; in 1840 the number of pounds ginned was reported as 51,926,180. In bales of 400 pounds the North Carolina production would have been about 125,000. In 1850 the number of bales averaging 400 pounds each was reported as 73,845, but with statistics for several cotton-producing counties missing. The largest number of bales, 10,864, was reported for Anson County; Mecklenburg was second with 4,219 other counties producing considerable amounts were Richmond, Edgecombe, Robeson, Cabarrus, Union, Wake, Orange, Halifax, Bertie, Montgomery, and Northampton. In recent years two of our counties such as Cleveland and Johnston together produced annually considerably more cotton than the entire State produced in 1850. Only in products consumed at home, such as Indian corn, sweet potatoes and pork, did North Carolina in the decade 1840-50 make a respectable showing.

From the above account of the state of industry in North Carolina in 1840-50 one may easily deduce the truth that any appeal for large contributions to benevolence would be hopeless in many

parts of the State. The people raised no crops which they could sell for money. It was only in the few counties that produced tobacco and cotton largely, and in the few other counties where other industries such as fisheries and turpentine-making were pursued profitably, that any substantial gifts for education or other benevolences could reasonably be expected. Accordingly, the reader should be surprised not that the agents of Wake Forest College had to labor so long and in some years with little result before they attained their goal, but that they succeeded so well in their undertaking.

Another thing that rendered arduous an agency such as Wait was now undertaking-nothing less than a canvass of the entire State-was the poor means of travel, which hardly improved at all before the Civil War, and continued very bad for many years thereafter. In 1839 the Raleigh and Gaston and the Wilmington and Weldon railroads were just coming to completion. These were the only railroads until the decade 1850-60 when the completion of the North Carolina Railroad gave rail connection between New Bern and Charlotte by way of Raleigh and Greensboro; at this time also the Western North Carolina Railroad had been extended to Morganton, and a few others were under construction. But as most of the Baptist churches were in the country remote from towns travel by rail was not to be thought of by one who undertook to reach them. He was under the necessity of journeying over the dirt roads with such conveyance as he himself could provide. Although Raleigh and many of the various county towns were connected by roads known as "stage roads" and kept in tolerable repair, and before 1860 numerous plank roads, most of them terminating in Fayetteville, had been constructed, yet the roads in North Carolina during all the nineteenth century were inexpressibly bad. In the rainy season many of them were impassable on account of the mud. Traveling was a weary process, whether one was "creeping over the red hills of Orange" County at the rate of three miles an hour, driving a fretting horse through the deep sand of Harnett County roads, with the monotonous noise of the grinding wheels for mile after mile and with no break in

the forest, or thridding the mazes of an eastern swamp where for miles on end the water came to the horses knees and sometimes to his barrel. In the mountain section a heavy rain would often render roads impassable.<sup>4</sup> The roads were often only Indian trails, on parts of which the prudent traveler often dismounted and led his horse.<sup>5</sup>

The most expeditious mode of travel was on horseback, with saddlebags thrown across the saddle and a traveling bag securely fastened behind it by rings and strap. But more comfortable for older or stouter men was a gig, a light two-wheeled vehicle drawn by one horse. Thus equipped the traveler could make his way over the muddiest and roughest roads if he were on his guard to keep the two wheels on a level where the road was along a sloping hillside or had been washed into a gulley; else he might be unceremoniously tumbled out on the lower side of the road. A warm robe was needed as a protection against cold, and a rubber slicker with a cape to keep off the rain. Some had an umbrella.

With such roads and such means of travel in North Carolina an agency such as was contemplated in Wait's involved great privation and sacrifice. When he had left home he was out of all close communication with his family, in some respects more so than he would be today in China or Palestine, for in these places one may today be reached in a few hours by cablegram, but he who in 1839 was a hundred or two miles distant from his family in North Carolina was completely cut off from them. If a wife or child should fall ill it would be a week or ten days before he could learn of it and return home. Or he himself might fall sick and die before his family heard of it. This last was actually the case of Rev.

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<sup>4</sup> Boyd, *The History of North Carolina*, Volume II, "The Federal Period," p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Joseph Blythe, missionary, to Samuel Wait, October 7, 1844: "My field of labor was in the midst of lofty and towering mountains, and often I was compelled to follow the old Indian trails while the wind and rain beat upon me, and in many places I had to lead my horse over such bad ground that I felt it would not be safe to ride on horseback."

Report of J. J. James, Special Agent, in minutes of Baptist State Convention of 1850: "I visited nearly all the towns and missionary stations on this side the Blue Ridge, being prevented from going over by a severe storm of wind and rain which rendered the roads through the mountains impassable."

Daniel White, of Spring Hill, now in Scotland County, who died in Pender County where he was holding a meeting, and had been buried before his wife received intelligence of his death by the weekly mail.<sup>6</sup> Wait himself on his three-year agency had carried his wife and child with him; now he was purposing to go alone but he well understood the privation it would cause him,<sup>7</sup> and his family.

As soon as he could possibly make arrangements he left home and made what haste he could. His first labors were in the southeastern part of the State. Writing from New Hanover County, on April 8, 1839, he tells something of his plan and the difficulties of his work. Getting into the work he found that it was so great that he could accomplish only a small part of what he had hoped. He was trying to be thorough and work the ground as he went; it required considerable time and labor to visit friends and patrons in only one county; several months would be required to do the expected work in the counties east of Raleigh; it was his purpose during the spring to visit the Chowan and Neuse Association and work in the summer to the west of Raleigh. Finding it a hopeless task to see all in person, he was asking the brethren and the Board of Trustees to do all possible to help in making collections for the College. He was also urging all who had unpaid subscriptions to send them in, and asking any who would to contribute to the College which was a common interest.<sup>8</sup> He was at a meeting of the Chowan Association which was held with the Potecasi Church May 16-19, and with the permission of the Association laid before that body the object of his visit and was given an opportunity to receive subscriptions, and on the Sabbath was one of the three preachers who "addressed a large and serious congregation."<sup>9</sup> His work in the Neuse Association was in visit-

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<sup>6</sup> Livingston Johnson, *Christian Statesmanship*, 16 f.

<sup>7</sup> See Wait's letter in *Biblical Recorder* quoted above. See also letter of William Hill Jordan, *Ibid.*, April 3, 1847, as he was starting on his agency, in which he speaks of "the sacrifice of resigning the endearments of home, of withdrawing from a large family, and of encountering turmoil and privations."

<sup>8</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 20, 1839.

<sup>9</sup> Minutes of Chowan Association for 1839.

ing churches and individuals, as the meeting of the Association did not take place until October.

After his trip through the eastern section Wait returned to Wake Forest for the Commencement, and was at the meetings of the Trustees which began on June 17, 1839. He had brought \$1,800 as the result of his labors which did not go very far towards paying the debt. Several of the Trustees had provided for postponement of payment of the debt at the bank, \$4,000, but the first installment on it was due and was ordered paid. Other debts were pressing, an indeterminate amount, but the Trustees were no longer satisfied to go on uncertainties. They appointed one committee to audit the accounts and to report the exact nature and amounts of the debts; another committee to suggest means for paying them; another committee to make an inventory of the college property. The pay of the faculty was in arrears, a condition which was found at almost every Commencement during the remainder of the century; the treasurer was instructed to pay the "Faculty what they may need," and the remainder to the Executive Committee to be applied to the debt at the bank. Captain John Berry was thanked for his "kindness to the Board," probably because he had consented to take a note signed by the Trustees for the amount due him, some \$10,000. Meredith was requested to remind those who had made pledges of any installments that were falling due and to urge prompt payment.

It was at this meeting that action was taken looking to a permanent endowment. The suggestion seems to have come from Professor J. B. White and Stephen Morse, both alumni of Brown University, and they were appointed agents to solicit funds for a professorship in Wake Forest College. Nothing seems to have come of it.

It was Wait's plan soon after Commencement to travel through the counties west of Raleigh, but, as is told in his letter dated August 23, 1839,<sup>10</sup> he was led by circumstances beyond his control to confine his operations to Wake and the adjoining counties. He became engaged in a series of protracted meetings, first, at

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<sup>10</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 7, 1839.



Corinth and Brassfields in lower Granville County, and later at Friendship in Wake County. "In this delightful work," he spent fourteen days at the first two churches where there were 57 professions, and a shorter period at the last church where there were 21 professions. However, he did not forget his agency; even during the revival he was gaining supporters for the object of the Convention. He was now awake to the fact that the time before the Convention meeting was short and that what was done must be done quickly, and he was wishing through this letter to bring home to his readers "the immense importance" of the objects of his agency. He wished them to assist him in making collections on subscriptions due and to send them by their delegates to the meeting at Grassy Creek in November. The Trustees were especially urged to assist in this work.

In the letter just mentioned Wait makes it evident that he had succeeded in one of his undertakings, which was to find twenty who would subscribe \$100 each payable in five equal annual installments; several had already paid the whole amount to meet the pressing needs of the College; he was urging others to join in similar subscriptions.

It is not probable that Wait was able to accomplish much more before the meeting of the Convention at Grassy Creek in Granville County on November 2, 1839. He attended the meeting of the Trustees there and was asked to continue his agency until the end of the year. He also made a report to the Convention which was ordered published, and being delayed is found in the minutes of the Convention of 1840, having previously been published in the *Biblical Recorder* of April 25, 1840. It was because of indisposition, said, Wait, that he had not been able to get it ready before. His agency for the College had hindered him from doing as much as he could otherwise have done for the Convention proper, but he had succeeded in removing prejudice and believed that all that was necessary to effect this was to give information. Since the meeting at Grassy Creek he had been much engaged and was doing nothing on the Convention agency, his main interest being the College to which he devoted the greater

part of his work. In the year he had visited the counties of Duplin, Bladen, Columbus, Brunswick, New Hanover, Wayne, Johnston, Cumberland, Greene, Pitt, Edgecombe, Nash, Halifax, Northampton, Warren, Granville, Person, Caldwell, Orange, Guilford, Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, Mecklenburg, Iredell and Davie. Even in these counties he had not been able to travel as much as he desired, and often could do little more than go directly through them. For the College he had collected \$2,664.56; secured new subscriptions to the amount of \$1,966, on which had been paid \$247.70. The subscribers manifested the most friendly spirit to the College, but in consequence of the great scarcity of money-the financial depression which began a few years earlier was still in effect-many had been obliged to defer their payments. He hoped that interest would be maintained and that the friends of the College would not allow it to suffer by their neglect.

Though Wait was reappointed agent of the Convention for the next year he served only a few weeks and without compensation. The understanding was that the Convention should add \$225 to the \$1,000 paid him by the College as his salary. All in all his work seemed to have been most acceptable and the Convention made him its Third Vice President, and appointed him on a committee with Thomas Meredith and A. J. Battle to designate missionaries and assign them fields of labor, and also on another committee with the same membership to "address a circular to the ministers of the denomination, laying before them the importance of decided and efficient action in behalf of the Convention, and requesting them to present its claim to their congregations, and take up collections in favor of its funds, at least once a year." This circular, prepared in Meredith's best style appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* for December 7, 1839; in the same issue appeared also a report of the committee on the designation of missionaries.

One good result of Wait's agency for the College was to increase the number of students ; in February, 1840, seventy were registered, and the fact is dwelt upon with some satisfaction in

the general conspectus of the College which appeared as an advertisement in the *Biblical Recorder* of February 29, 1840, and was continued for several weeks. In fact, an increase in number of students has been the usual result of campaigns for funds by representatives of the College.<sup>11</sup> This conspectus, we may say, is optimistic as it sets forth the advantages of the College: three full professors, Wait, White, Morse, and one tutor; good rooms in the College Building; liberty to board at the Steward's hall or at one of the several boarding houses; pleasant, healthy situation; daily mails north and south; a railroad nearly completed with trains expected to run every day in full view of the College; a good library; expenses only \$137 a year. Possibly the hope of seeing a railroad train every day was a great attraction.

The results of Wait's agency had not been disappointing; it was attended with a spirit of hopefulness; the good will of those of whom he solicited subscriptions was manifest, and they gave according to their ability. But after the meeting at Grassy Creek in November, 1839, there was a change. Even some of the Trustees lost their interest in the College which a few months before had been to them an object of affection and pride. It was hard to get together the nine members prescribed in the charter for a quorum. Only ten were at the meeting at Grassy Creek, when perhaps the small attendance could be accounted for by the heavy rains which greatly interfered with travel, but only twelve were at the meeting at Wake Forest next June, nine at a called meeting in Raleigh on December 17, 1840, and no quorum at a meeting called in Raleigh on January 2, 1841, and ten at the annual meeting at the College in June, 1841. At the meeting at Johnston Liberty Church in October, 1841, only nine were present, and the same number at the meeting at Wake Forest in June, 1842. There was the same bare quorum, or as reported even one less than a quorum, at the meetings at Murfreesboro in October, 1842, and at the College on the second day of the Commencement of 1843; no quorum at the called meeting in January, 1844; only twelve

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<sup>11</sup> President Taylor often remarked upon the fact.

at the meeting in June, 1844, and the same number at the meeting in Raleigh in October of that year, and only a bare quorum at the Commencement of 1845.<sup>12</sup>

This lack of interest was further manifested by a resignation from the Board of such men as Meredith, who in June, 1841, resigned both the presidency of the Board and his position as Trustee, and William Crenshaw, and Foster Fort. Many members, notably those from the Chowan section and the southeastern counties, were not attending the meetings; for several years even that great friend of the institution, Charles W. Skinner, attended no meeting of the Board. To fill the vacancies the Trustees year after year elected new members; in 1841 ten, and in 1844 nineteen. Most of these refused the place, but among those who did accept were some like J. J. Finch, N. J. Palmer, G. W. Purefoy, John Kerr, Calvin Graves, and J. J. James, who afterwards were to be among the ablest, most faithful and most progressive members.

Doubtless one cause of this defection was the dissatisfaction among many of the friends of the College over the loss of Armstrong. A more serious objection was the fact that the entire faculty with the exception of tutors were Northern men, the bearing of which on the College I shall speak more particularly in a subsequent chapter. Here it is sufficient to say that there was much reluctance among many of the ablest men and most prosperous Baptists of the State to have their sons taught by men from the North, and to contribute to the needs of the College so long as they were on the faculty.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Proceedings*, June 16, 1840; January 2, 1841; October 15, 1841.

<sup>13</sup> The degree of the irritation and resentment aroused among the Baptists of the South by the disposition of Abolition Baptists of the North to sever communion with them may be seen in a series of resolutions passed by the Baptist

State Convention of North Carolina in October, 1840, as follows:

"Committee to draft resolutions expressive of the views and feelings of the Convention concerning the movements of the Baptist Abolitionists of the North reported-resolutions were adopted and ordered to be placed in these Minutes.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the members of this Convention, the movement of northern abolitionists are uncalled for in themselves, and schismatical and mischievous in their tendency.

"Resolved, That we regret the position recently taken by certain abolitionists connected with the Baptist church, in announcing a sentiment of non-fellowship

With both the loss of Armstrong and the sectional animosity against the faculty weighing on their minds the members of the Board of Trustees were in no happy mood when they met at the College for the Commencement of 1840. They thought it useless to send an agent into the field. Wait was asked to publish an article in the *Biblical Recorder* requesting those who had made subscriptions to pay them to such persons as he should name in the several counties. Then having voted to ask for a loan of \$5,000 to \$10,000 from the Literary Fund they adjourned. To complete arrangements to secure this loan other meetings were held, one at the College in December, 1840, and another in Raleigh on January 2, 1841. All members of the Board were asked to sign the note; the money was secured and the proceeds applied on the debts, all of which with the exception of the note of Captain Berry was paid.

Now with their names pledged for the payment of two notes of ten thousand dollars each the Trustees began to exercise a closer supervision over the finances of the College; frequent audits were ordered both of the accounts of the treasurer and of the Executive Committee. At the meeting in June, 1841, after Brother Purefoy (probably J. S. Purefoy) had refused to become agent for the College, the Executive Committee and the faculty were requested to employ another but did nothing. At the meeting in October, 1841, the Trustees appointed another committee on the agency, which was content to recommend that Wait take the field for three months, which he did. Possibly he succeeded in securing payment on some of the subscriptions, for at the next meeting in

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against their brethren of the South, but as their position has been taken, we consider them alone responsible for the separation which must thereby be effected.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this body it is due to the South on the part of our Northern brethren, to disavow in some form all concurrence in the late schismatical movements of the abolitionists, and it is feared that unless some such disavowal be made the present friendly relations between Northern and Southern Baptists will be seriously endangered.

"Resolved, That in the estimation of this Convention, the remedy for the existing evils rests mainly with our Northern brethren, and on the seasonable application of the remedy must depend in a great measure on the future continuance of the present effective relations between Northern and Southern Baptists."

June, 1842, it was ordered that Captain Berry be paid \$601.84. At this same meeting the Trustees approved endowing a professorship, and authorized a subscription for that purpose of \$16,000 be drawn up and circulated, with Wait as agent; but no more was heard of it. A subscription was also started to pay the Berry note, which was now reduced to \$9,000. And a new agent was appointed, William Hill Jordan,<sup>14</sup> at a salary of \$500 a year.

It seems, however, that Mr. Jordan did not at this time enter upon the work of the agency; or if he did he did not continue long in it. There is no record of it in the Proceedings of the Board or the *Biblical Recorder* or in the minutes of any Association that has come into my hands at this time. Later as we shall see, in 1847, he took up the agency of the College and carried it for a few months.

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<sup>14</sup> "Rev. William Hill Jordan was born in Bertie County, N. C., August 15, 1803. His mother afterwards married the Rev. Mr. Poindexter, and by him became the mother of Rev. A. M. Poindexter. To the piety and force of character of this good woman, who consecrated her sons to God's service at their birth, is our Southern Zion indebted for two of the ablest and most eloquent ministers who have distinguished her annals. Mr. Jordan was educated at Chapel Hill [He represented the Dialectic Society at the Commencement of 1818 and is not to be confused with his son, William Hill Jordan, an honor graduate of the class of 1857, who was a tutor of the College in 1857, Battle, *History of University of N. C. I*, 676.], professed a hope in Christ on the 9th of December, 1823, preached his first sermon on the 25th of December of the same year, and was baptized by Rev. Reuben Lawrence, Jan. 25, 1824. A great revival began from his preaching, spreading over several counties, and resulting in the conversion of 2,000 souls. Besides serving a number of churches in the country, Mr. Jordan was pastor of churches in Raleigh, Wilmington, Lilesville, Wadesboro, No. Car., Clarkesville and Petersburg, Va., Norristown, Pa., and Sumter, S. C. He was for a long time Secretary of the North Carolina Baptist Convention (1837-1843), and was twice agent for Wake Forest College, giving his time and money for its release from financial distress, and worked faithfully for its prosperity as a Trustee, and was President of the Board from June, 1841 to June, 1845. Mr. Jordan called himself a high church Baptist, and spent no small part of his life in vindicating by voice and pen Baptist and Calvinistic principles. Most of his published articles appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* in the years 1845-1880. His address at the commencement of 1847 is also extant. He spent the last years of his life in Oxford, N. C., where he died on October 12, 1883." The writer of the sketch in the *Baptist Almanac*, for 1884, says, p. 19. "we loved him for his stainless purity, his shining character as a Christian, his devout and humble piety, his unswerving loyalty to truth and to God, as well as his splendid talents and attainments as a preacher. His pilgrimage was long, laborious and eventful. He finished it with honor to himself and credit to the denomination he represented." Abridged from articles in *Cathcart's Encyclopedia* and the *Baptist Almanac*.

At the meeting of the Board in June, 1843, Wait was again appointed agent with a salary of \$500 and the privileges he was then enjoying. The purpose of his agency was to secure the subscriptions for the payment of the \$9,000 due on the Berry note; subscriptions were payable on condition that \$9,000 be subscribed within two years from October 15, 1842. There was no time to lose, and Wait pursued his course with much vigor. Probably, however, he was in feeble health in the summer of 1843, and was not able to take the field for some months. The first record we have of activity is found in the minutes of the session of the Baptist State Convention held at Boiling Springs Camp Grounds in Henderson County, October 13-17, 1843, of which he also gives an account in a letter written January 23, 1844.<sup>15</sup> In that meagerly attended Convention Wake Forest sent four of the twenty-two members; these were S. Wait, J. B. White, W. T. Brooks, and M. T. Yates. Wait, as Second Vice-President, presided at the meetings; on Sunday he preached the missionary sermon from the text, "Thy kingdom, come," after which he joined with Rev. Dr. Babcock, Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Bible Society, in administering the Lord's Supper; and he closed the session by prayer.

At this meeting the Convention received a communication from the Baptist State Convention of South Carolina, proposing cooperation of the denomination in the two States in the support of Wake Forest College and of Furman Theological Institution, which at that time was located three miles west of Winnsboro, Fairfield District, South Carolina.<sup>16</sup> Lingered a while in this section Wait

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<sup>15</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, February 10, 1844.

<sup>16</sup> The North Carolina Convention had at the meeting in 1842, noticed the friendliness of their South Carolina brethren to the College, and a committee had reported: "That having learned that our delegation to the South Carolina Baptists State Convention, which convened at Society Hill, proposed certain arrangements designed for the promotion of the best interests of Wake Forest College, and the Furman Theological Institution; and having seen from their minutes that the brethren in South Carolina acceded promptly to the proposition made, *Resolved, unanimously*, That this body cordially approve of the arrangement, and hereby assure their brethren in South Carolina, that it will afford them much pleasure to cooperate with them in this great and good design."

The minutes of the Convention of 1843 reads as follows: "On reception of a friendly epistle from the B. S. Convention of South Carolina, containing

visited several churches on both sides of the Blue Ridge, and then set off to attend the Baptist State Convention of South Carolina. On his journey he visited the Furman Theological Institution. Possibly he secured some subscriptions in that State, and it is certain that he got the promise of some students to add to the number which that State already had at Wake Forest.<sup>17</sup>

After returning home Wait suffered from ill health, so that he was unable to continue his work on the agency. Soon it became clear that his illness was quite serious; it kept him confined for several months during the first half of the year 1844, and he became much alarmed about himself. Through George S. Stephenson, a former student of the College, and in 1844 an attorney of New Bern, he laid his case before Dr. Bond, a physician of that town, who, after considering the symptoms, as is reported in Stephenson's letter to Wait under date of March 21, 1844, was convinced that Wait had asthma, and advised a change of climate from Wake Forest to the softer atmosphere of New Bern.

Wait also wrote a description of his symptoms to Dr. Joseph Sewell, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the School of Medicine of Columbian College, probably an old friend, who in general approved the diagnosis and treatment of Wait's physician, probably Dr. W. M. Crenshaw.

According to Professor White in a letter to the *Biblical Recorder*, January 24, 1846, it was during the depression of this illness that Wait determined to resign the presidency of the College, as will be told below.

With the return of fine weather Wait regained his health. Reporting at the Commencement of 1844 on the progress made<sup>18</sup> he stated that not quite three thousand dollars had been subscribed.

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assurances of their disposition to cooperate in the cause of education and in every good word and work, Voted, unanimously, that we cordially welcome these assurances, and give in charge to our delegates to their Convention (S. Wait,

R. Babcock, L. DuPre, N. A. Purify, and W. A. Atkinson), to assure them that we are ready to enter into any wise and prudent arrangement with them for promoting the great objects we are both laboring to secure; and especially for arranging such plans for our educational interests, as may combine our endeavors in the most economical and efficient manner."

<sup>17</sup> Letter in *Biblical Recorder*, February 10, 1844.

<sup>18</sup> Letter in *Biblical Recorder*, July 6, 1844.



This made it clear that extraordinary measures must be employed if the remaining six thousand dollars were to be secured before October 15 of that year. Accordingly, the Trustees appointed two general agents, Rev. Samuel Wait and Rev. Elias Dodson, to serve each a full year, and three special agents, Rev. Messrs. R. McNabb, J. J. Finch, and Q. H. Trotman, to serve until the meeting of the Convention in Raleigh. Wait was to labor in the Raleigh and Beulah Associations and other convenient places; Dodson in the Liberty Association and in the western portion of the State generally; McNabb in the Cape Fear and Goshen Associations; Finch in the Sandy Creek and Pee Dee; Trotman in the Tar River and Chowan Associations and in other eastern sections; Rev. A. J. Battle was to supply for any agent who might find it impossible to do the work.

"It is hoped and expected," said N. J. Palmer, chairman of the Committee on Agencies, "that our brethren and friends of the Baptist denomination, and of the College generally, will avail themselves of the opportunity to contribute, as they may feel themselves able, to relieve the College from debt, in order that it may be permanently established, and its benefits and blessings more extended."<sup>19</sup> At this Commencement, the ladies of Wake Forest held a fair for the benefit of the College, and an Education Society was formed for the purpose of supporting the College in raising funds for a professorship. The leading promoter of this seems to have been N. J. Palmer.

The agents appointed did not delay. Elder McNabb at once went to work in his section, and he made an appeal and announced his plan of raising \$1,000, which was to ask fifty to subscribe \$20 each. He expected to get more than \$350 in Duplin alone and the whole amount in the Goshen and Cape Fear Associations "without injuring any one." He had an itinerary from July 24 until September 3, beginning at Wilmington, and embracing in order Moore's Creek, Lebanon, Well's Chapel, Lisbon, Red Hill, Rowan, Beulah, Bear Creek in Lenoir, Union, Brown's Pleasant Union, Salem, Mt. Pleasant, Beaver Dam and Fayetteville.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 27, 1844.

In this campaign Wait is first heard of at the Beulah Association which met the middle of August at Madison, Rockingham County. After addresses were made by him and J. L. Prichard, then pastor at Danville, Virginia, "a liberal subscription was made to pay the debts of the institution."<sup>21</sup> Rev. A. J. Battle said that the subscription of "this young and benevolent Association" amounted to several hundred dollars.

Later being providentially prevented by sickness Elder McNabb had to call off some of his appointments in the bounds of the Goshen Association, and he made public appeal to "those brethren who take an interest in placing the College on a permanent basis to make an effort to raise something by subscription in their respective neighborhoods," and he said that he knew George Fennell and Lewis F. Williams (perhaps of Kenansville) could do all that he had failed to do "if they would *only* go about it in perfect good earnest." He also had to call off the most of his appointment in the Cape Fear Association.<sup>22</sup> After the meeting of the Beulah Association, Wait continued his labors there for six weeks, and joining with Rev. J. J. James, then pastor of the Milton Church, he made a trip to the western counties, preaching and attending protracted meetings. On the third Sunday in September he joined with James in a largely attended baptismal service at the Milton Church, followed by a communion service. His health had improved and he had succeeded well with his agency for the College.<sup>23</sup>

There is no definite statement, so far as I have been able to find, whether or not the total amount of the subscription asked for in the \$9,000 to pay the Berry note. Of the several agents appointed in June, 1844, to secure the more than six thousand dollars the subscriptions necessary to pay the Berry debt, only Wait and McNabb seem to have done anything of consequence; at least no report of the work of any of the others has been recorded. It is probable, almost certain, that the whole \$9,000 was not subscribed and that

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<sup>21</sup>Report by N. J. Palmer in *Biblical Recorder* of August 31, 1844. In the same number is Rev. A. J. Battle's statement.

<sup>22</sup>*Biblical Recorder*, September 7, 1844.

<sup>23</sup>Letter of N. J. Palmer in the *Biblical Recorder*, October 12, 1844.

therefore the subscription as a whole failed. The work of Wait as agent for two years and the enthusiastic campaign of McNabb seemingly went for naught according to the express terms of the bonds made. Probably because of this failure Wait was overwhelmed with discouragement, and at this meeting offered his resignation as president of the College. The response had not been such as he hoped; knowing the weakening friendship of certain men who had previously been among the warmest and ablest supporters of the College, and knowing that they had refused to cooperate at this crisis, he doubtless had come to believe that it was best for the College that he resign the presidency, which he did. At a meeting in Raleigh, November 26, 1844, the Trustees accepted the resignation to take effect in June, 1845.

It may be a matter of wonder that the Trustees kept up their courage, but they did. Even this great and costly failure did not cause them to despair. They immediately set about devising new plans to free the College from debt. It is recorded that the Trustees were "much encouraged."<sup>24</sup> Wait was continued as agent and William Jones and Robert McNabb were asked to serve as agents unto November 26, 1844. This would indicate that the Board still had hope of completing the subscription, or that they were hoping that if it were somewhere near complete those who had made subscriptions would pay them. These agents had two functions, one to get new subscriptions, the other to make collections on the former subscriptions.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Statement in editorial report of the N. C. Baptist State Convention of 1844, Raleigh. *Biblical Recorder*, October 26, 1844. Meredith did not seem to share this optimism.

<sup>25</sup> Letter of N. J. Palmer in *Biblical Recorder* of August 16, 1845, with reference to the visit of J. J. James, to the western part of the State: "While the principal object of Brother James will be to subserve the interests of the North Carolina State Convention, and endeavor to awaken a more general interest in its behalf, he will also give some attention to the interests of Wake Forest College, by receiving subscriptions in its behalf and payments on subscriptions heretofore made to Brother Wait."

## XVII

### AGENCY OF THOMPSON, McNABB, AND JORDAN

Probably the ground of the optimism that was excited among the Trustees in October, 1844, was the arrangement, mentioned above, with the South Carolina Baptist Convention, by which Wake Forest College should be the college for the Baptist of both States, and Furman Theological Institution should be the theological seminary of both States. We have seen that under this arrangement Wait had solicited students in South Carolina in the last months of 1843. The plan had been proposed by the South Carolina Baptists and had been gladly received and adopted by their Convention and the College. To the perplexed and wearied Trustees the proposition must have been like the smell of water to the tired and thirsty ox. They almost forgot their burdens under the stimulus of the new hope. With the help of the wealthy South Carolina brethren, who had not, it seems, been worried with repeated requests for subscriptions from importunate agents, they felt sure that not only the Berry debts but the debt to the Literary Fund and all other debts might be promptly paid. There is evidence that some of them reflected that the way would be easier, since Wait was resigning, leaving the way clear for them to carry out a long-cherished purpose of securing in his place Dr. William Hooper, who was a Southerner to the manner born and on that account acceptable without question to the slave-holding Baptists of South Carolina as well as of North Carolina.

Probably the reason for the employment of short-term agents at the meeting in October, 1844, was that the Trustees might have more time to secure the very best possible man for the canvass in South Carolina. Meeting again in November they elected Rev. A. M. Poindexter, of Virginia, to have the entire field with a salary of \$1,000 a year, but Mr. Poindexter disappointed their hopes and did not accept the work.<sup>1</sup>

Not being able to secure Mr. Poindexter the Trustees had to be content with others of less reputation. We find that both

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<sup>1</sup> Poindexter in 1852 made a very successful campaign for funds for Richmond College.

William Jones and Robert McNabb were continued in employment and reported at the meeting of the Board in June, 1845. At the meeting in November, 1845, all were urged to "use the utmost diligence to obtain funds." The Treasurer was asked to pay any funds collected to Captain Berry. Whether McNabb and Jones continued their work without intermission is left in doubt by the records. It is certain, however, that neither of them went to South Carolina immediately. Possibly the sending of an agent of the College to that State was delayed until the Trustees were certain that the way was clear. But it seems that there should have been no doubt; the proposition of common support of the College and the Furman Institution had come from the South Carolina Baptists and had been welcomed by the North Carolina Convention. And yet a writer in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 9, 1844, speaks of the union as only probable, though he says that he trusts in God "that the day is not far distant when Wake Forest College will be considered the Baptist College of the Carolinas; when the sons of South Carolina Baptists within her walls will be counted by the scores." And he goes on to say that the Baptists of South Carolina have no such institution and will not have, and that the North Carolina brethren have sent and will continue to send their young ministers to the Furman Institution for their seminary work, and that they of South Carolina, rejecting the overtures of Mercer University, look upon the North Carolina Baptists as their natural allies in the important work of education.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> It is not improbable that the South Carolina Baptists were brought to see the need of alliance with their North Carolina brethren by the competition of the Georgia Baptists who were undertaking to maintain in Mercer University both a college and a theological seminary. With some bitterness the writer quoted in the text says: "Of such union between Georgia and any other State there is no hope. The Convention of South Carolina met (by a delegation) the Convention of Georgia to confer upon the subject. The proposition to do so came from Georgia; but when our brethren entered upon the matter it was ascertained that the funds for Theological Education in Georgia were so tied to a particular location that no other State could make common cause with her, but by breaking up its own establishment and appending it to Mercer. This could not, with any propriety, be done by us."

The editor of the *Alabama Baptist* went further than the South Carolina Baptist quoted above. He takes the editor of the *Christian Index* to task for speaking disparagingly of Furman Theological Institution, which Meredith had

While the Trustees were delaying in the sending of an agent into South Carolina some were growing impatient. One of these, writing over the name "Elihu," in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 29, 1845, declared that Wake Forest College ought to be relieved from debt at once, and that it would be an easy task, with the help of the South Carolina brethren and friends; if they would not help, he thought it would remain embarrassed for many years. Since both Carolinas had virtually agreed in supporting a religious paper

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spoken of as the Theological Seminary of the Carolinas. "Strange ignorance," says the *Alabama Baptist*, "in the editor of the *Recorder*, that he must learn from the *Index* that the Furman 'drags on heavily,' and 'cannot attain to eminence as a Theological Institution.' The Trustees of this seminary must be blockheads, to be appointing new professors, when they ought to know that Mercer University has got the start of all other Southern States, and the Theological Department in institutions in other States must *eventually be wholly* abandoned!" (These italics are not ours). And 'the sooner it is abandoned the better,' that Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, &c., may throw themselves in the kind embraces of this condescending University!" (Quoted in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 18, 1845.) The editor of the *Christian Index* in reply said he had not used some of the expressions which the *Alabama Baptist* attributed to him. (*Biblical Recorder* of Feb. 8, 1845.)

In the *Biblical Recorder* of March 22, 1845, a writer signing himself "Candor," has a long article in which he seems to have taken the *Christian Index* view point, though he claims personal knowledge. His article is interesting and indicates the various changes of location of the Furman Institutions. On that account I quote the following paragraphs: "This Institution (Furman Theological Institution), like many others in our country, has experienced many changes, and in more than one instance met with sad reverse. Its original location in Edgefield was not of long continuance—thence it was removed to Sumter, where in the winter of 1834 it came to a dead halt—the professors threw up their commissions—the whole establishment was sold out at no little loss, and some 25 or 30 students, half graduated, were disbanded.

"In 1835, the Convention resolved to change, once more, its location, and in their wisdom, they fixed it in Fairfield, where, for a while, like every new thing, and in connection with a manual labor school, it went on surprisingly well. But the principal buildings were consumed in less than one year, we believe, after the new organization went into operation ; and here, too, the concern realized what Franklin had said, that 'three moves are as bad as a fire.'

"Judging from the past, no student, either now at the institution, or wishing to go there, can be assured, that it will remain here as it is, or than its present faculty will continue in office beyond a twelve month!"

In his paper of April 5, 1845, Meredith says that "Candor's" article came while he was away from his office and his clerk without reading sent it to the printer. In the same number are the articles making vigorous reply to "Candor," one of whom says that "Candor" is known under the alias "Asap" and the alias "David," whose articles often appeared in the *Biblical Recorder*, who was Rev. James DuPre of Darlington, South Carolina.

and a theological seminary, they should unite in freeing the College from debt and making it all that could be wished. He would have an agent of the College repair at once to South Carolina, where there was promise of success among the able brethren and friends.

Before April 8, 1845, Elder Robert McNabb was in South Carolina, and was working in Cheraw, intending to travel extensively in the State. He was recommended to the Baptists of South Carolina by Richard Furman, the ablest and most trusted Baptist minister of that State. Dr. Furman reminded his brethren that the two Carolinas were united in the support of a paper, the *Biblical Recorder*.<sup>3</sup> The Baptists of North Carolina are giving their support to the Furman Theological Institution. "Let us adopt their college as ours," says he, "and do our part in relieving it from its present embarrassments and, in contributing, as far as we consistently can, to its prosperity and success. It is a *Southern* institution ; it is a *Baptist* institution. "If we unite cordially in the support of this institution, it cannot fail to attain to that eminence to which its friends desire to raise it. To my brethren in South Carolina I would say, in all humility, we have passed many resolutions on the desirableness of a union of the Baptist denomination

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<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 19, 1845. Letter dated at Cheraw, April 8.

Before its suspension at the end of the year 1841, the *Recorder and Watchman* had for several years been the paper of the two Carolinas. For the year 1842, the Baptists of neither State had a weekly paper; when in January, 1843, Meredith resumed the publication of the *Biblical Recorder* "in its original form," he no longer kept the name *Watchman* as an appendage. Neither in editorial article nor in the Prospectus which was run in the paper for many months did Meredith indicate the geographical distribution of subscribers. Doubtless many of the former subscribers in South Carolina renewed their subscriptions; the paper soon came to be regarded as the paper of both States. In his paper of November 9, 1844, Meredith explained that he felt a delicacy in offering his paper to the South Carolina brethren, but that was from no lack of disposition to serve them, and that he would gladly renew the former relationship. A few weeks later the South Carolina Convention meeting at Darlington, by formal resolution recommended "The *Recorder* to the churches within the limits of the State, as every way worthy of their patronage and support." Contributions from the South Carolina brethren now became frequent in the paper, and they made it their medium of communication with one another and of discussion of matters pertaining to their interests. As this was the period of the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention, and the South Carolina Baptists had a leading part in this, the *Biblical Recorder* for these years, 1843-45, is a treasury of material on that subject.

in the two States. Now is the time for *action*. Our brethren in North Carolina need our assistance—they ask for it, and shall they ask in vain? God forbid! Let us come up nobly to their help and the blessings of heaven will crown our union."

Just how long McNabb labored at the agency in South Carolina is not recorded. He was at the Commencement in June and reported along with William Jones, the other agent. Nor is it told what amount he had secured in South Carolina, but N. J. Palmer, a prominent member of the Board, in reporting the Commencement for his paper,<sup>4</sup> said McNabb had obtained "very liberal subscriptions, with a prospect of more being given." Mr. Palmer stated further that agents would be continued in both the Carolinas until the College should be relieved from debt and established on a permanent basis." No permanent arrangements for agents were made however, until the meeting of the Trustees in October. In the meantime McNabb continued his work, but confined it to North Carolina, in Moore and Montgomery and other counties to the west as far as Boiling Springs.<sup>5</sup>

At a meeting of the Board in Raleigh, on October 17, 1845, following the recommendations of a committee appointed at the June meeting, G. W. Thompson, of Wake County, was named agent to work in North Carolina, and J. J. James agent to work in South Carolina.<sup>6</sup> A committee was also appointed to name agents and fix their salaries and appoint them their work. But Mr. James, to use the language of Mr. G. W. Thompson, "found it absolutely necessary to decline the appointment."<sup>7</sup> The result was that no agent went to South Carolina, and that rich field was left unworked.

At the June meeting, however, Mr. N. J. Palmer, whose zeal for the College was intelligent and untiring, was appointed agent to

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<sup>4</sup> *The Milton Chronicle*; the article was reprinted in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 28, 1845.

<sup>5</sup> See this itinerary in the *Biblical Recorder*, August 16, 1845.

<sup>6</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 64-65. Mr. James was on the committee to recommend agents; in view of his refusal to accept the place it is hard to understand why he should have consented that his name be given to the Trustees.

<sup>7</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 9, 1846.



make collections in the northern and western counties of the State, and it was voted that twelve per cent be paid for making collections.<sup>8</sup>

Before the October meeting James has made a visit to the mountains, primarily, it seems, as agent of the Convention, but as agent for the College also he had taken along a list of names given him by Palmer of those who had made subscriptions to Wait the previous year and had collected on them the sum of \$61.50 in amounts of one to ten dollars.<sup>9</sup>

Except for the work done by McNabb the entire burden of the agency fell on G. W. Thompson. Of it he gives an account in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 9, 1846. With all possible dispatch, after his appointment, he had begun his work, beginning in the county of Wake. Following a plan suggested by Rev. Elias Dodson we made a house to house canvass. He had been succeeding beyond his expectation, when his family was visited by an unusually severe affliction which made it necessary for him to return home and kept him there most of the time. But he had traveled through the greater part of Wake and Cumberland counties; had found the brethren and friends willing and ready to help. "The result of my short experience," says he, fully impresses upon my mind the belief, that, should many counties do as well as Wake and Cumberland have done, the friends of the institution not long first will enjoy the proud satisfaction of beholding the College not only disembarrassed, but a bright prospect," etc. In his own county, says President White, he secured one fourth of the whole debt. He tells in the same letter that Rev. Thomas Crocker had accepted the appointment of the Executive Committee to assist in the work of the agency.

During all these years not enough had been received in actual cash to do more than keep the interest paid on the debts; first that to the State was provided for; then any balance, as has been said,

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<sup>8</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 4, 1845; *Proceedings*, p. 64. Though enthusiasm for the College was unabated, the debt was in every one's mind and on every tongue. Pay the interest on the State debt and the balance on hand to Captain Berry, was the oft repeated action of the Trustees.

<sup>9</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 11, 1845.

applied to the note of Captain Berry. To pay this interest required near \$1,200 a year; the cost of the agencies must have been nearly as much. Probably not more than two thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars were realized in any one year. After seven years little net progress had been made; the College still owed the State \$10,000, and Berry nearly as much.

This was the condition of affairs at the Commencement in June, 1846. Nearly every agent had been handicapped in one way or another. Wait had been ill for months at a time, and on that account had to give up the work of the agency. For some reason Jordan had not served that year. McNabb also had been interrupted by bad health and so had Thompson, while Poindexter and James did not undertake the work. A new President, Dr. William Hooper, was elected in October, 1845,<sup>10</sup> and he had been promised that the institution would be freed from debt at his coming.<sup>11</sup> The College still owed the principal of the note<sup>12</sup> to the Literary Fund, \$10,000, which was renewed July 1, 1845, and secured by the signatures of nearly all the Trustees and several other friends, thirty-four in all. The Berry note no longer constituted more than a moral claim against the College. Seven members of the Board had taken the debt on themselves by putting their names to a note in Captain Berry's favor. The face of this note was \$9,000. The signers were William Crenshaw, Samuel Wait, Foster Fort, David Justice, William M. Crenshaw, R. T. Sanders, and W. H. Jordan.<sup>13</sup>

The Trustees had much to discourage them. It had been more than seven years since the institution had begun its career as a college, and since Wait first took the field to raise money. They had five thousand dollars in good subscriptions payable on September 1, 1846. The seven who had signed the Berry note had subscribed from three to five hundred dollars each. From these subscriptions a total of five thousand dollars might reasonably be expected, leaving the balance still to be raised on the debt \$15,000.

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<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Report on Education, minutes of Chowan Association, 1846.

<sup>12</sup> For fuller statement about this renewal note see Chap. XIV.

<sup>13</sup> Letter of W. H. Jordan, *Biblical Recorder*, April 17, 1847. According to others who give no names there were eight names to the Berry note.

At this critical juncture some of the former friends of the College stimulated by the election of Hooper to the presidency, renewed their friendship and again manifested their zeal in its welfare. One of these was Rev. George W. Hufham of Duplin, the father of J. D. Hufham. Since the loss of Armstrong he had shown little interest in the institution. Now, however, he came forward with a plan for paying the College debt, which was informally accepted. The plan was very simple: ask one hundred and fifty men to give or be responsible for the payment of one hundred dollars each, payable as soon as the whole number of names should be announced. Several could join in making up a subscription of a hundred dollars, but it had to be guaranteed by the signature of one responsible and solvent person. By this means Hufham hoped to pay off the entire debt, which he reckoned at \$15,000, in the year. This money was to be raised without an agent. Though the plan did not bring it about that the entire debt was paid in the year, it did furnish a basis for a new campaign, which in a few years resulted in relieving the College of its financial embarrassment.

The campaign for the purpose of meeting Hufham's challenge was powerfully promoted by an address to the Baptist of North Carolina by J. S. Purefoy, then a young man, and just beginning his useful career and great services to the College; this was published in three successive issues of the *Biblical Recorder*, those of August, 15, 22, and 29, 1846. After speaking of the usefulness of the College in the past and its promise for the future, Mr. Purefoy came squarely to the matter of the debt and the plan of paying it, in these words:

We have no wish to conceal the indebtedness of the Trustees, or their prospects of release therefrom; but rather you should know the

whole matter. There are two debts of importance ; one to the Literary Board of North Carolina, for ten thousand dollars, on which the interest is paid annually, and is secured by thirty-four securities, eleven of whom are ministers of the gospel. The other debt is to a private individual and is about ten thousand dollars. For this debt the College is not bound; but it has fallen on some eight brethren, by giving their notes for the money. These brethren, who thus stepped forward so nobly, to sustain the College, are now being sued for the

money, and a judgment will probably be obtained against them in September, and their property will be subject to pay the debt.

The Trustees have passed an order that this debt shall be first paid, and these bound brethren have subscribed towards paying it from three to five hundred dollars each. There have been obtained in good subscriptions about *five thousand dollars*, payable in September, 1846. This will leave a balance of *fifteen thousand dollars* in all still due.

This is a small debt for the Baptists of North Carolina to pay. My dear brethren, I appeal to you in behalf of the good which the College is now doing, and will ultimately do-in behalf of those ministers who require the aid of such an institution-in behalf of those whose souls may be converted through its instrumentality-in behalf of your brethren, ministers and laity, who have pledged their property to sustain the College for the general good of mankind-to give your aid and pay these debts at once.

We have no fears as to the safety or permanency of the College; for these brethren who are sustaining it with their names as securities would pay the whole debt rather than see it fail. But brethren, would it be *just*, would it be *right*, for them to pay it? The answer of every *Baptist* and *philanthropist* in North Carolina is certainly, *no*.

These debts should be paid *now*. A portion of this debt is for accumulated interest-shall we pay it longer? Let us have the answer, *no*.

Brother Hufham has proposed to be one of *One Hundred and Fifty* who will pay the whole debt by paying *one hundred dollars each*.... Shall Brother Hufham make this offer in vain: Are there not 149 Baptists and friends of education in North Carolina who will pay or pledge to pay \$100 each? Surely there are.

There is little doubt that this letter did much to bring the friends of the College to the firm resolution to join in paying the debts. One of the first to show his interest was Rev. D. S. Williams of Cumberland County, who for several years had been one of the most faithful members of the Board of Trustees and who continued in this service until he moved from the State. In a letter to the *Biblical Recorder* of September 5, 1846, he commended Purefoy's published appeal, and reinforced it with several arguments of his own, expressed strong hope in the future of the College, and closed with the declaration that he and his county would do their part, and not let his brethren who had assumed the obligations of the College suffer by themselves.

Among the friends of the College none showed more interest or labored more steadily to free it from debt than Rev. Elias Dodson. In this period he was a constant contributor to the *Biblical Recorder*, and in almost every article he made an appeal for the College. Its debt must be paid; it must be paid this year; it can easily be done if every one will do his part; there are after proper eliminations 10,000 Baptists in North Carolina who can and should make regular contributions for this purpose until the debt is paid, young men who before they were converted spent much money for ardent spirits, now might easily contribute to things worth while. Doubtless he made such exhortations personally on his tireless itineraries through the State as agent of the Beulah Association, and afterwards as agent of the Foreign Mission Board. One of his characteristic paragraphs is as follows:

I hope that every Baptist in North Carolina will do something for Wake Forest College in the year 1845. If they will do their duty it will be extricated from debt before Christmas. A large tree cut down may weigh 3,000 pounds, and the weight thrown upon a few may crush them. If it is split in 500 or 600 pieces and divided among as many persons, no one is injured and the wood is removed. Let us all make a practical application of this illustration during the present year. Interest is a great moth and will accumulate rapidly. By the prompt payment of the principal the present year the interest of the same may be stopped forever. Much depends upon acting together and acting at the same time. I hope Bro. Wait will come into the bounds of the Beulah Association *as soon as possible*. I hope all the subscribers will pay *as soon as they can*. Let us kill this moth as soon as possible. If you all say that it shall die this year, it cannot survive.<sup>14</sup>

A second paragraph, from a letter of a year later, is as follows:

Wake Forest College. This institution is on the increase as to number of students, but its debts should be paid and it should be liberally endowed. Every Baptist in North Carolina who can contribute a cent the present year should do it. *United* effort is necessary to extricate this college. Of the 31,000 Baptist in North Carolina, we will suppose that 10,000 are servants [slaves] who can pay nothing. Of the remaining 20,000 we suppose 20 will contribute

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<sup>14</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 3, 1845.

\$1,000 each; 100, \$100 each; 1,000, \$10 each, and the remainder from \$5 to \$1 and 25 cents each; what a great sum could be raised this year.<sup>15</sup>

Probably there has never lived another man in North Carolina who had the confidence of the people to so great a degree as Elias Dodson. On that account his great interest in the College and his frequent notices of it in his published articles and in his daily conversation must have been of great influence in gaining friends for it among Baptist of all classes and circumstances.

At the meeting of the Trustees in June, 1846, Thompson, who had been serving as agent the past year with Rev. Thomas Crocker as assistant, made a verbal report. His report was approved and he was continued as agent for another year. Crocker had attended the meeting of the Chowan Association and was allowed to lay the claims of the College before the Association, and to solicit subscriptions. He also was chairman of the committee appointed to report to the Association on the College, which report, as it appears in the minutes, is given in the note below in order that any are interested may see on what grounds the agents of the College were making their appeals.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, May 30, 1846.

<sup>16</sup> 'We your Committee, whose business it is to take into consideration the claims of Wake Forest College, beg leave to report

"The Wake Forest College has claims particularly on the Baptist denomination, of such a nature that cannot be easily resisted, because it is the creature of the denomination, brought into existence by a few enterprising individuals—those individuals have sustained and defended it in the midst of much opposition, and under God have made it what it is—and we feel charged with astonishment when we see Baptists sending their sons by Wake Forest to Chapel Hill, or to other colleges under the supervision of other denominations.

"It has claims also on society in general by reason of its cheapness. An education can be obtained at that place 25 per cent lower than at any other College that we have any knowledge of in the United States and an education equally sound as at any other college.

"It has claims on the community at large on account of its morality. It is a lamentable fact, known to all parents and guardians, that up to the time of the founding of the Wake Forest College they could not give their sons or ward an education without spoiling their morals. At Wake Forest College the morals of the young men are preserved and improved; every method is adopted and every means used to prevent immorality and dissipation.

"Also in point of its pecuniary matters it has claims. In erecting the College Building and defraying other expenses, they are in debt, and some four or five of the Trustees are now bound and sued for the sum of ten thousand dollars which

Mr. Thompson was not long idle; on September 18-21 he was at the meeting of the Beulah Association at the Milton Church. After he had addressed the Association on the needs and prospects of the College, he was supported in strong and eloquent speeches by Calvin Graves, J. J. James, John Kerr, J. J. Finch, and E. W. West. In reporting the discussion to the *Biblical Recorder*,<sup>17</sup> Rev. J. J. Finch said that the pleas were responded to with warm hearts and open purses, and that the speeches of Graves and Kerr were the very arguments needed to arouse Baptist energies in North Carolina, and should be published. At the conclusion of the addresses five members of the Association pledged \$100 each in the Hufham plan and four more joined in making up another hundred dollars. In this connection it should be mentioned that about two weeks before the meeting of the Beulah Association the Association and Wake Forest College had lost a strong friend by the death of Algernon Sidney Yancey, son of Bartlett Yancey. According to Rev. Elias Dodson, "He was a friend to every benevolent institution. Wake Forest has shared in his kindness, but has received nothing to what it would have received if he had lived 30 or 40 years longer."<sup>18</sup>

We have no detailed records for this year showing the other work of Mr. Thompson, as agent, but none had served it better. Some time after October 15, 1846, the Executive Committee asked Rev. William Hill Jordan, who had recently returned to the State, to assume the agency. In the following June this action was approved

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they must pay next fall; and when we recollect that these brethren were no more interested in the welfare of the College than the rest of us, we ask our brethren and the friends of education in general if they will stand by, look on, and see these brethren struggle alone without putting forth their hands to their relief-we believe not.

"They have claims in view of the fact that last fall the Board of Trustees elected Dr. Hooper President of said College, and Dr. Hooper accepted the appointment upon the condition that the College debts be paid, which thing will probably be done. These events were so strongly anticipated that it has changed the prospects of the College for the better. There has been an increase of students from last term from 50 to 80, and everything at the place appears to be going up, and exertions are making with considerable success to pay the College debts-a struggle once for all."

<sup>17</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 3, 1846.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, September 12, 1846.

by the full Board. Jordan was detained for some time after his appointment by domestic affairs, and the removal of his family, but on March 15, 1847, he left his home on the business of his agency, and arrived in Raleigh. Although South Carolina was assigned to him as his special field of labor, for the time both his operations and those of Thompson were confined to North Carolina. Jordan's tour was to extend through the counties along the Cape Fear and Neuse rivers, while Thompson was to direct his course along the Roanoke and the Chowan in the northeastern counties.

As Mr. Jordan began his agency he sounded a note of encouragement. He wrote:

The prospects of the College have not been so encouraging for years as they now are. A combination of causes have contributed to this result. The Trustees have succeeded in obtaining the services of Dr. Hooper, (formerly professor at Chapel Hill-and more recently of the S. Carolina College, at Columbia), as President of the institution. The name of Dr. Hooper is endeared to many in our State, as well by his personal worth and literary attainments, as by their recollection of him as their former preceptor. His name would give dignity to any institution. He is known as one among the sons of North Carolina for whom she may feel a just pride. Dr. Hooper has entered upon the duties of his new station with a spirit which furnishes evidence of his determination to render the Institution worthy of his own reputation and of the patronage of the public. The number of students is between eighty and ninety, and they are still coming in. The Hufham subscription is in an encouraging state of progress. Confidence, we can but think, is reviving; and as I have remarked-the whole prospect is decidedly more encouraging than it has been for years. Friends of the Institution: We are glad to say to you, and we thank God that we are permitted to say to you, that our prospects are brightening.

Another most encouraging thing was that at last the Baptists in North Carolina were awake to a sense of their power. Only \$12,000 yet remained to be raised; Jordan and Thompson had pledged one another not to stop until the College was relieved of debt.<sup>19</sup>

This letter of Jordan was soon followed by another,<sup>20</sup> in which

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, April 3, 1847.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, April 17, 1847.



he sought to stimulate the friends of the College to liberal and prompt action. It was better, he said, to finish with the debts once for all and avoid the expense of countinuing agency; the work could now be done "with safety and credit. Public sentiment is with us. Prices are good. The Institution is prosperous. Wind and tide are now in our favor. Now is the time to pull with a quick and a strong oar." Jordan was hoping for subscriptions as large as \$300 to take care of any deficit in the number of subscriptions or default in paying them.

In all these campaigns subscriptions were solicited with payment conditioned on securing subscriptions to a certain amount in the first campaign for paying the Berry note this was \$9,000. This plan had not worked well, though it is evident that many had paid their subscriptions in disregard of the condition. In his last letter Jordan lets it be understood that all subscriptions are unconditional and that immediate payment would be well. Before this Rev. Elias Dodson, in one of the numerous letters in which he showed his unflagging interest in the College, had said: "I hope no proposition will ever be made to liberate the subscribers if a stipulated sum is not raised. Such a course is like building and then pulling down."<sup>21</sup>

Jordan's agency begun with so much promise was attended by the fatality that hampered the agency of Wait and others: he fell ill. After making a canvass of twelve days, and getting a short distance below Fayetteville he was forced to desist on account of sickness. Returning to Fayetteville he was for a week in the house of Elder Robert McNabb, where he was most kindly treated.<sup>22</sup> He had, when forced to leave off, done well and had secured subscriptions for about \$1000.

It was July 28, 1847, before Jordan was sufficiently recovered in health to take the field again. As the season, with its risk of disease, did not admit of his going back to his work in the eastern

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, November 14, 1846. The College, however, did not desist from the risky plan. In 1873, Dr. Wingate secured large subscriptions for the College but failed to get the \$100,000, the stipulated sum, to make the conditions valid.

Professor L. R. Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 314.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, May 15, 1847.

part of the State, he now made a western tour, extending his travels as far as Haywood County where he attended the Western Baptist Convention in August, 1847. He did not expect to make large collections, and did not, getting subscriptions for about a thousand dollars. He remarks that "our brethren in the mountains, though decidedly friendly to our College and operations, have not much money. They give cordially, what most of them can give, their good wishes and their prayers." In this tour he visited the Beulah Association, which met July 30 to August 2 with the church at Hogan's Creek. This Association the year before had subscribed liberally in response to the appeal of Thompson. Here Jordan met Judge Thomas Settle, a delegate to the Association, who readily made a subscription on the Hufham plan and expressed the most friendly feelings to the College. At the Liberty Association he met with the same kind and fraternal spirit, but records no subscriptions.<sup>23</sup>

Jordan tells of how he was impressed with the beauty, the grandeur and majesty of the mountains, when he, a solitary traveler, wound his way along the curves and the road-cloven hills with the wild mountain stream dashing along at his feet and the mountains rising to dizzy heights on both sides; to him the scene was impressive and fearful and suggestive of the power and presence of the great God.

At the Western Convention he found the members warm-hearted and intent on doing the Lord's work; they were asking after Meredith and with "almost filial reverence and affection" made inquiry about Wait who, as we saw, was there four years before. On this tour he also renewed acquaintance and enjoyed the hospitality of some of the good men of other denominations, such as the pious James Pervis, "a beloved brother and minister of the Methodist Church," then living in Wilkes County, and Mr. Hall, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Mocksville.

In this letter, Jordan replies to a request made a few months before in the *Biblical Recorder* by a writer over the pen name "Hert-

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, October 9, 1847.

ford," to give his views of a proposed plan for the endowment of the College.<sup>24</sup> Though Jordan had not had time to study the matter, his opinion was that any plan of endowment at present was much less interesting than the effort to free the College from debt. To this point he thought they should *now* bend all their energies. Let this be accomplished and they could then think of other matters.<sup>25</sup>

After his tour through the western counties, Jordan, carrying out the purpose of the Trustees when he was appointed, made his way to South Carolina. He was at the meeting of the Welsh Neck Association, probably early in November, 1847. The Association extended to him every civility, both as a brother and as an agent, that he could wish, hearing him fully on the subject of his agency. He got at least one subscription on the Hufham plan, and that from a man who had already made liberal subscriptions for objects nearer home. In his report Jordan dwells on the liberality of Welsh Neck Baptists, who were giving to religious objects from two to three thousand dollars annually, and one year as much as \$3600, though the Baptists of Welsh Neck had not more than one third of the financial ability of those of the Chowan Association. This communication is less detailed than it might be to make room for his full-column poem on "My native, my still remembered, my beloved Bertie."<sup>26</sup>

Seemingly for the purpose of assisting Jordan in his work in South Carolina, a writer over the signature of "A South Carolinian" contributed a series of articles to the *Southern Baptist*, which were reprinted in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 25, 1848,

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, October 16, 1847. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1847. The writer, Dr. S. J. Wheeler, said that with increasing demand, more teaching force would be needed at Wake Forest; that the institution should be endowed, \$30,000 for the presidency; \$40,000 for the faculty; \$20,000 for the academic department, principal and assistants, \$90,000 in all; that in Virginia a campaign was on to raise \$125,000 for the endowment of an institution younger than Wake Forest, and that with two such agents in the field as Jordan and Thompson, the \$90,000 could be raised in North Carolina in 12 months. The method he proposed was the sale of scholarships.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, October 16, 1847.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, December 4, 1847, letter from Darlington Courthouse, S. C., November 19, 1847.

and weeks following. In these the College is praised as worthy of the support of all Baptists, the last article being devoted entirely to urging readers to send their sons to Wake Forest College and contribute of their means for its maintenance and progress. He closes as follows:

If you have sons or wards to educate, send them to Wake Forest, and be not afraid of sacrificing their talents by so doing, for of that there is little danger. But be afraid of sacrificing your Institution and the vital interests of your denomination by not sending them.

If Wake Forest is not such an institution as you would wish to patronize, by giving it your united support you can, in a few years, make it an institution in every way worthy of your patronage, and one which your sons will be proud to claim as our Alma Mater.

How long Jordan remained in South Carolina is not told; he attended the meeting of the South Carolina Baptist State Convention at Beulah Church, Richland District, December 11, 1847.<sup>27</sup> In May, 1848, he was back in Bertie and attended the meeting of the Chowan Association, which that year was held with the church at Ramoth Gilead, Pasquotank County. He had a prominent part, preached on Sunday, and though not a delegate, wrote the report on Wake Forest College, calling attention to its prosperous state and increased number of students, and also to the jeopardy of allowing the campaign to relieve it from debt fail, and recommending the active assistance of the members of the Association. This the delegates gave, which is the more to their credit since it was at this meeting that was launched the plan of establishing the Chowan Female Institute at Murfreesboro.<sup>28</sup>

Of the work of Mr. G. W. Thompson as agent during this period there is no record. At a meeting of the Board on October 15, 1847, J. S. Purefoy, J. J. James, and William Jones were appointed agents to serve for three months, each with a salary of \$50 a month, but James and Jones did not serve while Purefoy served only a month and a half.

When the Trustees met in June, 1848, they heard the reports of

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<sup>27</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, Jan. 1, 1848.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Association for 1848; *Baptist Guardian*, quoted in the *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1848.

the agents; the subscriptions were not complete, and the agents, presumably Jordan, Thompson, James, Purefoy and Jones were continued. At this time it seems that Professor W. T. Brooks was also appointed temporary agent. We have little information as to the activities of the others, but before July 1, James was in the Chowan Association, vigorously prosecuting his agency.<sup>29</sup>

At the meeting of the Trustees in June, 1848, their deliberations were considerably confused by President Hooper offering his resignation, and by the resignation of W. H. Jordan as a member of the Board. In response to the urgent request of the Board Dr. Hooper withdrew his resignation for the time, but that of Jordan was accepted. Probably as he resigned Jordan also gave up the agency which he had prosecuted since March of the previous year. A committee was appointed on liquidating the debt to the Literary Fund, and it was voted to ask the Legislature for relief from it.

According to Professor Mills, writing in the *Wake Forest Student*, February, March and April, 1884, the Trustees in their discouragement adjourned without making any provision for paying the debts, and on the Friday following the Commencement day, Dr. Wait made a canvass of friends in the vicinity of Wake Forest which resulted in securing the amount necessary to complete the subscription, \$5,000; Those who subscribed, says Professor Mills, were J. S. Purefoy, \$1,000; Samuel Wait, \$500; William Crenshaw, \$500; Dr. W. M. Crenshaw, \$500; William H. Jordan, W. T. Brooks, William Jones, John B. White and David Justice, \$500 each.<sup>30</sup> Of these men all except Purefoy, Jones, Brooks and White

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<sup>29</sup> "We are grateful to learn that Rev. J. James is vigorously prosecuting his agency in the bounds of the Chowan Association, and hope that Bro. Thompson and Professor Brooks will soon follow his laudable example, in entering upon their agencies. One good combined effort will now relieve the College of all liabilities, and place it in a certain foundation." Letter of Trustee, reporting the Commencement of the College, *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1848.

<sup>30</sup> There is an obscure entry in the *Proceedings*, p. 7. for June 13, 1849, which may refer to this. Professor Mills's statement is not without difficulties. It is as follows:

"From this time till June, 1848, quite a number of agents were appointed. Some declined to serve and others labored but a short time. The interest had been paid regularly on the debt due the Literary Fund, but the Berry debt had grown slowly. The liabilities of the College were about \$20,000, and the various agents had obtained subscriptions to the amount of \$10,000, on condi-

had signed the Berry note, and had been threatened with suit unless it was paid.

There is little record of what the agents did during the next year. There was no quorum at an adjourned meeting of the Board in Raleigh on January 17, 1849, no one except Wake County members being present. This was probably owing to the profound discouragement caused by the resignation of President Hooper, which had been offered again at a meeting of the Executive Committee in conference with several other Trustees at Wake Union Church on August 30, 1848, and accepted to take effect with the close of the

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tion that they should be null and void if the whole amount was not raised. The State was pressing for a return of this loan, and Captain Berry wanted his money. It seemed as if the College would have to be sold. Dr. Hooper, President of the College, and Bro. W. H. Jordan, President of the Board of Trustees, resigned.

"On Friday after Commencement Dr. Wait went down to see Bro. J. S. Purefoy, who then lived at Forestville. After talking the matter over, Bro. J. S. Purefoy subscribed \$1,000 and Dr. Wait \$500. The next day they went over to Bro. William Crenshaw's and he subscribed \$500 for himself and \$500 for his son, Dr. W. M. Crenshaw. And then William M. Jordan, W. T. Brooks, Wm. Jones, and J. B. White subscribed each \$500. Bro. G. W. Thompson, agent at that time for the College, hearing of this, went to the house of David Justice in the dead of the night and waked him up out of bed, and told him what the brethren had done. And Brother Justice subscribed \$500-making in all \$5,000."

It is almost certain that Professor Mills got his information from Rev. J. S. Purefoy who was living when he wrote and his account may in general be presumed to be correct. He is mistaken, however, in thinking that Jordan was President of the Board of Trustees in 1848; he had resigned that position on leaving the State in 1845 and Wait had been elected in his place. He is also probably mistaken about the amount of the two loans at this time. When Hufham proposed his plan in 1846 the amount due in excess of subscriptions was said to be \$15,000; on April, 1847, according to Jordan, only \$12,000 remained to be raised. In May, 1848, Jordan got subscriptions in the Chowan region, on which \$2,242 was collected that fall by Isaac Merriam. It is hardly probable then that much more than \$5,000 was still unpledged, but we must remember that in the two years that had elapsed since the Hufham proposal interest had been accumulating at the rate of about \$1,000 a year and that the agents were costing about as much. All these amounts had to be paid out of the collections, and for the two years could not have been much less than \$4,000. An examination of the Proceedings of the Board would have shown Professor Mills that they sought to make some provision for the payment of the debts. The business, however, was dragging, and Wait whose name was on Berry's note, had reason to know that Berry wanted his money.

fall session of the College, on December 14.<sup>31</sup> On the same account the agents were probably less able to do effective work.

At the annual meeting at the College in June, 1849, Purefoy, Thompson and James were appointed a committee to report on the state of the subscription.<sup>32</sup> Later in the meeting this committee reported that the pledges were short of debts by \$1,713. According to Professor Mills this deficiency was made up by the sale of the South Brick House, still standing on the corner opposite the Church. The purchasers were D. S. Williams, J. J. James, Nat J. Palmer, and J. B. White, the three first of whom composed the committee appointed by the Board to suggest a plan for raising the balance of the debt. Thompson, and Purefoy, and Palmer (perhaps only as counsel in case of need) were appointed a committee to collect the subscriptions due and to pay off the debts of the College.<sup>33</sup>

The collecting committee had good success in their work. Soon after their appointment they sent Rev. Isaac Merriam as a special agent to the eastern portion of the State to make collections. There before November 10, 1849, he collected \$2,246.61 on the subscriptions made to the agents, and \$15, in cash ; his expenses were \$6.91; he paid on the Berry note \$2,242.61, leaving a balance of \$12.70 which the Committee returned to Mr. Merriam in part payment of his account.<sup>34</sup>

At the Commencement of 1850 the Committee was able to report that the Berry debt was nearly all paid, and at a meeting of the

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<sup>31</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 71. The Executive Committee consisted of Samuel Wait, J. S. Purefoy, David Justice, Wm. Jones and G. W. Thompson. The Trustees present and approving were William Hooper, John Kerr, and Hamilton Hester.

<sup>32</sup> The minute reads: "George W. Thompson, J. J. James, and J. S. Purefoy were appointed a committee to ascertain the amount of the subscription \$10,000 pledged, on the condition that the whole \$20,000 is secured." Possibly this means that \$10,000 of the \$20,000 was unpledged at the Commencement of 1848. If so, after the subscription of \$5,000 by Wait, Purefoy and the others, only \$5,000 would have been left for the agents to secure during the year.

<sup>33</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 72 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 74. Report made at meeting of Executive Committee on Nov. 10, 1849. Of the amount collected \$2,020 was on Jordan's subscription book; \$154 on that of James; \$72.61 on that of Crocker.

Board of Trustees in Louisburg in the following October, that all was paid.<sup>35</sup>

Only the debt to the Literary Fund remained and on that the interest had been kept paid. Hereafter, however, collections were slower, probably owing to the fact that, as we shall see, there was an agent of the College in the field asking for subscriptions on endowment.

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<sup>35</sup> Major Crenshaw, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 305, says: "My father was very much worried about this debt. The Trustees had agents going around the country getting subscriptions, but for some years the agents' salaries cut down everything that they accomplished. Finally George W. Thompson took the field and collected the entire amount, and burned the bond, which was of twelve years' standing."



## XVIII

### AGENCY OF JAMES S. PUREFOY

With subscriptions deemed sufficient to take care of the debt of the College in hand, and with half of the amount collected, the Trustees, at their meeting in June, 1850, gave their attention to raising an endowment for the College.

At several times in the past the question of endowment had been proposed. At a meeting of the Board on March 10, 1836, a committee consisting of C. W. Skinner, Alfred Dockery and William Hooper, was appointed to prepare subscription papers for raising \$16,667 to endow a professorship for the Wake Forest Institute. The matter was brought before the Baptist State Convention at its meeting the following November at Country Line Meeting House; the Convention endorsed the plan and appointed Meredith, Armstrong and McDaniel a Committee "to take immediate measures to secure the amount of \$17,000 for the purpose of establishing a professorship for Theological Instruction in this State." The plan agreed upon is revealed in the Report on Education, written by John Armstrong, Chairman, and was to ask the Board of Trustees of the Institute to raise six or seven thousand dollars to add to the legacy of the Blount estate when available, and thus "establish a professorship of Sacred Literature, to be called the *Blount Professorship*."<sup>1</sup> At their meeting at this time, the Board of Trustees appointed a committee consisting of Skinner, Outlaw and Thompson, to confer with the Committee of the Convention mentioned above. We hear nothing more of it. Probably the inaction was due to the condition of the Blount legacy, of which the College did not come into possession until 1859, at which time the "Blount Professorship," was either forgotten or disregarded.

The records of the Trustees show that the question of endowment was again before them in June, 1839, at which time Professors White and Morse were appointed agents to solicit funds for a professorship. Nothing further is heard of it. The appointment must have been made in recognition of the enthusiasm of the young

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the N. C. Baptist Convention for 1836; *Proceedings*, p. 24.

professors, for surely these two men who had been in the State less than two years, and one of them only a few months, could not have been considered proper men to secure money among a people suspicious of strangers.<sup>2</sup> The main concern of the Trustees in the next ten years was the payment of the debts.

Accordingly, when, in the *Biblical Recorder*, of July 3, 1847, Dr. S. J. Wheeler raised the question of endowment for the College and submitted a plan and called for criticism, agent W. H. Jordan replied that his plan was premature, and that the debt was the first consideration. After three years, with the debt provided for, the time seemed to the Trustees proper for raising an endowment. The plan proposed by the committee appointed for the purpose was the endowment of a professorship or professorships of the value of ten thousand dollars each, with the provision that any person giving that sum would have the privilege of having the professorship thus endowed named for himself or whatever other name he should think proper. An agent was to be appointed with a salary not to exceed \$800 to secure subscriptions for this purpose.<sup>3</sup> The agency was offered to Dr. Wait, but he declined to serve. Then the employment of an agent was referred to the Executive Committee. At the October meeting the agency was offered to Rev. J. J. James, who also declined; then it was offered to Rev. J. S. Purefoy on the same terms-\$800 a year and necessary traveling expenses, both to collect money already pledged on debts and money to endow one or more professorships-and he accepted. Thus Mr. Purefoy began his work for the endowment which he continued with some intermissions for the remainder of his active years.

After considering the matter for a few months the Trustees had come to the conclusion that ten thousand dollars was not sufficient-amount to endow a professorship and increased the amount to fifteen thousand dollars, with the further stipulation that the money should be invested under the direction of the Board of Trustees<sup>4</sup>

As Mr. Purefoy was starting on his agency, Professor Wm. H. Owen published in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 23, 1850, a letter commending him and the College. Professor Owen in the

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<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 28.    <sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 74    <sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 78 f.

course of his article claimed the right to speak, since during his five years of connection with the College it had doubled the number of students, increasing from fifty to one hundred, which was the only institution that he knew of that had done this, and also the only institution "whose officers have by their unaided labors paid their own salaries, that is, by the proceeds of tuition, without any aid from endowments or contributions made in any other way." Recommending Mr. Purefoy he says:

The action of the Board of Trustees, which met during the late Convention in Louisburg, was very satisfactory and encouraging. They can *now* announce the Berry debt as discharged, and the debt to the Literary Fund as assumed by solvent and public spirited individuals. But perhaps a brighter harbinger of prosperity and usefulness for the Institution is the resolution of the Board to begin immediately the work of endowing Professorships, and the appointment of Rev. James S. Purify as Agent for this and other objects; and it is chiefly, but not entirely, the object of this communication to solicit public attention and confidence to this gentleman. Mr. Purify is not at all showy, which in connection with his characteristic modesty might, on the first acquaintance, disappoint public expectation; but he is known among his friends as a very liberal patron of Education, of rare judgment and perseverance, sagacious and diligent; therefore those who may wish to aid the object which he is empowered to promote may be assured that their subscriptions and donations will be managed without confusion, and appropriated without loss.

Before Mr. Purefoy began his canvass, the Executive Committee of the Board at a meeting on November 4, 1850, took some measures looking toward assisting the agent in his work.

The first of this was an instruction that he should have "a good telegraphic print made of the College Building and premises," which was to be given as a token of regard to such assistant agents as Purefoy might choose in various localities.<sup>5</sup>

The second action was to authorize the agent to sell scholarships good for tuition fees until the expiration of the charter of the College, which as amended would continue for seventy years from

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<sup>5</sup> Copies of this print are still in existence; they are beautifully done on good paper. See our frontispiece.

December, 1833, that is, until 1903. A scholarship was to be given to any who would pay five hundred dollars to the endowment fund. The Trustees and faculty were to learn by experience that such scholarships were not without evils.<sup>6</sup>

As the campaign for endowment was starting it became evident that the cooperation of South Carolina Baptists in the support of Wake Forest College could no longer be expected. Though they had shown a friendly spirit and a few of them had been prompt and generous with financial contributions, and some of their finest young men had come to Wake Forest for their education, it was soon realized that the South Carolina Baptists needed a college of their own. For a few years, indeed, before 1840, the Furman Theological Institution had given some academic instruction probably not above the high school grade, but for the past ten years had taught only theological subjects. With the beginning of 1850 academic instruction of high school grade again was offered, but the South Carolinians were not satisfied with this; they desired a college, and during the year 1850 inaugurated measures which resulted in the establishment of Furman University at Greenville. The charter was got in December, 1850, and its faculty selected in 1851.<sup>7</sup>

Purefoy's plan was to visit the eastern part of the State during the winter months and the western part in the summer, and as soon as possible to work in the limits of the Chowan Association collecting subscriptions already made to be applied to the payment of the debt to the Literary Fund, and to secure new subscriptions for the endowment.<sup>8</sup>

In the beginning of the campaign, Mr. Barclay Bower, of Warren

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<sup>6</sup> Dr. Wheeler's plan for endowing the College was by means of scholarships. He would have sold scholarships good for sixteen years for \$100; good for twelve years for \$75; good for eight years for \$50. He supposed that the agents could sell in one year scholarships to the value of \$100,000. He did not stop to reflect that so many scholarships if used would have brought to the College one thousand students who paid no tuition, who would have required a much larger faculty than could be provided by the income on an investment of \$100,000. See *Biblical Recorder*, July 3, 1847.

<sup>7</sup> McGlothlin, *Baptist Beginnings in Education*, Chapter VIII. *Biblical Recorder*, March 23, June 22, July 27, 1850.

<sup>8</sup> Advertisement in *Biblical Recorder*, Nov. 9, 1850.

County, gave Mr. Purefoy ten dollars,<sup>9</sup> which was the first money ever given for the endowment of the College.

In accordance with his plan of work, Mr. Purefoy was soon in the limits of the Chowan Association. It was the church at Sawyer's Creek in Camden County that took the first scholarship and paid the \$500. This action stimulated the church at Ahoskie to a similar effort.<sup>10</sup>

As he prosecuted his agency Purefoy had much encouragement from the friends of the College. Owen in another letter gave many reasons why its friends should contribute to it, suggesting large gifts as a memorial for the donors.<sup>11</sup> Others were telling of what the Baptists of other States were doing, for example those of South Carolina.<sup>12</sup> Purefoy was succeeding well when early in the spring of 1851 he fell ill and had to desist from his labors for several weeks.<sup>13</sup> How soon he was able to be at his work we do not know, but on May 6, he made an appeal through the *Biblical Recorder*, saying that more than \$3,000 of the debt to the Literary Fund had

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<sup>9</sup> *Mills, Wake Forest Student*, III, 230.

<sup>10</sup> *The Baptist Messenger*, a local paper of the Chowan Association, edited by Rev. C. R. Hendrickson of Eliabeth City, quoted in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 4, 1851. The spirit of the article may be seen from the following: "Well done, Sawyer's Creek! She is the first on the list. We have been informed that the church at Ahoskie, Hertford County, is also making an effort to secure a scholarship, and will doubtless succeed. Let this plan be followed up by churches and wealthy individuals, and the endowment will soon be complete. This is a matter in which the denomination and its friends in the State should take a deep interest. The College can never be extensively useful without an endowment. Its finances must be in such a condition as to permit young men to obtain education gratuitously. This is the design of the endowment. It is to open the doors of the College to those who have not the means to secure an education."

The payment of \$500 secures a scholarship for fifty years. The scholar may be the son of the purchaser, or if he chooses the son of some one in indigent circumstances. So a church by securing a scholarship may educate her candidates for the ministry for fifty years. One hundred scholarships will secure a fund of \$50,000 which will educate as many young men forever. North Carolina Baptists must improve the present opportunity, give a hearty welcome to our worthy agent, and sanction the movement by liberal contributions. The College is now free from debt. It has a qualified Faculty and a larger number of students than for many years. All that is now wanting is an endowment and the blessing of almighty God. By proper means we may have both."

<sup>11</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 4, 1851.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, 1851.

been paid since the last Convention and that he hoped for \$2,000 more before June 15. He was urging the subscribers of the western part of the State to send in their subscriptions by mail, since he should not be able to visit them.<sup>14</sup>

At the annual meeting of the Trustees in June, 1851, there is no record that Purefoy made a report. but he did report to the meeting at Wilmington in October. He was unanimously asked to continue his agency and accepted. In the College catalogue for 1851-52, which came from the press soon after, he is named as general agent.

After this time, however, there is little record of Mr. Purefoy's activity as agent. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees on June 8, 1852, he was appointed on a committee on the agency along with S. J. Wheeler, Nathaniel J. Palmer, S. S. Biddle, and J. B. White. It seems that he had not been engaged in the work for some time; it is almost certain that he did not work immediately after this time, since in the Report of the Board of Managers to the Convention of 1852, we find that he had been compelled by the pressure of his domestic and business arrangements to suspend operations.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, May 31, 1851.

## XIX

### AGENCY OF WINGATE

The Board of Trustees, however, had by no means abandoned their purpose to secure an endowment for the College. We have seen that at their meeting of June 8, 1852, they had appointed a committee on the agency. On the next day this committee submitted its report as follows:

Resolved, that it is the expedient and proper as well as necessary for the success of this Institution, that the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars be raised as speedily as possible for the endowment of Wake Forest College-and when the above sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars has been secured, poor young men of promise shall be admitted free of charge.

It will be observed that the plan to endow professorships had been abandoned. Nothing is said of scholarships. But although the purpose of extending free tuition to all young men who might need it was inconsistent with the sale of scholarships, for several years the sale of scholarships continued.

Probably the plan owed more to the resourceful and energetic N. J. Palmer, a member of the committee which brought it before the Trustees, than to any one else. On the night after it was adopted finding that the preacher chosen for Commencement had not arrived, Mr. Palmer called a meeting of the visitors and friends of the institution and, after explaining the plan, had it discussed by J. J. James, S. J. Wheeler and J. B. White, who were also members of the committee, and by Rev. B. Blake, a visitor, and by General Romulus M. Saunders, who had that day delivered the Literary Address, and who presided at the meeting.<sup>1</sup>

No agent was secured until the meeting of the Board,<sup>2</sup> October

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<sup>1</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 18, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> The agency had been offered to John Mitchell, a recent graduate of the College, and to Robert Jones, an agent of the Convention, but both declined; Mr. Mitchell because he purposed to attend Newton Theological Seminary, Mr. Jones because he felt that he could not resign his agency of the Convention. *Biblical Recorder*, Aug. 13, 1852.

18, 1852, when Washington Manly Wingate was chosen for this work. Mr. Wingate was from the Darlington District of South Carolina. He had matriculated at Wake Forest College in 1846, at which time Wake Forest was regarded as the college of the two Carolinas. He had graduated in 1849. While he was a student Dr. Hooper was the president of the College; in April, 1849, he had been asked by the Wake Forest Baptist Church "to exercise his gifts before the church with a view to a license to preach." He had impressed his fellow students with his extraordinary ability and his powers as a logician and a speaker, as well as his sweet piety.<sup>3</sup> He seems to have remained at Wake Forest a while after his graduation, since in August, 1849, he was appointed by the church a delegate to the Raleigh Association. But in the fall of the year he entered the Furman Theological Institution, where he spent two years. On March 3, 1852, at the call of the Darlington, South Carolina, Baptist Church he was examined and set aside for the Baptist ministry, with Rev. Richard Furman preaching the ordination sermon, and with Elders L. DuPre, J. O. B. Dargan, G. B. Bealer, and S. B. Wilkins assisting in the ordination. In the report of the occasion<sup>4</sup> it was said that Brother Wingate possessed "the entire confidence and esteem of the people with whom he labors and his prospects are eminently encouraging." He was called to accept the pastoral charge of the Ebenezer Church, Darlington District, and at the same time served as assistant pastor of the Darlington Church of which Elder Dargan was pastor.

It was this young man, now twenty-four years old, whom the Trustees called to be their agent in raising an endowment. As he was now beginning that period of service of the College which ended

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. D. R. Wallace has this to say of him, whom he unites in his praise with W. G. Simmons: "My recollections of W. G. Simmons and W. M. Wingate rank them as two of the most superior intellects that I met during my residence at the College. I never knew a nobler character than that of Professor Simmons, and Wingate was quite as grand a character, with perhaps a more general ability. The one was a born mathematician, the other a born logician, as I have cause to know. For in a society celebration (we belonged to different societies), during a summer vacation we met in a debate, and he simply annihilated me, whipped me to a frazzle, the worst whipping I ever got in a war of words." *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 326.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 30, 1852.



only with his death, his employment at this time may be considered epochal. There is some evidence that it was so considered at the time. In his piety, evangelical zeal, liberality, scholarship, ability as a public speaker, ease of manner, sincerity, affability, and love of the College, he approximated the ideal. And he was an alumnus of the College. His appointment, said Professor Owen,<sup>5</sup> is a subject of congratulation, a step towards the accomplishment of a cherished wish of the authorities of the institution to devolve as many of its officers as possible on its own alumni. He was peculiarly fitted for the work of agent, for "none will plead for a parent like a child." All the forces of the denomination lined up behind Wingate as he began his canvass. To begin with he had the friendship of a number of young men in every section of the State who had been his fellow students in Wake Forest College. The *Biblical Recorder* in a comprehensive editorial in its issue of December 17, 1852, commended the institution, and made reference to the successful labors of President Francis Wayland in getting an endowment for Brown University; it was said: "He is now in the increasing prosperity of the institution richly rewarded for his zealous and well bestowed efforts, the result of far-reaching sagacity and wisdom. His example is well worthy of imitation. The Baptists of North Carolina ought to endow Wake Forest College before another year passes away. They have it in their power if they will but employ it to accomplish this object speedily. We sincerely hope that brother Wingate, the newly appointed agent, will meet with a cordial reception in all parts of the State, and bear away substantial tokens of the love which the Baptists of North Carolina cherish for their own College."

Elder Elias Dodson was as assiduous now in urging endowment as he had been in urging that the debts be paid. He had various proposals for raising the money. "I will propose," said he, "for twenty rich men to give \$1,000 each, and 300 men of Agur's description to give each \$100, payments to be made in three annual installments commencing December 25, 1853. I will be one of the 300." This plan of securing subscriptions to be paid in three

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1852.

annual installments was adopted. Dodson was also urging rich men to remember the College in their wills, citing a South Carolina Methodist who had recently left a bequest of \$100,000 to found a Methodist college.<sup>6</sup>

It was to Wingate, however, more than to any other that the College owed the endowment and the support and affection of our Baptist people and the high standard of its work in the period before the Civil War. As agent indeed he labored only about eighteen months, but as Acting President of the College for the years 1854-56, and as President thereafter, he continued to give character and direction to the work for the endowment; the confidence in him personally and in the College he had brought so powerfully to the attention of the Baptists of North Carolina became all the stronger when he became head of the institution.

Accordingly, the two able agents that in order succeeded Wingate, T. H. Pritchard and John Mitchell, may be regarded rather as lieutenants in the campaign begun and directed by Wingate.

It seems probable that Wingate did not enter on the active work of his agency until about the first of February, 1853. In the *Biblical Recorder* of February 10, 1853, he began the publication of a series of articles on matters pertaining to his agency, and continued them at frequent intervals until the summer of 1854, when he resigned to become Acting President of the College.

The articles just mentioned are most valuable in revealing the condition of the College in those years: its need for endowment that it might meet the rising standards of collegiate education and keep pace with the best educational institutions of the land North and South; its value present and prospective if properly supported to the denomination; the meagerness and sporadic nature of the support previously given it. Wingate also mentions the difficulties that attended the work of an agent for the College. There was much lack of interest, which he thought could be partly removed if many from all sections of North Carolina would publish in the *Biblical Recorder* letters in reference to the endowment. The object was comparatively new, and there was a general assumption that men

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, July 80, 1852, April 1, 1853.

of means were opposed to it, which Wingate supposed not true. Another difficulty was that in the campaign for paying the debts of the College which had lasted now a dozen years, the people had wearied of hearing of the College. "It is *College, College, College, forever!* Will the cry of *College* never cease?" Yes, replied Wingate, Wake Forest is like a child; it has been hungry and has had to be fed; without assistance it would have died long ago; the thing to do is to provide it a proper support; it must not be allowed to die now when it will be of real value; "it is plain that the well being, nay the very existence of the denomination in any really living, moving state is bound up with the success of this enterprise." Our fathers did their best, "and it were ingratitude to them, and to God, *should we fail.*"<sup>7</sup>

Another difficulty was the proneness of men to make excuses. One of these excuses, which Wingate evidently thought feigned, was that so many were in debt. They are using their money to tear down their barns and build larger, adding slave to slave and farm to farm, and developing a timber or turpentine business. The cause of the College is good, but they need all their money and more in their business; their neighbors, they say, have money and are liberal; go to them. These neighbors when approached explain the true nature of their neighbors' debts and are so resentful that they give nothing themselves. Wingate wonders how God judges such neighbors.

Another difficulty is that the churches and the ministering brethren leave all for the agent to do; their people are wholly uninformed and suspicious of agents generally; they would give to one in whom they had entire confidence whereas the agent is an entire stranger.

All difficulties, however, had to give way before the zeal of Wingate, for he was bringing the churches and their members to see in the College one of the great instrumentalities for raising them to the position they should occupy to fulfil their true mission, while previously they had been suffering and bleeding at every pore for want of it.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, February 10, 1853.

Wingate's first work was in the Chowan Association. He was now working the campaign on the scholarship plan—\$500 for a scholarship entitling the purchaser to keep a student at the College for fifty years with no tuition. In these scholarships he awakened much interest, and in less than a week he secured subscriptions for six of them from Colerain, Cashie, Holly Grove and Bethlehem, Republican, Piney Grove, and Ramoth Gilead—indeed a remarkable record. Before the first of April he had secured subscriptions amounting to more than \$8,000.

Being asked by the editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, Rev. T. W. Tobey, to give the reason for working through the churches, rather than through individuals, Wingate said that individuals on the one hand had little expectation of living for fifty years, and if they viewed the matter wholly from a selfish standpoint, they would regard a scholarship as a bad investment, since much of its value would not come in their lifetime, whereas the churches were continuous and had fair prospects of always having in their number young men, probably some of them designed for the ministry, on whom they could bestow the scholarship year after year until the completion of the fifty years.

After spending the month of April in working in Sampson County, of which an account will be found below, Wingate returned about the first of May to the churches of the Chowan Association, where in a week he obtained four scholarships, three of which were taken in the Bethel Church in Perquimans County which had been formed under the hand of the great Baptist pioneer, Martin Ross, who continued as its ardent and devoted minister till his death. But though the members of these churches were responding so nobly Wingate was forced to think of others who were not doing so well.<sup>8</sup> He attended the meeting of the Chowan Association at the

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, May 3, 1853. "How is it possible that brethren in other places can stand aloof entirely, when some are interesting themselves so much in this noble work? Can they bear to see this great and good work fall on only a few? It does look noble, one must confess, to see these few bearing up so bravely, and willing to toil to the end—if they must—alone. But how those feel who look on at these as they push and slip and catch fresh hold again, and keep *their* hands stuck fast in their pockets; one can hardly see what true-hearted Baptists can enjoy being a mere spectator in a work like this."

Meherrin Church beginning May 12, and obtained nearly \$2,000 in subscriptions and scholarships at that time, and as chairman of the committee wrote the report on Wake Forest College which was in these years regularly a part of the Chowan Association proceedings.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps it may be well here to stop to consider those qualities of mind and heart which contributed to Wingate's success as agent. With deep sympathies for his fellow men and for inanimate nature, and a poetic cast of mind, he also had the power to analyze economic conditions and appreciate their bearings upon his work. These qualities are revealed in the following extracts from one of his letters.

It is from Colerain, dated March 4, 1853. It was a rainy, boisterous day, and Wingate had time to write:

You are aware, he writes, that I am in the portion of the State where fishing is carried on to so great an extent. The season had just commenced, and those engaged in it are making preparations for entangling the unwary inhabitants of their waters. The broad smooth current of the Chowan is now being peopled with her annual visitors from the sea. Masters are buying red shirts for their negroes, and they in turn are anticipating with great glee this frolic in the water. Their fondness for this excitement is peculiar; and the long melancholy dirge of the fishermen, when they return to their homes, while it attests their sorrow, brings many a tear to the eyes of those who have been accustomed to hear it from infancy.

The brother with whom I am housed has just been giving me an account of this stirring season. And what most struck me was the ingenuity displayed in devising so many various modes of catching the herring. If they remain in the bed of the stream, there these unsuspecting little people suddenly find their heads entangled in the gill net; or perchance borne backward without questions, by a long swoop of the seine. Should they again grow weary of the current and take a trip to the shore, while heedlessly sporting round and round, as becomes them in their home, they find themselves suddenly blockaded there by the wares (weirs) and unceremoniously dipped out of their playground, at the pleasure of their lords.

But this is only one of the ways of living in this richly blessed portion of the State. Here is one man just entering his timbered land

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, May 20, 1853.

and, if pine, skinning his trees to make turpentine; if oak or cypress, cutting them down and turning them into staves or shingles. Another with his turpentine all forced from the tree, makes ready his fences, and prepares his kiln from this exhausted material, then turns this cleared land into tilled field, and his stumps into tar, and after all this, has a stream at his door as deep as it is broad, making into the main river, to convey at once to market cheaply and expeditiously these various products of his labor.

Who can be surprised after this that the people here are rich and prosperous? And who can help feeling that, with their fishing business, with their lands all covered with forests of pine and oak, yielding tar, turpentine, shingles and staves, or with these gone, the same lands groaning under the weight of the abundant harvest, and, more than this, with their facilities to a ready market—who I say can help feeling that they are bound to support a missionary, build a male and female school among themselves, rear commodious and comfortable churches, have their regularly appointed pastors, and last, but not least, contribute largely, *very largely*, to the endowment of Wake Forest College? And they are doing all this to a certain extent. They have commenced a system to support a missionary in China; Holly Grove and Bethlehem have united and taken a scholarship; Cashie is progressing with another.<sup>10</sup>

A month after the meeting of the Chowan Association Wingate was at the Wake Forest Commencement and made his report to the Board of Trustees, and suggested some modification of the terms of the scholarships, and a committee was appointed which recommended a form as suggested.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after the Commencement Wingate began to labor in three or four counties of the "up country," in which he hoped to raise \$5,000. A big start towards this was made when a subscription of \$1,000 was received of one friend, which Wingate expected to be matched by another friend in the same section. He was now working to establish a professorship in the Natural Sciences. This would require eighteen other one thousand dollar subscriptions, yet he was hopeful of getting them, since this professorship was of great interest to the practical men of the denomination, as it would

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1853.

<sup>11</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 92 f.

furnish the State with the trained scientists which it so much needed.<sup>12</sup>

By the "up-country" Wingate seems to have meant the counties of the Flat River Association, the meeting of which body at Brassfields on August 12, 1853, he attended, and at which a resolution was passed most favorably recommending the endowment of the College to the churches and brethren of the Association.<sup>13</sup> At this time also Wingate reported a good prospect of raising \$10,000 within a circuit of thirty miles of the College.<sup>14</sup>

He continued his canvass so successfully that he was able to report to the Board of Trustees meeting in New Bern in October, 1853, at the time of the meeting of the Baptist State Convention, a total of subscriptions of \$25,000, about half of it since the last Commencement, and probably the greater part of it within the bounds of the Raleigh, Flat River and Beulah Associations. On making this report he was unanimously appointed agent for the ensuing year. Enthusiasm for the College ran high; a mass meeting on education was held on the Saturday night of the Convention, in which the claims of the College were urgently presented and a new interest in the College awakened. The Trustees held several joyful meetings, a report of which, as given by a writer who signs his name as "Delegate," is as follows:<sup>15</sup>

But I hasten to notice the meeting of the Board of Trustees; here was collected much of the strength, and to *me* much of the interest of the Convention. It so happened that there were thrown together at this meeting many who had weathered the storm in the gloomiest days of the College. Upon many of their shoulders had hung the heaviest weight of that terrible old debt of fearful memory. They sat in council but too often before with melancholy forebodings of the final issue of their darling enterprise; with hands folded for they knew not what to do, and with hope gone for they knew not where to look. But now a great change had come over the spirit of their dreams; a great interest, it seemed, and grown up within a

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<sup>12</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 5, 1853.

<sup>13</sup> MSS, Minutes of the Flat River Association for 1853, in Wake Forest College Library.

<sup>14</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 5, 1853.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, October 28, 1853.

short time which was extending itself to every quarter. Cheering reports came from different brethren that there was now a settled determination on the part of the denomination to endow the College at once. The report also of Brother Wingate, the Agent, was to the same effect. He stated that about twenty-five thousand dollars had *already* been raised for the endowment, and that nearly twelve thousand of this had been secured within the last three of four months. All this was indeed refreshing to spirits depressed by so long a night of gloom. We felt that the day had dawned, a day of hope, a day of bright success to our beloved College.

Others also felt an enthusiasm like that expressed in the letter quoted. In the same paper similar views in more restrained language are found in a report of the Convention by "Milton," N. J. Palmer; in the issue for December 23, 1853, "Trustee" from Murfreesboro, probably Dr. S. J. Wheeler, declares that daylight had beamed on Wake Forest; that the amount raised by Wingate was \$27,000, with \$10,000 additional in prospect or already raised; that the College stood and would ever stand an evidence of the moral courage of those who in the midst of dismay and doubt did not despair; that the Trustees had already instituted improvements that would mean a new order of things at Wake Forest.

Great as was the success of Wingate and as much pleased as were many friends of the College, yet there were some who were ready to call attention to the remarkable success of the campaigns for endowment of Furman University and Richmond College, for each of which about a hundred thousand dollars had been raised in a year, for Furman \$14,000 in the Charleston and Welsh Neck Associations in two weeks. Why should the Baptists of North Carolina not do as well for Wake Forest?<sup>16</sup> Somewhat later attention was called to the fact that Maxwell Chambers, a citizen of Salisbury, "a member of no church," who died on February 7, 1854, had left Davidson College a bequest of \$250,000, and had some time before given that college cotton mill property to the value of \$25,000. "Wake Forest can not even reckon certainly on \$50,000," said the writer.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, December 16, 1853, letter of "A friend of the Endowment."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, March 1, 1854. Letter of T. H. Pritchard.



To return to Wingate; in the spring of 1854 we hear of him in Sampson County, where he was encouraged to think he would secure three or four thousand dollars. He found the county "chequered over with Baptist dwellings and Baptist churches; Clinton, "a pleasant-looking village," already building a Baptist church. The people were spirited and liberal. It was like Wingate to study the sources of their liberality, and he found it in the pine forest, of which he speaks with a tenderness like that of Francis of Assisi. I gave here a passage from his letter:

How they do bleed the poor pines to pay for it. They show their white faces around you on every side a great way up, and at night as you ride alone they look for all the world like a great army of spectres ready to pounce upon you at every step and bear you away. Some of them from appearance have yielded their last supply and now stand like old martyrs awaiting the axe of the woodman. Unfeeling masters thus to exhaust the liberal tree until she can give no more, and then repay her by a burning. No wonder that the pines here *sigh* through all their leaves to every breeze that whispers by, for the time is not far distant when these sturdy monarchs of the forest, that have so long watched and adorned the soil that gave them birth, changing not amid summer's heat nor winter's cold, will have been borne down by the unwearied worker at their feet and not one vestige of their former glory will remain. And well may you weep, melancholy tree, for your days are numbered. Whatever may be thought of this unfeeling treatment of the pine, the College, I have no doubt, will gain by it in the end. It would not surprise me if first and last three or four thousand were raised within the limits of this county.<sup>18</sup>

After finishing his campaign in the Union Association of that time, which embraced the churches now in the Eastern Association, Wingate again went to the Chowan Association territory and attended the meetings of that body which met at Bethel in Perquimans County, May 18-21, 1854, and again wrote the "Report on Wake Forest College." From this report we learn of his work in the Union Association, and that in two months he had raised more than \$7,000 there, and of this \$5,000 in one county. He says

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, April 7, 1854. Reference to Wingate's work in this section is found also in an editorial in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 3, 1854. At this time the general interest in the endowment was shown by a series of articles in the *Biblical Recorder*, March 24-May 18, by "Simeon" of the Chowan section.

that a new impetus had been given to the work by "a new and more available plan of scholarships, lessening the number of years and increasing the number of students to be sent." Within a short period \$1,300 had been raised in the immediate vicinity of the College. The sum total of subscriptions was more than \$33,000. To this the Chowan added at this time between four and five thousand dollars,<sup>19</sup> after speeches by J. L. Prichard, Q. Trotman and others. The goal was already in sight, and said Wingate, "Who among us all will not hail this as the best and brightest epoch in the history of the Baptists of North Carolina?"<sup>20</sup>

Returning to Wake Forest for the Commencement on June 8, 1854, Wingate made a report that greatly pleased and encouraged the Trustees and other friends of the College. Since the Commencement of 1853, he had received in cash \$2,641.85, and in subscriptions on endowment \$23,830; before June, 1853, he had received subscriptions amounting to \$5,400. Before Wingate assumed the agency in November, 1852, Elder J. S. Purefoy had secured subscriptions amounting to \$8,000. The total of cash and subscriptions was \$37,230. The committee on the agency reported that there was every prospect that the fifty thousand dollars contemplated when the campaign was instituted would be raised during the year.<sup>21</sup>

At this time Wingate gave notice to the Board that he would quit the work at the end of the year, the calendar year. With regrets the committee recommended that the resignation be accepted as offered. But events ruled that Wingate quit the agency at once. He was elected Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Rhetoric at a salary of \$800; he was elected also president of the College, *pro tempore*.

Thus Wingate's active agency came to an end; he had shown himself faithful and efficient, and had been successful beyond expectation; he had won the confidence and love of his brethren and made friends in every field of his labors, and he had taught them,

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1, 1854.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes of Chowan Association for 1854.

<sup>21</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 97.

their churches and Associations, to regard support of the College as an essential part of their religious undertakings.

Nor was the extraordinary success of Wingate measured only in dollars and cents. It inspired unprecedented enthusiasm and interest in the College not only among those who were or had been connected with it as officers, trustees, and students, but also among the Baptists of the State generally. Associations were passing most favorable resolutions, and in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* were appearing many articles, both editorial and contributed, urging a more generous support or speaking of the progress of the institution. At the Commencement of 1854 this enthusiasm was everywhere manifest. Such able speakers as Rev. Tiberius Gracchus Jones of Norfolk, Rev. H. H. Tucker of Alexandria, and Rev. Basil Manly of Richmond, made the occasion notable by their able discourses, while the minds and hearts of the assembled multitudes as well as of the college community were turned to devotion and worship by the chapel talks of Rev. A. M. Poindexter, who had recently completed a most successful campaign for endowment of Richmond College and was then one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. The Board of Trustees did their part by measures to add to the equipment, improve the grounds and added two new departments, one of them a department of Chemistry; they were also seeking a permanent president, being not yet quite ready to give this position to the untried Wingate, although by letter of April 5, 1854, Elder T. W. Tobey had suggested to Wait that Wingate was the proper man for the place; they were also rejoicing in being able to announce that three out of five of the members of the faculty were graduates of the College.<sup>22</sup> "Let this liberal policy be continued

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<sup>22</sup> See the *Proceedings*, and the *Biblical Recorder* for June 15 and 22, 1854. The following will indicate that some of the enthusiasm of the occasion took an unwelcomed direction. "We were greatly pleased to witness the gentlemanly deportment and good order exhibited by the students throughout the *Exercises* of the week. There was a little uproarous conduct one evening, early in the week, after the public *Exercises* in the chapel had closed, but this, we were happy to learn from the faculty, who were promptly on the ground to ferret out the authors of it, proceeded not from students, but from some youthful visitors, who having early devoted themselves to the service of Bacchus, and knowing

and vigorously prosecuted," says N. J. Palmer, as he closes his account of Commencement, "and we hope to see the day when even Brown and Rochester will not surpass Wake Forest in practical advantages."<sup>23</sup>

that he with all his votaries had long been banished from the College and its vicinity, took the precaution to bring him with them, and on that evening they had been rather prodigal in libations to their divinity."

Tobey has this to say of Wingate: "I have been thinking that the best thing the Trustees of Wake Forest College can do is to elect Bro. Wingate to the Presidency. He has good powers of mind and could by diligence and energy prepare himself for the duties of his station. What say you?"

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<sup>23</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 15, 1854.

## AGENCY OF THOMAS H. PRITCHARD

Being under the necessity of procuring another agent the Board chose first Elder John Mitchell, who at that time was a student of the theological department of Furman University, but failing to secure him elected for the place Thomas H. Pritchard, who was graduating that year with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Pritchard was only twenty-two years of age but was already respected for his ability as a public speaker, and had won the confidence of all who knew him by his sturdy Christian character. During the year he was to show his ability as a writer and controversialist as well as a worthy successor of Wingate in the work of the agency.

Entering on his work Pritchard in August attended in order the session of the Flat River Association meeting at Bethel Church in Person County, and of the Beulah Association meeting at Yanceyville, and of the Tar River meeting at Reedy Creek Springs, each of which took a scholarship on a subscription of \$500. Late in September he was at the meeting of the Union Association at the Beulah Church in Sampson County, where the record shows he delivered an eloquent address on education, and succeeded in getting the complete amount for the scholarship, the list of donors being published in the Minutes. On September 23-25 Pritchard was at the meeting of the Raleigh Association, meeting at Johnston Liberty Church, and secured a scholarship there also. In November he was at the meeting of the Cape Fear Association and obtained one scholarship, and left another almost complete. In the following May he was at the Pamlico Association meeting with the Conoconary Church, in Halifax County, and at the Chowan Association meeting at Cashie; this last Association already had two or three scholarships but agreed to take another for this year and one every year until the endowment should be complete. Pritchard's report to the Trustees at the Commencement of 1855 showed that he had served the Board during the year ten and one-half months,

visited eight Associations and secured about nine thousand dollars for the endowment. He had collected on new notes and subscriptions about \$200, and on old notes and subscriptions about \$2,777.

Following its custom of employing its agents for the next calendar year at its meeting during the session of the Baptist State Convention in October, the Board meeting at Fayetteville in October, 1854, had asked Pritchard to be their agent for the coming year at a salary of \$600.

The "Annual Report of the Board of Managers" of the Convention for this year gives a summary of the financial affairs of the College. There was yet remaining a portion of the debt due the Literary Fund; new subscriptions to meet that debt would be necessary, since some of the former subscriptions were unpaid and uncollectible. However, much more than the principal had been paid and there was hope that the Legislature would remit the balance, since other States were making liberal donations to incorporated colleges. The endowment fund had reached forty-two thousand dollars, and legacies into which the College would soon come in possession would be worth more than ten thousand dollars. The endowment would soon be completed and it was hoped that friends would continue to remember the College in their wills. The endowment of professorships was recommended to those who wished to leave memorials of themselves.

During his entire agency there is evidence that Pritchard was pursuing his canvass with much acceptance to the Baptists of the State. His ablest hearers found his eloquence thrilling as he pleaded for the endowment of the College, and as often as he spoke before an Association the members and visitors rallied to his support. His purpose was to have every Association in the State take at least one scholarship, and this purpose he persistently followed so long as he was agent. In 1855 he began to bring the matter to the attention of those Associations which had before done little or nothing for the College, such as the Yadkin and the Liberty.

Pritchard seems to have caught a vision of the possible future greatness and usefulness of the College that hardly any other had seen until his day. This he reveals in two letters on the endowment

found in the *Biblical Recorder* for September 14 and 28, 1854. If the Baptists would unite in the support of Wake Forest they might make it an institution which would stand along with Brown and Princeton; Wake Forest College must be endowed as these institutions were endowed or given regular liberal support. To meet the needs of the new day the College must have a professor of Chemistry, "that our youth may become more conversant with that most practical and most important of all the physical sciences. The age demands the scientific farmer." It must have a professorship of Geology and Mineralogy, "that the rich mineral resources of our State may be recognized and developed by our own citizens, and the emoluments resulting therefrom shall go to the pockets of North Carolinians." The College must have a professorship of Civil Engineering, "to meet the pressing demands of the age, and especially the wants of progressive North Carolina." Above all young Pritchard thought Wake Forest ought to have a theological department, that it might give our young preachers such instruction as they needed to make them able defenders of the gospel truth and free them of the necessity of going to institutions in other States, North or South. He had still another reason for wishing to see the College endowed, and that was, that it might be "an institution worthy of the forty thousand Baptists of North Carolina—that it may elevate us to the social position we should occupy—in a word, that we may have a college worthy of this educational age. We *must* have a first rate college."<sup>1</sup>

Taking up the charge that Wake Forest is all the time begging for money, Pritchard replies that this is true because the Baptists of the State had failed to provide for her needs. Let the Baptists do for Wake Forest what has been done for Chapel Hill and many other institutions and she "will never again assume the attitude and habiliments of a beggar, but will lift her modest head among the proudest colleges of the land." Closing his discussion Pritchard appeals to the denominational pride of the Baptists of the State,

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<sup>1</sup> See similar letter in *Biblical Recorder* of October 24, 1855. In this letter Pritchard tells of a plan proposed by G. W. Hufham at Union Association which was for every church to contribute one dollar a member to the college.

reminding them that while they are supporting the University, an institution in which they have never been represented, with their taxes beyond any other denomination, they were letting Wake Forest suffer from their neglect.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted that while several other Associations, such as the Beulah, did well in their response to the appeals for the endowment of the College, and perhaps as well as any in proportion to their means, it was the Chowan Association that most abundantly contributed both to pay the debts and for endowment. On that account it is proper that there be given here Pritchard's graceful and grateful words of recognition of this benevolence. In a full column article in the *Recorder* of June 7, 1855, in which he sets forth in a masterly way the reasons for endowing the College, he says, as he begins:

In all her distresses and extremities, Wake Forest has ever found a staunch friend and liberal supporter in the Chowan Association. The first scholarship taken in the endowment was by a church in Camden County. A large proportion of the fund secured to the Institution has been raised within her territory, and from the Catalogue of the collegiate year 1854-55 I learn that of the 116 students therein registered 40 are from the Chowan Association. Three scholarships had been taken in the name and for the use of the Association before its last session at Cashie. It was there resolved, "That another be immediately raised, and that the churches be requested to send up funds sufficient to take a scholarship in the endowment of the College at each successive session of the Association, till the Institution is placed upon a permanent and liberal foundation."

This praiseworthy resolution of the Chowan Association I wish to commend to the twenty-seven other Associations of Regular Baptists in North Carolina as worthy of prompt imitation.

<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 28, 1854. Pritchard's words drew sharp response in the *University Magazine* for December, 1854, and he defended himself right ably, in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 29, 1855. Pritchard's first statement was as follows: "Ye forty-six thousand Baptists of North Carolina, have you no denominational pride? You have paid more tax to Chapel Hill than any other denomination in the State—an institution in which from its foundation you have never been represented. Will you still aid in an institution where you have been thus unjustly treated, which has a large investment and near three hundred students, and neglect Wake Forest, the child of your own Convention, and the churches of your principles? Forbid, the cause of denominational education and the cause of Christ."



In the latter half of the year 1855 Pritchard continued to press his campaign for endowment with vigor. In the summer of this year appeared a series of articles in the *Biblical Recorder* on the Comparative Advantages of State and Denominational Colleges, signed "Philomathes." They constitute a well reasoned and moderate discussion of the subject, and the argument was so well guarded as to admit of no reply. They came at a time when the laxness of discipline and low scholarship standards at the University of North Carolina offered serious handicaps to the work of that institution. Though the author carefully conceals his identity, they were probably by Pritchard.

At the meeting of the Board in Warrenton in October, 1855, the Trustees elected Rev. John Mitchell to succeed Pritchard. No word of explanation is given in the *Proceedings*; no satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the agency of Pritchard is expressed; but Mitchell was appointed agent for the next year with a salary of \$800, more by \$200 than Pritchard had been paid. Why Pritchard resigned can only be surmised. It is possible that he had not made collections as well as the Trustees hoped; possibly the youth of Pritchard had been against him, a matter to which he refers in one of his early letters to the *Biblical Recorder*.<sup>3</sup> Possibly there was an element of jealousy, or a remembrance of rivalry in the Literary Societies of the College when Pritchard was a student and when feeling was strong between the members of the two Societies. At any rate Pritchard was leaving without a word of explanation; on November, 1855, he was ordained pastor of the church at Hertford, Dr. William Hooper preaching the ordination sermon.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 14, 1854.

<sup>4</sup> As will appear in a discussion of the Literary Societies in a later chapter, the Philomathesian Society seems to have strongly resented the displacing of Pritchard with a Euzelian. In view of Pritchard's manifest enthusiasm for this work, of the reception accorded him, and his large plans and success it is hard to understand the repeated assertion of Dr. J. D. Hufham, that "Dr. Pritchard had no taste and no gifts for raising money." *Wake Forest Student*, XV, 532; XXVIII, 342.

## AGENCY OF JOHN MITCHELL

John Mitchell, who was elected to succeed Pritchard as general agent, had graduated at Wake Forest in the class of 1852 with the Bachelor of Arts degree. In 1855, he completed his work of two years in the Furman Theological department of Furman University becoming a "full graduate," and was ordained in Greenville, South Carolina. He was a native of Bertie County, in the limits of the Chowan Association, and on that account likely to be more acceptable to those of that section.<sup>1</sup> While Mitchell did not have the general all round development of Wingate, nor yet the eloquence and literary style and analytical powers of Pritchard, he was possessed of good business qualities, proved a good collector and was able to inspire confidence in the College rather by private conversation than by public address. In him as a youth as in his riper years and in old age piety was a characteristic and predominant trait; many expressions of his show that he was relying not on human efforts but on God. "I have met with some warm friends of the College and they cheer me up wonderfully. The Lord reward them according to his riches in Christ Jesus." "I am persuaded that if they would now pray as they ought the endowment would be speedily raised. For Christ's sake they would do much to promote his cause in the State." "Yours in Christ." "To God be all the praise." This piety though open was not ostentatious or offensive, and it was so sweetly blended with his other good qualities as to make him trusted and loved wherever he labored.<sup>2</sup>

As Mitchell was coming to his work the College was finding that as an endowment scholarships lessened its revenues rather than increased them. That this was inherent in the nature of scholarships such as the Trustees offered was either not seen or was disregarded

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Chowan Association for 1856, Report on Wake Forest College.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions given were copied from Mitchell's letter in the *Biblical Recorder* of April 17, 1856, and the minutes of the Chowan Association for 1858.

as the campaign to sell them was instituted. Scholarships were for \$500 and at first were to run for fifty years, paying full tuition in the College for one student year by year. From February, 1839, this tuition was in the Collegiate department \$45 a year, in the Classical department \$35 a year, and in the Preparatory department \$25 a year. In June, 1856, a change was made, fixing tuition in the Collegiate department at \$25, and in the Preparatory department at \$20, a session of five months. If well invested a scholarship would hardly yield more than six per cent, or \$30 a year, which was \$20 less than the fees of a student who paid cash, a reduction of 40 per cent. As more and more scholarships were sold and more and more students were offering them in payment of their tuition the treasury of the College began to feel the effects in depleted revenues. This was aggravated by a change made in the scholarships to make them more salable. This plan, proposed by Wingate, was to shorten the number of years for which the scholarship was to run from fifty to twenty-four, and increasing the number of students which might be sent in any one year. As Wingate had thought this made the scholarship much more desirable for individual purchaser since it allowed him to use the benefits of it in his lifetime. But for the College the results were almost disastrous, since it served to decrease considerably the proportion of students who were paying their tuition in cash at the advertised price of \$45, which was fifty per cent more than the \$30 which could be realized in any year from a scholarship. To make matters worse, many who had subscribed for scholarships were sending students to enjoy them and be credited with tuition fees on them before they had paid for them. In this distressing situation the College Bursar, Professor W. T. Walters, put an advertisement in the *Biblical Recorder* warning persons having scholarships to bear in mind that such scholarships would not be honored unless they were paid in full or the interest had been paid promptly in advance; otherwise tuition would in all cases be charged.<sup>3</sup>

How serious the situation had become was indicated in an edi-

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<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 4, 1855.

torial article in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 31, 1856. The editor, Elder J. J. James, could speak with authority because he was also a member of the Board of Trustees.

He said that the scholarships so far from increasing the income of the College had really diminished it, and that on this account the Trustees had more difficulty in meeting the expenses of the College than ever, and that too, at a time when increased cost of living made higher salaries for the members of the faculty imperative.

A year and a half later, at the Commencement of 1857, the Treasurer's accounts showed that the invested funds of the endowment including both scholarships and subscriptions was only \$16,214.55, the income from which must have been not much more than a thousand dollars a year. At the same time there was due on notes for individual scholarships \$19,564.40 and on Associational scholarships \$3,387.50. Of course, these amounts were considerably less in January, 1856, when the editorial was written and Mitchell was beginning his agency.

In this situation sentiment was growing for the discontinuance of the sale of scholarships and for raising an unencumbered endowment. This was strongly urged in the editorial mentioned in the above paragraph. Though the scholarships might ultimately be an advantage to the College they were then felt to be a drawback on its receipts. What the College needed, said James, and must have, was an endowment of money given outright with no other condition than that only the interest on it be used and the principal be kept *in perpetuo*. The Trustees were convinced that this was the only valuable endowment, the only safeguard of the College, and its need was imperative. With the increased number of students expenses had increased, along with the general cost of living. And now was the time, for the farmers of the country were never more prosperous; in the grain growing sections the crops had been good and all produce was selling at "enormous rates."

It was under such conditions that Mitchell started on the work of his agency. Though he sold a few scholarships his main purpose was to secure subscriptions for endowment. He first gave his attention to the eastern section of the State; early in April he went

to Snow Hill and made a subscription list of \$3,700; people were responsive and he was hoping for more from those he had canvassed; he was intending to make his way into Pitt County, and afterwards to attend the session of the Chowan Association, which he did. By the Commencement in June he had secured subscriptions amounting to \$6,000, nearly all of it for endowment rather than for scholarships, the sale of which except to churches was then ordered discontinued, never to be resumed.

After the Commencement Mitchell turned his attention to the counties to the North and West, in the Flat River and Beulah Associations. By the middle of July he had raised subscriptions for another thousand dollars in pure endowment, making \$7,000 in all. As there was much interest in the endowment many plans for raising it were occurring to various friends of the College. One of these was R. M. McRacken of Columbus County, who was a visitor at the Commencement of 1856, and was elected at that time a member of the Board of Trustees. His proposition was that he would be one of any number who would give fifty dollars a year to the College. Mitchell and Wingate strongly endorsed the plan, and four others agreed to be of the number, J. S. Purefoy, W. M. Wingate, and S. B. Carraway of Lenoir, and probably John Mitchell. It seems to have gone no further. The correspondence and editorial articles of the *Biblical Recorder* of this time, while not extensive, reveal a greater earnestness than ever before in the purpose to complete the endowment as soon as possible.<sup>4</sup>

This interest culminated at the meeting of the Convention in Raleigh, November 5-10, 1856. The Board of Trustees on Friday, November 7, after hearing the report of Mitchell, appointed a committee consisting of James S. Purefoy, J. J. James, W. M. Wingate and John Mitchell to mature a plan for raising an endowment. On Saturday morning the committee presented their plan at a called meeting of the Board in the hall of the House of Commons in the Capitol; it was adopted unanimously; fifty thousand dollars should be raised in subscriptions of not less than one hundred dollars

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<sup>4</sup> Editorials of June 19, and July 17, 1856; article of Wingate, July 24; article signed by "A friend of the College," August 14; and article on "The Immediate Endowment of Wake Forest College," September 11, 1856.

each payable only if the whole amount should be subscribed before December 1, 1859.

On the next morning when the plan was presented, Wingate offered on the floor of the Convention the following resolution as a basis for discussion:

*Resolved*, That we have heard with pleasure of the plan proposed by the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College to raise an *unencumbered fund* of fifty thousand dollars for the endowment of Wake Forest College.

This resolution was first discussed by Wingate and J. L. Prichard, and was being spoken to by A. M. Poindexter, who was present as a delegate from the General Association of Virginia, with all his wonted eloquence and power, when the unexpected occurred. Just outside the Commons Hall where the two hundred delegates were sitting a group of three men were in consultation. These were Rev. Thomas E. Skinner, then pastor of the Baptist Church at Raleigh, and his father, Charles W. Skinner, and his father's neighbor and dear friend, Richard Felton. Both the latter were members of the Hertford Church of which T. H. Pritchard was pastor. After Poindexter had concluded and the resolution had been passed Dr. T. E. Skinner obtained the floor and announced that his father, C. W. Skinner, and Richard Felton would each become responsible for \$5,000, and the young Skinner, for \$3,000 additional,<sup>5</sup> though his personal subscription seems to have been for \$1,000. To quote the words of an eyewitness, "from that moment no one remembers exactly what occurred." The account as recorded by the Secretary of the Convention and printed in the minutes, though not quite in agreement with some other accounts is as follows, certain omissions of which are supplied in the footnotes:

After the passage of the resolutions, an opportunity was granted to individuals who might wish to subscribe to a pledge binding themselves for sums to be appropriated to this object to do so. A feeling of deep and solemn interest and anxiety pervaded the entire body, as

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Skinner, *Sermons, Addresses and Reminiscences*, p. 245, article on Charles Worth Skinner by Dr. John W. Moore.

well as a crowd of spectators in the galleries. Like a suppressed subterranean fire it needed only an outlet to make itself seen as well as felt. This was soon granted by two of the brethren becoming responsible for \$5,000 each. With a zeal worthy of the great cause, the brethren then rallied to the support of our beloved College.<sup>6</sup> During the process of raising the pledges much feeling pervaded the Convention, and on motion it was *Resolved*, That in view of the *liberal spirit* manifested towards Wake Forest as under God, the great blessing of the denomination in this State, we spend a season in prayer and thanksgiving to God, for these manifestations of his goodness, and for his blessings to rest on those brethren and their families who had so liberally given of their substance for the promotion of the cause of his truth.

Elder W. H. Jordan led the Convention in these *Exercises*. The occasion was one of the deepest interest to the members of the Convention; and surely none who witnessed it can ever forget it or cease to thank God that they were permitted to witness it.

In bringing his minutes of the Convention to a close, the Secretary, Elder J. B. Solomon, quotes the Psalmist: "How good and

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<sup>6</sup> The subscriptions were as follows: Charles W. Skinner, \$5,000; Richard Felton, \$5,000; Thos. E. Skniner, \$1,000; J. S. Purefoy, \$1,000; C. D. Ellis, \$1,000; Wm. M. Wingate raised his *former* subscriptions to \$1,000; T. W. Tobey, in life insurance policy, in terms understood, \$1,000; J. J. James, A. M. Lewis, Job Carver, R. B. Jones, John Mitchell, Mrs. H. C. Bell, R. McDaniel, \$500 each; C. W. Skinner, Jr., in stock, received by Convention at par, \$750; J. Watson, \$350; G. Bradford, \$200; H. E. Carr, B. Hallet, A. M. Poindexter, S. H. Cannady, A. P. Repiton, G. Lewis, R. S. Perry, W. D. Scarborough, James A. Hicks, Laban Carroll, James McDaniel, E. Dodson, Amos Weaver, Isaac Winston, J. M. C. Brinson, R. H. Griffith, Mrs. Dr. Wilson, L. B. Horton, Miss M. Powell Dupre, P. F. Pescud, M. H. Horton, Miss M. P. Brinkley, John W. Powell, John L. Pleasants, J. S. Walthal, T. C. Teasdale, and Mrs. Felton, \$100 each; J. S. Shaw, \$25. Total, \$23,625.

The sons of Wake Forest subscribed as follows: J. L. Prichard and A. McDowell, \$200 each; Willie Palmer, T. H. Pritchard, W. T. Walters, W. B. Jones, N. A. Purefoy, E. Dalby, R. P. Jones, W. H. Mitchell, W. P. Solomon, O. M. Matthews, and C. J. Straughn, \$100 each. Total, \$1,500 Grand total, \$25,125.

Mitchell's statement in the *Biblical Recorder* of February 12, 1857, that the amount raised at this Convention was \$22,825, a seeming discrepancy of \$300, is probably explained by the fact that Wingate only raised his subscription by \$700, instead of giving at this time a full \$1,000. We must regard as only an extravagance the statement quoted as that of an "eye-witness," in Moore's sketch of C. W. Skinner, that "in thirty minutes forty-four thousand dollars were pledged, and Wake Forest was saved and saved forever." Possibly it was based on the fact that in the evening of the same day \$18,750 was raised for the construction of the Raleigh church.

how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." All had been harmony in the meetings, without a negative vote on any measure except a relatively unimportant one on which there were two dissenting votes. He believed the amount raised was *almost without a parallel*, considering the number present; that humanity at large and posterity to the remotest generations would feel the influence of the meeting; the new impulse given the College justified the feeling that the labor had not been in vain, "but when we consider *all* that was done, we are constrained to thank God and take courage."

The effects of this meeting extended to every section of the State. Delegates from fourteen Associations were present, and from four societies and thirty-six churches, and two representatives from the Western North Carolina Convention. As these returned home they carried the spirit of the meeting with them, and each in his own community imparted to others the enthusiasm for the endowment which he had caught at the Convention. Mitchell again took the field as agent. We hear little of the campaign during its progress. In the *Biblical Recorder* of December 4, 1856, is a letter from A. M. (probably A. M. Poindexter) showing the advantages of the plan, and urging holders of scholarships to surrender them, which would be equivalent to adding the value of them to the endowment, while at present they were yielding double interest. At any rate, he thought, the endowment of fifty thousand dollars would take care of the College till the expiration of the scholarships, when the College would have a full hundred thousand dollars of endowment. Mitchell had a similar letter in the *Biblical Recorder* of February 12, 1857, but with many characteristic expressions of gratitude to God, such as his often repeated, "To God be all the praise." Pursuing his campaign with great industry by next Commencement he had obtained notes of \$100 or more to the amount \$9,350, and for sums of less than eleven dollars to the amount of \$685, and in cash \$56, making a total when added to the \$22,825 secured at the Convention of \$32,916.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> At this time the College had invested funds of the endowment and scholarships previously collected amounting to \$16,214.55, and an invested fund (from



There still remained to be subscribed something more than seventeen thousand dollars. So important did the raising the balance seem to the Trustees that at their Commencement meeting they appointed R. B. Jones as an agent to assist Mitchell. Soon both agents and President Wingate were in the field visiting both those Associations which had already contributed on the scholarship plan and also other Associations which had done little or nothing. Tar River contributed \$1,300, Beulah, \$5,650, Raleigh and Union unknown amounts, Yadkin \$400, Sandy Creek \$700, Flat River \$1,400. At all the Associational meetings enthusiasm ran high. Elder G. M. L. Finch, reporting the Tar River Association, said that "three years ago a proposition to raise \$500 to purchase a scholarship succeeded with extreme difficulty; now a proposition to subscribe \$2,000 to the endowment succeeds with ease." The largest donation was that of the Beulah Association. Rev. T. W. Tobey in reporting it said:

The scene on Monday reminded us of the interesting meeting of the State Convention in Raleigh when the endowment plan was started. Brethren J. Mitchell, R. B. Jones, E. Dodson, T. E. Skinner, and S. Wait, in eloquent and impressive addresses presented to the assembly the subjects, and then called on those who were present to make some practical demonstration of their interest in this great enterprise. The appeal met with a noble response. An aged brother, whose liberality and interest in the College are well known, headed the list, although he had on previous occasions given largely to the College. He was followed by other brethren who were unwilling to let so great a work go without a personal interest in it. The result we have already stated. The day will long be remembered by the friends of the College. Gentlemen who were not members of the church generously came forward and aided in the undertaking.<sup>8</sup>

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the Merritt estate) for beneficiaries amounting to \$2,000. In addition it had notes on individual scholarships not collected to the amount of \$19,564, and a balance unpaid on Associational scholarships of \$3,387.50.

<sup>8</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 27, 1857. The minutes of the Beulah Association for 1857 show the following list of subscriptions: W. Russell, \$1,000; C. Graves, S. Moore, J. M. Lindsay, \$500 each; George W. Swepson, Azariah Graves, James Poteat, \$333.33, each; W. J. Moore, Stephen Wilkerson, Druary Harris, A. Douglas, Wm. Lea, Lewis H. Shuck, A. Martin, F. M. Jordan, Philemon Neal, Thomas Marrish, W. M. Faulker, J. D. Wilkerson, \$100 each; Joseph DuPre, A. Howard, H. Reid, C. W. Cheek, Wm. Slade, T. D. Oldham,

The largest contributor was Mr. W. Russell with \$1,000; at the Commencement of 1855 both Mr. Russell of Caswell and Mr. Robert Lawson of Rockingham brought to the Commencement \$1,000 each as a gift to the College.<sup>9</sup>

The Baptist State Convention met this year, November 4-9, with the church at Hertford, in the very heart of the Chowan Association, two of whose members had subscribed \$5,000 each to the endowment, and whose pastor was T. H. Pritchard, a former agent of the College. All except \$5,000 of the \$50,000 contemplated had been raised in subscriptions of \$100 or more. In addition about \$2,000 had been obtained in subscriptions under \$100, and in promised donation of scholarships amounting to \$5,500. All was conditioned on completing the \$50,000 scheme. With the interest in the endowment unabated and at this favorable time and place it was hoped that the endowment would be completed during the session of the Convention, and this hope was realized, though many warm and able friends of the College who were ready to give for the endowment were detained since the boat which was expected to go on Tuesday left Murfreesboro a day early and left them stranded on both sides of the stream. Accordingly they did not arrive at all or too late for the final meeting on the College endowment which was on Saturday evening.<sup>10</sup> In the session several of the ablest men of the Convention had discussed the report of the Committee, and several subscriptions had been taken. At the evening session, when the call for subscriptions was made, there were many hearty responses and the full amount desired was pledged to make up the \$50,000. The remainder of the evening was spent in devotional *Exercises*. The following is from the minutes of the meeting: have abundant reason to rejoice over the completion of this fund;

Many hearts beat with warm emotions of gratitude to God, for the answer granted to their prayers. The remainder of the evening was spent in prayer and praise, and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the consummation of this work. It was a joyous occasion and one long to be remembered by all present. The friends of the College

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Mrs. M. C. Graves, Barzillai Graves, Jesse Slade, \$50 each. A subscription of \$500 was added by an unnamed brother who was not present.

<sup>9</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 21, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> Letter of Elias Dodson, *Biblical Recorder*, Nov. 19, 1857.

and their rejoicing may be *great*, that the work has been done in one year from its inauguration.

The thanks of the body were tendered to those not members of the Baptist denomination who had contributed, and a committee was named to prepare an article appreciative of the work on Elder John Mitchell in raising the endowment.<sup>11</sup>

According to the terms of the endowment plan the first of the three annual installments should be due when notice that the subscription for the entire fifty thousand dollars was published in two Raleigh papers, over the names of President of the Trustees, and the President and Treasurer of the College. This notice appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* of December 10, 1857. Mitchell continued in the field to make collections, until the next Commencement when he resigned.<sup>12</sup> In that day of few banks and the inexperience of many people with business affairs collections were difficult to make. Elder Elias Dodson, who had doubtless had much experience in that way, wrote several letters to the *Biblical Recorder* giving explicit directions how to send money by bank drafts.<sup>13</sup> Purefoy also had a similar letter in the same paper of January 28, 1858. Again, after Mitchell left the work, on July 22, Mr. Purefoy had a letter suggesting either of two ways of payment; one by mail with check or bills, and the other by meeting President Wingate or Treasurer Purefoy or other representatives of the

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<sup>11</sup> This committee consisted of Elders J. L. Prichard, George Bradford, and T. W. Tobey. Its report is as follows: "The committee appointed to express the high appreciation of the members of the Convention of the labors of Brother John Mitchell in endowing Wake Forest College, report that it affords them much pleasure to say that they consider the speedy accomplishment of this great work in the short period of one year to have been, under God, in a great measure owing to the indefatigable labors of Brother Mitchell. That the example set by him of a self-denial and complete consecration to a noble work of Christian benevolence is worthy of all the praise. That the thanks of every friend of Wake Forest College are due to Brother Mitchell for his zealous efforts in behalf of said College."

<sup>12</sup> It may be said that in the first half of 1856 Mr. Guilford Lewis, who in 1847-48 had been a student of the College and who later had been a student of Columbian College and became a lawyer, located first at Louisburg and then at Raleigh, was appointed collecting agent and labored in the eastern part of the State. See, *Biblical Recorder*, January 17, 1856, and *Proceedings*, p. 109. He was later a major in the Confederate Army. He died in 1890.

<sup>13</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 14, 21, and May 6, 1858.

College at Associational meetings. Though he had refused to accept the appointment as general agent Mr. Purefoy in reality served in that capacity for several years. On November 3, 1859, Mr. W. M. Faulkner of Person County was appointed collecting agent, and taking up the work continued in it until the opening of the Civil War. By spring 1860 the total amount collected on the \$50,000 subscribed amounted to about \$19,000.

Perhaps it would be profitable to review here the collections since the beginning, in 1834. The farm was bought and paid for at a cost of about \$2,000. It had to be equipped with horses and farm implements for the manual labor work. This cost about another thousand dollars, which was paid by subscriptions made in 1833-34. Armstrong and others raised for the College Building in 1834-35 subscriptions on which was realized as much as \$13,500. Beginning with the agency of Wait in 1839 probably fifty thousand dollars were pledged in the various campaigns to raise funds to pay the debts. From this was paid the interest on the College debts for a dozen years, averaging perhaps a thousand dollars a year, and all the Berry debt of \$10,000. At the Commencement of 1855 the Trustees found that of the notes and subscriptions taken by Jordan, Thompson and McNabb the amount still unpaid was \$31,433.90. It seems that hardly any of this was ever paid. On the scholarship plan the amount subscribed was \$45,000. Of this there was collected about \$18,500. Probably the collections all told before the Civil War amount to a full \$100,000. The amount pledged was \$150,000.

Not all the funds collected got into the endowment. At the Commencement in June, 1855, the Board ordered that money be borrowed from the endowment to pay the professors' salaries.<sup>14</sup> As we have seen the final payment on the debt due the State Literary Fund amounting to \$3,103.01 was ordered paid out of the endowment.<sup>15</sup>

The Treasurer's book shows that there was collected by J. S. Purefoy, Treasurer, on the \$50,000 plan to May 20, 1858, \$5,319; additional to June 1, 1859, \$6,379.34; additional to June 1, 1860,

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<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 126, June 12-13, 1860.

\$11,719.52; additional to June 1, 1861, \$4,616.50; additional to June 1, 1862, \$565.22; additional, to October 1, 1863, including several of the larger subscriptions, \$19,893.44; a total of \$48,483.88. Some collections had been made before his book was opened on October 1, 1857, and a balance from the former book of \$108.22 is included in the above amount. In the above amounts are included the proceeds of the sale of a N. C. State bond in April, 1861, and of a R. & G. Railroad bond for \$1,500 sold January 1, 1863. Probably these bonds were bought with money collected before October, 1857, and are properly included here.<sup>16</sup>

It was said above that not all the benefits of Wait's and Wingate's canvasses were financial; the same may well be said of the entire campaign of the agents of the Institute and College for the quarter of the century, 1834-1858. Beginning within a few months after Wait had left off his journeys through the State as agent of the Baptist State Convention the labors of these agents were in many respects a continuation of the work which he had done in his great campaign. As such men as Armstrong and Wait and Jordan and Thompson and McNabb and Wingate and Purefoy and Pritchard and Mitchell went through the State visiting Associations and churches, in a measure they made the Baptists realize that they were a common brotherhood and gave them a sense of unity, which they would not otherwise have had; they also served as a means of communication among the widely separated churches they visited, and they aroused an interest in education in general which doubtless contributed to the establishment of our many denominational high schools in the last years of their work. With reference to this Professor Mills, in the article already quoted, has well said:

"How much of this was due to the crusade for education preached for ten years in our churches and from house to house by such agents as J. S. Purefoy, Wm. M. Wingate, T. H. Pritchard, and John Mitchell, we cannot tell. If we could calculate and measure accurately so subtle a thing as influence, we should probably find that

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<sup>16</sup> The names of those who made payments under the fifty thousand dollar plan are shown in the Treasurer's book, with each name given under date of first payment.

the crusade for endowment gave the cause of education a greater impetus and did more towards calling into existence the schools mentioned above than any other one thing. Of this we may be sure, that, notwithstanding nearly all of that endowment was lost in the terrible convulsions of our Civil War, the beneficial influences of those efforts remain till this day."

As collection began to be made on the endowment the Trustees were concerned about proper investments. At their meeting in June, 1858, they instructed the Treasurer, Mr. J. S. Purefoy, to investigate first mortgages on real estate as an investment; but Mr. Purefoy preferred securities of the State of North Carolina, and at the next meeting the Board ordered that the college funds should be invested in State bonds or other securities of the State. When the Civil War opened in 1861 investments had been made as follows: North Carolina State bonds \$17,500; one Craven County bond \$500; Deep River and Cape Fear Bonds endorsed by the State \$28,000, a total of \$46,000.

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Before June 1, 1858

R. H. Griffith, Thos. H. Pritchard, John Mitchell, N. A. Purefoy, E. Dodson, W. S. Graham, E. Washington, John F. Fort, Isaac Winston, C. J. Egerton, M. J. Hargrove, Wm. Dunning, T. D. Martin, Samuel Long, Miles Whitehurst, S. F. Overman, Julia A. E. Gregory, James N. Overton, Jesse Eason, Miles Lamb, Martha Grandy, Mark Grandy, N. S. Burgess, Martha Etheridge, G. M. Hughs, M. R. Gregory, J. G. Sawyer, E. E. Ferrebee, W. W. Sanderlin, T. B. Berry, T. J. Etheridge, C. C. Grandy, Isaac L. Pritchard, W. S. Grandy, W. B. Ferrebee, Margaret Hollowell, James M. Morgan, J. M. Mullen, Frances Mitchell, A. J. Askew, W. W. Mitchell, W. B. Dunn, Mark Bennett, C. J. Rogers, Mrs. Delaney High, Richard Wooten, A. F. Powell, D. F. Williamson, R. M. McRacken, John L. Prichard, Zac Ellis, Joel Hines, G. J. Moore, Hinton E. Carr, Jones Cook, Elizabeth Pitchford, Harril Harris, Adolphus G. Jones, W. D. Coppedge, Thos. Wilcox, J. B. Bowers, T. J. Pitchford, Thos. Brown, Mary E. Powell, William Watson, John Watson, Phil Jenkins, Wm. Watson, Jr., Henry A. Foote, James A. Egerton, S. D. Bevis, Abner M. Faison, T. T. Grandy, T. J. Horner, S. H. Cannady, J. M. C. Brinson, J. S. Walthal, J. B. Jackson, G. W. Thompson, T. J. Womack, T. W. Tobey, W. J. Moore, Wm. Lea, Sidney S. Lea, J. J. Yarboro, George W. Thompson, P. H. Neal, Almon Spencer, M. S. Boushall.

First Payment paid from June 1, 1858 to June 1, 1859

Jesse Jackson, W. G. Simmons, W. Russell, Azariah Graves, B. B. Perkinson, W. M. Falkner, E. P. Powell, Joseph F. Cook, Andrew Martin, J. M. Allen, J. M. Lindsey, Stephen Gilmore, J. L. Pleasants, S. Wilkerson, J. D. Wilkerson, E. Delby, Levi Thorne, Mrs. A. M. Bridges, John R. Sherran, John W. Powell, W. T. Walters, Calvin Graves, R. W. Lawson, J. L. Pitchford, G. W.

These investments continued as stated until after the meeting of the Board at Wake Forest, October 31-November 2, 1862, at which were present Elders J. McDaniel, J. S. Purefoy, R. B. Jones, John Mitchell, S. Mason, E. Dodson, J. J. James, and Brethren S. S. Biddle and Job Carver. Biddle, James and Dodson, as a committee, brought in a report recommending the sale of all college securities and their reinvestment in bonds of the Confederate States. They supported their recommendation with the consideration that Confederate bonds bore eight per cent interest while the securities of the State bore only six per cent. This recommendation was vigorously opposed by Mr. Purefoy, who urged that the State of North Carolina was permanent and probably its bonds would under any vicissitudes of its political connections retain their value, whereas "the Confederacy was only an uncertain idea."

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Hufham, Hinton E. Carr, Samuel Andrews, A. McDowell, J. P. Montagu, B. F. Caton, S. O. Tatum, D. A. Covington, G. W. Purefoy, Jas. McDaniel, G. Bradford, Mary C. Barbee, G. B. Allen, W. D. Scarboro, W. B. Jones, M. Thompson, J. A. Hecks, J. B. Timberlake, R. S. Perry, Susan W. Graham, E. Washington, John R. Dunn, Gaston H. Wilder, J. J. James, Joel Hines.

First Payment from June 1, 1859, to June 1, 1860.

J. H. Mills, W. H. Jordan, Jr., J. S. Purefoy, D. A. Harris, David Parker, J. H. Street, H. C. Bell, James Poteat, G. B. Bowers, A. C. Perry, John H. Nicholson, T. M. Egerton, William Watson, Jr., W. H. Riddick, T. J. Horner, A. M. Bridges, O. M. Matthews, F. B. Grandy, R. McDaniel, W. M. Wingate, T. Redfearn, W. Chambers, R. B. Jones, A. G. Jones, Mrs. M. J. Hargrove, Mrs. Cornelia Wilson, F. M. Purefoy, F. J. Faison, J. B. Faison, W. W. Fennel, A. Alderman, S. S. Biddle, S. W. Bright, C. Wooten, J. B. Solomon, G. C. Smith, Ed. Ferrebee, Joseph Watson, A. P. Williams, Thos. Gilliam, Zack Ellison, Jas. C. Skinner, J. S. Cannon, C. W. Wood, Joseph Newbold, David Pritchard, Levy Powell, Miles Whitehurst, J. M. Morgan.

June 1, 1860, to June 1, 1861

Martha Etheridge, N. R. Gregory, Job Carver, Jesse Meadows, Miss P. A. Toon, Levi Thorn, N. M. Norwood, W. Slade, West Graves, G. W. Swepson, J. R. White, Henry Kivett, C. W. Cheek, Aaron Emerson, Levi Dunson, Dr. T. D. Martin, J. B. White.

June 1, 1861 to June 1, 1862

E. Hollus, G. R. French, Mrs. Richard Felton.

June, 1862, to January 1, 1863

D. Justice, J. L. Boykin.

January 1, 1863, to October 1, 1863

L. B. Horton, A. Dockery, S. S. Biddle, A. M. Poindexter, J.B Taylor, C. W. Skinner, Thos. E. Skinner, Richard Felton.

But it was evident that Mr. Purefoy was arguing in vain, and probably some thought that he was laying himself open to charges of treason, and that the investment of the college funds in Confederate bonds would be a fine exhibition of patriotism. There is, however, no indication of this in the minutes. Seeing that a majority of the Trustees present were ready to endorse the recommendation of the Committee, Mr. Purefoy offered and secured the adoption of a compromise by which only \$20,000 of the invested funds should be exchanged for Confederate bonds.<sup>17</sup>

Still intent, however, on their thorough way of doing things, the Board passed a motion ordering that any funds coming in hand from the Blount estate should be invested in Confederate bonds.

It was some months before Mr. Purefoy acted. On January 1, 1863, he bought the first Confederate bonds, but it was not until March 11 of that year that he sold the State bonds and bought and invested the proceeds as directed. For the State bonds, face value \$17,500, he realized \$23,013.25, the increment being the annual interest and premium. With this money and other funds collected on endowment, doubtless in Confederate money, he bought Confederate bonds amounting to \$42,606. This is the amount secured with the endowment proper. Bonds credited otherwise were exchanged as follows: Blount estate, \$8,710.13; Mims Fund, \$500; Merritt Fund, \$2,600; Interest on Education fund, \$364.50;

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<sup>17</sup> The records of the Trustees are not clear. A minute reads that "The Treasurer was authorized to invest our funds in Confederate bonds at 8 per cent, if they can be procured." The following minute reads: "On Motion, A Committee consisting of S. S. Biddle, Purefoy and Skinner was raised to inquire into the expediency of changing Twenty Thousand Dollars of our Funds From State Bonds to Confederate bonds." *Proceedings*, p. 132.

The following note found in the book of the Treasurer J. S. Purefoy, p. 71-2, is definite and is given here to show the wisdom of Mr. Purefoy: "It is proper to say here that James S. Purefoy, treasurer of the College opposed the exchanging of the State bonds for Confederate bonds. The motion in the Board of Trustees was to exchange the \$45,500 for Confederate bonds to get 8 per cent instead of 6 paid by the state. J. S. Purefoy resisted the whole change, but seeing that he would be beaten in the vote of the Trustees proposed a compromise to exchange only \$20,000. He argued that the Confederacy was only an uncertain idea while the State was a State and would so remain. The amendment of J. S. Purefoy prevailed and thus \$14,600 was saved, for the \$28,000 on account of depreciation in value only realized \$14,600. James S. Purefoy, Mar. 15, 1884."



Interest on General Endowment, \$1,386.91. The grand total invested in Confederate bonds was \$56,167.54.<sup>18</sup>

These were the figures which Mr. Purefoy, on November 11, 1865, gave the Trustees in response to their request for a statement of the bonds and money lost, and also the amount then in the hands of the Treasurer. Complying with the latter part of the request, Mr. Purefoy showed on hand Cape Fear and Deep River Bonds, \$28,000; Craven County bond, \$500; individual bonds supposed to be \$25,000.<sup>19</sup> Hereupon the Trustees declared that the thanks of the Board were due to the Treasurer "for the faithful manner in which he has preserved the funds of the College during the War."<sup>20</sup> And well might they thank the faithful servant who by his wisdom had preserved a remnant of the funds for which the agents of the College had labored almost unintermittently a quarter of a century, and which represented much sacrifice on the part of the donors. The money thus saved constituted the sole endowment of the College in its period of greatest need, in those scant years after the Civil War, and the nucleus of the present respectable endowment and extends into the present and we hope to all future time the blessings which the early friends of the College hoped to see it bestow on the young men of North Carolina, and through them on all men.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> With reference to the individual bonds Mr. Purefoy has this note in his Treasurer's book, p. 70: "March 15, 1884. These individual bonds realized very little, failure by the War. J. S. P."

<sup>20</sup> Trustees present at this meeting were James McDaniel, A. McDowell, John Mitchell, Thomas E. Skinner, Charles W. Skinner, James S. Purefoy, Samuel Wait, Job Carver, and W. T. Brooks. *Proceedings*, p. 133 f.

<sup>21</sup> Though Mr. Purefoy's official connection with the College continued much longer, perhaps here is the best place for the following sketch of him written by Dr. T. H. Pritchard and published in the minutes of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina for 1889, the year of his death:

"Rev. James S. Purefoy was the third son of Rev. John Purefoy, and was born in Wake County, North Carolina, 1815; was baptized in 1830; began to preach in 1835; and was ordained in 1840. Dr. Samuel Wait, Dr. W. T. Brooks and Rev. P. W. Dowd constituted the presbytery. For many years this most excellent man did effective work as pastor of churches in Wake and Granville counties. No man, living or dead, has done so much for Wake Forest College as this unpretending brother. More than to any other man the selection and purchase of the farm on which the College was located is due to his father; and the son, while plowing in the field, and before he was twenty-one, gave twenty-five dollars to this institution, and through all its checkered history he has

During the long years in which the Trustees of the College were strenuously engaged in the effort to free the College from debt and provide it with an endowment several auxiliary agencies were created to help in the work.

First to be named is the Fair which the ladies of Wake Forest conducted for a few years at the time of the College Commencement, beginning with that of 1844.<sup>22</sup>

More important was the North Carolina Baptist Education Society. This also was formed at the Commencement of 1844. It owed its origin to the resourceful energy of Mr. N. J. Palmer, who was ever fertile in expedients to increase interest in education and promote the welfare of Wake Forest College. Finding a vacant hour on Wednesday evening of Commencement week, he got together the members of the College community and the Trustees and other visitors, and organized this Society. There were speeches by President Wait, Professor White, General Alfred Dockery, and Mr. N. J. Palmer. The object of the Society was declared to be "to raise funds to support a professorship from the interest of the amount, and thereby reduce the price of tuition." Two meetings were to be held every year, one at the time of the Commencement, the other at the time and place of the meeting of the Baptist State Convention.<sup>23</sup> From the Constitution of the

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been its unfaltering friend. For many years he was its treasurer without salary. He secured for it since the war, and at a critical period of its history, ten thousand dollars from the Baptists of the North, and to him mainly is due the credit of rescuing the College from ruin in 1848-49; by his energy and liberality the Wingate Memorial Hall was erected in 1879-80, and when he died he left the College one thousand dollars. His own hard battles in pursuit of knowledge made him the unfaltering friend of education-especially of ministerial education-and there are many of our pastors who gratefully cherish his memory, because of the special kindness they have received at his hand while studying to prepare themselves for the work of the ministry. Of the three brothers, George W., N. A., and James S. Purefoy, George, perhaps, possessed the most native vigor of intellect; N. A. was the best educated; but all were wise, good and useful men. James had the soundest judgment and the greatest force of character, and was the most useful. He died March 30, 1889, and lies buried near the College he loved so well.

<sup>22</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 15, 1844; May 30, 1846. At these fairs the ladies served meals, and perhaps sold other articles, keeping open during the day and part of the night. They devoted the proceeds to the relief of the College.

<sup>23</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 6, 1844 (an account reprinted from Palmer's paper, the *Milton Chronicle*), and June 28, 1845.

Society, which was printed in the Minutes of the Baptist State Convention for the years 1851-54, we learn that the Society had a Board of Managers located in Raleigh, that its principal meeting was held in connection with the meeting of the Convention, that members paid annual dues of one dollar while one might become a life member by paying twenty dollars, and that competent speakers were to be asked to address all the meetings. Mr. Palmer seems to have provided the programs, and to have made them very attractive, so that the meetings of the Society became one of the most interesting features of the Commencement. Among the able speakers who addressed the Society were A. W. Venable and Rev. Basil Manly, Jr. whose address at the Commencement of 1854, "A Plea for Colleges," was published in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 22 and June 29, 1854. All these meetings were open to the public and often became educational mass meetings, in which much interest was stimulated not only by the speeches of the appointed speakers, but by those of other prominent visitors at Commencement. As the Society owed its existence to the intelligent zeal of Mr. Palmer, so it died with him. After his premature death in October, 1854, we hear no more of its meetings, while after that year its constitution was no longer printed in the Convention minutes.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The Society was organized a second time in Wilmington, October 20, 1851, at the time of the meeting of the Baptist State Convention. Palmer was the leader, David S. Williams was chairman of the meeting, and Rufus P. Jones, Secretary. J. B. White was elected President. (Minutes of Convention for 1851 in which the constitution of the Society may be found.) For the Society see *Biblical Recorder*, June 29, 1844; July 6, 1844, October 26, 1844, June 28, 1845; June 20, 1846; *Minutes of the Baptist State Convention* for 1851-54.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI

### N. J. PALMER

On October 7, 1854, the College and the denomination suffered a great loss in the death of N. J. Palmer. He was less than fifty years of age. The immediate cause of his death was a congestive chill. Thus he was cut down in the midst of a career of great usefulness. About the facts of his early life I have been able to find little. He published letters which show that in his early youth he lived in the vicinity of Greensboro. Afterwards he was an attorney-at-law and his home was Milton. In 1839 he was a delegate from his church, Beulah, to the Beulah Association; he had a leading part in the formation of the Milton Baptist church about the year 1843. From 1846 until his death he was clerk of the Association; in the short notice of his death in the minutes of the Association for 1855 Elder Elias Dodson says that, "Brother Palmer was one of the oldest members of the Association. In all causes of benevolence he ever felt the deepest interest. In the establishment of schools he was peculiarly active. He was the founder and advocate of several of our most useful and benevolent organizations. He was constant in his attendance upon the meetings of our Conventions, Associations, and in their proceedings took active part."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Palmer was well worthy of the estimate made of his labors by

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<sup>1</sup> The statement by the Committee on Special Changes in the minutes of the Baptist State Convention and the editorial obituary in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 26, 1854, both by Elder J. J. James, are good appreciations but devoid of biographical data. I give here the statement from the minutes of the Convention: "His life for the last 20 years forms a prominent feature in the history of the Baptists of this State; and should their history ever be written his name and works of faith' must necessarily be handed down to future generations. Among the numerous characteristics which adorned the life of Brother Palmer and made him so useful as a Christian and a citizen, may be mentioned his great activity and energy, his untiring zeal in the prosecution of laudable enterprises, his hospitality and kindness to his friends, and his liberality in contributing to promote the welfare of humanity and the cause of true religion. As a Christian it was emphatically his meat and drink to do the will of the Heavenly Father. In personal labors for the cause of Christ he was most abundant. Often when engaged in the duties of the legal profession and while attending courts he would embrace opportunities in the different towns that he visited from time to time to stir up his Christian brethren and to excite them to more activity in the services of God. His labors for the church of which he was a member, for this Convention and its Board of Managers, for Wake Forest College and for Oxford Female College, are lasting memorials to his zeal to promote the cause of religion and education."

both Dodson and James, given in a footnote, both long associated with him in a common work. While it is impossible here to give any complete record of his services of which accounts are scattered in our records, justice demands that some further statement be made of his many labors which are now almost forgotten.

Mr. Palmer was long a prominent member of the Baptist State Convention. His name first appears in the minutes of the Convention for 1838. In 1844, when he was a delegate from the church at Milton, he brought the newly established Milton female seminary to the attention of the Convention and incorporated a statement in regard to it in the Report on Education, advising the reader that "Further particulars can be ascertained by addressing N. J. Palmer, Esq., Post Master, Milton, N. C." At the next meeting of the Convention he was appointed a member of the Board of Managers, and was also appointed chairman of the committee to write the report on Home Missions for the next year. This he did. Among his recommendations was one that every Association should employ a missionary to travel in its bounds, as the Beulah, one of the smallest of the Associations, had done, its missionary being Rev. Elias Dodson. He also recommended that the beneficiaries of the Convention at Wake Forest College should be required to labor several years either in Foreign or Home Mission fields, since this work would better prepare them for the work of the ministry, and cause the churches to have more interest in educating needy young men who were called to preach.

In 1847 Mr. Palmer was elected Recording Secretary of the Convention, a place which he held until his death. As such it was his duty to prepare the minutes for publication and see them through the press. Immediately upon Palmer's taking up the work the minutes began to show a fullness and an orderliness that they had not shown before. From the first the Minutes of the Convention had been supplemented by the minutes of the societies meeting with the Convention, but this was first indicated on the title page in 1850. Beginning with 1852 a full list of the officers of these societies was given, and in the same year there was prefixed a short catalogue of Wake Forest College, a feature which was continued in the minutes for some years, ending in 1858.

As Recording Secretary of the Convention Mr. Palmer served the Board of Managers also in that capacity. As such he gave notice of the meetings of the Board, in the *Biblical Recorder*, and prepared the reports of the Board for the Convention. All of these reports are interesting and readable, the last that of 1854, prepared shortly be-

fore his death, in its clear and stimulating statements of the matters that had come before the Board not being excelled perhaps by any other report ever made to the Convention. During his tenure of the office of Recording Secretary the Board of Managers was located at Milton.

Not only was Mr. Palmer interested in the Convention proper; he had a like interest in several of the societies. He was President of the Education Society, a member of the North Carolina Baptist Publication and the Sunday School Society, and Depositary Agent in charge of the deposit of the American Baptist Publication Society, at Milton, and also a member and Corresponding Secretary of the North Carolina Baptist Bible Society, and on the Foreign Mission Board and the Home Mission Board of the Convention. In the absence of any officer of the above mentioned societies at any of their meetings it seems that Mr. Palmer was asked to take his place.

Mr. Palmer also wrote much for publication. As occasion arose he had articles in the *Biblical Recorder* giving notice of meetings or reporting them. His services were sought by the secular press to give reports of Associations and Conventions. Sometimes also he made reports of his travels and observations, whether to Virginia and points North, or to some North Carolina town like Greensboro, where he looked in on the prayer meeting of the little Baptist group and took part in their services, or to the section of the State to the west, where he visited the home of the Siamese Twins and made a most interesting report. Not content with these sporadic privileges of giving publicity to his ideas and observations he was an editor in his own right, the publisher and proprietor of the *Milton Chronicle*. As editor, he showed that he had the true journalistic instinct. He knew the significant things of any meeting or occasion and could tell of them in an interesting way. As an instance, so superior were his reports of the Wake Forest Commencements and the meetings of the Board of Trustees that often the editors of the *Biblical Recorder* would give only a summary in reporting these events and republish the fuller and more detailed accounts which first appeared in the *Milton Chronicle*. Before 1854, Mr. Palmer had changed the name of his paper to the *North Carolina Democrat*.<sup>2</sup> This name, however, while indicating Mr. Palmer's politics, seems to have given offense to some and was changed to that of the *Milton Spectator*. Congratulating the editor on the improvement not only in name but also in appearance the *Biblical Recorder* on April 14, 1854, says of Mr. Palmer's paper: "It is evidently doing credit to the town in which it is issued, and well deserves to be patronized. We

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<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 27, 1854.

wish the enterprising editor abundant success. His selections on Agriculture alone are worth more to the farmer than the subscription price."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Palmer, as might be expected of a man of his energetic habits, was also interested in civil affairs. He was chairman of the Board of Superintendents of the Common Schools of Caswell County. His interest in business affairs is shown by the fact that he was President of the Caswell Mutual Fire Insurance Company.<sup>4</sup>

It was in education, however that Mr. Palmer was perhaps most interested. He took a leading part in the establishment of both the Milton Female Academy, 1844, and the Milton Male Academy, and was a strong supporter of both. He was also a prime mover in the establishment of Oxford Female College, in 1850-51. He was all the time awake to all that concerned the welfare of all these institutions, and in frequent communication through the press kept their claims for support and patronage before the public.

It was as Trustee of Wake Forest College, however, that he did his greatest work for education. He was elected a Trustee in 1841; from that time until his death he was a regular attendant on the meetings of the Board and among its most useful and loyal members. The Board often made use of his legal services. In 1844 as chairman of a committee of the Trustees he drew up a form of bequest to Wake Forest College, which was first published in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 4, 1844, and is that to be found today in the College catalogue. He was ever devising plans to help the College financially and to increase the number of its students. It was he, as we have seen, who brought about the organization of the Education Society and did not allow interest in it to flag. Knowing the value of publicity he neglected no occasion to give news of the doings of the College not only to the denominational papers but also to the secular press. He never showed signs of being discouraged, but in the darkest hour he knew how to say a cheering word. He expected great things of Wake Forest College and considered her worthy of the very best attention and labors of the very ablest men of the State and nation. He always talked and wrote of the College in sober yet exalted terms. His early death was greatly lamented.

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<sup>3</sup> From 1847 until 1854 Mr. Palmer was a frequent contributor to the *Biblical Recorder*. His articles embrace every variety of subject relating to religious work, meetings of the Board, meetings of Associations and Conventions, revivals, new churches, educational institutions, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 1853.

## ASSOCIATIONAL ACADEMIES

Already in 1832 Professor William Hooper, then on the faculty of the University of North Carolina was complaining of the lack of preparation of students who entered the University of North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> Such was the extent of this deficiency that from the beginning until the eve of the Civil War the State University and every college in the North Carolina found it necessary to maintain a preparatory department to train students for their collegiate classes. There were a few good preparatory schools in the State but these were given a very meager and precarious support, with many changes of teachers, some of whom were most excellent masters.

From this lack of good academies Wake Forest College suffered severely. Most of the masters were members of other denominations, and naturally directed their students, even the sons of Baptists, to other schools than Wake Forest. It soon was seen that what was needed to correct this condition so disadvantageous to the College was academies under denominational control. So far as appears from the records this was first brought to the attention of the Baptists of the State by Elder Elias Dodson. When he had been in the State hardly a year as a missionary of the Beulah Association, writing in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 19, 1845, he said:

To nourish Wake Forest College there should be three or four Academies in different parts of the State; one in Bertie, another in Burke, and a third in Caswell. I hope the Western Convention of North Carolina will consider this subject and act promptly. They could do essential service to Wake Forest College by having a preparatory school in Burke or some adjoining county. Yanceyville is a good location for a school. When the Baptist Seminary [a preparatory school] was placed in Richmond, some thought it would injure the Columbian College. But Elder Luther Rice thought it would be an advantage. It has been the case, for many have gone from this institution to the College who otherwise would not.

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<sup>1</sup> See his address in Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, p. 729 ff.



The suggestion was welcomed by the progressive N. J. Palmer, who at the meeting of the Baptist State Convention in Raleigh, October, 1845,<sup>2</sup> offered a resolution which with its preamble is as follows:

Whereas it is deemed by this Convention to be of the utmost importance to the Baptist denomination, and to the interest of truth in general, that Academies and Schools should be established under the care and patronage of Baptists, and that our children and wards should not be sent to schools where sectarian principles opposed to the doctrines and ordinances of our church are taught and form a part of instruction, Therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to their brethren throughout the State to encourage the establishment of Schools, both male and female, under the patronage of the Baptist denomination, and by all proper means to sustain and support those which have been established, as a means, under God's blessing, of advancing the interest of true religion.

The resolution aroused a lively discussion, in which Rev. William Hill Jordan declared it was the most important matter that had been brought before the Convention. It was unanimously adopted.

A few weeks before, at the meeting of the Beulah Association in September, 1845,<sup>3</sup> Palmer introduced a resolution and gained its acceptance by the Association recommending to the members of the churches that "by every means in their power to encourage Literary Schools, both male and female," and among these "the male academy about to be established near Trinity Church in Caswell County, under the patronage of that church."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Convention minutes, 1845, p. 9 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 1, 1845; Minutes of Beulah Association for 1845.

<sup>4</sup> This school was in Caswell County, 11 miles west of Yanceyville, on the Greensboro road; among its Trustees were Judge Thomas Settle and Mr. Calvin Graves; its teachers were two able young men, J. J. James and J. H. Lacy. We find this in regard to it in the minutes of the Beulah Association for 1846: "It is designed to be a school of high literary character, intended thoroughly to prepare youth for entering our Colleges and Universities, and also to give to such as wish it, a practical and liberal English education. This school is decidedly a Baptist institution, having been gotten up by them." It was still in operation in 1849, but seems to have been discontinued soon after. See Convention minutes for 1849, p. 22.

Supported by Dodson, Palmer asked the Baptist State Convention of 1848 to recommend the establishment of the Male and Female Institute at Rockford, a village on the Yadkin River, in that part of Surry County which in 1850-51 was erected into Yadkin County. To this request the Convention acceded, but left to its friends the sole responsibility for its support and management.<sup>5</sup> The friends of the school immediately took action, appointed a Board of Trustees and advised that a charter be applied for.<sup>6</sup> This school was reported in operation in October, 1849; after a few years it became a school exclusively for girls.

A year later, the Cherry Hill Male Academy had been established near Milton, with John H. Lacy, a former teacher at Trinity Male Academy, as principal. It was advertised as a "school preparatory to the admission of its pupils to Wake Forest College or the University of North Carolina."

Referring to these schools as already in operation, the Board of Managers of the Baptist State Convention, in its report in 1849, recommended that as soon as practicable preparatory schools should be established in every part of the State.<sup>7</sup> This recommendation was repeated in stronger terms in 1852, and was adopted by resolution.<sup>8</sup> In 1854, with several academies already established, the Board of Managers said: "We trust every Association will soon have its school, which will operate as nurseries for the College, and thus be the means of greatly augmenting the number of its students."<sup>9</sup>

The trustees of the College first took action on these schools in June, 1850, when they recommended the establishment of preparatory classical schools in different parts of the State, advising that

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<sup>5</sup> Convention Minutes for 1848, pp. 4 and 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 28, 1848.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of Convention for 1849, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> The Convention minute read: "Brother Nathaniel J. Palmer submitted the following resolution: *Resolved*, That each of the Baptist Associations in North Carolina be and they are hereby respectfully requested to establish Preparatory Schools to Wake Forest College, and report the same to the Convention. The resolution was advocated by the mover, Elders Dodson, Barkley, Tobey, Devoir, Montague, D. S. Williams, and brethren Winston and Lewis, when the Resolution was unanimously adopted."

<sup>9</sup> Convention minutes for 1852, and 1854.

such schools should be reported to the Secretary of the College so that the work done in them might be properly accredited.<sup>10</sup>

Responding to these appeals eight or ten of the Associations of the State undertook the establishment of high schools preparatory for the College; among them the Beulah, the Raleigh, the Chowan, the Union (now the Eastern), the Flat River, the Catawba River, the Sandy Creek, and the Brier Creek seemingly with the cooperation of some other Associations. In addition to these the Tar River Association and the Cape Fear took some steps, but did not bring them to success, towards establishing schools. These matters will now be considered in detail.

We have seen that the Cherry Hill Academy was established in 1849. It continued in operation only two or three years, and was not an Associational enterprise. In 1852 it was succeeded by the Milton Male Classical Institute, which was advertised over the signature of N. J. Palmer, Secretary, to be "under the patronage of the Roanoke, Dan River, and Beulah Associations." Resolutions in its favor were passed by the Dan River and Flat River Associations also, and it was formally adopted by the latter as worthy of its support. Among its Trustees were Elder Elias Dodson and William M. Faulkner of the Beulah Association, but as Rev. Stinceon Ivey, an approved Baptist minister, was operating a school at Madison in the limits of the Beulah Association, no action was taken by that body in favor of either school. Its purpose was indicated by the statement that it would be preparatory to Wake Forest, Richmond, and other colleges in the South, but would not be sectarian. For one year this school had great success; this was due to the principal, who was none other than one who was soon to become recognized as the leading Baptist preacher of the United States, Rev. Poindexter S. Henson, of Virginia. He had graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Richmond College in 1848, had taught a year, and then entered the University of Virginia where he remained two sessions. He was highly recommended by Dr. Robert Ryland, President of Richmond College, and by John A. Broadus of the University of Virginia. Henson was soon gain-

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<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 76.

ing popularity and the number of students the first term was twenty-five. He found time to visit the Associations; on July 31, 1852, he was at the meeting of the Dan River, and was heard with much attention as he made an eloquent and effective appeal for education. A week later the Flat River Association "having the utmost confidence in his character and qualifications," most strongly recommended his school, promising it their patronage so long as the Flat River Association should have no school of its own.<sup>11</sup> Henson's talents, however, were such that he could be retained at Milton for only one year. In 1853 he became a member of the faculty of the Chowan Female Institute. His departure seems to have brought about the suspension of the Milton school, and nothing more is heard of it.

We have seen that Elder Stinceon Ivey was in 1852 conducting a school at Madison; this though approved by the Beulah Association was not at that time conducted under its auspices. In 1854, again we find the Beulah Association planning to establish a male academy, and under the leadership of Mr. N. J. Palmer, who died a few weeks later. A committee appointed to receive proposals for the location of the school,<sup>12</sup> reported that in consequence of the death of Mr. Palmer they had been slow to act, but on investigation believed that Madison was the best place for the school, at which place there was no longer a school, since Mr. Ivey had become a missionary of the Association. At the meeting of the Association in 1856 it approved the establishment of the school at Madison and expressed a determination to "make it all that a well regulated Preparatory School ought to be."<sup>13</sup> Instead of erecting a new building the Association rented for a long term of years one already built, probably that in which Elder S. Ivey had taught, and in July, 1857, opened the Academy under the charge of Lewis H. Shuck, who had graduated at Wake Forest in 1856, and had then taught a year at Oxford College. Mr. Shuck proved an able and popular principal and under his charge the Academy steadily grew in patronage, thirty-two the first year, fifty-seven the next and more

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<sup>11</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 20, 27 and September 24, 1852.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, September 7, 14, 1854.

<sup>13</sup> Beulah Association Minutes for 1856.

the next, so that in 1859 it was found necessary to employ an assistant, Mr. D. E. Patrick, a graduate of the University of North Carolina.<sup>14</sup> The Association was much pleased with the work of the school, and in the report of 1859, declared that it was doing a good work, but much remained to be done, only a tithe of their labor for education having been yet performed.

The financial affairs of the school, however, were not entirely satisfactory; the lease of the building had cost \$1,820, apparatus \$70, seats \$94, a total of \$1,984, nearly all of which was subscribed but only about \$1,400 paid in. Most of this was raised and paid shortly after, probably the whole amount in the year, as we hear nothing more of the debt. It appears that Shuck took the school on his own responsibility-and had as his compensation what the student fees yielded. In 1862 he engaged as his assistant W. H. Owen, a former professor in Wake Forest College. He continued here until February, 1863, when his school was suspended on account of the Civil War.<sup>15</sup> It seems that the members of the Association had given the school fair patronage, but there is no evidence that after the first blush of their enthusiasm had passed away they took any serious interest in it. They would have been glad to see it succeed but they did not realize its importance to the development of the Association and the social and intellectual life of the people it served. After the War the Association voted to sell the property and give the proceeds to Wake Forest College.

It was said above that Flat River Association promised its support of the Beulah Male Academy until such time as it should be able to establish a school of its own. This it was rather slow in doing. In 1855 hearing of the purpose of the Sandy Creek Association to establish an academy the Flat River passed a resolution of congratulation. In 1856 adopting a resolution of Mr. J. C. Bumpass the Association appointed a committee which reported to the Association in 1857, recommending that the Association have such a school and take immediate steps for putting it in successful

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<sup>14</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 21, February 4, September 2, 1858; March 7, July 14, August 11, 1859.

<sup>15</sup> *General Catalogue of Wake Forest College*, under name of L. H. Shuck. *Biblical Recorder*, January 14, 1863.

operation. A new committee appointed for this purpose chose a site near Bethel Church, since known as Bethel Hill, for the location, and proceeded to have a building erected, "40 by 20 feet, all complete and in good style." For the support of the school it was recommended that the stock plan, which had been adopted in the erection of the building, be adopted, and that shares be \$20 each; some had already taken stock, but as they were too few it was recommended the churches be asked to subscribe, every church taking one or more shares. In the short report on Education it was said that the Association "sympathized with the patronage of Bethel Academy."<sup>16</sup>

As teacher the Trustees secured Rev. T. J. Horner, a native of Orange County, born in 1823; he had not had the advantages of a college education, but had taught successfully for fifteen years in various schools in Granville, Person and Wake counties. In 1849 he had become a member of a Baptist church and in 1854 had been ordained to the gospel ministry. Since that time he had been successful in ministerial work and had gained the confidence of the people.<sup>17</sup> Under the charge of Mr. Horner the school continued its work without interruption by the Civil War at least until the latter part of the year 1864.<sup>18</sup> Even after that time the property seems to have been preserved for the Association and the denomination. It was again open for students in the summer of 1866 with Mr. J. E. Jordan as principal. Later it became the famous Bethel Hill Academy under the charge of Rev. J. A. Beam and wife.

In the case of this school as of that of the Beulah Association its supporters seem to have thought they had done all that was required of them when they had furnished a building and grounds. After that the whole burden of the support and development of the institution was left to the principal and the school community.

The Tar River Association as early as 1852 manifested its interest in the establishment of a school, but though it appointed

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<sup>16</sup> Minutes of Flat River Association for 1858.

<sup>17</sup> Article by J. H. Mills in *Biblical Recorder* of December 15, 1859.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Flat River Association for those years. *Biblical Recorder*, Adv. in 1863.

numerous committees, which continued efforts for several years, they were unable to arouse any great amount of interest or even to secure attendance on meetings called for discussion of the matter.<sup>19</sup>

The Liberty was another Association that established a high school. This Association, whose churches were centered around Lexington, had shown very little interest in education until 1852, when the matter was brought forcibly to its attention by N. J. Palmer, a visiting delegate from the Beulah Association, in a most vigorous resolution calling for support of denominational schools, Wake Forest College, and the male and female academies and seminaries. This resolution was unanimously adopted. At the Association two years later, a committee reporting on Education spoke with pride of the existing schools, and went on to declare that Preparatory and Elementary Schools were needed in the bounds of every Association, and that if the Baptists were to maintain their ground they must keep pace with the age in which they were living.<sup>20</sup> In 1854 the matter was again before the Association, and a report generally endorsing schools was read but no action was taken. In 1855, following the recommendation of a committee consisting of Thos. H. Yarboro, Wm. Lambeth, I. A. Parks and A. Williams, the Association voted to extend their patronage and encouragement to a school near Reed's Cross Roads and appointed a Board of Trustees.

The above is all that is found in the minutes with reference to this school, but the silence of the minutes regarding it and other indications show that the Association soon lost interest in it. In the Report on Education for the year 1857 nothing was said of it; in that of 1858 the committee recommended support of our denominational high schools, both male and female; in that of 1859 mention is made of Beulah Male Institute as worthy of liberal patronage. A writer in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 17, 1859, says that a school, which was named Union Academy, was built by Methodists and Baptists and soon became a sort of union neighborhood school. Commenting on the lack of interest thus shown in

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<sup>19</sup> Taylor, *History of the Tar River Association*, p. 23; *Biblical Recorder*, November 18, 1853; September 7, 21, 1854; October 18, 1855.

<sup>20</sup> This committee was James Wiseman, A. Williams, and J. Redwine.

education by this Association Rev. Elias Dodson said, "The Liberty Association is sleeping the sleep of death upon the subject of male and female education. They are not looking to the future as they ought to."<sup>21</sup>

Another association to establish a Preparatory School was the Catawba River. In its session of October 1856, this body took the initial step, adopting a resolution to "establish a Preparatory School at the Mountain Spring, for the benefit of the Association and the Baptist family generally." When the committee reported at the next meeting of the Association it was found that both the church at Smyrna and that at North Catawba were competitors for the school. Accordingly, it was agreed that the school should go to the site supported by the largest subscription to be reported at a meeting of the Board at North Catawba in January, 1858. When the meeting was held and the lists were compared it was found that the North Catawba Church, near the line between Caldwell and Burke counties, had made the larger subscription, and accordingly the Board located the school there, calling it the Catawba River Baptist Academy. This action of the Board received formal ratification at the next meeting of the Association, and at the same time the North Catawba Church was permitted to use the building as a meeting house. The largest givers to the new schools were Elder William Bradshaw, Elder B. H. Martin, Mr. Elijah Martin and some others in the neighborhood of the school. The interest of the Association in the school and in education generally was strongly manifested at the next meeting of the Association, when the subject was discussed by Elder Elias Dodson in an hour especially set aside for the purpose, and the Association by resolutions most heartily approved of the school and pledged it loyal support.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 12, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes for 1859. The School opened in January, 1859. Its principal before the Civil War was Rev. E. A. Poe, who had been a student at Wake Forest (*Biblical Recorder*, June 7, 1859). It is among the schools mentioned with approval by the Western Baptist Convention in 1859. After that year or that Convention, there is no further reference to it in the minutes of the Association Convention, or in Poe's *Sketch*. Many years later Mr. R. L. Patton established a school in the neighborhood which he named Amherst Academy.



In the minutes of the Baptist State Convention of 1854 is the first record that there was a purpose to establish a school at Taylorsville. The Convention endorsed the plan and recommended that the school be preparatory to Wake Forest College. It was called the United Baptist Institute of Taylorsville, and began its first session January 8, 1856, with Mr. J. H. Foote as Principal. Mr. Foote was a native of Iredell County, had graduated at Wake Forest College in the class of 1852, and since that time had been teaching at Farmington, Davie County, North Carolina. From 1859 to 1861 he was professor of Ancient Languages in Wake Forest College; resigning his place to enter the War, he attained the rank of major in the Confederate Army.

Of the first years of this school little is to be found in the records that we have. It was called the United Baptist Institute probably because several Associations, the Taylorsville, the Lewis Fork and the Lower Creek, united in its support. In the Minutes of the Lower Creek Association for 1855 is found a resolution recommending the "United Baptist Taylorsville School" as a good institution and urging that the Association aid in the completion of its building. In 1857 also this Association passed a resolution favoring the school. The Lewis Fork Association, in 1857 and 1858, also passed favorable resolutions asking support for the school and commending most highly "its able and beloved President, Professor James H. Foote." Like resolutions are found in the minutes of the Taylorsville Baptist Association for 1856 and 1857. In the latter year it is recommended that the necessities of the school so require that steps be taken to enlarge the accommodations, and that to meet the expense each church in the Association be asked to raise fifty cents per member. As the churches of the Association had 385 members at the time the amount thus raised would not have been large. After this year there is no further reference to this school in the minutes of any of these Associations, not yet in the minutes of the United Baptist Association into which these three coalesced in 1859.

Not only the three Associations named but the Western Baptist Convention also gave its endorsement to the United Baptist Insti-

tute. In 1857, at the first annual session of that Convention as an independent body, an effort was made to raise a sum of money to educate some young ministers, such as the Board might select, at the United Baptist Institute. At the time \$130 was raised, and it was hoped that more might be received. In the Report on Education the "unparalleled success" of the institution was spoken of and it was highly approved and recommended to the patronage of the Baptists of the Convention. In 1858 the Convention received the school under its control, with the statement that it should have the right to fill vacancies on the Board of Trustees of the school, and urged the churches to contribute liberally to its support. In 1859 the Report on Education calls attention to the necessity of paying the small debt on the school as soon as possible, and again recommends it to the patronage of the denomination and friends, of education. In 1860, though the institution is not mentioned in the Report on Education, certain vacancies on the Board of Trustees are filled. At the same time the Trustees are asked to make annual reports to the Convention, which it seems was never done. For all these years the Convention had been supporting at least one beneficiary in the school. After 1860 the institution is not mentioned in the Convention minutes.

Other facts about the school may be learned from the *Biblical Recorder*. Early in 1856 the school building was completed and paid for. It was a commodious brick structure, with chapel and recitation rooms. It was well located on an eminence overlooking the town and commanded a beautiful prospect, with mountains rising up to the north and west, while to the south and east was a stretch of farming lands. The town, then seven years old, had three churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. The attendance was good; at the beginning of the second year the institution had nearly one hundred students, most of whom were studying the classics and advanced mathematics.

In August, 1857, so many students had come that the principal advertised that no more could be taken since the institution was full, and there was no place even at the boarding houses. It was hoped, however, to enlarge the accommodations so as to accommo-

date 150 students in the session beginning January, 1858. Elder Elias Dodson who visited this section in September, 1857, declared that the school was in a high state of prosperity, and that Foote was just such a man as ought to be at the head of an institution. Of like character was the testimonial of Elder R. B. Jones, the preacher at the Commencement of the school in June, 1858, who reported: "We have just such a school at Taylorsville as Western Carolina has long needed." The institutions seemed to be functioning well; its religious influence was good, and there was a great revival among the students in the fall of 1857. The commencements also were great occasions, with two or more preachers and speakers from a distance; there was music also, when the Taylorsville band for the two days delighted and charmed the crowds.<sup>23</sup>

After three or four years the institution seems to have declined in public favor and in the number of students. The Associations that had supported it no longer passed resolutions approving it, and as we have seen the Western Convention no longer mentions it in its minutes. Probably the principal reason for this was the loss of Foote to the school. His ability as a classical scholar and his success recommended him to the Trustees of Wake Forest College, who in June, 1859, elected him to the chair of Ancient Languages in that institution. That there was also another reason for the decline of the school is indicated in a letter in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 17, 1859, by a writer who called himself "Timothy." He questions the right of the school to the Baptist name and says if what he hears is true, "the school at Taylorsville has a Pedobaptist leak in it." It is, says he, in debt, and with Baptist institutions, he argues a debt is their undoing. He concludes: "No wonder Pedobaptists have come to think Baptists can't have schools or colleges-that they can't educate their own children." The United Baptist Institute, however, kept its name, and it advertised its ninth session to begin on January 9, 1860, under the charge of H. T. Burke, Principal, and W. R. Gwaltney Assistant.<sup>24</sup> It also

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<sup>23</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 10, February 21, July 10, 1856; February 2, June 25, August 27, October 10, November 26, 1857; June 1, 1858.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, December 15, 1859

was advertised to "resume operations" on July 9, 1860, with the same principal but with W. R. Jones as assistant. It was still in operation in 1863, with Rev. F. A. Belcher, a graduate of Wake Forest College of the class of 1861, in charge. Under various masters it continued for many years. In 1897 it was chartered as Taylorsville Collegiate Institute under the patronage of the Alexander Association.

At this time the Baptists of the French Broad Association and the Western Baptist Convention were turning their attention to another school. This was the school at Mars Hill, first known as the French Broad Baptist Institute. It was first noticed in the Western Baptist Convention in its Report on Education of 1858, as an institution established principally by the French Broad Association, and entirely under the control of our denomination and well worthy of a place in the affections of Baptists.<sup>25</sup> Before the next meeting of the Western Baptist Convention, the school at Mars Hill had been chartered as Mars Hill College. It was most highly commended by the Convention. At the next meeting of the Convention, Mars Hill College was "received under its fostering care." In 1861 the Convention, while saying nothing about the United Baptist Institute again recommended "Our School," Mars Hill College, which was to begin its regular session in September, 1861, under the presidency of Rev. P. Rollins. The Convention heard a report also on the school in which it was stated that a boarding house was under construction to cost \$3,610, all of which except \$278 had been secured.

In the historical account of Mars Hill College in the catalogues of recent years it is said that the school began operations in January, 1857; that its first instructors were W. A. G. Brown and P.W. Anderson; and that in the years preceding the Civil War it was thronged with students coming from a wide range of territory. Though it was not established wholly as a preparatory school for Wake Forest College and soon became a chartered college itself,

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<sup>25</sup> The use of the word "entirely" in the minutes, may be taken to indicate that some other denomination shared with the Baptists in the control of the United Baptist Institute.

it continued a high school until August 14, 1922, when it became a junior college. Through all its years it has been a most valuable auxiliary school to Wake Forest College.

A movement to establish a school, which was not completed, was started by the Brier Creek Association in 1854, when it passed a resolution for a school of high character and appointed a committee which went so far as to select a site for it. The Association, meeting the last week of September, 1855, made a proposition to the Yadkin Association, which met a week later that the two Associations cooperate in establishing and supporting a school, to which the Yadkin Association readily agreed. But the plan was abandoned, probably because it was thought that the United Baptist Institute at Taylorsville, which was just beginning its work, was sufficient.<sup>26</sup>

In the one Report on Education in the minutes of the Green River Association, that of 1858, the United Baptist Institute is recommended. The minutes of the King's Mountain Association for these years are devoid of reference to Associational schools; the same is true of the minutes of the Pee Dee Association. Writing in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 17, 1859, a contributor, already quoted on "a Pedobaptist leak" at the United Baptist Institute, complains that the Baptists of the Pee Dee Association, were ready enough to contribute to an institution which was to be non-sectarian, but which finally came under the control of the Methodists, and yet would not contribute a dime to Wake Forest College and did not take any measures toward establishing a school to prepare students for it.

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<sup>26</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, March 8, 1855, and minutes of Yadkin Association for 1855. The Yadkin Association Report on education for that year was written by James H. Foote. In it he points out the danger of allowing Pedobaptist schools to educate the children of Baptists, closing his report in these words: "But the church is not only robbed of its funds, but of those active and talented minds, which if they had been properly trained or educated, would have contributed much to the building up of the only true Church of Christ. Your Committee are of the opinion that this custom many Baptists have fallen into is the most suicidal policy to our church and the cause of Christ, and we would earnestly entreat them to pursue such a course no longer, for the good of themselves, their children, and above all, for the sake of the great Truth revealed in the Gospel."

The Sandy Creek Association, however, composed of churches in Chatham and the surrounding counties, established excellent schools, male and female, at Mount Vernon Springs. It was at its meeting in 1854 that the Association took the first steps towards founding the school, when it instructed the Trustees of the Association to look out and procure a suitable site for a male and a female school in its bounds, suggesting that Mount Vernon Springs was a proper place. The Trustees thus instructed did not delay, and at the meeting of the Association in 1855 were able to report that they had purchased the Mount Vernon Springs of Abner B. Marsh and established a twin school under the name of the Mount Vernon Male and Female Seminary.

With reference to the site it may be said that the place had been before called Quaker Springs, Dixon's Springs and Hickory Spring, and it had been a watering place for many years, being extensively advertised in the *Biblical Recorder* and in other papers.

Its waters had been analyzed by Professor Olmsted of the State University and were thought to have almost miraculous curative properties, especially for consumptive patients. This fact is mentioned because it was of great advantage to the school. A few years before the name had been changed to Mount Vernon Springs, seemingly in honor of a family of Washingtons, relatives of the first President, who had built a residence near at hand. The land bought contained several hundred acres, with gentle hills rising from the Springs toward the east, on which was established the school for girls, and another wooded hill rising towards the north on which was located that for the boys. Being surrounded by a prosperous and industrious farming community of good character it was an almost ideal place for a school-"one of the most favorable locations for a flourishing school in all the State."<sup>27</sup>

In 1855 additional Trustees were appointed and instructed to get a charter for the schools. These Trustees issued capital stock to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars, and sold shares for one hundred dollars each. While not all the stock was sold, enough was realized in a few months to pay \$5,000 on the purchase price

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<sup>27</sup> Elder James McDaniel, *Biblical Recorder*, October 14, 1858.

of the property.<sup>28</sup> A sale of lots was made, ten acres being sold and \$1,100 realized at the first sale, on March 6, 1856. This amount supplemented by proceeds from later sales was used in the erection of the building for the male academy, which was completed before January 1, 1857, very substantial and beautiful with accommodations for 100 young men.<sup>29</sup>

The balance on the purchase price of the land remained unpaid, since no more stock could be sold. Possibly, also something was still due on the buildings and their equipment. The result was that this institution, like so many others of the Baptists,<sup>30</sup> was hampered by debt. In this case the debt was small, but it proved almost the undoing of the school. In the summer of 1859 the Trustees appointed a Mr. White, agent to raise funds to liquidate the debt, but he seems to have had little success.<sup>31</sup>

When the Sandy Creek Association met in 1859 there was much discussion about the affairs of the school. A new Board of Trustees was appointed to which the old Board were to turn over the

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<sup>28</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 25, 1855, May 8, 1856.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, May 8, Dec. 4, 1856. Letter of Elder Elias Dodson: "The land was bought for \$5,000. The subscription list is about \$4,000. The balance can be raised. Lots amounting to about ten acres were sold about \$1,100. More will be sold shortly. The money from the sale of lots, however, will not be given for the payment of the land, but will be appropriated in buildings for the Seminaries. The two schools will be some distance from each other. Last winter was to be the beginning of the first session. So inclement was the weather that the schools were not so large as they would have been. But the Male Seminary has 24 students, and the Female Seminary 20. The location is about 17 miles west of Pittsboro. I have great hopes for the prosperity of these schools. 1st. Because the location is healthy and good. 2nd. Because 20 men signed the bond of \$5,000." See also adv. *Biblical Recorder*, December 4, 1856. August 18, 1857.

<sup>30</sup> Letter of "Timothy" in *Biblical Recorder*, March 17, 1859: "Where shall I begin? Well there is Oxford Female College; after struggling for years under debt it was sold for several thousand dollars less than the debt remaining on it. It happened that a Baptist man bought it, else it might have gone into the hands of Pedobaptists. Chowan Female College has been for years in debt. Will Baptists get it out of debt, or must it be sold? Look at Chesapeake Female College [now Hampton Institute] up for a debt of forty thousand! Will Baptists build such an establishment for other denominations? I see that Warsaw High School is in debt. Will the Baptists in Sampson and adjoining counties let it be sold? Are the schools at Mount Vernon out of debt? The United Baptist Institute, at Taylorsville, is in debt!"

<sup>31</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 9, 1859.

entire property, as well as the stock held by the bondholders, who, it seems were almost altogether the members of the Board, if the Association would assume the liabilities of the institution. But as the new members refused to relieve the members of the old Board of their bonds for the debts the property continued under the control of the old Board,<sup>32</sup> who still carried the debt, though the superintendence of the school was turned over to others appointed by the Association.

The school was opened for students in January, 1856, with Miss Virginia Carolina Royster, later Mrs. J. K. Howell, in charge of the Female Seminary, and R. P. Jones, a graduate of Wake Forest College in 1854, in charge of the Male Academy. Miss Royster remained until June, 1857, and was assisted by Mrs. Jones in Music, in which Mrs. Jones was said to have no superior in North Carolina. After June, 1857, the Female Seminary was in charge of Rev. T. S. Yarbrow and his wife. The Male Academy remained in charge of Mr. Jones until December, 1859, when he was replaced by Mr. Yarbrow. It seems that some friction had developed between them on account of the management of the Female Seminary, and it was Mr. Jones who had to give way. He immediately opened a school for boys of his own, calling it Mount Vernon Academy, but did not succeed with it. Mr. Yarbrow becoming principal of the Male Academy had for his assistant Rev. R. R. Moore, who had been a student at Wake Forest. The number of students was about 100 with two-thirds of them males. It was discontinued during the Civil War, but on September 28, 1863, the Female Seminary opened under the charge of Dr. William Hooper and his son, Professor T. C. Hooper. However, the instruction was not confined to girls but Dr. Hooper taught a class of boys in Latin, Mathematics, and other high school subjects.<sup>33</sup> After a year the increasing distress of the War caused the discontinuance of this school also. After the War until the close of the century the property continued to be used for school purposes and first under A. J. Emerson, then under

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<sup>32</sup> Minutes of the Sandy Creek Association, 1860 to 1862.

<sup>33</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 16, 1863, editorial note and advertisement.



Captain Siler, and later under O. T. Edwards and R. P. Johnson, the school was equal to any other Academy in the State.

The Raleigh Association was one of the first to respond to the request of the Board of Trustees of the College that the Association establish schools. In 1851 it appointed a committee to receive propositions from "the neighborhood of any church for its location, the amount it will subscribe to erect buildings, said buildings to be the property of this Association, and report at the next meeting of the Association." At the next Association the committee reported that they had obtained a suitable site and a subscription amounting to \$1,250 from the neighborhood of Holly Spring Church. A Board of twenty-five Trustees was appointed which was ordered to "proceed with the school forthwith." They secured the new site, fifteen acres, at one dollar and fifty cents an acre, and on it erected a building fifty by thirty feet, single story, at a cost exclusive of painting and stove of \$699.95.

Being ordered by the Association to proceed with the school the Trustees had not waited for the completion of the building, but had rented a room in the Masonic Lodge for \$25 a year, employed Mr. M. Y. Chappell as teacher, and put the school in operation on January 10, 1853.<sup>34</sup>

The Committee agreed with the teacher for a fixed salary, \$350 a year. In its first session it had twenty-five students. What were the qualifications of Mr. Chappell is not evident but he was not successful in attracting students. In the session beginning January, 1854, the school had only ten scholars, and according to a report of the Trustees to the Association of that year, it had still fewer students the second session, which began in July, 1854. Accordingly, on August 11, on the order of the Trustees, it was closed.

The closing of the school, however, was only for the remainder of the year. With the beginning of the year 1855 it was reopened

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, January 14, 1853. The Association Report says on the third Monday in January, the Advertisement on the second Monday.

with a new teacher, Mr. A. H. Dowell, of the Chowan section, who was said to be "an experienced instructor and in every respect qualified for the office." Mr. Dowell continued with the school until 1861, when he refused to take it longer. In the meantime a debt of \$602.10 had accrued. In 1860 the Association had refused to sell the property to pay the debt but later passed a vote to sell it with the restriction that it was to continue to be a "Baptist school." At the same time Mr. Dowell took the school for what he could make out of it. In 1861, the Association withdrew all restrictions on the sale and appointed a committee of three to dispose of the property.<sup>35</sup>

According to the reports on the school to the Association the cause of its failure was the lack of interest in it and its lack of patronage. At first, there is no doubt that the lack of patronage was due to the inefficiency of the teacher, Mr. Chappell, though the nature of this inefficiency does not appear. Mr. Dowell, however, seems to have been a fair instructor, as to have been generally acceptable. But neither Mr. Chappell nor Mr. Dowell had a college degree. Nor had either of them been a student of Wake Forest College. Their employment is only one instance of the lack of vision and understanding on the part of the Trustees of the school, which was in keeping with an expenditure of less than seven hundred dollars for a school building, and the supposition that the needs of the Baptists of the great Raleigh Association could be supplied with such equipment. Unfortunately the proposition for the school came at a time when the Association was in great turmoil and bitterness over the charges made against the moderator, Rev. P. W. Dowd. It was also unfortunate for the school that Mr. Dowd was on the Board of Trustees and exercised a controlling influence over it. This fact doubtless had much to do with the lack of interest, manifested by the refusal of those who were appointed Trustees to accept the position, and much to do too with the lack of patronage from which the school suffered. On the other hand

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<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Raleigh Association, 1854-61.

the Trustees struck back by passing by Wake Forest men in securing a head master for the school.

The Union Association, whose churches were located for the most part in the counties of New Hanover (and Pender), Duplin, and Sampson, with a few in other counties, was early to respond to the appeal to the Associations to establish a school preparatory to Wake Forest. Its first committee on the matter was appointed at its session in 1853. This committee found that there was demand for a school. On its recommendation the Association appointed a large committee to meet at Warsaw on October 31, 1854, for the purpose of locating the school or schools if the committee should decide for more schools than one.

This committee met as directed and had several more meetings during the year. At the next meeting of the Association it reported that receiving a pledge of \$2,300 from the citizens of Warsaw it had located the school there; had purchased a tract of 14 acres of land of W. L. Hill for \$362.50, and had received for lots sold about \$1,050; had appointed a building committee which had contracted for the building "of a house, front building 46 by 34 feet and a rear wing 30 by 24 feet, to be two stories high, to be finished in good style with a tin roof, for the sum of \$5,000, all complete except seats and desks." The building was to be finished by January 1, 1856. The committee had secured about \$3,500 and would need \$1,500 for seats and other equipment.

At the meeting of the Association in 1856, the Board of Trustees which the Association had appointed to take charge of the school, reported that it all was ready for the opening but that the Association was not supporting the school financially; that on former subscriptions \$1,500 had been paid, and \$500 was still due; that three thousand dollars additional was needed at once to prevent the suit against the Trustees for the amount at the term of the Duplin County court in the following October, and the consequent sale of the property, leaving the Trustees to pay any amount of the debt not realized from the sale. The committee further re-

minded the Association that the Trustees had only followed its instructions and it was its duty to see that the debt was paid. After these plain words were read to the Association there arose much discussion, and the sum of \$1,400 was pledged by the delegates present.

At the next meeting of the Association, that of 1857, the Trustees had a report almost as sorrowful. They had indeed collected during the year \$1,503, of which \$620 came from the sale of seven lots leaving four unsold, but the net debt was nearly the same, \$2,800.<sup>36</sup> Responding to the strong importunities of the report the Association adjourned its meeting for half an hour and sent two of its members through the congregation who secured pledges amounting to \$1,375.

The Report of the Trustees to the Association of 1858 showed that the debt was then about \$1,800. Of this the Treasurer, Mr. A. M. Faison, had paid \$640, and was being sued for \$900, which he would have to pay from his own purse unless the amount should

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<sup>36</sup> The following portion of the report will indicate the nature of difficulties with which Trustees of Baptist schools and colleges have had to deal:

"Brethren, are we impressed with the belief that its friends need but to be informed of its indebtedness, of its embarrassments and crippled energies, to be induced to march up like men, Christian men, willingly, nay, anxiously, to its relief? The motives which instituted the Warsaw High School are among the purest, most exalted, and most Christian that ever actuated mankind. The Trustees deserve the thanks, the deepest gratitude of Baptists, and the warmest commendation of the public, for their enterprise in erecting this School. They have acted nobly in bearing its burdens from year to year amid the opposition of some and the doubts and fears of nominal friends which often, and in this case, act in a most chilling and destructive manner upon the self-sacrificing exertions of the comparatively few who have stood by the School magnanimously from first to last. Some of the brethren are poor, and yet they have been its warm and, in some cases, its warmest friends. While poverty has been life-sustaining in its devotions, wealth is too often annihilating in its indifference and selfishness. The School is in debt about \$2,800. Most of this amount must be paid in a short time, or the friends of the School, Baptists of the Union Association, must stand by with hearts in their bosoms and hands in their pockets, and enjoy the mortifying spectacle of seeing it sold under the hammer. Will the Baptists of the Union Association prepare themselves a feast of this kind to sit down to? Will they stand aloof and permit to be sacrificed an institution that is dear to their affections, and of great value to science, literature and religion? These are questions which the present meeting must answer. If such a sad fate befalls the Association, if such a catastrophe is permitted to happen, what a reproach to the Baptist cause-what a blot will be cast upon its escutcheon!" etc.

be made up by the Association.<sup>37</sup> After rejecting some unexplained plan as impractical, probably a proposition to sell the property, a committee on the school reported that the one thing to do was to raise the money and pay the debt. Adopting this suggestion the Association appointed Rev. G. W. Wallace agent "to raise the money." He had some success,<sup>38</sup> but when the Association met in 1859 the sum of \$800 was still due. Again those who had so often contributed to the institution were forced to come forward and contribute, which at first they hesitated to do, but since there seemed no other way to save the school property from public sale they made up the amount, and thus finally liquidated the entire debt.<sup>39</sup> Such a task it was to found a Baptist Associational Academy.

The Warsaw Academy began operations on September 20, 1856. At first, in spite of the strong protest of a writer in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 11, 1856, only males were admitted, but after a few years both sexes were in attendance. The first teachers were Solomon J. Faison, and Robert H. Drysdale. Faison had graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1846 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts; Drysdale was described as "Fellow of the Glasgow Chemical Society, and late Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Andersonian University."<sup>40</sup> In the advertisement of the School<sup>41</sup> it was said that Drysdale had been secured at considerable expense, for the Trustees were aware of the need and value of instruction in Agricultural Chemistry; announcement was also made that Professor Drysdale would continue to examine soils and

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<sup>37</sup> Minutes for 1858: "Shall he [Mr. Faison] lose this? Shall the Trustees have the burden to bear alone and unaided, while they have been acting as agents in response to the oft-repeated instructions of the Association?... Surely the Association is not prepared for the humiliating spectacle of seeing such a noble enterprise, and one commenced by themselves, prove a failure. Yet such must be the result unless some prompt action is taken by them."

<sup>38</sup> Mr. J. T. Alderman in his Centennial Sketch of the Association, printed in the minutes of the Eastern Association for 1927, says that \$900 was raised during the year.

<sup>39</sup> Minutes of the Association for 1858 and *Biblical Recorder*, October 13, 1859.

<sup>40</sup> Doubtless Anderson's University of Glasgow, an institution which has survived to this day.

<sup>41</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 23, 1856, and after.

marls, and search for marl beds as he had been doing. In the advertisements for the next term it was stated that the laboratory of Agricultural Chemistry was now "replete with all necessary apparatus."<sup>42</sup> The work in Agricultural Chemistry also received high commendation from Elder Elias Dodson.<sup>43</sup>

Professor Drysdale also set up and equipped a gymnasium near the Academy, and also formed a military company, with drill for one hour a day. With these new features patrons were assured that they would find "few situations affording better advantages for the education, moral, physical, and intellectual, of their children and wards."

The Warsaw School, however, did not aspire to become a college, as the report to the Association of 1857 takes pains to declare.<sup>44</sup>

Faison remained as principal only until the end of the year 1857; Drysdale too left at the same time, if not before. No reason for their leaving is indicated. For the session beginning January 11, 1858, the Trustees secured as teachers B. F. Marable and J. D. Hufham. Both were graduates of Wake Forest College, the former in the class of 1855, the latter in that of 1856; Marable was a native of Halifax County, Virginia, and was ordained to the Baptist Ministry in 1855, serving the church at Clinton from 1855 to 1870. Many years later he became a Presbyterian. In 1888 he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Davidson College; he died in 1892. Hufham was the son of Elder G. W. Hufham, and in October, 1857, had been ordained to the Baptist ministry,

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<sup>42</sup> To the purchase of this the \$73 set against Drysdale's name in the Treasurer's report to the Association in 1857 was probably devoted.

<sup>43</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, February 26, 1857. Dodson's words are: "The High School at Warsaw is a great institution. The agricultural department is a great acquisition to the school. The farmers would do well to attend the lectures. While the school is able in other branches, perhaps no college, nor even the University of N. C., can excel it in Agricultural lectures."

<sup>44</sup> "To remove any misapprehension that may exist we state that it never was, and is not designed to make this a College, but a mere school, as its name imports. The Baptists have but one College in North Carolina-Wake Forest College, the great head and front of our denominational institutions, and it would be very unwise to attempt even to have another while our own cherished and noble College at Wake Forest, around which the affections of the Baptists of the State should cluster, shall present her transcendent claims as a College upon the State and the Baptist denomination."

and was now well started on his long and useful services to the Baptists of North Carolina. These young men were secured as teachers for the year 1858 at a salary of \$625 each; the school had 30 students in January, and 64 before the close of the session in June. The next session under their charge started on Monday, July 19, 1858, with 20 students. Since after two weeks there was no increase in members, the Trustees ordered the school closed until they could ascertain the will of the Association which met in the first week in October. This closing must have been deeply humiliating to the brilliant young teachers, who had put a strong appeal for patronage in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 8, 1858.

It is not clear from the records whether or not the school was in operation again before January, 1860, but the probabilities are that it was not. At the meeting of the Association in 1859 it was announced that Elder W. B. Jones had been secured as principal, with his wife as assistant. He had been pastor of the Baptist Church at Beaufort, and had previously taught a high school at Clayton. The Trustees of the School did not pay him a stipulated salary, but gave him the building free of charge. Reporting to the Association of 1860 he stated that he had had 133 pupils during the year, 64 males and 69 females. From this time the school was open to both sexes. Mr. Jones continued with the school until the close of 1862, after which Rev. Isham Royall, who had been teaching in the Male Department, assumed the principalship. During these years the number of students was about a hundred for each school year.<sup>45</sup>

The Cape Fear Association also, in 1857, started a movement looking to establishing a high school to be located at Cross Roads, Columbus County. At the meeting of that year a Board of Trustees was appointed and subscriptions invited. After two years, however, the plans had not matured. The Trustees had indeed secured many pledges in the form of notes for the school but these had been forfeited because a stipulated amount had not been subscribed; in cash they had got \$48, barely enough to pay for printing. The Association resolved that it *would* have a school, and

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<sup>45</sup> Minutes of the Union Association, 1861-63.

asked all pastors and missionaries to act as agents to secure the renewal of the forfeited notes and to raise the \$3,000 which the school building was estimated to cost. But it was too late. The nation was on the eve of the Civil War; already John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry had greatly excited the entire country and the excitement had greatly increased during the Presidential campaign of 1860; plans for new schools were no longer thought of.

One of the first Associations to take steps for the establishment of a High School preparatory to Wake Forest College was the Chowan. At its meeting in 1851 it passed a resolution to establish a male Academy in its bounds, stating "that the proposed institution would be auxiliary to Wake Forest College." It also nominated a Board of Trustees for the institution. At the meeting of the Association in 1852 a new board of Trustees was appointed in place of the old. In 1853 the committee on the school reported that the Trustees had added to their membership several from the neighborhood in which they had decided to locate the school and had selected as its site the summit of the rising ground nearly in front of the Piney Grove Church at Reynoldson in Gates County. This site like that of Bethel Hill of the Flat River Academy was within a mile or two of the Virginia line. Such sites on the edge of their territory seemed especially attractive to Trustees of Associational Schools.

The minutes of the Chowan Association for the years 1854 and 1855 have nothing to say of the new school, but we learn from the *Biblical Recorder* of August 17, 1854, that the Trustees had given the school the name of the Chowan Reynoldson Seminary. Considerable time was spent in the erection of the building and the school was not opened until September 20, 1855.<sup>46</sup> The following account of it is taken from the *History of Chowan Baptist Association*, by Rev. James A. Delke, who was the first principal of the school

A large, commodious and handsome building was erected, nicely finished, and furnished with more than the usual academic outfit. A small but choice selection of Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus

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<sup>46</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 23, 1855.



was secured at a cost of \$600. A large, convenient, and comfortable hotel was built, and suitably furnished for the accommodation of teachers and pupils.

A store was also opened, and a post-office established, mainly in the interest of the school. Mr. J. D. Goodman, near by, also made extensive arrangements for the accommodation of boarders. A spring of good mineral water was discovered but a short distance from the premises, and properly fitted for use, soon becoming a popular resort for the surrounding people.

Some few, possessed of visionary imagination, already foresaw in Reynoldson the nucleus of a large and thriving city, and land adjacent went up to fabulous prices, but there were no purchasers.

The location, in many respects, was a fortunate one combining healthfulness; good water; a community of citizens of moral and industrious habits, hospitable and generous; a Baptist church of which most of the adjacent residents were members; a skilled and successful physician within a mile; and the absence to the usual temptations to idleness and vice incident to schools in towns, and villages.

With the high expectations and best wishes of its many and liberal friends, in September, 1855, the school was opened under the auspices of James A. Delke, a graduate of the University of North Carolina.<sup>47</sup> Circumstances soon required the employment of an additional teacher, and the principal called to his aid Mr. Charles Rawls, of Nansemond County, Virginia, who proved an efficient and popular adjunct. After the first year, Mr. George Morgan of Gates County, was added to the corps of instruction, a faithful and competent instructor.<sup>48</sup>

In 1856, the committee on Chowan-Reynoldson Seminary congratulated its friends on the prosperity that attended the Institution, but deprecated the attempt to convert it into a College, recommending that it continue under the name and style of Chowan Reynoldson Seminary.

In 1847, the school was reported as languishing, in no wise attributable to the want of proper management or to any inefficiency of its faculty; to the contrary, the committee cheerfully bore testimony of the eminent ability and distinguished qualifications of its Board of Instructors. The lamentable condition was attributed to mismanagement in the boarding department, this not being under the control

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<sup>47</sup> Delke was a student of Wake Forest Institute in the years 1834-35. In the advertisement of the opening of the school, *Biblical Recorder*, August 23, 1855,

Rev. A. M. Craig and Mr. Delke were named as Associate Principals.

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Morgan was a graduate of the University of North Carolina, in the class of 1856.

of the Trustees or teachers, and, the close of this year, the Principal and Assistant retired, and Joseph D. Boushall, of Camden County, and Mr. C. S. Ellis, of Wilmington, were elected conjoint Principals.<sup>49</sup> The prospects not justifying the employment of both, the latter retired, and the school was continued by Mr. Boushall, of whose fitness we may judge by a resolution passed in the session of 1860:

*Resolved*, . . . That the services of our worthy brother Boushall, Principal of Reynoldson Institute, deserve the highest commendation of this body, and the gratitude of every true Baptist.

The difficulty of the boarding department was soon satisfactorily adjusted, and the pressing debt was, by cash and bonds, reduced to \$512.

In 1861, Mr. James M. Taylor, of Gates County, and also a graduate of Wake Forest College, associated himself with Mr. Boushall, and these became sole proprietors of the boarding department. Under their able and efficient management the school prospered, till at the call of their country they exchanged the quiet and peace of the school-room for the turmoil and strife of the battlefield. On May 3, 1863, in the battle of Chancellorsville, J. D. Boushall while bravely leading his company, whose Captain had fallen, was stricken down, horribly mangled by an exploded shell.

In 1866, Rev. C. T. Bailey was elected principal and with the assistance of Brother Taylor, reestablished the school. Bro. Bailey remained but one session, however, and resigned to take charge of the church at Edenton.

In 1869 Reynoldson Institute became the property of Bro. Willie Riddick, from whom it was purchased by Julius F. Howell, the first student entered when the school was organized in 1855.

In Professor Delke's account just given, it is said that the Association deprecated the effort to make a college of the school. It seems to have been Delke himself who wished to make it a college. The management of the school had disregarded the express declaration of the Association when it was first planning for the school that the proposed institution should be subsidiary to Wake Forest College; in the first prospectus of the course of study, published in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 13, 1855, three departments of study were mentioned-Collegiate as well as Primary and Academic.

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<sup>49</sup> Both were graduates of Wake Forest College in the class of 1857.

With reference to the first it was said: "The course of study in the Collegiate department is as thorough as that of any Institution in the State." At the meeting of the Association in 1856 attention was called to this violation of the will of the Association. In a report signed by Delke as Chairman, but which in all probability did not represent his views,<sup>50</sup> attention was called to the inexpediency of the recent action of the Board of Trustees in trying to convert the school into a college, and declared that it might accomplish much good as a preparatory school, but not as a college; the report ended by recommending that the institution continue its operations "under the name and style of Chowan Reynoldson Seminary."

This amended report, though adopted by the Association, was not regarded by those in charge of the school; they continued to pursue their purpose to make the school a college. When the Association met in its next annual session, May 12-15, 1857, a resolution was offered from the floor sharply rebuking the conduct of the school and declaring that the Association would withdraw support unless the institution was kept to its original purpose as a high school.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The Association refused to accept the first report of the committee but recommitting it to the committee increased by four members, who were a clear majority over the original committee of three, two of whom at least, Delke and Howell, were from the vicinity of the school and the other, Worrell, was from Gatesville. This will explain why Delke's name is to a report different from the one he approved.

<sup>51</sup> The resolution reads, "*Resolved*, That we still deprecate (as at our last session) any change of name or object contemplated originally in the establishment of the Chowan-Reynoldson Seminary, as we desire to act in concert with, and auxiliary to Wake Forest College. *Resolved further*, That if said school should be changed into a college, every object originally contemplated by our Association having been disappointed, and our wishes set at naught, we can have no longer any connection with this institution and so announce to all interested.

"We have learned from a reliable source that there is a plan now on foot to convert this institution into a *College*, and that steps have already been taken to secure funds for the erection of more commodious buildings on the premises at present occupied.

"This movement we regard as not only premature and unfortunate, but as actually suicidal. We already have a male College in North Carolina that needs and requires all the patronage and aid the members of the denomination are able to give it. The brethren of the Chowan Association have already greatly exerted themselves in behalf of the Female Institute at Murfreesboro, which is

There was probably one other cause of dissatisfaction with the institution, which while not expressly stated is easy to detect in the records of these years. And this was the evident leaning of the school to the University of North Carolina. In the first advertisement and prospectus Wake Forest is made secondary, and the University primary; the principal, Delke, was a University graduate, and neither of his assistants was a Wake Forest man, one, Mr. George Morgan, being a graduate of the University. Then the rebellious pursuit of the purpose to make the school a college was regarded, and properly so, as a blow at Wake Forest. It was perhaps more on account of these things than on account of faulty boarding arrangements that the attendance fell off the second year; and probably for the same reason Delke and Morgan retired at the end of that year. In their places the Trustees took care to elect two recent graduates of Wake Forest—J. D. Boushall and C. S. Ellis. Elder Quinton Trotman made public announcement that the school would henceforth be kept to its true purpose as auxiliary to Wake Forest and again the school was advertised in the denominational paper, and the paper also became the medium in which its friends and faculty discussed its affairs.<sup>52</sup>

Such was the work in academic education for males undertaken by the Baptist Associations of North Carolina before the Civil War. Its principal and professed purpose was to prepare students

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yet groaning under a heavy debt. As the Chowan-Reynoldson Institute now stands it might be made a useful high school, and a valuable auxiliary to the College we already have, which, by the way, was the primary plan of the erection of it. But the present plan carried out would give us two Colleges mutually injurious to each other and both weak and inefficient—together unequal to the demands of the times and the denomination."

In the *Biblical Recorder* of April 24, 1856, W. H. Jordan has a long article deprecating the purpose to establish another College which he thought the Baptists of North Carolina had about as much use for as they would have for a ship on the summit of the Alleghenies: and declared that the money employed for such a purpose had better be cast into the fire, and he proceeded to condemn the *proposal* as an inexcusable folly.

Jordan's letter called forth an article in reply so full of personalities that the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* refused to publish it. (May 8, 1856.)

In the report on the institute at the Association of 1858, it was said that it had been alienated from the affections of the Association by the premature action of too sanguine friends, but now the scales had fallen from their eyes.

<sup>52</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 27, 1857, and after.

for the classes of Wake Forest College. The College, however, had had little time to profit by them when their operations as well as that of the College itself were interfered with by the War. And yet in 1860 the College was able to discontinue the preparatory department and to admit only those who were trained for its classes. The faculty too being free of the preparatory work, which added greatly to their teaching load, were able to devote their whole time to the classes of college grade, and were doing excellent work. Through the influence of these schools the College was strengthened in every part of the State, for according to the plan academy and college were doing each its part in a general educational program and the interest in the one extended to the other. This interest continued after the War and as new academies sprung up in the old plants, even though in some instances they were no longer under denominational control, yet the bond of union between their friends and the College was not broken. This proved of great value to the College in the hard days of the Reconstruction period.

These schools were of great value to the State also. They became centres of culture not only for the Baptists but for the entire population of the territory covered by the Associations. Their public *Exercises* were largely attended and gave opportunity for social intercourse that would have otherwise not been possible. Since these academies were boarding schools the circle of acquaintance of the students was considerably widened. Another advantage to the State was the low cost at which high school education of approved quality was furnished. Board and lodging might be had from six to eight dollars a month, and tuition for ten to fifteen dollars for a session of five months. Thus the many aspiring youths of the State were given opportunities for excellent high school instruction which would have been denied them otherwise. Furthermore, these schools were a powerful stimulus to the general interest in education of all grades from the common schools to the University. In stimulating their establishment the College did a great service not only to the Baptist denomination and the College but to the State at large.

### III ADMINISTRATIVE

## O, ALMA MATER

O, Alma Mater, 'tis thy name  
That lights our path to glory,  
We'll ever spread thy matchless fame  
In word and song and story.  
So sound her name through all the land,  
Let triumphs ring on every hand,  
Let praises all our hearts command;  
Hail, hail to thee, Wake Forest!

And with true hearts we greet the hour  
That calls us to our duty,  
We trust our Alma Mater's power  
To round our lives with beauty.  
And all the while our hearts are free,  
Our souls are full of jollity,  
And singing in their joy and glee,  
Hail, hail to thee, Wake Forest!

Her sturdy sons from far and near  
Look back to Alma Mater;  
With many a prayer, with ne'er a fear  
They bless their dear Wake Forest;  
And as they rise from height to height,  
And stand as victors in the fight,  
They sing the mother of their might  
Hail, hail to thee, Wake Forest !



THE NORTH BRICK HOUSE (*above*), AND THE SOUTH BRICK HOUSE (*below*)  
AS THEY APPEAR IN 1935; BUILT IN 1838



## XXIII

### THE COLLEGE BEGINS

The first President of Wake Forest College was Reverend Samuel Wait. During the period of the Institute, February 3, 1834, to the close of the session of 1838 on November 29 of that year, he had been known as Principal<sup>1</sup> When the institution became a college he was called President.<sup>2</sup> During his tenure of the office and practically by virtue of it he was also Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, as were his successors, Hooper, White, Wingate, Pritchard and Taylor.<sup>3</sup>

Other members of the faculty were John B. White, A.M., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Rev. Daniel J. Richardson, A.M., Professor of Ancient Languages; Stephen Morse, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages, and Principal of the Academical department; and George W. Thompson, Tutor in Academical department. Rev. John Armstrong who was still in Europe was considered a member of the faculty, although in his absence another had been chosen in his place.<sup>4</sup> In June, 1840, E. W. West, was appointed tutor; in June, 1843, Wm. H. Owen was appointed Professor of Ancient Languages.

Although under the regulations of the Trustees the session would regularly have opened on the second Monday in January, for the Spring term of 1839 it was Saturday, February 2, 1839, when the first student to matriculate in the institution after it became a college, William Richard Evans of Pitt County,

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 3, Nov. 3-5, 1834, etc. For the date of the close of the Institute see *Biblical Recorder*, December 8, 1838: "Wake Forest Institute. An Examination of the students of this institution was held on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of last week, and on Thursday an Address was delivered before the Societies by Weston R. Gales, Esq., all of which was spoken of in terms of honorable commendation."

<sup>2</sup> *The Charter and Laws of the Wake Forest College, North Carolina, Enacted by the Corporation*, December, 1838, Raleigh, 1839.

<sup>3</sup> President Poteat was the first president who did not teach Philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> *Charter and Laws*.

signed his name on the college rolls.<sup>5</sup> The greater number of students of that semester, or session, as the half-year was called for many years, registered February 6 to 11. The number for that session was sixty-two. Of these four were seniors, six juniors, five sophomores, three "Partial"-in all eighteen collegiate students, there being no freshmen. The remaining forty-two students were classed as academical, twelve in the English group, and thirty in the classical.

In those days the Trustees exercised a closer control of the institution than they do now, and they made rather detailed regulations defining the duties of the faculty, and the obligations and privileges of students, and the general conduct of the College.<sup>6</sup>

The faculty consisted of the President, the Professors, and the Tutors, and was vested with the executive control of the College. They were directed to exercise a parental authority, to treat the students with mildness and decision, and to seek to govern them by applying the more honorable and generous motives; if these should fail, to bring other severer punishment to bear-"private reproof, public admonition, putting on probation with notice that a more severe punishment will follow another offence, suspension, dismissal and expulsion."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In a large blank book, which I shall hereafter designate "Blank Book A," is contained a full list of the students of the institution from its opening in 1834 until the close of the session of 1857-58, arranged, beginning with February 2, 1839, by years and dates of registration. For the years 1834-36 under the names arranged by years is set down the amount earned in manual labor by each student. These tables seem to have been copied from a blotter book made during the residence of the students. For 1837 and 1838 the list is copied seriatim all in one hand. For the remaining years the names are also copied in two or three hands each covering a continuous period of years. The pages are numbered from 100 on, the list of students closing with page 155. On pages 501 ff, is a list of Alumni, with some errors which were copied in the *General Catalogue*. On the second fly leaf is the "Latin for Commencement," beginning, "*Notum sit quad ego Praeses.*" The book also contains on two early unnumbered pages an "Exhibit of the Financial Affairs of W. F. Institute," from 1834 to December 30, 1836, signed by David Thompson and A. J. Battle, Com.

<sup>6</sup> *Charter and Laws.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, the following rule regards a separate class of students: "Any student who may betray a degree of depravity in his disposition and habits, that shall be judged dangerous to his associates, may be immediately sent from the Institution."

The president was to direct and govern according to law, to call faculty meetings, with the secretary and treasurer to secure needed assistants, and to direct the time of ringing the bell for the *Exercises*. His approval was necessary for valid action by the faculty.

The other officers, under the president, were to take care of the institution and had authority to punish students by private reproof and public admonition. During term time the members of the faculty were instructed to be present at all public and devotional *Exercises*, to occupy rooms in the College Building during study hours, and devote themselves exclusively to the instruction and discipline of the institution. In their meetings, which they were to hold at such times as might be deemed expedient, they were to determine such matters as the law referred to them by majority vote, with the concurrence of the president. The members of the faculty were also directed frequently to visit the students in their rooms in order to assist them and prompt them to diligence in their studies. The Trustees were also careful to provide the officers with rules for the conduct of their classes; the teachers were to notice every instance of absence and deficiency, as a basis for final estimate of character, and keep accurate records of every student's work, and report both to meetings of the faculty for a record to be kept by the president.<sup>8</sup>

These records were very faithfully kept; those for the spring session of 1839 reveal hardly any absences or other deficiencies in attendance on either classes or recitations. No member of the Senior Class has a mark against his record; in the Junior Class there was a total of five absences (from prayers), all excused; in the Sophomore Class the record is not quite so good; one mem-

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<sup>8</sup> These regulations are as follows: 1. Each officer shall notice every instance of absence or deficiency from the *Exercises*, and every violation of the laws which shall come under his observation, and report the same at every meeting of the faculty—a record of which shall be kept, which shall form the basis on which an estimate of character shall be made at the close of each session.

2. Each officer shall observe the relative proficiency and standing of every student he may instruct, and report the same to the meetings of the faculty, a record of which shall be kept by the president, which shall form the basis of an estimate of scholarship.

ber has two absences and another three which are excused, but this class has the black sheep of the year who accumulated a total of twenty-six absences, eight from prayers and eighteen from recitations, of which three from prayers and twelve from recitations were unexcused-the only unexcused absences of which there is record that term.<sup>9</sup>

At their meeting on December 18, 1838, the Trustees ordered that the college year should begin the first Monday in August, and close with the annual Commencement on the third Thursday in June. The year was divided into two sessions, now called semesters, the first beginning the first Monday in August and ending on the third Thursday in December, the second beginning on the second Monday in January of each year, and closing the third Thursday in June, giving vacations of forty-six to fifty-three days in the summer and eighteen to twenty-five days in the winter, nine or ten weeks in all. This calendar was modified beginning with the second session of the year 1844-45, so that the first session began the fourth Monday in July and ended with the second Friday in December, and the second session began the third Monday in January and ended with the Commencement on the second Thursday in June, with summer vacations thirty-nine to forty-six days, and winter vacations of thirty-one days, ten or eleven weeks for the year. As thus modified the calendar was not changed during the period, except that the Commencement of 1861 was on May 28, and there was no Commencement in 1862, although degrees were conferred.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> These facts are copied from a large record book of the College with individual records of all students from 1889 to and including the year 1866-67. This book also contains the minutes of the faculty meetings, February to August, 1839.

It may be said that the College has records of all students from 1839 to date except for a four year period, 1868-72, duly recorded at first in books kept for that purpose, and on cards in the more recent years. The records of the other years are scattered here and there in other books. Perhaps no other institution in the State has student records for so many years.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 33, 62, and the catalogues of the College for 1839, 1839-40, 1849-50, and after. A request of the students for a "continuous session of nine months and a vacation of three months," made June 6, 1854, was not approved by the Trustees. *Ibid*, p. 96. On June 11, 1856, the Trustees ordered that the

On opening the institution as a college the Trustees provided that the fees for the session of five months, should be in the collegiate department \$45.00 a year; in the academical department \$35.00, and in the English \$25.00. By 1848-49 no distinction was made in the two preparatory departments and all students in the department were charged a uniform fee of \$17.50 a session. On June 16, 1856, these fees were increased to \$25.00 a session in the collegiate department and \$20.00 in the preparatory department; with the discontinuation of all preparatory work, the statement of fees in the preparatory department was dropped in the catalogue of 1859-60. The other annual charges in the catalogues for 1839-40 were as follows: room rent \$2.00, bed and bedding \$4.00, wood \$2.00, deposits for repairs and other expenses \$4.00; but it was stated that it was preferred that students furnish their own bedding and firewood, in which case these charges were not made. It seems that this plan suited the students better, and soon the only fees listed were for tuition, room rent of \$1.00 a session, and deposit for incidental expenses \$2.00 a session.<sup>11</sup>

Through these years the price of good board and washing was stated to be \$8.00 a month, and the total necessary expenses for the year were \$131.00 to \$137.00 in the College and \$121.00 to \$127.00 in the preparatory department.<sup>12</sup> The catalogue of 1854-55 shows an added fee for servants hire of \$2.50, while the price of board and washing is stated to be \$9.00 to \$10.00 a month, and the total cost of the year in the two departments is given as \$146.00 to \$156.00 respectively. In the catalogues of 1856-57 to 1859-60 the price of board is named as \$9.00 if paid

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vacation periods be six weeks for the summer and four weeks for the winter, but they repealed this order on the seventh of the following November, on a petition of the faculty, leaving the vacations as before. *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 110.

<sup>11</sup> The following notes were added: "Other expenses, for furniture of rooms, clothing etc., will of course vary with the habits and circumstances of the students.

"As most of the students occupy rooms in the College Building, and furnish them, it is desirable for them to bring from home towels, bed furniture, and if convenient, a bed or mattress.

<sup>12</sup> Catalogue of 1848-49.

in advance, and of washing \$1.00 a month.<sup>13</sup> One of the items for which charges were made was servant's hire. The service rendered was for the care of rooms, bringing in wood and water, and such necessary things, but was not intended to include the blacking of shoes, as it seems some of the students claimed.<sup>14</sup>

As has been stated elsewhere in the early years ministers were charged with tuition fees. So were the sons of ministers and all others. A rare exception was the son of William Jones, a graduate of the class of 1839, of whose useful though brief life an account has been given elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> In June, 1849, the Trustees agreed that Jones's sons be allowed tuition from session to session, if the means or income of the College should allow, but when one of these sons, Rufus P. Jones, was graduating in 1854, the Trustees reminded him that the action of the Board was only an indulgence to his father, and asked him to pay the fees.<sup>16</sup> It had been the purpose all along of the Trustees to give free tuition to ministers as soon as the means of College would permit it,<sup>17</sup> but it was not

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<sup>13</sup> In this period the University of North Carolina, as shown in the Catalogue of 1851-52, had the following calendar: "The collegiate year is divided into two Terms: the one commencing six weeks after the first Thursday in June; the other, six weeks after the Friday succeeding the fourth Friday in November."

The table of annual expenses of the University of North Carolina for 1853 shows tuition \$50, room rent \$2, servant hire \$5, deposit \$4, wood \$4 to \$5, candles \$4 to \$5, board 40 weeks, \$8 to \$10 a month-\$74 to \$92, bed and washing \$15 to \$22, making a total of \$158 to \$185. The catalogue of this year and several succeeding years carry the statement, that the faculty approve the statement made in a circular of April 15, 1837, that "exclusive of clothing ordinarily obtained from home more than \$250 per annum is not necessary to either the comfort or convenience of any young man while at this institution." The decade of 1850-60 was one of rising prices, and in the catalogue of 1857-58 the board is put at \$100 to \$140 and bed and washing at \$20 to \$24, wood at \$5 to \$10, and lights to \$5 to \$6, and the total cost for the year of the listed items \$201 to \$251. The faculty now estimated that the total cost for the year need not exceed \$325.

<sup>14</sup>*Proceedings*, 116, June 10, 1858.

<sup>15</sup> In June, 1843, the Board ordered that any Baptist minister be allowed to send a son to the College without charge for tuition, and that any Licentiate be allowed to attend under such regulations as the faculty may adopt. This order was repealed in June, 1844, *Ibid.*, 59 f.

<sup>16</sup>*Proceedings*, p. 100, June 8, 1854.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84, October 17, 1851: "On motion of James S. Purefoy, *Resolved*, That when funds are raised sufficient to endow one or more Professorships at the College, all Baptist ministers either licensed or ordained, and coming well

until November 22, 1859, that the Board passed an order granting it. At this time this benefaction was extended to "all ordained or licensed ministers of any denomination," but in the following June this order was modified so as to apply only to Baptist ministers.<sup>18</sup> Before this time several ministerial students had been enjoying the scholarships provided by the Associations. Now the Trustees were encouraged to give free tuition to ministers both by the general prosperity of the College, and by the fact that the Merritt and Warren and Mims funds, especially bequeathed for the education of ministers, were already yielding revenues.

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recommended from their respective churches, shall receive their tuition free of charge."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 123.

## XXIV

### CURRICULUM

According to the statement under "Laws of Admission," found in *The Charter and Laws of the Wake Forest College*, issued early in 1839, there were to be two departments in the institution, "the College and the Academical."<sup>1</sup>

To enter the Academical department, no qualifications were necessary except "good moral character and ability to prosecute the studies of that department." During the Manual Labor days no students under twelve years of age were admitted, probably on the ground that boys under that age were too young to perform the manual labor required of all students, but now all restrictions as to age were withdrawn. To accommodate students of various classes the Academical department was subdivided into an English and a Classical department, the tuition in the former being \$25.00 and in the latter \$35.00 a year. The studies of the Academical department were not set forth in the catalogue but were left to the regulation of the faculty, who were expected to consult the ability and circumstances of the students and the wishes of parents and guardians.

The Academical, or Preparatory, department, was continued until June, 1860, when according to notice given in the College Catalogue as early as 1858, "it ceased to exist." Until the last years of this period it contained a good portion of the students, in some years as many as two-thirds, and hardly ever fewer than one-third.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A copy of this pamphlet may be found in the Library of Wake Forest College.

<sup>2</sup> In the Spring term of 1839 only 23 of the 62 students were classed as College students; in the fall term of 1839-40, 31 of 65; in the spring term of that year 27 of 51; in the 1840-41 year 21 of 65 were classed as College students. Conditions had improved somewhat in 1856-57, but in that year 45 of 99 students were in the Preparatory department. The decrease of preparatory students to 16 in the year 1859-60 brought a decrease in the total number of students to 76. In 1860-61 the number of students, all collegiate, was 64.



The Classical Course was designed to prepare candidates to enter the Freshman Class of the College, the English course to furnish a good business education to those who did not purpose to go further. The students in this department were under somewhat more strict regulations than those in the College proper. They were required to have study hours under the supervision of an officer as was the custom in the academies of the day. The Trustees thought that this study period should be, for boys under seventeen, not less than six hours a day, and advised the faculty to that effect.<sup>3</sup> Probably also it was because so large a proportion of the students were of this class that a much closer supervision than now obtains was kept over all of them, the faculty being required to have rooms in the dormitory, to visit the rooms of the students and to see that they kept at work.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that at first some of the friends of the institution at Wake Forest did not contemplate its being a college, but a school to give instruction in English branches to ministerial students. In speaking of this Wait says:<sup>5</sup> "The point which in importance outweighed all others was the proper training of our young brethren designed of God for the ministry." An institution that would give such students a "plain English education," was contemplated, but it was soon seen that this was impractical, since hardly half a dozen ministerial students could be found among the Baptists of the State at that time, and these were without means. An institution could not be sustained with such a supply of students. Accordingly, the original plan was modified so as "to admit as students any young gentlemen of good character, whether professors of religion or not." Following out this plan, as we have seen, the Wake Forest Institute was opened as a manual

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<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Charter and Laws*, "The students are required to be constantly in their rooms, and diligently to pursue their studies, except in the hours allowed for recreation. To assist students and to prompt them to diligence in their studies, the officers shall frequently visit their rooms, and are required to do so at all times they may deem it expedient."

<sup>5</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, 11, 49 f.

labor school in February, 1834, and continued as such until February, 1839, when it began operations under its new charter as a college.

The Trustees, however, at their first meeting in May, 1834, showed that they were planning that Wake Forest should become a college, and they elected a faculty to teach collegiate subjects: Wait, Moral Philosophy and General Literature; Meredith, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Armstrong, Ancient Languages; while only Charles R. Merriam was elected as Tutor in Husbandry. After this the tutors appointed even during the manual labor period, Abner Hart, H. L. Graves, and H. A. Wilcox, were classically trained and prepared to teach collegiate subjects.<sup>6</sup> The other professors also who were elected during this period, White, Richardson, and Morse, were recommended by their preparation to teach such subjects as constituted the college curriculum of the day.

Though every member of the faculty from Wait down was soon leading the boys in building fences and hoeing corn, and were teaching classes in Pike's arithmetics and Murray's readers, they were also teaching Latin and Moral Philosophy, and other such subjects. I have given above a statement about the studies which W. T. Brooks, as shown in his diary, pursued during the five years from July, 1834 to July, 1839, for which he was given the degree of Bachelor of Arts.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See above, Chap. VIII.

<sup>7</sup> Brooks's diary shows that on entering Wake Forest College on June 14, 1834, he had hardly more education than is now required for entrance to high school. The following notes will indicate the character of his studies and how he progressed: "In a few days after entrance, commenced the Latin Grammar, Read *Historie Sacre*. Examined last of July by Mr. Gaston." "Commenced reading Caesar 22nd of September prepared four books to be examined on 26 November By Prof. Hooper." "Commenced the study of Sallust first week in February." April 23, 1835: "Assembled in the chapel for declamation and composition." July 4, 1835: "Our care in a great measure concerning our examination had passed away, and we felt considerably relieved; so much so that we had nothing to do but enjoy ourselves." September 4, 1835: "Read a piece in the Greek reader, concerning Juno's sending two serpents to destroy Hercules." Sept. 6, 1835: "Prayer being made, Professor Armstrong rose and gave us a very lucid view of our existence. . . . After this he examined us on the first two

Before the close of the manual labor period the boys of 1834 had grown up to be fine-looking men. On returning to Wake Forest Institute in April, 1838, Sanders M. Ingram found there

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chapters of Matthew." Monday, March 7, 1836: "Commenced the study of Algebra; found it quite difficult, somewhat disheartened." Tuesday, March 8, 1836: "Recited Cicero to Mr. Hart. He is quite particular in giving a precise translation." March 19: "Read some in Campbell's poems." April 2: "Spent this week in hard laborious study in Cicero, Greek Reader and Algebra." August 4, 1836: "Recited to-day tolerably well; our Greek lessons quite interesting. Algebra dry and hard." August 8: "I have gone over three pages in Livy. Livy is hard, the most of it, but quite interesting when you can get into the sense of it." August 12: "Recited Greek tolerably well; find the speech of Cyrus pretty difficult. I seem not to study with the same interest I did last year. I seem disposed rather to indulge myself than otherwise. I am inclined to eat more than a student should who wishes to make speed in studying, and have a mind always clear. I am confident if I should adopt the abstemious way of living, like the Persian youth, I should make greater speed in my studies, but nature is hard to deny; the animal passions are ever uppermost and difficult to suppress." Aug. 17: "Read some very interesting pieces in Rollins today, concerning the character of Xerxes and Aristides," etc. August 18: "Read some very interesting pieces in Philosophy." October 10: "Finished the Christian Philosophy tonight; found it very interesting, and in some parts very sublimely written." October 12: "Studying Geography. Commenced reading Dick in the Philosophy of Religion." October 13: "Still find Dick more and more interesting." October 19: "Excused from declaiming; with Bro. Hoskins to select a suitable place for baptizing." November 23, 1836: "Freshman class of which I am a member examined this evening. All stood tolerably well." February 7, 1837: "Expected (during vacation) to read a great deal but got disappointed; read only Shuman on the evidences of Christianity, part of the history of the martyrs and the four gospels: finished reading Plato tonight on the immortality of the soul; find some of his arguments most excellent. Commenced Geometry tonight. We shall commence Horace to-morrow and Greek." September 5, 1837: "Commenced to-day studying Cambridge's Algebra, which is somewhat more difficult than Bridges'." September 1, 1837: "Read some very interesting pieces in Dr. Johnson's Rambler. His style is easy and elegant; his sentiment the most profound and instructive." Sept. 20: "More interested in Geometry. Very much interested to-night in reading Philosophy [Natural]. O, how wonderful are all the works of the Diety! His ways past finding out." Sept. 24: "Recitation on Logic. Mr. Wilcox gave a lecture on cause and effect. The recitation not very interesting." September 27: "Investigating the different colors refracted by means of the Prism, the rainbow, etc.; find the study of Philosophy Very interesting. Wrote a composition this morning on advantages derived from the invention of the Mariner's compass, the telescope, and the art of printing." September 29: "Much delighted reading Dick on a future state." October 2: "Always feel dull on Monday morning. Read a piece this morning by Dr. Johnson." October 4: "Wrote a composition to-day on Justice." October 30: "Much interested in reading Wayland's Moral Science, a work which should be esteemed, read, and its precepts obeyed." June 20, 1839: "After laboring for five years with much solicitude, I had the pleasure to-day of making my graduating speech."

four classes, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior and Senior-and a preparatory department, and "all the old students then in college classes."<sup>8</sup>

Brooks's diary reveals the further fact that much more of the student's time in his day was devoted to study than students of today usually devote to it. The vacations were shorter in the aggregate than they are today, about forty weeks being given to the school year. During this period all the student's time was spent at Wake Forest; there were no week-end trips and practically no visits to Raleigh or other places. The student remained at the institution and his whole day was mapped out for him. During the manual labor period he had three hours for work on the farm or in the shop, seven hours for sleep, the requisite time for meals, periods for chapel, recitations and study. On this schedule the students might make greater advances in the school year in academic studies than is now possible. Furthermore, on Sunday, Bible classes were provided, with regular series of lectures by members of the faculty, which the student was expected to attend and on which he took examinations.<sup>9</sup> In addition to this the student had the work of his literary society, in which he learned to declaim and debate; he was encouraged also to become a member of some other societies, such as the Eclectic Society, meeting on week days, and others like the Society of Inquiry, meeting on Sunday. Before these societies the students often read essays on assigned topics. Brooks's diary offers evidence that they made good use of such books as the Library contained, though he makes no mention of periodicals.

The full list of the studies of the Senior Class for the spring term of 1839 was Language, Chemistry and Natural History, Story's Commentaries, and Intellectual Philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 472.

<sup>9</sup> Brooks's diary, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> From large blank book spoken of above in which are the records of grades of students, arranged by classes, for all years from February, 1839 to 1867. These show the subjects assigned to members of the classes for the spring term of 1839. The same list is given in the records of grades of the members of the classes. W. T. Brooks and Childers made grades averaging between 80 and 85; J. T. Brooks about 80; Jones about 65.

It may be asserted then that the class of four which the College graduated on June 20, 1839, had earned their degree of Bachelor of Arts, and were in intellectual attainments equal to the average of those who have received that degree in that day and since. Of the four, William Tell Brooks spent his life at Wake Forest and served as pastor of churches at Henderson, Mount Vernon and Forestville. In 1843 he was appointed Tutor in the College, and three years later Assistant Professor of Ancient Languages, which position he held until June, 1858. The College conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1844 and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1870. For ten years, 1870-80, he was President of the Board of Trustees; for five years beginning with 1869 he was President of the Baptist State Convention. He was diligent in business and was in good circumstances when he died on January 16, 1883. Another graduate was Josiah Hawkins Brooks, who also was a Baptist minister, serving first churches in Virginia and then in Chatham and Davidson counties in this State. His life was short, his death occurring in 1865. Another graduate was W. W. Childers of Camden District, South Carolina. After graduation he returned to his native State and for many years was one of the ablest and most trusted of the South Carolina ministers. The College gave him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1846. The fourth graduate was William Jones of Wake County who was also a Baptist minister; after his graduation, he was pastor of the church at Mt. Moriah in the Flat River, now Mt. Zion, Association, and often preached as an itinerant in the churches of that body. From early in 1848 until his death in the summer of 1852 he was agent of the Baptist State Convention, in which position he labored with all diligence and success. During this time he made his home at Wake Forest, where he died on July 3, 1852.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Resolutions by a committee of the Philomathesian Society found in the *Biblical Recorder* of August 6, 1852. In the Annual Report of the Board of Managers in the Convention minutes of 1852 it is said that for the past five years he had been "the laborious and efficient agent. In the department of our operations to which he was assigned, his place will be hard to fill, for his talents, disposition, as well as the amenity of his manners, were calculated to have

The purpose of the Trustees and faculty of Wake Forest College to make the changed institution standard in its curriculum is seen in their statement with reference to admission requirements found in the "Charter and Laws" enacted by the Corporation in December, 1838.

For admission to the Freshman Class the student had to bring evidence of good moral character, "and be thoroughly acquainted with those studies usually required for admission to other Colleges." The prescribed course of studies was as follows:

1. The Freshman Class shall pursue the study of the Latin and Greek languages, and the Elements of Geometry and Algebra.
2. The Sophomore Class shall pursue the study of the Ancient Languages, Trigonometry and its application to Mensuration of Heights and Distances, Surveying, Levelling and Navigation, Civil Engineering, Logic and Rhetoric.
3. The Junior Class shall continue the study of Latin and Greek, Analytical Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Elements of Criticism, Natural Theology, and Moral Philosophy.
4. The Senior Class shall pursue the Learned Languages, Astronomy, Political Economy, Chemistry, Geology, Vegetable and Animal Physiology, Intellectual Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, American Constitution, Hebrew or French.
5. Composition and Declamation shall be attended to by all Classes in both departments.
6. The Faculty may vary the order of the above studies, and select such textbooks as the good of the Institution shall require; but a change of this kind shall be reported at the next meeting of the Corporation for their concurrence.
7. The studies of the Academical department will be regulated by the Faculty, who will consult the ability and circumstances of the student, and the wishes of parents and guardians.

The course of studies thus prescribed by the Corporation remained essentially the same until 1862, when the College suspended for the War. In the later years of this period there was a more definite statement of entrance requirements and a slight modifica-

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a favorable impress wherever he went, and his zeal for the success of the Convention insured his success."

tion in the order of studies; probably also there was a stricter enforcement of regulations.

Considering first the entrance requirements, the first detailed statement that I have found is in the College catalogue for 1856-57. It reads:

Candidates for the Freshman Class must be thoroughly prepared in English Grammar, Arithmetic, Bullions' Latin Grammar, Caesar's Commentaries, four books, Vergil's Aeneid, six books, with the rules of Hexameter Verse, Cicero's Select Orations, Bullions' Greek Grammar and Greek Reader, Ancient and Modern Geography, Algebra to Equations of the Second Degree. The whole or a full equivalent both in quantity will be strictly required.

Candidates for any other class will be examined on all of the previous studies of said class; as shown in the following course of studies.

There has been some modification in the catalogue of 1859-60; better grammars are suggested in Latin and Greek, and the requirements are increased by the addition of Mythology and Grecian and Roman Antiquities.

In these entrance requirements, in 1839 as well as in 1856-57, Wake Forest College seems to have been conforming to the standards of the day for Southern colleges. A comparison of the catalogues of the University of North Carolina and of Wake Forest College for the latter year shows that there is very little difference between the two in their entrance requirements, and that in all essentials they were identical.<sup>12</sup>

The deficient preparation of the students sent them is complained of in the catalogues of both institutions, but more at length in that of the University of North Carolina. Applicants for admission in the University were deficient in training in their

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<sup>12</sup> The statement of entrance requirements in the University of North Carolina catalogue for 1856-57 is as follows: "Applicants for admission into the Freshman Class are required to sustain an approved examination on the Grammars of the English, Greek and Latin Languages; Latin Prosody; Andrews', or Arnold's Exercise; Caesar Commentaries; Ovid Metamorphoses; Vergil's Bucolics and Six Books of the Aeneid; Sallust; St. John's Gospel, and the Acts in the Greek Testament; Graeca Minora, or Greek Reader; Arithmetic; Algebra, through equations of the first degree; Ancient and Modern Geography."

preparation in Latin and Greek and in Mathematics; in the languages they had read too little, lacked a knowledge of constructions, and knew nothing of antiquities; in Mathematics they were not drilled in the rules of arithmetic which were at all complex. The disregard of preparation in these things rendered the students unable to profit as they should from the training in their college classes, since the instructors found it necessary to devote the time that should be given to such *Exercises* as would impart and mature a taste for scholarship to the drilling which should have been got in the lower school.<sup>13</sup>

With the discontinuance of the Academical Department in 1860 came a more rigid enforcement of the entrance requirements of the College. In the catalogue of 1859-60 warning was given that in the future no abatement in the terms of admission would be made; that the time in college was all too short for thorough mental training, and it must not be diminished by students' imperfect preparation; that it was the duty of the College to "hold the check upon hasty and superficial training by refusing to admit into the higher walks of learning those who have not legitimately entered its portals; if the schools of secondary grade would cooperate in this arrangement they might be able much better to maintain high standards for their own work."<sup>14</sup>

Detailed statements of the courses offered at Wake Forest through the years 1839 to 1862 are to be found in the records of the students and in such of the catalogues as are extant. That for 1859-60 shows the following "Summary of the Course."

#### FRESHMAN CLASS

##### *Fall Term*

Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and Greek Ollendorff reviewed.  
Cicero's *Select Orations*. Odes of Horace. 2nd Lat. Book reviewed.  
Greene's *Analysis*.  
Algebra (Loomis).

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<sup>13</sup> U. N. C. catalogue for 1856-57, 28.

<sup>14</sup> In this connection it may be said that the proportion of unclassified students in the University of North Carolina until 1858 had been much smaller than in Wake Forest College.



*Spring Term*

Memorabilia. Plato's Crito.  
Epodes of Horace. Prosody. Livy.  
Geometry (Loomis).

SOPHOMORE CLASS

*Fall Term*

Trigonometry (Loomis). Homer. Satires and Epistles of Horace  
Tacitus. Art of Poetry.

*Spring Term*

Herodotus and Thucydides. Mechanics and Analytic Geometry.  
Juvenal. Persius. Natural Philosophy.

JUNIOR CLASS

*Fall Term*

Demosthenes on the Crown. Logic (Whately). French. Lat. Prose  
Composition. Chemistry. Descriptive Geometry. Calculus.

*Spring Term*

Rhetoric (Whately). German. Political Economy (Wayland).  
Astronomy. Aeschylus. Greek Literature. Cicero de Oratore

SENIOR CLASS

*Fall Term*

Physiology. Roman Literature. Civil Engineering. Moral Science.  
(Dagg). Butler's Analogy

*Spring Term*

History of Greece. Cicero de Officiis. Mental Philosophy (Wayland).  
Geology. Federal Constitution.

Practically the same course of studies was prescribed for the same year at the University of North Carolina. In that institution, however, in the Senior year "Studies in the Scientific School" might be substituted for Greek, Latin and Constitutional Law.

From the beginning each student was required to have three daily recitations, "one occurring before breakfast, another at noon, and the third in the afternoon."<sup>15</sup> The purpose of this

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<sup>15</sup> Catalogue of 1859-60, 30.

distribution of recitations was to leave time between them for study, not less than two hours of preparation for each class. During this time the students were required to be in their rooms engaged in the work of preparation, and to check any disposition to shirk the members of the faculty would visit the rooms of students frequently during study hours.<sup>16</sup>

Nor were the students free from supervision on Sunday, being required to attend Divine service in the morning, and in the evening (probably afternoon) all classes were required to prepare recitations on some portions of the Bible.<sup>17</sup>

With an unchanging formal curriculum, however, there might be from year to year considerable modification in the character of the work of the students. One important factor in determining the quality of the student's work was the size of the classes, since more attention could be given to the individual student in the smaller class. The classes at Wake Forest were small, and this was especially true of the higher classes. The first graduation class had four members; the largest before the Civil War had ten; in several classes there were only two or three. These small groups, and only they, formed the classes of the higher classmen that recited to the various teachers.

The striking differences between the course of studies of the colleges in the first half of the nineteenth century and now have doubtless been patent to every reader. In the colleges of that day there was no department of English. In Wake Forest College such English as was taught was listed under the department of Moral Philosophy. Though not provided for in the scheme of recitations it was stated that *Exercises* in composition was required of all Classes; Declamation was required of Freshmen and Sophomores, and four original speeches of the Seniors. In the Freshman Class, also, the statement emphasizes the importance of

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> This was a regulation that held also at the University of North Carolina. In the catalogue of that institution for 1856-57, p. 29, is the following statement: "All the classes are required to attend Divine Worship in the College Chapel on Sunday forenoon, and in the afternoon to recite on the Historical parts of the Old and New Testaments."

Greene's "Analysis of the English Sentence." There is no provision for this in the schedule. Rhetoric was taught in connection with Logic, Whately's excellent texts being used in both. Along with these perhaps some English classics were read. In another way a very valuable supplement was made to the literary training of the students; this was in the work of the Literary Societies. Both Societies had excellent libraries of the day, in which the student members found books to read up on the questions for debate, or to prepare for the compositions, or orations which they were required to have at certain intervals. Hardly a week passed that the student did not have some function of this kind. Accordingly the graduates of the College were reasonably well prepared in English composition; although more of them became able speakers than able writers, yet, in writing, some of the men of this period were by no means deficient either in point of style or matter. Perhaps Wake Forest has produced no man who was a master of a better English style than Dr. T. H. Pritchard, a graduate of the class of 1854. Dr. J. D. Hufham of the class of 1856 wrote nearly as well but was somewhat too ornate, while John Haymes Mills of the class of 1856 also wrote well, sinning, if at all, on the side of terseness.

As there was no department of English, so also there was none of History or Social Science. In History, however, even more than in English, the training in the Literary Societies, was large and important. In the college, too, the history of Greece and Rome was taught as a part of the training in Latin and Greek. The history of the United States, which then was for much fewer years than now, was learned in connection with the study of the Constitution, for which Story's book was used as a text; that was usually left to the Senior year. Political Economy constituted a regular course under the department of Moral Philosophy. Added to this was Kent's International Law, which was also taught in the Senior year. Accordingly, it must be evident that the student of the ante-bellum period was not altogether devoid of training in that group of subjects now classified in college catalogues under the head of Social Science.

In nearly all the period before the Civil War, Wake Forest was very deficient in provision made for teaching the Sciences. The Trustees and faculty indeed very early gave evidence that they were awake to the importance of scientific training and made many efforts to provide for it in the course of studies. Without doubt the advance made at the University of North Carolina in scientific instruction had much to do with creating interest in these subjects among our people and especially in our colleges. In 1817 the University had two notable accessions to its faculty, Professor Denison Olmsted as Professor of Chemistry, and Professor Elisha Mitchell as Professor of Mathematics. These men, graduating at Yale in the class of 1813, were among the earliest pioneers in the field of experimental scientific study in our country. Under the stimulus of their enthusiasm much interest in scientific subjects began to be taken in the University of North Carolina. There was no laboratory for students, but the professor performed experiments in Physics and Chemistry before his classes. Interest extended through the State since the Professor of Chemistry was able to detect the presence of minerals in water from springs, and even to tell the kind of mineral and the amount and to say something about its valuable hygienic qualities.<sup>18</sup> Again, with his hammer and blow pipe and scales he was able to identify minerals. In 1822 the State Legislature being affected by this interest authorized a geological and mineralogical survey of the State and put Professor Olmsted in charge. He made a report, perhaps the first of its kind. Though Professor Olmsted left in 1825 to become a Professor in Yale, the interest which he helped to create at Chapel Hill in scientific studies remained. In 1824 the University Trustees sent President Caldwell to Europe, with six thousand dollars in his pocket to buy books and apparatus; for the latter he expended \$3,361.74, buying apparatus of excellent quality, the most of it electrical.<sup>19</sup> A development of this interest at the University was "The School for the Application of Science

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<sup>18</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 9, 1838. Advertisement of Hickory Spring, now Mt. Vernon Spring, Chatham County.

<sup>19</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 291 ff.

to the Arts," established in 1854. In it the teachers were, in 1856-57, Professor Elisha Mitchell, (who, on the departure of Olmsted, became head of the department of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology), and Rev. James Phillips, Professor Charles Phillips, and Professor James Kimberly. While with its lack of adequate laboratories this school must have been greatly handicapped in its methods of instruction, it was yet very popular and had an enrollment of more than seventy students.

This great development of interest in scientific studies at the State University was reflected in the actions of the Trustees and faculty of Wake Forest College. We have seen that already in the Institute a course was given in Natural Philosophy, and that Brooks, in his diary, spoke of "Investigating the refraction of light by the Prism, rainbow, etc." The course of studies shows that Natural Philosophy was retained in the years after 1839; however, the instruction in these subjects must have been confined largely to textbooks. This was because with the limited means of the institution the Trustees could provide for nothing better. In June, 1835, they elected Dr. J. B. Outlaw, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, but there is no evidence that he accepted the place. At the same time the Trustees appointed a committee to procure "a Philosophical and Chemical apparatus for the Institute." It seems that something was got, for four years later the Trustees instructed the faculty to "have a case made for the Philosophical Apparatus." Again, in December, 1852, the committee on lots was requested to purchase "a Chemical Apparatus" with money realized on the sale of lots. In December, 1853, the Executive Committee authorized Professor W. T. Walters to purchase one thousand dollars' worth of philosophical apparatus, in the payment of which the Trustees applied the scholarships of Professor Walters and Rev. J. S. Purefoy.<sup>20</sup> Among pieces so procured was a telescope of sufficient "power to resolve nebulae and bring into view the moons of Jupiter and the rings of Saturn"; an electrical machine with a 36-inch glass plate was also procured, and an air pump under which water might

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<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 96.

be frozen. The last two instruments were believed equal to any in the South. The faculty proudly proclaimed that their apparatus was ample for the best instruction in the sciences with the exception of Chemistry, and that in a short time the apparatus for that also would be provided.<sup>21</sup>

In some way which does not appear a satisfactory chemical apparatus was secured. The only record to it in the minutes of the Board, is an account of \$56.40 allowed Professor W. G. Simmons in June, 1859, for chemicals and apparatus which he had bought for his department.

Returning now to the work of the classroom we find that for more than ten years no scientific course was offered except Natural Philosophy, which, while mostly devoted to natural phenomena which would now be classed under Physics, included also something of Chemistry, and sometimes a little Botany.<sup>22</sup> The Chemistry taught in this course was at its best nothing more than lectures illustrated by simple experiments which required only a few compounds and improvised apparatus. Its nature may be inferred from an article in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 18, 1848, in which an account is given of a public lecture on Chemical Affinity by Professor J. B. White, before an audience of students, residents, and visitors. The lecturer exhibited specimens of coral, conglomerate rock and crystals as products of chemical affinity; the experiments he performed, however, must have been with copper sulphate, sulphuric acid, and similar compounds, with which he could show his company how a steel blade immersed in a bath of copper sulphate would take a coating of copper, or sulphuric acid if mixed with water would raise its temperature.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Advertisement in *Biblical Recorder*, dated December 12, 1854. In the same paper of March 24, 1854, the editor says: "About \$1,000 have been expended in procuring instruments to complete the Philosophical and Astronomical apparatus. Every important principle in these sciences can now be illustrated by experiments. The apparatus is more extensive than that of any other Literary institution in the State except the University."

<sup>22</sup> David Rice Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVII, 314, names Botany among his studies in 1839-41.

<sup>23</sup> The account closes: "Although his apparatus was incomplete, the ready facility and unerring success with which the several experiments were performed proved that the lecturer was thoroughly acquainted with the subject"

The Trustees, however, were much interested in chemistry. At a meeting the Executive Committee on August 30, 1848, four members of the committee with the endorsement of three other members of the committee of the Board recommended that Dr. O. F. Baxter, a graduate of the class of 1840, who had since graduated in Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, be offered the position of Professor of Chemistry and Geology, which, however, he did not accept. In 1852, William T. Walters was elected Professor of Mathematics. The records of the Trustees add nothing further, but in the notice of the College beginning with that year Walters is named Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry. For Chemistry he had no special qualifications, his only training being that he had received under Professor White at Wake Forest. It is not known whether or not he conducted classes in this subject. Six months later the Trustees made a contingent provision for the purchase of chemical apparatus. Two years later, when as a result of the campaign for endowment there was promise of more revenue, Poindexter S. Henson, of whom some account may be found in the chapter on associational academies, was elected Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, at a salary of \$800 a year. He did not accept, nor did a Mr. Cummings, a second person whom the committee was instructed to procure for the place if Henson should decline it. Being further instructed, if they failed with Cummings as well as with Henson, to get a Professor of Chemistry elsewhere if possible, the Committee did not succeed in getting one at all, although six members of the Board of Trustees agreed to pay four hundred dollars, or half his salary.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the explanation is that the

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of which he treated. And it also proved that, though a splendid and costly apparatus may be desirable, it is not at all indispensable to illustrate all the important principles of chemical science."

In the *Biblical Recorder* of March 4, 1848, is an article signed "M," probably Archibald McDowell, who was then a tutor in the College on meteors. He adopts the theory that meteors are lunar in their origin and advances the arguments that were used to support that theory. But he did not convince Meredith.

<sup>24</sup> These were J. S. Purefoy, J. J. James, N. J. Plamer, R. W. Lawson, W. W. Vass, and S. S. Biddle, *Proceedings*, p. 101.

men chosen knew little of chemistry and on that account were unwilling to undertake the work, while the salary of \$800 a year was too small to attract the teacher who had the necessary training.

At this meeting of June, 1854, the Trustees voted that the Professor of Chemistry, when obtained, should take care to give a course on the application of Chemistry to Agriculture,<sup>25</sup> doubtless being aware that plans for such a course had been begun at the State University two years before and were now maturing. The importance of a department of Chemistry to the College and of its providing instruction in Agricultural Chemistry was recognized also by the youthful T. H. Pritchard, who graduating in 1854 immediately became the agent of the College. In a letter which appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* of September 14, 1854, he declared that the prompt endowment of the College was imperative to provide "right away" a chair of Chemistry that its students might have a knowledge of that "most practical and important of all the physical sciences," and that thus the College might provide the scientific farmer which the age was demanding.<sup>26</sup>

Since the committee appointed in June, 1854, had not been able to find a Professor of Chemistry, the Board in October of that year asked a committee consisting of J. S. Purefoy and S. S. Biddle to procure one. Probably in accord with their recommendation, the Board at its meeting in June, 1855, unanimously elected William Gaston Simmons Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, at a salary of \$800 a year, a position which he accepted and held until 1886 when he gave up his work in the College. Mr. Simmons had graduated at Wake Forest College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1852. After graduation he had been a law student at the State University. Though he had no special training for the work which he was appointed to take up, he had that universal ability which enabled him soon to

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<sup>25</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 100.

<sup>26</sup> We shall see below that Pritchard never lost this view of the importance of practical chemistry.



equip himself for it. It may be said that he was soon doing the work as well as it could be done without laboratories and by one with his multifarious duties, but the course in Chemistry remained until the Civil War and so long as Simmons conducted it a textbook and lecture course, and cultural rather than practical. In the catalogue of 1859-60 Professor Simmons' department is headed "Natural Science," and is said to include Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, and Geology. Professor Simmons was also the head of the department of the "Constitution of the United States."

With reference further to scientific subjects in the curriculum, in the department of Mathematics instruction was given in Civil Engineering and in Astronomy.

It is worthy of note that there was some disposition among the friends of the College to establish a school of medicine in connection with the College. In the *Biblical Recorder* of September 29, 1849, is found a communication over the name "Chapman," in which the arguments for the establishment of such a school are well stated: many thousands of dollars are taken out of the State every year by students in medical colleges which might very well be kept at home and support a faculty whose ability would reflect credit on any institution of the kind. Again, with such a corps of trained physicians it would not be necessary for our citizens to go out of the State for medical treatment, and in this way again great savings might be effected. We are too much in the habit of becoming tributary to the North, a thing we can no longer afford since the fertility of our lands is being exhausted. The charter of Wake Forest possibly conveys the right to establish such a school, but if not, it can be amended for the purpose. Schools in other States, as Hampden Sidney College in Virginia, are successfully operating medical schools. The city of Raleigh is a suitable place for such a school and its citizens would encourage its establishment there; it is near the College and with the facilities offered by the railroads anatomical ma-

terial could easily be procured. He closes with these words: "I hope this subject will receive from the Board of Trustees and the citizens of the State generally that consideration which a due sense of State pride as well as its importance demands. Let us in all things, as far as we can, set up for ourselves; then we shall be as independent as we are sovereign."

This communication was answered two weeks later in the same paper by a letter over a signature "O," doubtless Professor Owen of the College, who spoke of how favorably he first regarded the proposition, but mentioned some objections. First, he doubted whether the charter of the College conveyed the right to establish a professional school, while the institution at Chapel Hill could do so without having "to splice its wings;" again, it was no time to divert attention from the struggle to pay the College debt and provide endowment ; third, the medical colleges of the Virginia institutions were yet in the stage of experiment, and some of their friends were regretting that such an experiment had been made; fourth, to equip a medical school in any adequate way would require a larger sum than could be obtained in any other way than by Legislative aid. With this, the matter was dropped.

Another proposition was for the establishment of an Experiment Farm. It was published by N. J. Palmer in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 16, 1850. He thought that the usefulness of the institution might be greatly extended by such a farm, "in which practical agriculture might be taught to all who desired instruction in that department, and useful experiments made as to the adaptation of our soil and climate to the various products of the earth." The science of Horticulture might also be taught, and from the gardens of the College the surrounding country might be supplied at a profit with fruit, fruit trees and shrubbery. As a means of carrying out the project the Trustees still had a hundred acres of land east of the railroad well adapted to the purpose. The railroad offered facilities both for procuring proper implements and also varieties of seeds and trees and plants. The information the students of the College gained by devoting part

of their time to the farm and garden would be diffused throughout the State and prove of incalculable benefit. The city of Raleigh would furnish a good market for the products of the farm and garden. While all other professions except the ministry were overstocked, scientific agriculture and horticulture offered a constantly increasing "source of wealth, health and happiness."

The proposition received no favor. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees the next June the land east of the railroad was sold to W. T. Brooks for ten dollars an acre.

The College all along showed its desire to prove useful to the State and its citizens. The responsibility of the institution to train teachers for the elementary schools was felt even before the Legislature, late in 1838, passed the first law looking to the establishment of Common Schools. Probably the contrast between educational conditions in North Carolina and in New York and New England was very striking to Wait, White and Morse, all of whom were from that section. Nor could Wait in his many itineraries through the State have failed to observe the utter lack of training of certain of those who were teaching little children. Hoping to make Wake Forest an agency in removing this evil he provided that a course should be offered for such as were preparing themselves to teach in the common English schools of the State. It was planned that those taking this course should be trained not only in the branches they were to teach, but should also be given instruction on the management of schools and in the duties and office of teachers.<sup>27</sup> The editor gave this letter place in an editorial commending the purpose and expressing the hope that many would take advantage of the opportunity offered. Just

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<sup>27</sup> See Wait's letter in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 23, 1838, which is as follows: "Wake Forest Institute, June 20, 1838. Bro. Meredith, will you allow me to state, through the medium of the *Recorder*, that the second session of this Institution will commence on the fifth of July next.

"It is thought proper to add, that arrangements have been made to give suitable instruction to a class of such young gentlemen as may be preparing to take charge of common English schools.

"Should such a class be formed, a course of lectures will be given on the government of schools, and on other subjects connected with the duties and office of teachers. Your brother, Samuel Wait."

to what extent this was done does not appear in the records. But the purpose was not abandoned; in June, 1844, the plan to offer a course for training teachers was advertised.<sup>28</sup> Probably instruction in the English division of the Academical Department of the College was through all the early years adapted to such teacher training. In his Report on Education to the Baptist State Convention of 1842 Professor J. B. White said that the College had already furnished many teachers for the primary schools and the seminaries (high schools). The able advocacy of the Common Schools contained in this report is sufficient evidence that their interests were not being neglected in the College.<sup>29</sup>

The interest of Wake Forest College in the Common Schools was still further shown by a bill which was brought before the Legislature which met on October 4, 1852. This was called "A bill to provide for the education of common school teachers." Under its terms provisions was made for the education of eighty-one young men of the State, one for each county, twenty-seven each at Davidson College, Normal (Trinity) College, and Wake Forest College, with their tuition paid at regular rates at the institutions from the Literary Fund of the State. The students were to be selected, one from each county, by the superintendents of public instruction of the counties, and were to have the privilege of attending the institution of their choice, but the State would pay the tuition of no more than twenty-seven in any one institution. The students thus helped must pledge to teach in the

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<sup>28</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 17, 1844.

<sup>29</sup> Professor White's report, the main purpose of which was to arouse the Baptists of the State to the support of the Common Schools, made a profound impression on the assembled Convention. The following is from the minute in regard to it: "The report was read distinctly to a crowded house by Prof. J. B. White of Wake Forest College. E. Kingsford, Agent of the American and Foreign Bible Society, moved the acceptance of the report, and followed his motion with a stirring appeal in behalf of education. President Wait seconded the motion of acceptance, and gave some affecting and yet encouraging disclosures respecting the state of education in North Carolina generally. Dr. C. Lillybridge and J. J. Finch participated in the discussion, which being concluded, the report was adopted, and ordered to be printed in the minutes."

Common Schools of the State for twelve months.<sup>30</sup> Much to the surprise of Baptist friends of the bill it failed of passage. It was urged in opposition to it that while Wake Forest and Davidson were sectarian institutions, Normal College was not, and it seems to have been this consideration that led to its defeat. This was the subject of some bitter reflections by the editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, who declared that those who held that view ought to inform themselves; to support his contention that the Normal College was as much a sectarian institution as any he quoted a strong recommendation of it as such from the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, which at that day served the Methodists of this State as their denominational paper.<sup>31</sup> From the facts given in the footnotes it may well be doubted whether the bill had the support of the Normal College. By courting the favor of President D. L. Swain of the State University, then the most powerful man in politics in North Carolina, Rev. Braxton Craven, on November 21, 1852, had his institution chartered as a normal school with the semblance of being a State institution, and was granted a loan

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<sup>30</sup> A copy of the bill was printed in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 14, 1853. The plan had been maturing for some months. Reference to it is found in an editorial note in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 12, 1852, which reads: "The Trustees of the Normal College in the county of Randolph have unanimously agreed to unite with Wake Forest College and Davidson College in application to the Legislature of the State for a grant from the Literary Fund. The States of Georgia, Pennsylvania and New York have made similar liberal grants to all their incorporated colleges." Wake Forest had taken the initiative at the meeting of the Trustees in June, 1852.

<sup>31</sup> The Normal College was chartered in 1851. In that year Rev. Braxton Craven, its head, made an agreement with the Methodist Conference meeting at Salisbury "to educate young men preparing for the ministry without charge." In the "general principles by which the College should be regulated and controlled," written by Craven, the statement is made that it must be "denominational without being sectarian." Brooks, *Trinity Alumni Register*, I, 89 ff., in article, "The First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College." In 1854 the Conference "gave the institution its strongest endorsement, and the movement was begun to make Normal College the Methodist Institution of North Carolina." *Ibid.* It seems then that the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* was right in regarding Normal College as fully sectarian as Wake Forest and Davidson.

for it of ten thousand dollars from the Literary Fund of the State.<sup>32</sup> It seems to have been the hope of Craven to receive appropriations from the State for the support of his college, but the Legislatures thereafter refused to make them, and after a few years normal instruction was for the most part discontinued in Normal College.

After the accession of President Wingate, in 1854, Wake Forest, being repulsed in its normal instruction purpose turned to making its work wholly collegiate.

Another matter in connection with the course of study must be mentioned, though it concerned only a textbook, Wayland's *Moral Science*. On June 11, 1856, the Board of Trustees forbade its use in the instruction of the College.<sup>33</sup>

This was no hasty and unconsidered action. The session at which it passed was attended by Samuel Wait, J. J. James, T. W. Tobey, W. M. Crenshaw, R. W. Herndon, Elias Dodson, Samuel Canady, R. W. Lawson, J. S. Purefoy, Calvin Graves, Alfred Dockery, Council Wooten, George W. Purefoy, William Russell, Thomas Settle, and R. M. McRacken. Among them were some of the most trusted ministers among the Baptists of the State; James was the present and Tobey a former editor of the *Biblical Recorder*; others were prominent in the political life of the State, such men as Dockery, Settle and Graves; Wooten of Lenoir and Russell of Caswell, Herndon of Granville, and McRacken of Columbus were among the State's wealthy planters. Probably not all were present when the vote was taken.

The ground of objection to Wayland's book was doubtless its chapter on slavery, which was a very impassioned statement and, as it appears after these years, rather of the nature of an abolitionist pamphlet; in it slavery was dealt with as a sectional rather than a national evil, as individual rather than social, and while the author sought to be conciliatory his expressions were

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<sup>32</sup> Brooks, *Ibid.*, p. 91. This loan was used to build the brick building of old Trinity, and was paid in Confederate money. Noble, *Public Education in N. C.*, p. 124.

<sup>33</sup> The record reads: "On Motion, Resolved, That Wayland's *Moral Science* be dispensed with in the Instruction given at Wake Forest College." *Proceedings*, p. 109.

almost inflammatory. It seems probable that Wayland's book, published in 1835, had been introduced into Wake Forest by Wingate in 1854, and that before that time Paley's text, which contained a much more temperate statement on slavery, had been used. But Paley was an Englishman, while Wayland was an American and a Baptist, President of Brown University, the author of a textbook on Political Economy and other textbooks, and one of the ablest men and scholars America has produced. His book on Moral Science, while little more than a digest of Paley, was written in good, easy style, and much better adapted for college students.

The action of the Trustees in disallowing Wayland's book came after years of angry discussion of the slavery question in which Wayland had had a leading part. In 1844-45 was the famous Wayland-Fuller controversy on the subject, which though conducted with all the courtesies of polite debate served only to make the adherents of each side the stronger partisans. With reference to it Meredith used these ominous words: "One thing is certain-if Dr. Wayland, and all anti-slavery men, will permit the New Testament to do its own work in its own way-or if they will even adopt the apostolic method, as alleged, of dealing with the universal sin of slavery, it may be the means of saving our churches from disruption, and our country from commotion, anarchy and bloodshed."<sup>34</sup> But the passion and heat of the argument continued, and were reflected in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* from this time until the War. Usually it took the form of the editor defending himself from the attacks of the abolition editors of Baptist papers of the North, whose most savage thrusts were parried by Meredith with the finesse of a master; Meredith seldom failed to lay his opponent prostrate. After his death in 1850, Tobey and James succeeded to his role. Every year seemed to add to the bitterness with which "the abolition press" was attacking the South. After the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention the Baptist papers of the North began with a freer

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<sup>34</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 4, 1845.

hand, to direct abolition arguments at their Southern brethren. By the year 1856 their indignation had turned to fury; James charged that "these editors have again fully entered the arena of political strife, and deal bitter and denunciatory expressions."<sup>35</sup>

It was because Dr. Wayland was one of those who had become politicians instead of Ministers of the Word that he and his works lost favor among Southern Baptists. In the winter and spring of 1854 when the Nebraska Bill, which left to the people of Kansas and Nebraska the right to decide for or against slavery, was before Congress, Wayland felt called upon to "have the religious feeling aroused on the subject," and abandoned the pulpit for the platform of the politician. On March 7, 1854, he addressed a meeting of citizens at Providence, Rhode Island, with what was known as his "Nebraska Speech," which, however "unanswerable" its argument, was in effect an impassioned sectional appeal, and had its influence as such. After its publication the sale of Wayland's books among Southern Baptists almost ceased.<sup>36</sup>

With the indignation against Wayland for his Nebraska Bill speech still strong in their hearts, the Trustees of the College as they were assembling at Wake Forest in June, 1856, had their patience exhausted by the report that Wayland had again busied himself with politics and made a speech strongly denunciatory of the South at a "Sumner indignation meeting," that is, a meeting to express indignation for the caning of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts in the national Senate Chamber by Senator Brooks of South Carolina. This speech as reported by Wayland's biographers reflects little credit on his judgment or poise. He professed to see in Brooks's assault the beginning of a conspiracy to dethrone orderly government and substitute one of force-of

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<sup>35</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 26, 1856. "How much more appropriate and Christian-like would it be in such clergymen and editors to be active in offering up prayers for God's blessing on the whole country, and especially for his guidance and direction of those to whom the government and rule are committed. We are truly gratified that Southern ministers of the Gospel have demeaned themselves in this matter as becomes their profession."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, October 23, 1856. *Memoir of Francis Wayland*, by his sons, II, 133.



course, by the slave-holding South-but he would have them know that he was born free and could not be made a slave. This was on June 7, 1856, so that news of it was fresh at Wake Forest four days later. Accordingly, it should occasion no surprise that a group of able and intelligent men, men with their minds already wrought up by the political campaign then in progress and by the stories coming every week of the troubles over slavery in Kansas, should not have hesitated in barring Wayland's book from the College.<sup>37</sup> His *Political Economy* was still used in its classes and after a few years his *Moral Science* was again listed as a book used in Dr. Wingate's class in Moral Philosophy, probably for reference.<sup>38</sup>

Some members of the Board of Trustees had some words with one another about the matter a year later, which they kept up, running to many columns, for several weeks, in the *Biblical Recorder*. Rev. W. H. Jordan, starting to write some "Commendatory Notes" on Wayland's *Notes on the Principles and Practices of the Baptist Churches*, wrote instead two long columns on slavery, and in the beginning spoke of his "regret that Trustees of Wake Forest College thought it necessary to displace his *Moral Science* as a textbook in the College." He thought no book could be found to take its place, and believed that whatever the purity of purpose of the Trustees, it would "be impossible to escape the suspicion of having acted from a puerile and ignoble, not to say an unchristian resentment."<sup>39</sup> This article immediately drew the fire of T. J. Pitchford of Warrenton, and S. S. Biddle of New Bern, two members of the Board, who were offended by Jordan's characterization of the action of the Trustees and by his views on slavery. Then followed other articles with Jordan's views assailed by James and another member or two of the Board in

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<sup>37</sup> Wayland's book was also banished from the classrooms of some other colleges. On July 8, 1857, the Trustees of Mississippi College requested the Faculty of the College to discontinue its use and declared that Dr. Wayland's "sentiments avowed in his recent petition to the Legislature of Rhode Island show him to be an unfit teacher of the youth of the country." *Biblical Recorder*.

<sup>38</sup> Catalogue for 1859-60, p. 21 f.

<sup>39</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 30, 1857.

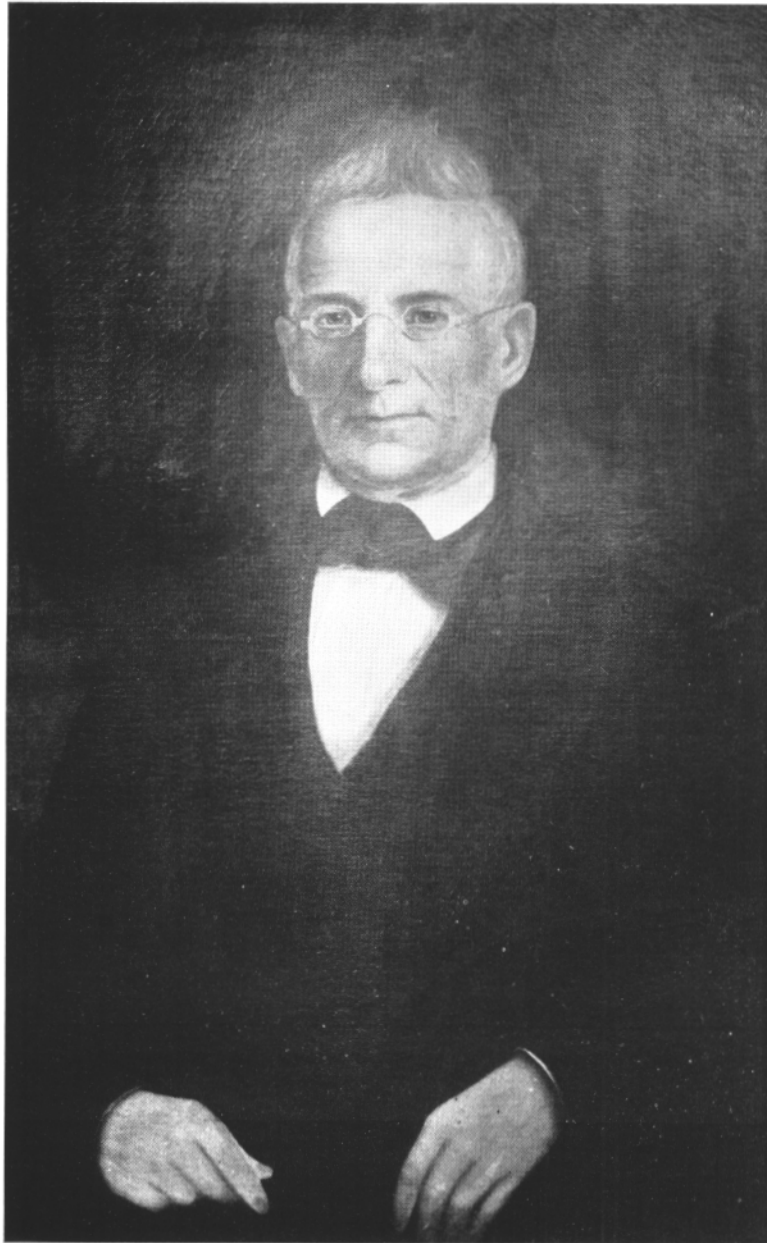
addition to those named. Jordan showed himself much the better controversialist but his opponents, some of whom introduced personalities, doubtless had the majority of readers with them.<sup>40</sup> In the course of his article one of the writers said that Wayland's book had been disapproved "without a dissenting vote." This brought a reply from Rev. Elias Dodson who with one thrust of his lance disposed of the statement, saying that he not only voted against the proposition but also spoke against it.<sup>41</sup> Jordan suggested that several others of the Trustees were not present when the vote was taken, but one who was present named them as being in the meeting.

It may be said further that Wayland's *Moral Science* was used at the State University and is listed in the Catalogue as late as 1860.

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, May 21; June 4, 25; July 2, 9, 16, 30, 1857.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, July 16, 1857. Dodson wrote: "In the *Recorder* I observe a small mistake. My name is as enrolled against Wayland's Moral Science. I spoke for the book, and voted for it, believing that we could not get a better. It was much less objectionable than Paley which had been in our colleges for a long time in the South. I fear there is too much sensitiveness both in the North and in the South. The moderate men on both sides will be the men to save the country. As long as I live I shall regret the separation of the Baptist North and South."



PRESIDENT SAMUEL WAIT, 1834-45

## ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT SAMUEL WAIT

Rev. Samuel Wait's term as president of the College extended from February, 1839, to June, 1845. During most of this time he was, as we have seen, absent from Wake Forest as agent for the College and sometimes as agent for the Baptist State Convention. His first agency extended from February to December 1839. In October, 1841 he was asked to act as agent for three months. In June, 1842, the Trustees asked him to go as an agent, and again in June, 1843, and he continued in that work until November 26, 1844. He seems to have resided at the College from January 1840 to October, 1841, and from January, 1842, till June, 1842. While he was absent the administration of the College fell to John B. White, who was named acting-President, December 19, 1838.<sup>1</sup>

This arrangement was kept up during the whole time of the presidency of President Wait. Wait, however, was often at home on visits and doubtless kept his hands on the conduct of affairs. He was also present at the meetings of the Board of Trustees and at the Commencements at which he officiated. Though at first the number of students increased under the agency of Wait, yet the records reveal that soon his absence at the College began to be felt. In January 1839, only three teachers besides a tutor were left at the College. These were Daniel Richardson, who, as we have seen, before the end of 1839 was dismissed by the Trustees, and Stephen Morse, who remained until June, 1841, when he offered his resignation, and John B. White, who later was to become president of the College.

Of the events of Wait's administration much has been told in former chapters.<sup>2</sup> When the institution first began to operate

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Materials for this period of the college history are not as abundant as for some others, since for more than a year in 1841-42 the *Biblical Recorder* suspended publication. For the most part I have had to depend on the records

under its charter as a college, in February, 1839, it was already in the midst of difficulties which were to increase rather than diminish during the next half-dozen years. The condition at this time is indicated in the "Circular" already spoken of put out by a Committee of the Trustees, consisting of Thomas Meredith, Samuel Wait, and Alfred Dockery, and published in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 5, 1839. At that time there was widespread criticism of the College because it was apparent that it would not be a charitable institution and provide education at a nominal cost. People were saying that the Board of Trustees had violated a moral obligation because they had raised the price of board from \$60 a year to \$80 for the ten months, and were complaining because the cost of instruction was too great. In chapter twelve above may be found the answer given to these complaints.

The serious aspect of this critical attitude was that the institution was not receiving a proper number of students. It had no endowment or other source of revenue; it was on patronage alone that it must depend for the expenses of operation. Accordingly, the committee appealed most urgently for patronage in these words:

To the Baptists of North Carolina the Board would respectfully state, that having succeeded in rearing a school adapted, in all respects, to the existing wants of the denomination, they now make this appeal to the denomination for their prompt cooperation and support. Brethren the question is now confidently and solemnly submitted to you-whether the seminary at Wake Forest shall move on, gradually and steadily, to usefulness and distinction; or whether it shall pine away and eventually expire-to the extreme disappointment and mortification of its friends. Should you think proper to yield your patronage, thereby exercising such state and denominational partialities as are exercised by the people of other states and members of demoninations, the school cannot fail to receive adequate support. Should you think proper, however, to bestow your patronage elsewhere, it may as well be known at present as at any other time, that the school will not, cannot be sustained."

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of the College and the Literary Societies, minutes of the Baptist State Convention, and manuscripts. Records, however, are briefer than one could wish.

It was not to Baptists alone that the committee made appeal for patronage, since there was neither in the administration and teaching nor in the discipline any taint of sectarianism, and young men of all denominations or of none would feel at home there.

To these difficulties as set forth by the committee was added before the end of the year the bitterness caused by the loss of Armstrong, and a full sense of the staggering burden of debt that rested upon the institution. As both of these matters have been discussed in other sections of this work nothing further of them need be said here.

There is nothing to indicate that any of the Northern men on the Wake Forest faculty was in any way obnoxious to the students or the Trustees. Wait soon became a slaveowner, and so remained until the slaves were emancipated. White also owned some slaves. But the mere fact that the members of the faculty were from the North gave much dissatisfaction to patrons of the College. Many expressions in the public prints of the time indicate the impatience of the people of North Carolina and other States at having their sons under the instruction of men from Abolition territory. Writing in the *Biblical Recorder* of April 19, 1845, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Furman Theological Institution said: "We admit that the Board, like most Southern Institutions erred by pursuing for years the wretched policy of electing as professors strangers from the North." A few years later Professor W. H. Owen, in summing up the qualifications of Rev. J. J. Brantley for the presidency of the College, said: "To sum up all in one sentence-he meets and answers a loud public call for a *Southern* President to prepare *Southern* youth for *Southern* fields of labor."<sup>3</sup>

One other more general reason for the decline in the number of students which had already set in 1839 was the general financial depression of the time which brought disaster to many of the mushroom educational institutions of the day.<sup>4</sup> Though Wake Forest escaped the worst, it doubtless suffered also.

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<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 12, 1852.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, December 15, 1843, letter of "Amicus," probably Professor White.

Amid so many embarrassments, the coldness of friends, debt, lack of patronage, sectional dissatisfaction with the professors, Wait struggled heroically to save the College. His labors and travels as agent which already have been discussed were successful only to the extent that enough was realized to pay the expenses of the work and the interest on the loans. But they carried him into unhealthy sections of the State, where he contracted diseases that kept him to his bed for months on end and interfered with his work at the most promising times.<sup>5</sup> Yet for many months and years he pressed right on. We have seen how great was his joy when, in 1841, he was able to announce to the students, that a loan had been obtained from the Literary Fund and the College saved. Serving with him was a heroic Board of Trustees, some of whom signed all bonds, and refused to be dissuaded from their great enterprise.

And yet the course of the College was attended with difficulties that would have dispirited less resolute men. One of the most serious of these was the decline in patronage, with the total enrollment falling from 87 in 1839-40 to 85, 84, 63, 54 in the following years, while the enrollment for any semester was never more than 65 and fell to 41 in the fall term of 1841-42. In 1843, as we shall see, the Societies were debating whether the College would suspend, and the report actually got abroad that it has suspended. This rumor a writer over the signature of "Peter," in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 30, 1843, took pains to deny, putting as fair a face on the matter as possible.<sup>6</sup>

The small enrollment was the more discouraging since only so few were students of collegiate grade. In each of the graduating classes of 1841, 1843, and 1846 there were only two, while there were no graduates at the Commencements of 1842, 1844, and 1845.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, January 24, 1846, letter of White.

<sup>6</sup> "What, W. F. College suspend? We may suppose from the absence of some of the Trustees, that they indulge in long naps, but I have no idea that in all their sweet slumbers they ever dreamed of suspending operations. The Watchword of the Trustees is *Onward, Onward*, and if the Baptists of the State who are patronizing other colleges, will but patronize their own, all will soon see that this watchword is a correct one."

Realizing the significance of this Wait made appeals for patronage that are truly heart-rending. On January 23, 1844, writing from a sick bed where he had been detained after a few weeks of the agency on which he started with such fine hopes in the fall of 1843, he says

At present, the churches appear to be very inactive. A kind of death-like stupor seems to have come over the land. It is much to be feared that a wordly spirit extensively prevails. But, dear brethren, this is in fact, a most important period in our history. We have gained much in years that are gone by; but, it is quite possible that by slumbering at our posts we may lose all or nearly all we have gained.

Our College has hitherto sustained itself quite as well as could have been expected. Owing, however, to the great scarcity of money, our number of students has been considerably reduced. The faculty have been unwearied in their efforts to keep up the institution, and this, too, by labors and personal sacrifices not generally known to their brethren.<sup>7</sup>

We had last session [the fall term of 1843] between forty and fifty students. The session has now just commenced, but nearly forty have arrived. Now this number, my brethren, could easily be enlarged. If you will only look around you for students, and make a little effort, the work will soon be done. With a suitable effort our number could easily be doubled. Permit me now to ask, if we ought not to do all within our power to sustain *our own institution? Is not this a duty?* Suppose that the apathy that now seems to prevail should continue, and our operations at the College, for want of a little more patronage, be discontinued. Have you thought of the consequences which, in that event, would be inevitable? Should the business of the College be suspended, the effect if such an event upon the pecuniary prospects of the Trustees would be most disastrous. Nor should we, in all probability, be able to begin again with as good prospects as are now before us, till after the lapse of many years. *And, possibly, NEVER.* Able and experienced officers are now on the ground, and the business of instruction will be well sustained, while I may be out for a season on an agency for the College.

But let these Instructors give up in despair, let the classes be dis-

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<sup>7</sup> At the previous Commencement Professor White had made a proposition to surrender \$300 of his small salary if the Trustees would procure a Professor of Ancient Languages; his proposition was accepted.



banded and return to their homes, and let all this be trumpeted throughout the land, and who will be able to estimate the disaster that will follow? I do not propose this as by any means a probable case, for I cannot suppose that our brethren and friends will allow it; but surely all may see that this may be if nothing is done to prevent it.

This article was published in two successive issues of the *Biblical Recorder*, February 3 and 10, 1844. Wait's illness however was so prolonged that he did not go out on his agency. It was at this time that he decided to resign the presidency.<sup>8</sup>

Although there is some suggestion that Wait brought the matter of his resignation before the Trustees at their meeting in June, 1844, the first record of it in the minutes of the Board is for the meeting in October, 1844.<sup>9</sup> At this time the resignation was laid on the table, but at a later meeting, November 26, 1844, it was accepted to take effect the following June.<sup>10</sup>

The reason which Wait gave for his action was that the College needed to practice economy and his services could be dispensed with without detriment. His letter of resignation reads:

To the Trustees of Wake Forest College—

Brethren: The welfare of our College has long engaged my most careful attention, and my anxious desire is to promote its best interests. Circumstances make it absolutely necessary to study the most rigid economy, and as the business of instruction can be performed by the Professors with such assistance as they can obtain from time to time, and the Institution be well sustained for the present, I hereby resign the office of President which I have had the honor to hold for almost eleven years. I do this after the maturest deliberations, and with the sincerest motives for promoting the interests of our beloved Institution. I shall ever feel a lively interest in, and do all I can to promote its future prosperity. Yours truly, Saml. Wait,-October 21, 1844.

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<sup>8</sup> J. B. White, *Biblical Recorder*, January 24, 1846.

<sup>9</sup> White in letter mentioned above says: "During his protracted sickness, he not only abandoned all hope of being able to travel, but also proposed, at the earliest opportunity, to resign the Presidency, which he subsequently did. The Trustees, after much consultation at several successive meetings, accepted the resignation, and adopted resolutions expressive of the high estimate they placed on the valuable services he had rendered the Institution."

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, 61 f.

As the administration of President Wait was coming to its close the condition of the College was already more hopeful. In a letter to the *Biblical Recorder* of March 31, 1845, written on April 5, Professor W. H. Owen says that a brighter sun has risen for the College, that the faculty is cheerfully hopeful, and that the number of the students has shown an increase of twenty over the last session, although colleges generally throughout the country, as shown in a report in the *Christian Review*, had suffered losses in attendance. And he closes with the following statement of conditions at the College which is sufficient evidence that the high moral purposes and inspirational personal influence with which Wait began his work at the beginning of February, 1834, were still powerful at the College as he was resigning the chief responsibility for its direction in June, 1845. Though not written as an encomium of President Wait, hardly a better could be found than these words:

But the strongest of all the indications of coming prosperity is derived from the conduct of the young men themselves; here we have halcyon times. I feel confident that if the public eye could penetrate our walls and see the good order, good morals, and strict attention to duty and business, which characterize our students, we should very soon have our rooms crowded. We have not had a single case of discipline during the portion of the session which has passed, and only one or two excuses rendered for absence to which exceptions could be taken; all from the oldest to the youngest seem to act as if they thought they had no business here but to study. It is a rare, very rare thing for one to be absent from his seat at prayers, except from sickness ! the daily routine of duties is conducted with noiseless dispatch, and this rather from the free will of the students themselves than any extraordinary exertion of the faculty, and yet no one can witness their performances, particularly on the stage, without being convinced that here there is the impatience of embryo genius and the restlessness of ambition. I am somewhat at a loss to account for this great change in a short time-whether to ascribe it to the influence of the revival of religion of last session, or to a magnanimous and patriotic combination of the young gentlemen to promote the prosperity and extend the usefulness of the Institution by exhibiting conduct in a great measure free from reproach; be this as it may, we certainly have high and encouraging signs that we shall have a Seminary from which the

demon of intemperance and all its hateful imps of idleness, extravagance and vice will be driven.

Your friend and ob't serv't.

W. H. OWEN

Wake Forest College, April 5, 1845.

This ended the Presidency of Samuel Wait, but not his connection with the College. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees in June, 1845, he was elected President of the Board of Trustees, a position which he held until November 11, 1865, more than twenty years, a longer period than any other has held the place. His letter of resignation of the presidency of the Board reveals his great love for the College which he had no little part in creating and which he had served so well. Even then he did not break all his official ties with the Institution, since he still held his place on the Board. His resignation was in these words:

To the Trustees of Wake Forest College

Dear Brethren: I hereby resign my place as President of this Board. My growing infirmities leave no room to doubt touching the necessity of this step. My seat as a member of the Board I still retain. The most tender emotions are awakened in my bosom in separating myself from your body. May the richest blessings of Heaven descend forevermore upon this Institution. S. Wait-Wake Forest College, September 25, 1865.

These further facts about his life may be recorded here. In 1846 he became pastor of the church at Yanceyville and thereafter for several years served several pastorages in Caswell, Granville, Person and Franklin counties; this period he called the happiest of his life. In 1851 he became president of Oxford Female College, a position he held until the summer of 1857, when he returned to Wake Forest, and spent the remainder of his life with his only child, Mrs. John M. Brewer, where he found great joy in her and her children. His last communication about the College is found in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 4, 1862, in which he explains the reason for the suspension, and expresses the hope that a school of some kind may be still continued there. In his last years, being afflicted with softening of the brain, he yet retained his affection

for the institution which he helped create. It is said that he would often be found making his way through the grounds and laying his aged and feeble hands on the College Building as if in affection and pride. He died on July 28, 1867; his remains lie in the Wake Forest cemetery.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Though the limits of this work preclude any extended account of Dr. Wait's work, the character of his administration of Oxford College may be inferred from the following note by J. H. Mills, *Biblical Recorder*, April 21, 1859: "Two years I was intimately associated with him. I never saw a man more diligent or decided in the discharge of duty or more zealously devoted to the service of those who employed him. So far as the school depended on him it succeeded. Its internal condition has all the time been good."

## SAMUEL WAIT II

When Wake Forest Institute became Wake Forest College as we have seen, the faculty consisted of President Samuel Wait, and Professors J. B. White, D. F. Richardson, and Stephen Morse. Members of the faculty appointed during Wait's administration were William H. Owen, and William Tell Brooks.

Professor Stephen Morse remained only a short time. He had come to the institution as it became a college, in February, 1839, and until the following June, he was Adjunct Professor of Greek and Latin; then he was advanced to the full professorship, and continued in that place until June, 1841, when he resigned. He is described as quite a stout man, well proportioned and not too large. He had a florid complexion, round face, dark hair and eyes. He usually wore a round jacket, as did most of the students of that day. Although he was an excellent instructor he was not very popular with the students.<sup>1</sup> At the time he came to Wake Forest he was about thirty years of age. That he was actively interested in the welfare of the College is shown by the fact that at the Commencement of 1839 he joining with Professor White brought the matter of endowing a professorship to the attention of the Trustees, who endorsed their plan and appointed them agents to secure the money. Just why Morse left the College is not known, but it was probably on his own initiative. Shortly afterwards he was admitted to the bar, but does not seem to have pursued the practice of law, since he became a merchant, first at Greenville, Illinois, and then at Paola, Kansas. After White, in 1853, left Wake Forest, Morse joined with him in establishing a college at Greenville, Illinois, which was named Almira College, the given name of his wife, Almira Blanchard. Of this institution White became President. Morse died at Paola.

To succeed Morse as Professor of Ancient Languages, the

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<sup>1</sup>D. R. Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 316.

Trustees in June, 1843, chose William Hayes Owen, a native of Oxford, North Carolina, and an honor graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1833, who had obtained his degree of Master of Arts from the same institution in 1838. From 1835 to 1843 he was Tutor in the University, and from 1836 to 1843, Librarian, according to Battle, "the most active of the early Librarians."<sup>2</sup> Of his ability Battle speaks somewhat disparagingly, though he does say of him that, "He was a good man and fully deserved his elevation to a Professorship in Wake Forest College."<sup>3</sup> He did not take up his work at Wake Forest until January, 1844.<sup>4</sup>

In their estimate of Owen, Wake Forest students who were under him agreed with Battle, that his natural ability was limited but that he was a master of his subject, a good teacher and a good man. "A fine old gentleman," says a student of 1847-50, "of little natural ability, but profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages."<sup>5</sup> Major Foote calls him "a fine linguist," while Hufham says that he "was a man of much learning, and for a student who was well prepared, a good teacher."<sup>6</sup>

Before he left Chapel Hill his dignity of manner had won him the name, "Judge," which followed him to Wake Forest, where he was always spoken *of* as Judge Owen, but not spoken *to* so much out of his name.<sup>7</sup>

While at the University he had also begun to use those great words which gave so much amusement.<sup>8</sup> For many years some of

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<sup>2</sup> *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 408.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 550.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of "Amicus," *Biblical Recorder*, December 15, 1843.

<sup>5</sup> D. R. Wallace, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 325.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 335, 340.

<sup>7</sup> The boys called him 'Judge' by nickname. One day, as we passed him on the way from the post-office at Forestville, one of the Students said, 'here comes Judge Owen,' when he ran at us, raising his gold-headed cane, and exclaimed, 'How dare you use my *sobriquet* in my presence?' " *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>8</sup> Battle gives the following as a traditional specimen of one of his reports: "I was aroused from my slumber by the untimely ringing of the bell and forthwith vigorously pursued the perpetrator in cloudy and moonless darkness. Suddenly with painful violence I struck my pedal extremity on an excrescence of a gigantic oak and fell supine on mother earth." He was unmarried, and the story was current among the students at Wake Forest that the reason was that

his expressions were told around the dinner tables in the College boarding houses. His orders to his servant were in sesquipedalian words: "Extinguish the nocturnal luminary," which his *fac totum* had learned to know was his master's word for candle and not for the moon. "When the great orb of day shall descend beyond the scraggy hills of the western horizon, remember to replenish the supply of aqueous fluid in the vessel." That such language was natural to him is shown by the fact that he used it in emergencies. Once when he was seeking to quell a nocturnal rough-house, a strong-armed student caught him from behind as in a vice, when Owen gasping for breath, said: "Relax your grasp, or I shall immediately become a corpse." At another time, when he was handing out diplomas to the graduates at commencement of 1853, a member of the class threw back to Owen the diploma handed him who immediately replied, "A fit consummation of a long course of insubordination." In his writing, however, consisting of numerous published articles in the *Biblical Recorder*, there is none of the gradiloquence that was said to characterize his oral discourse. His diction is choice and his style in other respects excellent. It should be said further that these letters show that he was a man of more native ability than Battle and the students credit him with. His thoughts are clear, cogent and clearly expressed and to the point, and without exuberance of ideas or extravagance of language.

Owen was at the College for fifteen years, 1843-59, longer than any other instructor of this period except William Tell Brooks. He was succeeded by one of his students, Professor James H. Foote, who had no other college or university training than that which he had got from Owen. Of another of his students who became Tutor in the College, B. W. Justice, Wallace has said, "He was the finest Greek scholar that I ever knew," while Wallace himself acquired in Owen's classroom that mastery of Latin grammar which enabled him to read Latin as well as English.<sup>9</sup>

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the lady to whom he proposed said that she could not understand his language, and, laughing, jumped up and left him in the parlor alone. Foote, article cited.

<sup>9</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 325 f.

For much of the time while he was in the faculty Owen was its secretary, and as such published articles on the College, especially during the several periods in which the College had no president. Many of these articles reveal his great loyalty to the institution and his concern for its welfare, and his enthusiasm in its progress. Perhaps no one has stated better than he the advantages of a small college in a location remote from the city.<sup>10</sup> As another evidence of Owen's correctness of judgment is found in his statement of what should be the education of women in an article in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 7, 1851. He thinks that in the Southern seminaries girls spend too much time and money in "the attainment of the costly but transitory graces of art." While these are valuable most Southern girls get them in their home training, and in school the graces should not be too much cultivated to the prejudice and exclusion of "those studies which are the soul and body of good education-of studies which tend to *permanent* happiness and usefulness-such studies as the science of duty, or Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Domestic Economy and History," these subjects being important in the order named. He thinks that such studies, with the addition of Foreign Languages, "what may be called studies of the *judgment*, in distinction from those of the *imagination*, would have a tendency to impart fortitude and wisdom of mind, which would enable it to impart a portion of its strength to its feeble tenement, the body, thereby prolonging the existence and usefulness of the individual."

In this place it may be mentioned that soon after entering on

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<sup>10</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 23, 1850-1 quote a few words: "Indeed the true idea and theory of schools is that they are places of retirement. We learn from Xenophon that the Persians fenced out from their schools the great bable of worldly confusion with more than Spartan jealousy and vigilance; and in modern times, the celebrated school at Hofwyl in Switzerland is planned to secure the same object. It is difficult for a man to prepare amid the bustle of society for the highest duties of a social relation. So very practical, engrossing, trying and vexatious are the unnumerable cares of active life, that a professional man formed among them and without the discipline of the schools, will seldom reach the highest capacity of his nature, and is apt to betray harshness and headiness in the performance of his duties."



his work at Wake Forest Professor Owen and two of his sisters opened a Female Boarding School and conducted it for several years. He brought with him to Wake Forest his mother, Mrs. Rebecca C. Owen (Mrs. John Owen), and his sisters. They took up their residence in the South Brick House, which is still standing across the street from the Church. On the third Monday in January, 1844, they opened a Female Boarding School at Wake Forest. The mother was matron, the sisters, Misses Mary and Sallie Owen, were the teachers, while Professor Owen was supervisor.<sup>11</sup> In the advertisements of the school the advantages of the situation are dwelt upon, "in a neighborhood well known in the State for its healthiness, beauty, intelligence and morality"; it is easily accessible by railroad. Emphasis was also given to "the opportunity afforded by its vicinity to the College, for the young ladies to be educated in a circle where the scholastic spirit has been generated, as also for attending gratuitously such *Exercises* of the College as may be of public nature." The charges were moderate, board ten dollars a month and tuition ranging from ten to seventeen dollars for the session, music on piano ten dollars and on the guitar five dollars. Vacations were the same as those of the College.

The school seems to have been successful, though little appears about it except the advertisements. There is no intimation of just how it was regarded by those in charge of the College, or what social relations, if any, existed between the young ladies and the College students. There were some, however, who were ready to declare that the young ladies were in a position to see too much society. In replying to this criticism, Rev. Archibald McDowell, who married Miss Mary Owen on June 15, 1847, five days after his graduation from the College, Dr. William Hooper officiating, and who for the next year ran the school in his name, said that he was now convinced that among the candid the impression exists that even in this favorable situation the young ladies had no more social life than was desirable, and not more

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<sup>11</sup> There were also two other sisters, Lucy and Rebecca, and one brother, Hugh.

than they would have at village boarding schools. He saw "numerous advantages of having sons and daughters educated at the same place and to a considerable degree together," and he promised to give the student of the Seminary an education that should resemble in kind and approximate in quality that offered in the College.<sup>12</sup>

The school seems to have been discontinued, after the spring session of 1848, since Mr. and Mrs. McDowell left to become principals of the Chowan Female Institute, which opened on October 11, 1848.<sup>13</sup>

As Owen taught in the College for a longer period than any other full professor before the Civil War, so he also had a part second to none in training the students. In the curriculum of that day the department of Ancient Languages was the chief instrument in literary training. Full one-third of the time was given to Latin and Greek; there was no English department and no professor of English. French was added before 1848-49, and the teaching of that subject fell also to the department of Ancient Languages. Owen had as helper Adjunct Professor W. T. Brooks, and at times a tutor, but there was sufficient work in the preparatory classes to keep these men busy, while the work in the college classes naturally fell to Owen himself. It was his responsibility to train the students in language and composition and in literary appreciation. There was indeed a course in Belles Lettres taught sometimes as a secondary work of the President, but by far the greater part of literary training in this period was gained in the classes in the Ancient Classics. It was in them that the students engaged day after day in studying comparative grammar, sentence structure and the niceties of literary expression. It was here that they got practically their only classroom training in English composition, as they enlarged their vocabulary by seeking proper words to translate the Greek and Latin masterpieces and sought to reproduce their thoughts in English. Ac-

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<sup>12</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 20, 1844; July 10, 1847.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, October 28, 1848. A statement signed by Dr. G. C. Moore, Chairman, under date of August 12, 1848.

cordingly, it can be seen that Owen in all probability contributed more to the education of the students of that period than any of his colleagues. It was the work in his classes that chiefly formed their literary tastes and gave them what ability they may have had to write and speak correct English. And that he did this work well may be seen by a consideration of some of the men he taught. It was Owen who trained Matthew T. Yates, S. G. O'Bryan, Lewis H. Shuck, D. R. Wallace, W. G. Simmons, T. H. Pritchard, A. J. Emerson, J. D. Hufham, Benjamin J. Lea, B. F. Marable, W. T. Faircloth, C. S. Ellis, Fitz Henry Ivey, and J. H. Mills. All of these were masters of a correct and easy English style, and some of them such as Pritchard, Mills, and Hufham writers of force and elegance. It is no little thing to Owen's credit to have had the chief part in training them.

In everything that involved the welfare of the College, its honor, its progress, the moral and religious development of the students, and the good name of his colleagues on the faculty, Owen showed his interest and zeal. Did the College feel that its life depended on getting a renewal of the loan from the Literary Fund? Owen wrote an able letter to Governor Graham.<sup>14</sup> Did Dr. Wait need a word of appreciation as he was ending his years of service as president of the College? It was Owen who spoke it.<sup>15</sup> Was a word of explanation needed to allay criticism of the college curriculum? Owen published a statement.<sup>16</sup> Was some unwise proposition made, such as that in 1849 for the establishment of a Medical Department at the College? Owen in a carefully worded article showed the futility of the proposition. Were people in the State apprehensive about affairs at the College in a period in which there was no president? It was Owen who relieved their fears in a timely letter.<sup>17</sup> Was a member of the faculty unjustly attacked in the public press to the detriment of the College? Owen was the first to come to his defense.<sup>18</sup> And he manifested great joy as often as the prospects of the institution brightened.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See letter from Owen to Graham in files of North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>15</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, 31, 1845.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13, 1850.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, January 6, 1854. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1853. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, October 15, 1857.

For a short period Owen was temporary president of the College. The Trustees elected him to this position on October 18, 1852, when President White was vacillating in the purpose to resign which he did not consummate until a year later. By December 2, 1852, White had decided to remain and was again elected president and continued in that place until the close of the fall session of 1853-54. During the spring session of that year Owen as Senior Professor was acting-president. At the Commencement of 1853 Owen seems to have graduated the class, and at any rate he handed the graduates their diplomas, which was the occasion of the insult of which mention has already been made.<sup>20</sup> At the Commencement of 1854, we have no account of Owen's part, but we are told that "the class was graduated by Dr. Wait," probably on request of Owen.<sup>21</sup>

The departure of Owen from the College came as a result of dissatisfaction on the part of the Board of Trustees. The first word of dissatisfaction is found in the *Proceedings* for June 10, 1855, which records a strong resolution requesting Professor Owen to use his influence to keep a brother from the dormitories. After another year the Philomathesian Society was clamoring for representation on the faculty and possibly this accentuated the already existing dissatisfaction. At any rate as soon as the Board had met in the Commencement meeting of 1856, a motion was presented asking for Owen's resignation, but was laid on the table after it has been long discussed with much iteration of the charges against him.<sup>22</sup> The records of the Trustees disclose no other sign of displeasure with Owen until the Commencement of 1858, when he was curtly asked to hand in his resignation at that meeting. With this request he complied, but

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<sup>20</sup> "On motion of J. J. James the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas Professor W. H. Owen was publicly insulted by one of the graduating class under circumstances calculated to mortify his feelings and reflect on the Faculty.

"Therefore, Resolved, That the Board of Trustees express their undiminished confidence in the integrity and fidelity of Professor Owen as an officer of this institution."

<sup>21</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 17, 1854.

<sup>22</sup> *Proceedings*, June 11, 1856.

with the proviso that his resignation would go into effect with the close of the next session, that is, in the use of the word "session" in that day, with the close of the fall term of 1858-59. The Trustees accepted this, and fixed his compensation for that session at \$500.<sup>23</sup>

In the meantime, however, a new element of dissatisfaction with Owen had found expression, and that was that he was not a Baptist. In the *Biblical Recorder* of May 14, 1857, was published "Some Queries about Pedobaptist Teachers." The writer asked, first, whether it was proper for Boards of Trustees to employ such teachers for their schools; second, if they employed such teachers did they have the right to expect them not to seek to disseminate their own denominational principles; and third, whether "it was just for a Board of Trustees to send an agent among Baptists to obtain funds, and then to use those funds for the spread of Pedobaptist principles. The attitude of the editor, Rev. J. J. James, is revealed in his answer, which was to the effect, that such a procedure was unless accidental "not only an imposture on Baptists, but a fraud on the part of those who practice it." The energy with which the editor expresses his opinion might suggest that the queries too were his own, but more probably they were the proposition of some one of the larger contributors to the endowment which was just then nearing completion, for it is no new thing for a certain class of givers to seek to dictate the policies of those whom they favor with their benefactions. Editor James was also a member of the Board of Trustees of the College, and it is beyond question that he saw that this matter which has

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<sup>23</sup> At the same meeting the resignation of Adjunct Professor W. T. Brooks, voluntarily offered, was received on the same terms; it is possible that the presence of Hugh Owen, the able but intemperate brother of Professor Owen, at Wake Forest was also one reason for Owen's dismissal. Hugh excited the criticism of the Board by his visits to the dormitories. Possibly the Trustees had some apprehensions that Hugh Owen was leading the young men to intemperate habits, but probably a more just fear was that he was causing them to waste their time, for he was a man of fine natural gifts, of good education and endowed with those pleasing social virtues that make one who possesses them so welcome in a group of college students. *Biblical Recorder*, July 31, 1861, note of death of his brother on July 2, by Professor Owen.

been discussed in his editorial column was brought to the attention of the Board of Trustees, and we may be sure that it had lost none of its force in the thirteen months that elapsed between its publication and the time when Owen's resignation was demanded. Just how much influence it had with the Trustees and how much the other grounds of dissatisfaction which have been mentioned must remain uncertain. But the fact is that after fifteen years of most loyal and efficient service Owen was dismissed.

After leaving his work in the College Owen remained at Wake Forest for several months, when he formed a partnership with R. H. Graves, and moved with his mother and sisters to Hillsboro. He continued to write occasional articles for the *Biblical Recorder*. In January, 1862, he became associated with Rev. L. H. Shuck, in the conduct of Beulah Institute at Madison. (Letter of Shuck, *Biblical Recorder*, January 29, 1862).

#### WILLIAM TELL BROOKS

William Tell Brooks was another instructor of the College who began his services during the administration of President Wait. He entered on his work as tutor probably in August, 1841, on the invitation of President Wait.<sup>24</sup> Although the exact date is not recovered there is little doubt that it was at this time that he came, since Morse had left in June and Owen did not come until January, 1844. He continued as Tutor until October, 1846, when he was made Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages, which position he held until December, 1858.<sup>25</sup> On occasion he doubtless taught other classes than those in Latin and Greek.

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<sup>24</sup>"During a part of the time he was at College, he had with him a servant, whom, on leaving for his home in Chatham Co., he disposed of to Dr. Wait. A tutor was needed soon after. The presence of this servant seemed to suggest to Bro. Wait the possibility of getting Bro. Brooks. The man was put at once on a horse with instruction to go to his old home and bring back with him his former master. Returning thus to his *Alma Mater*, Bro. Brooks came never again to go away until summoned to receive his reward."

<sup>25</sup> The Wake Forest Church Record Book shows that Mrs. Emily W. Brooks was received by letter in June, 1841, and W. T. Brooks began to be active in the Church in the fall of the same year. He also had general charge of the Preparatory Department for many years. *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 340.

Little is said of the character of his work in the classroom. Drilling students in the elements of Latin and Greek is a laborious and rather uninspirational work at the best. For it Brooks had no other training than what he had received under Wait, Armstrong, Hart, and Morse at Wake Forest. He had been away from the College in a rural section for two years when called to take up the work and was probably somewhat "rusty" on his Latin and Greek, but Dr. Wait's choice of him for the place sufficiently attests the fact that he regarded him fitted for it. An alumnus who became most proficient in Latin and Greek speaks of him with appreciation and affection as a kindly, pleasant man, good-hearted and as guileless as a child, and of his manner of teaching as unpretentious.<sup>26</sup>

Professor Brooks served the College also in another capacity, that is, by keeping a boarding house. He married Miss Emily C. Fort, daughter of Mr. Foster Fort. As early as January, 1849, they began to furnish board to the students at their home opposite the northwest corner of the Campus. This proved to be one of the most largely patronized of the boarding houses of Wake Forest and was continued for many years after Professor Brooks resigned his work in the College. His boarders conceived a great affection for him and when they returned on public occasions they frequented his home in crowds.<sup>27</sup>

Though he resigned his place on the faculty in 1858, he did not lose any of his interest in the College. It was said that he always had an opinion about all matters that affected its welfare and never failed to express it. He gave freely of his means for its endowment; he was greatly interested in the Board of Education and in other ways helped many young ministers to secure an education. In 1870 he was made president of the Board of Trustees, a place he held until June, 1880, when he resigned on account of his feeble health; at this time the Board adopted resolutions expressing their deep appreciation and affection.

As has been said above, at the times when the College had no

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<sup>26</sup> Wallace, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 325.

<sup>27</sup> W. B. Royall, *Biblical Recorder*, February 14, 1883.

president, Professor Brooks served as pastor of the Wake Forest Baptist Church, first for a short period in the spring of 1849, and again from December 1853, to August, 1854. In fact, his interest and labors were largely in the religious field. For about thirty years, 1847-77, he was pastor at Mount Vernon Baptist Church, formerly Wake Liberty, about eight miles southwest of the College. From its constitution in June, 1859, until January, 1874, he was pastor of the Forestville Baptist Church, while he left because of the dissatisfaction of its members with him for the part he was supposed to have had in the removal of the freight depot from Forestville to Wake Forest in 1872.<sup>28</sup> He was one of the group at Wake Forest that was in the thick of the conflict over retaining Rev. P. W. Dowd as Moderator of the Raleigh Association, which led the Wake Forest Church to join the Tar River Association. He was the principal mover in the formation of the Central Association, which was done at his church at Forestville in October, 1859. He had the chief part in building up the Baptist Church in Henderson. He was also active in the work of the Baptist State Convention and was its president for the five years beginning with 1869.

Some of the other principal facts of his life are as follows: He was the son of Terrell Brooks of the Rives' Chapel section of Chatham County, born, 1767, and of his wife Susannah, born in Maryland in 1772. His father was a substantial farmer and died when William Tell was fifteen years of age, leaving a widow and six sons and seven daughters. In a revival that followed the meeting of the Baptist State Convention at Rives' Chapel, August 11-16, 1832, he made a profession of religion and a month later joined the Rives' Chapel Church. He was ordained by the Wake Forest Church, April 3, 1842. From January to March, 1834, he attended the Tick Creek Academy of which John

L. Gay was principal; on June 14, 1834, he came to Wake Forest Institute, and five years later, in June, 1839, he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in the first class graduated by the College.

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<sup>28</sup> Statement of W. B. Royall, who succeeded Brooks in the pastorate.



In 1844 the College gave him the Master of Arts degree, and in 1874 that of Doctor of Divinity. After the death of his first wife, who was Miss Emily Fort, on April 14, 1862, he married Miss Susan Delaney Ray who nursed him tenderly during the long six-year period when he was confined for the most part to the house and often to his bed. He died on January 16, 1883, in his seventy-fourth year, "His death was as calm and peaceful as the falling to sleep of an infant."<sup>29</sup>

Professor W. H. Owen has also borne testimony to his fine qualities as a man and a teacher. Answering the charges that Rev. P. W. Dowd had made in the *Biblical Recorder* against Brooks he says: "If I understand the article referred to, Elder Dowd's charges, or rather insinuations, against Professor Brooks, are two: first of great defects of character, second of incompetent in his profession. *Ten years daily association ought* to qualify me to speak about these insinuations. During this time I have ever found Professor Brooks tenderly conscientious, just in his dealings with his fellow men, and gentlemanly in his manners. It is not for me, nor for any other, to pronounce him to be or not to be a Christian, except so far as this character may be inferred from an upright walk and conversation. But I am justified in saying that of the many able and excellent men with whom I have been associated, or whom I have known as instructors of youth, I have never known one who tried harder to teach his pupils 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report.'

"Of the *moral* fitness of Professor Brooks for the part he occupies he could produce much other testimony, which has always

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<sup>29</sup> Brooks left a diary which embraces the years he was a student at Wake Forest, 1834-39, and is most valuable for the history of the Institute. Sketches of his life may be found in the editorial obituary notice by C. T. Bailey in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 24, 1883; in a letter of W. B. Royall, *Ibid.*, February 14, 1883; article by W. B. Royall, Minutes of the Baptist State Convention for 1883, republished, *Wake Forest Student*, XXV, 31; article by J. S. Purefoy, Minutes of the Central Association for 1883, republished with some changes in the *North Carolina Baptist Almanac* for 1884, p. 13.

been deemed most inexceptionable, because most conversant with its subject, namely, the testimony of neighbors.

"Of the second insinuation of deficiency of scholarship, I have to say that I consider Professor Brooks a good scholar, clear, communicative, and correct in his instruction of classes. He is still young, a diligent student and constantly adding to his acquisitions. Indeed I may appeal to the manner in which he has conducted this very controversy as a proof of his scholarship, for I think a discerning mind can discover in his communications the caution, the perspicuity, the directness and the correctness of the scholar."

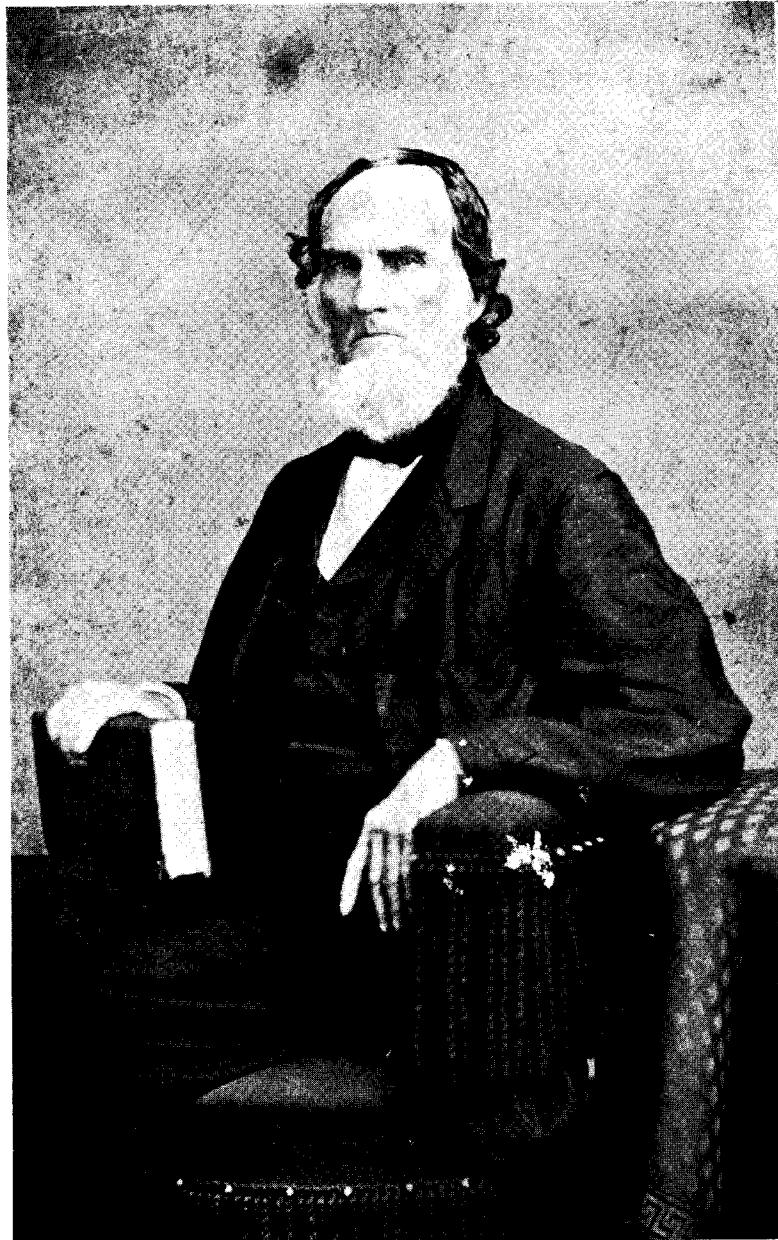
## PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOOPER

Dr. William Hooper was the successor of President Samuel Wait. He did not, however, succeed him immediately, for although the Trustees promptly elected him to the presidency in October, 1845, after Wait had given up the work in June, Dr. Hooper did not enter on his work until January 18, 1847, at the opening of the spring term, or session, as it was then called.

Probably there were several reasons for this delay. Dr. Hooper was at the time a professor in South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina, seemingly well placed and satisfied. He was by nature and training a teacher and lecturer rather than an administrator, being retiring in his habits and not seeking popular notice. Furthermore, the condition of the finances of Wake Forest College gave him pause. The College was in debt. It had no endowment, and as the number of students was small and they alone provided revenue for the institution, it had great difficulty in providing for the salaries of even a small faculty and other necessary expenses. Accordingly, Dr. Hooper thought best to withhold his acceptance until he had assurance that the friends of the College would rally to its support and pay its debt, which was still about \$20,000.

In addition to the stipulation about the payment of the debt, Dr. Hooper wished also to have an understanding about the more personal matter of a dwelling. At the Commencement of 1846 the Trustees in answer to his inquiry replied that he could have the North Brick House, at that time occupied by Dr. Wait, as soon as it was available, and that in the, meantime one of the houses in the grove would be put in repair for him, but before the end of the year the North Brick House was vacated and free for Dr. Hooper's occupation.

It is not on record what date Dr. Hooper and his family reached Wake Forest, but as has been said, he entered on his



PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOOPER, 1845-48

presidency on Monday, January 18, 1847, and continued in it for two full college years, ending with the close of the fall term on Thursday, December 14, 1848.

As has been told in a previous chapter, the friends and Trustees of the institution in the hope of securing Dr. Hooper went about the work of paying the debt with reviving zeal and determination. A new confidence was aroused. As the note to the Literary Fund had been renewed for five years and signed by more than thirty prominent Baptists of the State, the greater number not Trustees, so seven or eight members of the Board had assumed responsibility for the amount due Captain Berry, by a note to which they affixed their names.

In the interval between June, 1845, and January, 1847, Professor J. B. White continued as acting-president. The other members of the faculty were Professors W. H. Owen and W. T. Brooks, who was advanced from Tutor to Associate Professor in October, 1846. At the same time Rev. J. J. James was made Professor of Rhetoric but with the provision that he should operate as agent at the will of the Board, a position which he did not accept. Probably the faculty also employed a tutor for the preparatory department.

These faithful instructors were not despondent. Being closely connected with the College and its interests they could not believe, even in the leanest years of 1844-45, that Providence would fail to maintain an institution which had the promise of being so useful to church and state. Their part, they thought, was to give their students as good training as could be got anywhere.<sup>1</sup> The students were enthusiastically engaged in their class work and the *Exercises* of the Literary Societies, and were beautifying their Society halls. Being intent on these noble things they were free from vices and dissipations often found in the colleges of that day; there had been not one case requiring discipline of the faculty during the year.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Biblical Recorder* of July 12, 1845, both Professor White

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<sup>1</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 31, 1845, letter of W. H. Owen.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

and Professor Owen had letters, the former over the name "Amicus," exhorting those students who were to return to keep the high moral and religious standards of the past year, the latter giving in some detail a statement of the entrance requirements.

The year 1845-46 saw a revival of interest in the College. The number of students for each term increased nearly fifty per cent, the number for the year being 92. S. S. Satchwell, later one of the ablest physicians in the State, was secured as tutor.<sup>3</sup> In the fall term of 1846 the number of students reached 81, and 90 came in the spring term, the total enrollment for 1846-47 being 105.

In May, 1846, it was reported to the Chowan Association that the anticipated coming of Dr. Hooper to assume the presidency had "changed the prospects of the College much for the better, with an increase of students from 50 to 80 and everything at the place seemingly going up."<sup>4</sup>

At the Commencement of 1846 occurred an event which kindled unbounded enthusiasm, the graduation of Matthew Tyson Yates, who was already accepted as a missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention to China. Beginning on the College Hill, when Professor White immediately after Commencement collected \$250 to pay some debts of Yates and set him free for the foreign field, this enthusiasm spread throughout the State. The Raleigh Association assumed the financial burden of Yates's support, and he was ordained for his missionary work at the meeting of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention in Raleigh that year. Thus the College was established in the affections of the Baptists of the State as never before, sharing in the general warm affection that was manifested towards Yates and his bride, Miss Eliza Moring of Chatham County, who soon after her marriage in the summer of 1846: was baptized into the membership of the Wake Forest Baptist Church.<sup>5</sup>

Very quietly Dr. Hooper began his work as president. The

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<sup>3</sup> *General Catalogue*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of Chowan Association for 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Wake Forest Church Book, November 14, 1846.

event was noticed editorially in the *Biblical Recorder* of January 23, 1847. "This is an arrangement," says Meredith, "which has been greatly desired by many of the friends of the Institution. For ourselves we rejoice that he has seen fit to return to his native State, that he has become identified with the best interest of the denomination here." Of like strain was a letter of William Hill Jordan in the same paper of April 3, 1847, much of which has been quoted in the discussion of Jordan's agency for the College.

Hooper had hardly been at the College a month when he was called to deliver an address before the young ladies of Sedgwick Seminary of Raleigh, of which a most complimentary account was given in the *Raleigh Register*.<sup>6</sup> But for the most part Dr. Hooper remained at the College. Though his name is on the list of delegates from the Wake Forest Church to the Baptist State Convention 1847, the minutes make it clear that he was not in attendance; he was not among the delegates of the Convention of next year, the College church being represented by Professors Brooks and White. Perhaps the absence of Hooper is explained by the fact that the Convention in both these years met at remote country churches; in 1847 at Friendship Church in Cumberland County; in 1848 at Rockford Church in Surry (now Yadkin) County. So far as appears Dr. Hooper himself did not go into the field to solicit funds to pay the debts of the College, but it is known that he was on most intimate terms with one of these agents, Rev. William Hill Jordan, who began his agency contemporaneously with Hooper's coming to the College.

The retiring nature of Dr. Hooper was manifest in his reluctance to assume the pastorate of the church at Wake Forest, but evidence other than that given is not wanting that his modest, quiet Christian life was most impressive on all of the College community.<sup>7</sup> In another chapter something has also been said of the high esteem in which he was held by the students and of the benediction the ablest among them counted it to be under his in

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<sup>6</sup> Republished in *Biblical Recorder*, March 6, 1847.

<sup>7</sup> Tribute of William Hill Jordan, *Biblical Recorder*, September 13, 1876.

struction and guidance. The records of the Literary Societies also attest the fact of the confidence of the students in him and their veneration for him. On the other hand his concern for the welfare of the students and his affection for them are also revealed in the scant records that we have, as in the following from the report of Commencement of 1848: "After the degrees were conferred the President (Rev. Dr. Hooper) delivered a touching and pathetic address to the graduating class upon the inefficiency of speculative knowledge and the necessity of fixed moral principles," etc.<sup>8</sup>

Only once did Dr. Hooper during his term as president publish a communication of length on the affairs of the College; in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 1, 1847, he had an article: "To the Patrons of Wake Forest College," in which he insisted that proper scholastic standards must be maintained and as Wake Forest was not endowed this could be done only by seeing that it had a sufficient number of students. This was the obligation of those who wanted an institution such as Wake Forest. They could send their sons here with the greater assurance since the moral standards and strict discipline of the College discouraged spendthrift habits of students which involve great and unnecessary expense. It must not be supposed, however, that a numerous faculty and great swarms of students were necessary for the best instruction. On the other hand a small but well trained faculty and a smaller number of students secured that personal attention which was so necessary for development. In the small class every student made preparation, but in the larger classes they were tempted to risk having their lack of preparation detected.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1848.

<sup>9</sup> The following quotations are given as illustrating Dr. Hooper's ideals and hopes.

"This institution, created by your will, must depend for its maintenance on your continued support. Having no permanent and vested funds of course its very existence is contingent upon the number of its students. Hence its friends must show their friendship by making it the place of education of their sons and their wards. But a parent or guardian cannot be expected to sacrifice so much the good of the young man under his care as to give him an inferior education for the sake of keeping up a Denominational Seminary. This would



At the Commencement of 1847 there were three graduates with the Bachelor of Arts degree. These were T. B. Bryan, A. McDowell, and J. Merriam; in 1848 there were also three, W. T. Walters, F. B. Ryan, and W. E. Poole. One of these, McDowell, was afterwards intimately associated with Hooper in the conduct of the Chowan Baptist Female Institute. Several of the students who graduated in the years immediately succeeding, such men as D. R. Wallace and Washington Manly Wingate, doubtless greatly profited by the association with the able and dignified and gentle and sympathetic warm-hearted scholar and Christian who guided them through two years of their college course. Wallace's statement will be given below in the chapter on "Religion."

In June, 1858, Hooper offered his resignation as president. Though on the urgent insistence of the Board of Trustees it was withdrawn for the time, yet he persisted in his purpose and left the College with the close of the fall term on December 14, 1848. The reasons for his resignation are not clear. The Trustees seem to have given him all possible recognition. In June, 1847, they

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be injustice to the young man, and would not be right in the one having control over him. It results from this view of things that the College must be so sustained as to be worthy of the confidence and patronage of the public. Every father of a family who wishes to avail himself this institution is therefore interested in making it capable of bestowing as good an education as can be obtained elsewhere. This is an argument which appeals directly to our self-interest, and I think a little reflection will convince any man that if this College be, what it professes to be, a place where morals and industry are better secured than in most other institutions, considerations of economy as well as benevolence ought to prompt him to lend it permanent aid.

"Now in the location of this College, and in the laws passed by the Legislature in its behalf, every security has been taken for the attainment of frugal, sober, industrious habits in the students. On these the present improvement and future prosperity of our pupils depend far more than on a showy list of studies and a large and learned corps of professors."

"Hence your son will be much more apt to improve his faculties and acquire a taste for knowledge where temptations are few, where duties are strictly enforced, and where the number is not so great but that each individual is the object of daily personal attention, and is responsible for every recitation. As soon as a college swells into a vast establishment, each student sinks into insignificance—he is only an atom in the mass—his personal scholarship and his personal conduct become less a matter of observation and concern, and as a matter of course he sinks into unconcern, idleness, and, too often, dissipation. From this cause hundreds are ruined every year."

elected him to membership on the Board and appointed him Chairman of the Executive Committee. Hooper however, did not manifest any desire for participation in the business affairs of the College. He only attended to the internal administration. In October, 1847, he addressed a letter to the Trustees at their meeting at Friendship Meeting House in Cumberland County. Its nature is not known though probably it had reference to the matters of the faculty. This was referred to a committee, but it is not on record what disposition was made of it. Possibly the failure of the Board to comply with his suggestion in this matter led to his offering his resignation in the following June. No hint of the cause is given in any of the communication from White and Owen in the *Biblical Recorder*. In a letter of Mrs. Hooper to Mrs. Samuel Wait, under date of June 30, 1849, it is suggested that one reason for his going was the desire of the family to be united as they expected to be with their son in the school for boys near Warrenton.

In June, 1848, Jordan resigned as agent and as Trustee. As he was a great admirer of Hooper it is probably that his resignation was not unconnected with that of the president, but in the absence of records this must remain uncertain. He and the other agents had been unable to get subscriptions sufficient to pay the debt, the amount lacking being about four thousand dollars. The discouraged Trustees were in no good humor and adjourned without making any provision for the financial conduct of the College. The subscribers to the note to secure the debt to the Literary Fund were getting uneasy and Professor White was asked to see them, with the hope that some method of liquidation might be agreed upon. As a last resort a committee was appointed to ask the State for relief from that debt. It was in this situation that Dr. Wait, Rev. J. S. Purefoy, and others made up the deficit in subscriptions as has been told of in the chapter twenty above. It can easily be seen how much embarrassed a man of Dr. Hooper's delicate sensibilities would have been affected by such a situation as this and how he would have sought

to get away from it. Accordingly, there may be some ground for the statement that it was on this account he resigned his position.

The chief facts in the life of Dr. Hooper are these:<sup>10</sup> He was born in Hillsboro, North Carolina, August 31, 1792. He was the fourth American in direct line of that name. His father, William Hooper, was the son of that William Hooper, who coming from Boston, settled in Wilmington, North Carolina, and as one of North Carolina's delegates to the Continental Congress of 1776 signed the Declaration of Independence. His mother was Helen Hogg, daughter of a distinguished lawyer of Hillsboro.

In 1804 his father died, and his mother moved to Chapel Hill

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<sup>10</sup> The chief sources for the life of Dr. Hooper are:

1. Obituary notice in *Biblical Recorder*, August 3, 1876.
2. "A Tribute of Affection to the Memory of Dr. Hooper" by Rev. William Hill Jordan. *Biblical Recorder*, September 13, 1876. The statement of the distinguishing characteristics of Dr. Hooper.
3. Minutes of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina for 1876, a scant sketch except for quotation from Jordan's tribute.
6. Article in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopedia*, brief.
7. C. E. Taylor, Sketch, drawn from Cathcart and Jordan, *Wake Forest Student*, XXV, 20-26.
8. Collier Cobb, Sketch in *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VII, 245-251. Prepared from materials left by Dr. Hooper.
9. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, passim. Dr. Battle often quotes from Dr. Hooper's addresses.
10. Sketch by G. W. Paschal, *Wake Forest Student*, XLVI, 245-57. Paschal also gave a sketch of Dr. Hooper's life and works as his Presidential Address before the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society, December, 1832. This has not been published.

The following writings of Dr. Hooper may be found in the Wake Forest College Library:

1. *Fifty Years Since*, Alumni Address, University of North Carolina Commencement, June 17, 1859.
2. *The Force of Habit*, A Sermon.
3. "On the Deceitfulness of Wickedness of the Heart," Sermon. *Southern Preacher*, 1824, pp. 81-92.
4. "On the Way to Acceptance as Pronounced in the Gospel," Sermon. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-106.
5. *Sacredness of Human Life*, Literary Address at the Wake Forest College Commencement of 1857.
6. "On Some Defects of the Schools," Reprinted in Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*.
7. The *Biblical Recorder* for the years before his death, to which Dr. Hooper contributed articles on a great variety of subjects and in great number.

to have the advantages of the University for her three sons, of whom William was the oldest. He graduated from the University in 1809. In the same year his mother became the wife of President Joseph Caldwell of the University. The union was not fruitful, but the brilliant young Hooper stood as a son in the affection and pride of his stepfather. In 1812 the University conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts. The next year, 1812-13, he was a student of the Princeton Theological Seminary; in August, 1813 he returned to Chapel Hill as a member of the University faculty.

Dr. Hooper was in the work of education for sixty-five years. He began in 1810 as tutor in the University, and continued in that institution from 1813 until 1837, with the exception of two years, 1822-24, when he was rector at Fayetteville, occupying successively the positions of tutor, Professor of Ancient Languages, Rhetoric and Logic, and again of Ancient Languages. From 1837 till December, 1846, he was in South Carolina, for two years as head of the Furman Theological Institution, and afterwards as Professor of Roman Literature in the South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina, during much of the time being Acting President. On the urgent call of the Trustees of Wake Forest College he came to that institution and took up his work as president on January 18, 1847, and continued in it until December 14, 1848, when he resigned to join with his son, T. C. Hooper, in the conduct of a school for boys near Warrenton. In this work he continued for only a few years when he resigned to become pastor of the Baptist Church in New Bern. In August, 1854, he left the pastorate to become president of Chowan Female Institute, thus entering on a work in which he has had a pioneer interest. Here he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War when his opposition to Secession brought him to variance with the patrons of the College and he resigned. He retired to Fayetteville, where he taught in a school for girls. On September 28, 1863, he and his son, T. C. Hooper, became principals of the

Mount Vernon Female Seminary in Chatham County.<sup>11</sup> Here he remained hardly a year since it was impossible to correlate the receipts of the school with the rising scale of prices for provisions. Returning to Fayetteville, he remained there until the close of the War.<sup>12</sup> In 1867 he joined with his son-in-law, Professor J. DeBerniere Hooper, in the conduct of Wilson Collegiate Seminary for Young Ladies, and continued in this work until 1875, when he went to Chapel Hill with his son-in-law, who had been elected to a place on the University faculty.

In religious faith, as we have seen, Dr. Hooper, was first an Episcopalian; in 1822 he became pastor of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Fayetteville. Changing his views on baptism in consequence of having a two or three-year old child, to whom he was administering the rite, curse him with language like a sailor, he after six years became a Baptist, being baptized into the membership of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church by Rev. P. W. Dowd. After this he was active in the councils of the Baptists and did much to promote the Baptist cause both in North Carolina and in South Carolina. At all the educational institutions with which he was connected he often preached, conducting the Sunday morning chapel services, common in those days. During his stay at Wake Forest he was, by virtue of his position as president, pastor of the Baptist Church. In 1853-54 he was pastor of the New Bern Baptist Church. He was also pastor of Buckhorn and probably some other churches in the vicinity of Murfreesboro. His sermons have been highly praised by competent critics. Many of them have been published; two of them, preached during his

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<sup>11</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 16, 1863. In a letter in this paper of October 28, 1863, Dr. Hooper, who was then seventy-one years of age, makes this apology for again entering the schoolroom: "Blest with a remarkable degree of health for my time of life, I feel willing to spend the remnant of my years devoted to the acquisition of knowledge in training the minds of such young people as may be committed to my care, a favorite employment and in which a long experience authorizes my son and myself to claim, I hope without boasting, some degree of competence."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Fayetteville pastorate, are found in the *Southern Preacher*, a collection of sermons published in 1824. Many others are found in the *Biblical Recorder*. His most notable sermon, "*On the Force of Habit*," first preached on March 31, 1831, at Chapel Hill, was often published, the last time as late as 1890, and was read by President Swain of the University to his graduating classes year after year.

Dr. Hooper also had great ability as a public speaker, and was often called upon to make addresses on many varieties of subjects, for which he was fitted by his great store of learning and his versatility and wit. Most often he spoke on education; in 1857 he delivered the address before the Literary Societies of Wake Forest College on the subject, "The Sacredness of Human Life," arousing furious resentment among some of the lawyers of the State for his strictures on those of their profession.<sup>13</sup> Two years later he made the alumni address at the University, on the topic, "Fifty Years Since," which was heard by the President of the United States, James Buchanan, and a large audience of alumni, whom he greatly pleased and gratified. This address has been published and republished, and large portions of it are reproduced in Battle's *History of the University of North Carolina*.

In literary quality Dr. Hooper's productions were hardly excelled.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Hooper died at Chapel Hill, August 19, 1876. Returning from the Philadelphia Centennial which he had attended as a descendant of one of the Signers, he took to his bed and did not rally. His death was that of a Christian.<sup>15</sup> In accord with his

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<sup>13</sup> A fuller account of this is given in the chapter on *Public Exercises*.

<sup>14</sup> Closing his article on Dr. Hooper in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopaedia*, Dr. T. H. Pritchard has this to say of him: "It may well be questioned whether any man has lived in the South, or for that matter in America, who wrote better English than Dr. Hooper, and it is greatly to be regretted that he died without issuing from the press a few volumes of his sermons or some other work by which future generations might have been certified of his lowly piety, exquisite taste, sparkling wit, and rich stores of learning of this great and good man."

<sup>15</sup> Rev. William Hill Jordan, who was with him at the supreme hour, says: "The death of Dr. Hooper was such as might have been expected of such a man. His dying couch was as the vestibule of heaven; and even before his

request his body was laid beside that of his mother and her husband, President Joseph Caldwell, on the University campus.

In resolutions after his death, penned by Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, the University faculty declared: "Dr. Hooper's life was a bright example of Christian virtue, of rare culture, and of singular social excellence. . . . He devoted with unselfish aim to the service of his fellow men talents and attainments which in the academy and in the pulpit or with the help of the press were never idle. He gave to the University his best years, was during his whole life its staunch friend, and shed over it the luster of his ripe and elegant scholarship, his broad and catholic charity, his unblemished career as a most useful and honored citizen and noble Christian gentleman."<sup>16</sup>

The Baptist State Convention applied to him fitting tribute in the words of Rev. William Hill Jordan. Though the Trustees of the College were silent, it is certain that all who love the College feel and will always feel that the fact that this great and good man was even for a short period its president has shed undying luster over its early years.

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soul dropped its frail and wasted tenement he seemed to have a foretaste of the heavenly glory."

<sup>16</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 108.

## XXVIII

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN BROWN WHITE

When a meeting of the Executive Committee on August 30, 1848, President Hooper made known his decision to resign his work at the close of the fall term, December 14, that body chose Professor John B. White as acting-president to succeed Dr. Hooper, and appointed a committee on the presidency consisting of N. J. Palmer, G. W. Thompson, G. M. Thompson, and D. W. Justice. Since there was no quorum at the meeting of the Board appointed for January, 1849, this action did not come before the Trustees until their meeting at the College the following June. At that time the committee reported and the Board accepted the recommendation and elected White president at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. He accepted but with some reluctance, and temporarily until another person could be secured, pleading his inability to meet the expectations of the Trustees and the public, and expressing a preference for the work of a professor to the presidency with its anxiety and responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

In January, 1849, White had been at the College eleven years. Of his antecedents, qualifications, and work during this time something has already been said. When he assumed the duties of president, the College was in the swelling tide of prosperity which had begun in 1845 and which continued to rise until the Civil War.

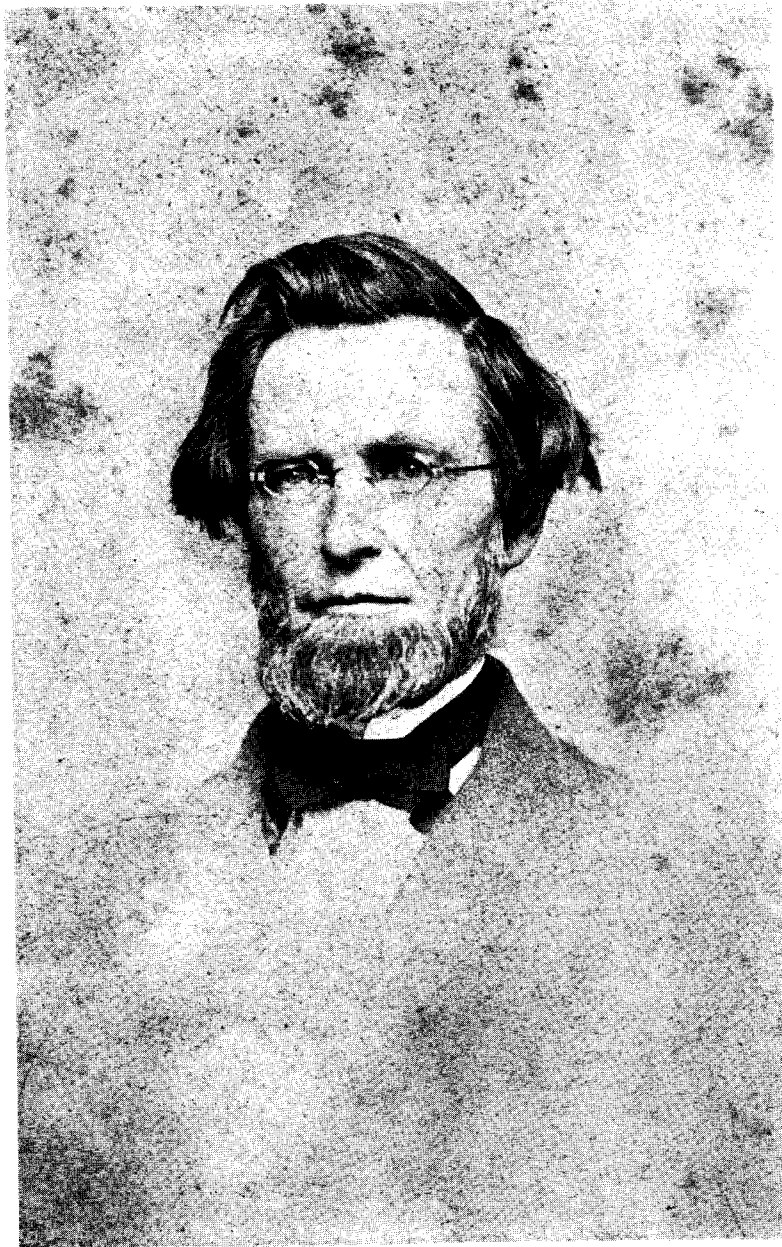
Of this prosperity during the administration of President White, which extended from December, 1848, to December, 1853, there are many evidences.

The number of students passed the hundred mark in all these years, a remarkable increase from the low record of 1843-44, to which Professor W. H. Owen refers with much pride in a communication to the *Biblical Recorder* of November 20, 1850, saying: "This college is the only one known to the writer which

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 71, 73.





PRESIDENT JOHN BROWN WHITE, 1849-53

in the same length of time has more than doubled its numbers, and whose officers have by their own unaided labors paid there own salaries, that is, by the proceeds of tuition, without any aid from endowments of contributions made in any other way." An editorial notice in the same issue, with slight exaggeration, declares that "never has the number of students been larger and never has it [the College] had a firmer hold upon the feelings of the Baptists of the State."<sup>2</sup>

Like testimony to the prosperity of the College at this time and the general satisfaction it caused among the Baptists of the State it is to be found in the reports of the Board of Managers of the Baptist State Convention found in the minutes of the years, 1849-53. With one accord they declare that the College is prospering, and they dwell upon the increase in the number of students, the qualifications, devotion, and moral influence of the members of the faculty. They also speak of the high moral character and industry of the students and their freedom from intemperance; and of the "two Literary Societies, well conducted and admirably calculated to provoke each other to generous emulation, and to cause them to strive nobly for the palm." Nor do these reports fail to notice the society in and around Wake Forest, "such as the best may desire," and exerting a powerful influence. And it is insisted that the graduates of the institution are not inferior to those of any other institution in the State.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The Catalogue for 1848-49, shows students as follows: 2 graduate; 5 seniors; 12 juniors; 13 sophomores; 24 freshmen-a total of 56 collegiate students; and 24 academical students-a total of 108. For 1849-50 no catalogue has been found. For 1850-51 the numbers were: seniors 6; juniors 19; sophomores 22; freshmen 25-a total of collegiate students of 72. In addition there were 33 academical students, making in all 105. The total in 1851-52 was 104; in 1852-53, 103.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of the Baptist State Convention for 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852. The following is from the report for 1850: "Wake Forest College is steadily advancing. The number of students has increased and its prospects for distinguished success are brighter than they have ever been. The members of the Faculty are well qualified for their duties and are devoting all their energies and giving all their powers both physical and intellectual to the advancement of those committed to their care.

<sup>4</sup> The graduates of this institution are not inferior to those of any other in the State, and deservedly rank with the first in literary attainments. The

As the number of students was greater so also was the proportion of those who were taking work of collegiate grade. The number of graduates with bachelors' degrees rose to ten in 1852, which was not exceeded before the Civil War, and not equalled again after the War until 1885. In quality also the students and graduates of this period will compare favorably with those of any other period of the College. Among them were such men as J. H. Foote, B. J. Lea, W. G. Simmons, John Haymes Mills, T. H. Pritchard, and W. T. Faircloth, all men of such moral and intellectual excellence as to justify an observer in speaking with admiration of "the moral influence brought to bear by the large number of pious students belonging to this institution."<sup>4</sup>

The faculty consisted of Professors White, Owen, and Brooks; in June, 1852, W. T. Walters, who had been serving as tutor, was elevated to the rank of Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry. There were tutors also during all these years, some of them very able men: Willie P. Mangum, and Jonathan Merriam, 1848-49; W. T. Walters, 1850-51; B. W. Justice, 1850.

As has been told in another chapter the College during these years secured what was regarded adequate equipment and apparatus for instruction in Physics. The Societies also had both excellent libraries, and these are mentioned with satisfaction in the catalogue of 1854-55.

No new buildings, however, had been erected. Probably some of the temporary wooden structures were still on the Campus but the greater number had been removed to the nearby lots, and were serving as residences, boarding houses and a schoolhouse.<sup>5</sup>

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young men who are now laying the foundation of future usefulness in the acquisition of knowledge and in mental training are noted for their elevated moral character. Intemperance is unknown, and they have an active and efficient division of the Sons of Temperance. There are here two Literary Societies, well conducted and admirably calculated to provoke each other to generous emulation. The society on the hill and in the surrounding country is such as the best may desire-such as cannot fail to exert a powerful influence in favor of the College."

<sup>4</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 8, 1850.

<sup>5</sup> The following from the catalogues of those years gives some idea of the buildings in and around the Campus at that time: "The College buildings are situated upon an eminence west of the railroad and command a delightful and

In 1849 the College Hotel was completed and in December of that year opened under the care of Mrs. Martha Ryan, who advertised that with the beginning of next term she would be able to accommodate fifty students with board, travelers with accommodations for themselves and horses, and in the summer months the hotel would be a refuge for those in eastern North Carolina from the unhealthy conditions of their homes.<sup>6</sup>

The Campus at this time was not yet inclosed, but its size and bounds were about the same as at present. The road running north and south extended straight through; there was a shack or platform where the station now stands, to accommodate students at the beginning and close of the sessions and visitors at Commencement. East of the railroad there were no buildings of any kind. Probably at this period as afterwards a large part of the Campus was used as a pasture for cows, while the farm lands being no longer regularly cultivated presented an appearance of neglect and desolation.<sup>7</sup>

It was in such surrounding that the students and faculty of the College worked during the middle years of the past century. There was little to interfere with the simple academic life. It should be

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extensive view of the surrounding country. The Campus embraces twenty acres of land, and contains a beautiful grove in the midst of which is the principal College Building. On the east side of the Campus is the railroad, and on the other sides are the officers' houses, an elegant Hotel, and other dwellings used for boarding houses." These were hardly a dozen in all.

<sup>6</sup> Advertisement in *Biblical Recorder*, December 27, 1849. An editorial note calling attention to the hotel says: "The need of such a place of public entertainment at the College has long been felt and acknowledged. The public is now indebted for the accommodations so long desired to the enterprise of our Bro. Jas. S. Purefoy, the owner of the building."

<sup>7</sup>J. D. Hufham, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVII, 338: "It was a black night, cold and rainy, when we left the cars and took refuge under a shack where the station house now stands. . . . The Campus was not enclosed, and the public road ran through it. There were no walks, neither was there shrubbery nor flowers. The dormitory was out of repair and but few students had come in. Altogether the place had an air of lonesomeness and neglect."

Major J. H. Foote, a student of these years, *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 332, speaks of the majestic grove of oaks around the College Building, and continues: "Outside the grove was an old broomsedge field, which they called the Campus, with no enclosure. Seated around were the unpretentious homes of the faculty, with Rev. J. S. Purefoy's only store on the corner" [opposite the Alumni Building].

noted here, however, that the college community was saddened on December 8, 1848, by the death of Rev. Thomas Crocker, a friend of the College, who was a charter member of the Board of Trustees and who had done faithful work as agent in 1846. His trouble was chronic diarrhoea. For more than thirty years he had been active in the work of the denomination, and was highly regarded by his brethren.<sup>8</sup>

In general things were going so well at the College that no one expected a change of administration. Thus it was year after year. So it was with the session of 1851-52, which opened well with ten or twelve more students than in the previous year, as President White with much satisfaction informed the editor of the *Biblical Recorder*. The Trustees then had reason to be surprised when at their meeting in Wilmington on October 17, 1851, they received a letter from White tendering his resignation of the presidency, to take effect in June, 1852. Just what reasons White had for his action is not known. It seems, however, that he was already in communication with friends at Brownsville, Tennessee who were urging him to come and take charge of a seminary for girls, the place to which he went on leaving Wake Forest. Many of his friends-Professor Stephen Morse, his college mate and former colleague at Wake Forest, and the Merriams were already in the West, and it is very probable that they were urging White to join them in a projected enterprise, which, as we shall see, they afterwards undertook.

In the language of a resolution which the Trustees immediately passed on receiving White's letter there is a suggestion that he possibly felt that he was out of harmony with them, the Trustees. In this resolution they are careful to express to him "the continued confidence of the Board in the faithfulness and ability with which he had discharged the duties of his appointment, and their unanimous and earnest desire that he withdraw his resignation."<sup>9</sup> The committee, however, reported at a meeting on March 26, 1852,

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<sup>8</sup> See Sketches in *Biblical Recorder*, January 6, 1849.

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 83. The committee consisted of William Hooper, D. S. Williams, J. S. Purefoy, and N. J. Palmer.

that White did not consent to remain. Thereupon the Trustees offered him an increase of salary, twelve hundred dollars a year, and a house rent free, if he would consent to continue in the presidency. He agreed on these terms to remain until the end of the year 1852 and possibly longer if a suitable person could not be found to take his place, in the search for whom he asked permission to conduct a correspondence. It is not evident, however, that the request was granted.<sup>10</sup>

In June, 1852, the Trustees appointed a committee on the presidency to report at the time of the Baptist State Convention in Smithfield. Meeting on October 16 the Trustees received and accepted the resignation of White, and appointed a committee of five to settle with him. Furthermore the Board showed their good will by a resolution offered by N. J. Palmer and adopted, which read:

Resolved, That the resignation of President White heretofore tendered, be accepted, and that the Board return their sincere thanks to him for the zeal and faithful ability with which he has discharged the duties of the office of Professor, and President of the College, during his long stay with us, and that we most heartily recommend him to the confidence of our brethren generally, or to any institution of learning with which he may become connected.

The Board also appointed a committee of three consisting of N. J. Palmer, J. S. Purefoy and J. J. James, to prepare and publish in the *Biblical Recorder* suitable testimonials relative to White's connection with the College. As White was soon after persuaded to remain, this was not done.

At this meeting the Board elected Rev. J. J. Brantley as president, and Professor W. H. Owen to be acting-president. As Brantley did not accept another meeting was necessary and this was held at the College on December 2, 1852. Then White was unanimously reelected president, with an increase of salary to twelve hundred and fifty dollars and the further consideration that he should be released from the payment of interest on his subscription to the endowment. On invitation White came before

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

the Board, and it seems that he had an understanding with that body that he would now remain permanently at the College. That this was done is clear from a letter of Rev. J. S. Purefoy in the *Biblical Recorder* of April 29, 1853; in this same letter Mr. Purefoy quotes from a letter in the *Tennessee Baptist* which indicates that White had for a considerable time been in communication with the Trustees of the Brownsville, Tennessee, Female Seminary, and that he had been invited to become the head of that institution probably before he first offered his resignation in October, 1851.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after the Commencement of 1853 it became known that White was purposing to leave this work at Wake Forest at the close of the fall term in December, 1853.<sup>12</sup> His resignation was formally laid before the Trustees by letter at their meeting in New Bern on Saturday, October 14, and was accepted. On the following Monday the Trustees voted that the Bursar should settle with White at the rate of one thousand dollars per annum, alleging

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<sup>11</sup> The letter of Mr. Purefoy, dated Wake Forest College, April 18, 1853, is in part as follows:

"We copy the following extract from a communication of Champ C. Conner, President of Western T[ennessee] B[aptist] Convention, found in the last *Tennessee Baptist*:

"Although it has been published in different papers that he (Pres't White) has been reelected President of Wake Forest College and has entered upon his duties as President of that College, it has all the time been understood by the Board of Trustees of Wake Forest that President White would not continue to teach for them a day longer than he may be detained in their midst by sickness."

"We remark on the above, that it is true that President White declined going to Brownsville on account of the sickness of his family, and consented to accept again the presidency of Wake Forest College.

"But that 'it has all the time . . . by sickness,' is without the *shadow of foundation for correctness*. It was distinctly understood by the Board at the time of President White's reelection to the presidency of Wake Forest College, that it would be a permanent connection, and should it prove otherwise, doubtless each member of the Board present on the occasion of his reelection would *to say the least feel* themselves greatly disappointed.

"We are pleased to be able to state to the numerous friends of Wake Forest College that President White has since his reelection visited the Northern cities and purchased a set of Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus, with which he is now successfully experimenting and illustrating before his classes with increased interest in the College."

<sup>12</sup> See letter of "Trustee," *Biblical Recorder*, September 9, 1853.

that "the increase in his salary was in consequence of an understanding that he would remain permanently at the College." The records suggest that White sought a modification of this order. Settlement had not yet been made with him in June, 1856, but on the eleventh day of that month, the Trustees ordered that he should be paid \$1,000 for his last year's service.<sup>13</sup>

Several reasons may be suggested for his desire to leave Wake Forest. In all probability, though the greater number of the Trustees who attended the meetings were friendly, White was not allowed to forget that he was a Northern man and a friend of Dr. Francis Wayland. Certain prominent Trustees did not attend the meetings of the Board in these years. Among them was Mr. C. W. Skinner, who in June, 1850, wrote a letter to the Board asking a settlement of his account for the North Brick House, which brought a sharp reply. Furthermore, we do well to remember that the urge to go West was strong in those days. Again, it is also very probable that White was confirmed in his decision to leave by the fact that he received very little support in his courageous and faithful effort to have a committee of the Raleigh Association of 1852 investigate the reported scandalous conduct of its moderator, of which mention has been made in another chapter.<sup>14</sup>

Most contradictory estimates of White's ability and fitness for his place in the class room and as president have come down to us. All are agreed, however, that his character was above reproach. He left off a lucrative practice of the law for conscientious reasons; he had a modest estimate of his own abilities,

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<sup>13</sup> The records do not leave it clear at what periods from entering on his office in June, 1849, till his final leaving it in December, 1853, White did not perform the duties of it, but it seems that for some of that period at least Professor Owen was acting-president. It is clear that Owen handed out diplomas in June, 1853. Professor J. H. Foote, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 335, certainly with some inaccuracy says: "Rev. John B. White resigned as President in 1852, and Professor Owen was President pro tem. for two years."

It seems that White left Wake Forest shortly before the expiration of the fall term of 1853. *Biblical Recorder*, January 6, 1854.

<sup>14</sup> See resolution offered by White in the minutes of the Raleigh Association for 1852.



reluctantly accepted the presidency of the College, and though early licensed to preach he did not accept ordination until his election to the presidency of the College made it almost necessary. Another indication of this modesty is that in his early communications to the *Biblical Recorder*, which were rare, he used the pseudonym "Amicus." He had the welfare of the College at heart and worked for it most unselfishly, at one time surrendering more than a third of his salary that the Trustees might employ a professor of the Ancient Languages. It was White who by one afternoon's canvass raised several hundred dollars to relieve Matthew T. Yates from the debt that stood in the way of his taking up the work of missionary, to which amount White himself was doubtless the largest contributor. There is a suggestion that he sometimes had to bear with the impertinences of students who shared their fathers' prejudices against him as a Northern man, but he seems to have borne all patiently. Some of his most able and discriminating students, such as S. M. Ingram, already quoted, and Dr. S. S. Satchwell, speak of his goodness, the latter calling him "the pure and scientific White," and saying further: "A talented and high-toned gentleman, he was an honor to the College and a blessing to the State."<sup>15</sup>

The statement of David Rice Creecy, a student of 1839-41, is interesting as giving something more personal. He says:

I am under the impression that Dr. John B. White was not so large a man as the President (Wait) and not so tall. He had light hair, fair complexion, blue eyes, no beard. He was very much like the President in manner. He never joked and hardly ever smiled, but the boys liked him, for he was ever ready to help them and instruct them in their studies.<sup>16</sup>

Dr. David R. Wallace, who was a student under him in 1847-50, is severe in his estimate of his ability, saying:

"He was a man of poor, even mean ability, and less learning. He occupied the chair but knew nothing of mathematics, the main thing

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<sup>15</sup>See Satchwell's address before the Literary Societies in 1858, pamphlet in College Library.

<sup>16</sup>*Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 316.

I went to college to learn. . . . I had been in Professor White's recitation room but a half dozen times when I conceived a sovereign contempt for his knowledge of the mathematics. He could not teach. His methods, call them methods, were atrocious.... In looking wise, and keeping his mouth shut, in Yankee shrewdness and finesse, he was an expert."<sup>17</sup>

The following opinion, that of Dr. J. D. Hufham, is the one that has long been current in North Carolina. It doubtless faithfully reflects the prejudiced view of certain friends and patrons of the College; it was prevalent at the time and is now generally, but wrongly, accepted as correct. Writing in 1909 Hufham said:

In 1853 John B. White was President. He was a New Englander and was not fitted to preside over a Southern college. He was often rude in speech and manner and in his intercourse with the students, and seemed to know nothing of the tact which always puts them on their best behaviour. He resigned the presidency and moved to Illinois before I reached the studies which were his special care. Few felt any personal loss at his removal, and his departure was a distinct gain to the College.<sup>18</sup>

Not only did the Trustees in October, 1853, by corporate action deal harshly with White, but neither in the several communications to the *Biblical Recorder*, of which some are signed "Trustee," nor in the editorial references of that paper to affairs of the College at that time is there one kind word about him.

A year earlier, however, on October 9, 1852, when White was thought to be ready to leave, the Philomathesian Society presented him with a volume of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* as a token of their appreciation, and sent a committee of their most trusted members to invite him to address the Society in a manner fitting the occasion. Furthermore, the records of the Board of Trustees are in White's favor; through all the years they were eager to retain him, as has been told above, a year before and spoke of him in high terms, whereas in 1853 they were seemingly vindictive in accepting his resignation.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 324. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 339.

The internal affairs of the College were never better than during the four years while he was its head, and at the close of his term of service its friends were more numerous and enthusiastic than they had ever been before.<sup>19</sup>

On leaving Wake Forest White became president of the Brownsville, Tennessee, Female Seminary, whose directors, it seems had for some years been seeking his services. Here he remained less than two years.

In 1855 he went to Greenville, Illinois, where he had been a lawyer before coming to Wake Forest, to assume the presidency of Almira College, a school for women, a position which he held for twenty-three years. This college now Greenville College, was founded by his colleague at Wake Forest, Stephen A. Morse, and named in honor of the wife of Morse, Almira Blanchard Morse, who gave her inheritance of six thousand dollars to the institution. After leaving Wake Forest, Morse had engaged in business in Greenville, and also in Kansas and had been very successful. It was at his instance that White returned to Greenville to take charge of this institution. White and Morse had when boys attended the same high school in New Hampton, New Hampshire. While yet in high school both were interested in providing better education for women. Later they were roommates and classmates at Brown University, both graduating in 1832. They had come to Wake Forest near the same time; Morse left in June, 1841, but White remained twelve years longer, when, as has been said, he went to Tennessee. On May 5, 1855, he lost his wife, who was Miss Mary P. Merriam, daughter of Rev. Isaac Merriam, whom he had married in 1838. On her death with their children, four daughters and two sons, he went to Greenville. The records show that he proved an able and efficient president of Almira College. For four years he traveled in its interest. He was also absent for two years during the Civil War, when he was chaplain in an Illinois regiment. After the War he again returned to his work

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<sup>19</sup> Report of Board of Managers in minutes of Baptist State Convention for 1853. Several letters in the *Biblical Recorder* of that time speak with much satisfaction of the standing of the College.

and continued in it until a few years before his death in 1887. In a year after the death of his first wife, White married Miss Elizabeth R. Wright, a native of Vermont, who had come to Greenville as a teacher. In November, 1931, the Almira alumnae unveiled a tablet to his memory on the walls of one of the buildings which he had helped to build, and in fitting *Exercises* honored his memory.

The following statement made on that occasion by his former students in Almira College is in striking contrast with some of the harsh estimates of his students at Wake Forest:

Professor White won, in a remarkable degree, the confidence, esteem and love of his pupils. He was thorough and clear and his manner of instruction original, kind, but firm in discipline, and invariably made his pupils his friends for life<sup>20</sup>

Both as a professor and as president John B. White served the College faithfully; and he served it well. His memory deserves to be held in honor by all sons and friends of the institution.<sup>21</sup>

#### WILLIAM THOMAS WALTERS

One who became a member of the faculty during White's administration was William Thomas Walters. He was born in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, September 20, 1822. There he was baptized into the membership of the Sandy Creek Church by Elder J. L. Prichard, under whose encouragement he came to Wake Forest College. Although he had to provide by his own labors for his expenses, he graduated after three years at the Commencement of 1848, with high distinction. He was ordained at the College, November 16, 1851. On November 10, 1849, he was appointed tutor of Mathematics, and in June, 1852, was made Professor of Mathematics, a position he held until the close of the

<sup>20</sup> Greenville, Illinois, *Advocate*, November 19 and 23, 1931, from which the facts of White's life after he left Wake Forest have been gleaned. Filed clipping in College Library.

<sup>21</sup> Misleading and unfair to both Hooper and White is the statement that got into the College catalogues for 1918-19 and thereafter that "under the administration of Dr. William Hooper, 1845-49, and Professor John B. White, 1849-53, the College continued barely to exist."

College on account of the Civil War. Though he did not again resume his duties as teacher, he did not make his formal resignation until June, 1868. Until June, 1855, he also taught the classes in Chemistry, and was intrusted by the Trustees with the purchase of apparatus for that department. His life as a teacher was uneventful, but that he was equipped to do the work is attested by Professor L. R. Mills, later Professor of Mathematics at the College, who received instruction in Walters' classroom. In a sketch of Dr. Walters found in the North Carolina Baptist Almanac of 1883, Rev. J. S. Purefoy says: "As a Professor he was punctual, agreeable in his classes, often taking extra pains to encourage and help up a flagging boy. He was much respected by his colleagues and gave general satisfaction in his department."

Walters also rendered other services to the College. For the year 1852-53 and later for the years 1872-77 he was the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees. While on the faculty he was the Bursar of the College.

He was greatly interested in the work of the Gospel ministry and to this and farming he devoted much energy in the later years of his life. "He preached with vigor"<sup>22</sup> and was very successful in the establishing of new churches, those at Littleton and Weldon being due to his ministry. He always took an active interest in the work of his local church and the denomination. In 1866 he was appointed Corresponding Secretary of the Baptist State Convention and held the place for three years. With reference to this Purefoy says: "In this work he performed much hard labor. He had on his hands the interests of State and Foreign Missions, with Ministerial Education. These had been suspended during the War, and had to be resuscitated by the financial aid of a thoroughly bankrupt people. Dr. Walters threw himself into the work with all the ardor of his soul and energy of his nature. He succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations. We are indebted to his energetic and inspiring labors for our present success and prosperity in missionary and educational work. The

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<sup>22</sup> Sketch by Dr. T. H. Pritchard in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopedia*.

pulsations of his labors and influence will be felt to future generations, for he gave much shape and direction to our enterprises."<sup>23</sup>

Dr. Walters was also interested in journalism. In the fall 1867, he purchased the *Biblical Recorder* of Dr. J. D. Hufham, and soon thereafter associated with himself Mr. J. H. Mills, to whom he sold his interest after a few months. Later he became agricultural editor of the same paper and continued the work until his death. Being himself one of the best and most successful farmers in the State he was well fitted for this work, and was able to do much for the improvement of agriculture in the State. He was for a time editor of the *Farm Journal*.

Dr. Walters was twice married. His first wife was Miss Bettie Davidson, daughter of A. A. Davidson, of Charlotte County, Virginia, whom he married on October 2, 1850. She is described by a student of those days<sup>24</sup> as "young and beautiful, full of the joy of living, reared according to the standards of the best social life of Virginia," and one whose presence inspired all to do their best. She lived only a few brief years after her marriage, dying on January 13, 1856. Dr. Walters' second wife was Miss I. Olivia Wingate of Darlington, South Carolina, a sister of President W. M. Wingate, whom he married on December 17, 1856. Dr. Walters died on December 31, 1876, but Mrs. Walters long survived him, known and loved by all at Wake Forest, dying in October, 1914.

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<sup>23</sup> The quotations are from a sketch of Walters in the *North Carolina Baptist Almanac* for 1883, p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> Dr. J. D. Hufham, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 339. His statement is quoted at greater length in the chapter on Board, etc.

## ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON

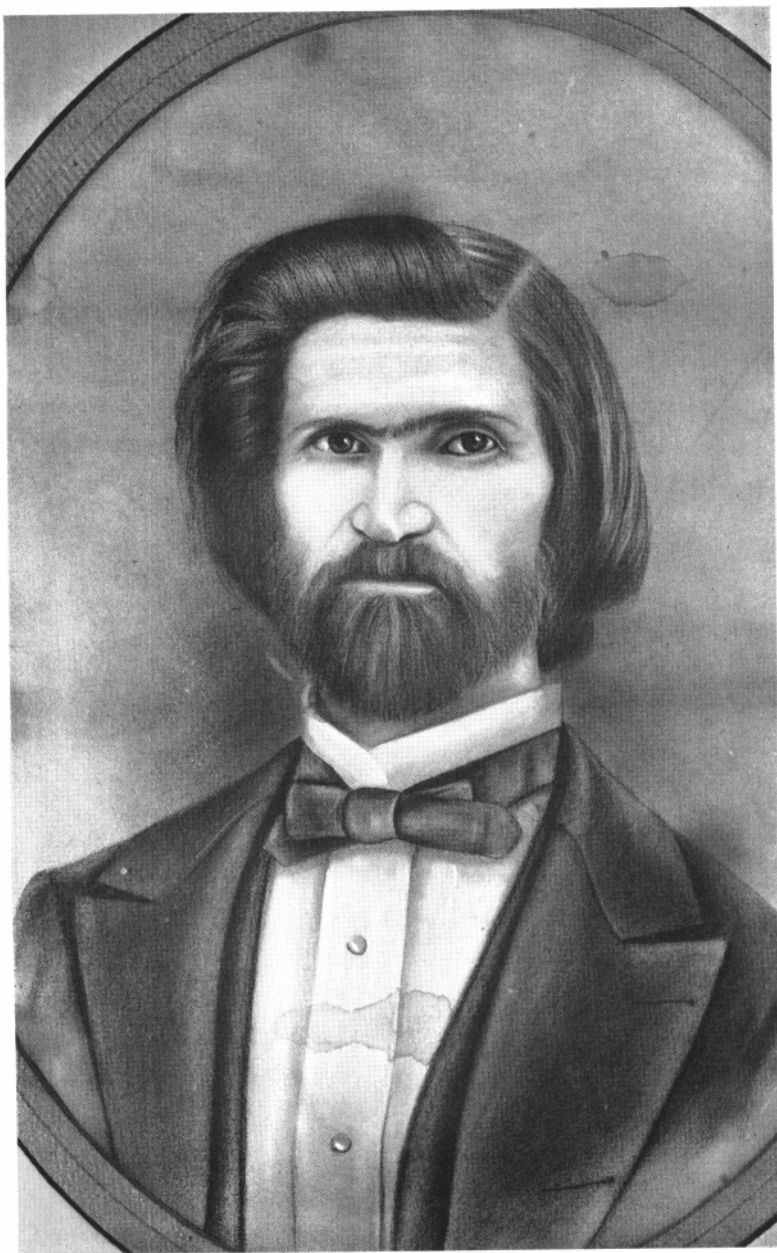
## MANLY WINGATE

On the same day, October 14, 1853, that the Trustees accepted the resignation of White they elected Dr. W. T. Brantley to the presidency at a salary of \$1,500. He was a native of Chatham County, who in early youth had gone to South Carolina, then to Georgia, and then to Philadelphia, where he was pastor of the First Baptist Church and was also editor of a national Baptist paper. Two days later, on Monday, the Board reconsidered the action and elected as president Rev. Tiberius Gracchus Jones, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Norfolk, Virginia. It was expected that Jones would accept and he is named president in the short catalogue of the College found in the minutes of the Baptist State Convention for 1853. But he disappointed hopes and before the Commencement of 1854 it was known that he would not take the place.

After the resignation of White, Owen continued as acting-president. Although White had left the institution some weeks before the close of the fall term his departure caused no disturbance. During the remainder of the fall term and entire spring term the college life went on well and quietly. Only one member of the four college classes was absent from the final examinations, and he with permission; and as the year was coming to a close Professor Owen was able to assure patrons and friends that, as the external affairs of the institution were never so prosperous, so in classroom and on Campus all was in a corresponding state of hopefulness.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Owen's letter in *Biblical Recorder*, June 1, 1854. In the same paper of December 23, 1853, "Trustee," probably Dr. S. J. Wheeler, writing from Murfreesboro, with much eloquence tells of the prospects of the College: "Day light beams on Wake Forest. Timid friends may fear no longer, croakers may cease their complaints and friends rejoice. Wake Forest College which has been so long under gloomy clouds can now come forth to bless the hopes of those who have stood by her in the darkest hour of her peril." etc.



PRESIDENT WASHINGTON MANLY WINGATE, 1854-79



Rev. J. J. James coming to the editorship of the *Biblical Recorder* in January, 1854, was not slow to manifest his interest in the College, and urged students not to be deterred from coming to Wake Forest by the roads and the very inclement weather of that year.<sup>2</sup> On the first day of the session Monday, January 16, 1854, more students were registered than on the first day for some time, several of whom were brought by that strong friend of the College, Rev. Q. H. Trotman of Bertie.<sup>3</sup> Of the students fifteen were studying for the ministry. James visiting the institution in March gave a glowing report of the condition and its equipment of scientific apparatus recently purchased by Professor Walters after consultation with heads of colleges in the North.<sup>4</sup> A writer with the signature of "Simeon" strove to stimulate interest in the institution by a series of articles, largely theoretical, under the head, "Wake Forest College."<sup>5</sup>

At the Commencement in June, 1854, there was much enthusiasm. A class, some of whom proved as able men as any that the College ever turned out, were finishing their course at this time. These were J. H. Mills, T. H. Pritchard, J. C. Patterson, J. J. Williams, and R. P. Jones. To these should be added W. T. Faircloth, who in some dispute about honors refused to take his diploma.<sup>6</sup> The annual sermon was by Rev. H. H. Fuller, the address before the Literary Societies by Rev. T. B. Jones, who had declined the presidency, and there was also an address on education by Rev. Basil Manly, Jr., then of Richmond, Virginia. The sermon and the two addresses were published together in a pamphlet copies of which are extant. They still are readable and merit the favor they received when delivered.

The Board of Trustees had much to encourage them. The

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<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 20, 1854. Mr. James assured the students that when they had reached Wake Forest "the roads would not be in their way," and that "dark days and long nights are the best season for study."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27, 1854, Owen's letter. Also March 1, 1854.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, March 24, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, March 24, 1854, and succeeding issues.

<sup>6</sup> Pritchard, "The Class of 1854," *Wake Forest Student*, XI, 224 ff.; a brief but interesting account.

agent, Rev. W. M. Wingate, reported that of the fifty thousand dollars he has been asked to raise more than thirty-seven thousand had been subscribed, and though he asked to be allowed to resign at the end of the calendar year he satisfied the Trustees that the remainder could be secured in that time.

With these encouraging financial prospects the Trustees voted to add two new professorships, one of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, the other of Chemistry. For the first they elected Wingate and at the same time made him President *pro tempore*, thus solving the problem of filling the presidency, as they supposed temporarily. They then proceeded to cast about for a president and voted to make efforts to secure Rev. Patrick Hughes Mell, Professor of Ancient Languages in Mercer University, then at Penfield, Georgia, and as an inducement to him offered a salary of \$2,000. But Mell declined the offer.<sup>7</sup> The result was that from this time until his death in 1879 Wingate was head of the College, though he was not formally elected to the place until June, 1856.<sup>8</sup>

As Professor of Chemistry the Trustees chose Rev. P. S. Henson, then teaching in the Chowan Female Institute, but as has been told in the chapter on Curriculum the committee to whom the matter was intrusted failed to secure him or Professor Cummings and in the following November the Trustees elected W. G. Simmons to the place. There was some disappointment in the delay since the Trustees were desirous of having the course in Chemistry begun, believing that especially Agricultural Chemistry would be immensely profitable to the people of the State.

The salary of Wingate was fixed at \$800, and that of the other full professors, Owens and Walters, was increased to the same amount, while a hundred dollars was added to the salary of Brooks.

It was under such conditions that Wingate began his long and distinguished administration. The financial affairs of the College were better than ever before; all was going well on the Campus;

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<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

the institution was beginning to feel its strength as it was finishing its twentieth year and it was rejoicing as a strong man to run its race; an enthusiasm pervaded all present at the Commencement, the visitors and Trustees, and the brilliant young graduates in whom all took pride and some of whose orations were of surprising eloquence; the Campus was finally inclosed (though the inclosing plank fence did not embrace so much as the present stone fence) and the planting of shrubbery and other means of beautifying it were in contemplation; the friends of the College were much encouraged and freely predicted that the day was coming when even Brown University or Rochester would not excel it in practical advantages.<sup>9</sup>

For Wingate's place as agent the Trustees first thought of Rev. John Mitchell, a graduate in the class of 1852 and at that time a student of the Furman Theological Institution; failing to secure him they chose Thomas H. Pritchard of the graduating class, of whose work an account has been given in another chapter.<sup>10</sup>

Though the number of new students at the opening in 1854-55, was somewhat larger than usual there was no marked increase in the total for either term; that for the year was 116, the total for the next year, 127, 1855-56, was the largest since the year 1836; thereafter the numbers steadily declined being 99 in 1856-57, 96 in 1857-58, 95 in 1858-59, 76 in 1859-60, 67 in 1860-61, and about 30 in 1861-62. Of these the academical students numbered 63 in 1854-55, 45 in 1856-57, 28 in 1857-58, 27 in 1858-59, 16 in 1859-60, after which it was advertised that no preparatory students would be received.<sup>11</sup>

The question naturally arises why there should have been a normal increase of students in the two years, 1854-55 and 1855-56, then a serious decrease which got worse rather than better

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<sup>9</sup> Account of Commencement by "Milton" (N. J. Palmer) in *Biblical Recorder*, June 15, 1854.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 97 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Except for the years 1855-56, 1860-61, 1861-62, these numbers are taken from the catalogues of the College. Since no catalogues are available for those years the figures are taken from the registration book, "Blank Book A."

until 1859, and the next year, 1859-60, a further drop of twenty per cent, and almost as large a per cent of decrease the next year. A Southern man and an alumnus was president. The College was better equipped than ever before, it had a larger faculty, it was kept constantly before the Baptists of the State both by notice in the *Biblical Recorder* and by active agents, while the fifty-thousand-dollar campaign for endowment was brought to completion at the Convention of 1857 at Hertford after the rather wonderful manifestation of interest in the Convention at Raleigh in 1856. A progressive increase and not a progressive decline would naturally have been expected.

The reason seems to have been internal; it is discussed in the chapter on The Literary Societies. The decline really began in the spring term of 1855-56, when the enrollment was only ninety-three, a decline of ten from the enrollment of the fall term, whereas normally it should have been larger. The next year there was a decrease of more than twenty per cent. This was doubtless brought about by the dissatisfaction which arose in the Philomathesian Society over the fact, as told in the chapter named, that for the first two years of Wingate's administration nearly all the new students joined the Euzelian Society to which Wingate belonged. The Philomathesians attributed this turning of students to the other society to the fact that nearly all the members of the faculty were Euzelians, which brought about an ugly temper among the Philomathesians. Their grievances are faithfully set forth in the Memorial which they presented to the Trustees in June, 1856. It is plainly stated that inequality of Philomathesian representation on the faculty was a cause of students leaving college, and the request was made that this be corrected. There is no evidence that the Trustees took any formal notice of this memorial.

At this time, June, 1856, the faculty consisted of Wingate, Walters, Brooks, all former active members of the Euzelian Society, and W. H. Owen, an honorary member of the same Society, and of one Philomathesian, W. G. Simmons. At the Commence-

ment of that year the Trustees appointed B. F. Cole, a Philomathesian, and a member of the graduating class, Tutor, whose death in a few months brought the end of a promising career. Perhaps this was the best the Trustees could then do, but it did not satisfy the Philomathesians. The next year the registration fell twenty-five per cent, from 127 to 99. By the forced resignation of Professor Owen who left his place in December, 1858, the chair of Ancient Languages was made vacant. During the Spring term the place was filled by the appointment of two tutors, Robert H. Marsh and S. P. Smith, both graduates of the State University, the former being designated Tutor in Latin, the latter, Tutor in Greek. Both served until the close of 1859. At the Commencement in June, 1859, the Trustees unanimously elected a Philomathesian, James H. Foote, then Principal of the Taylorsville United Baptist Institute, to the chair of Ancient Languages. In a measure this relieved the inequality of the Society representation on the faculty of which the Philomathesians had complained three years before, and which had continued to exist all through this period, and which undeniably was one cause of the unexpectedly small number of students during those years.

By this time the Trustees and other friends of the College were able no longer to conceal their disappointment that the College had so few students. Possibly this was the reason so few communications from President Wingate about college affairs are found in the *Biblical Recorder* during these years. In his paper of June 9, 1859, Editor James exhorted the Baptists of the State to send their sons and wards to the College. The Trustees meeting at Commencement discussed the matter long and earnestly and ended by asking their President, the venerable Wait, to address an appeal through the *Biblical Recorder* to the friends of the College to patronize it. This he did in the issue of July 7, 1859, making a plea that was urgent and almost desperate, extending through several columns.

"What we want," said he, "is *patronage*. The number of students should be greatly enlarged. All this can be easily done. The

sons and wards of Baptists in North Carolina now in other colleges would fill ours to overflowing. And why should we not have these students? Friends and brethren, *ought* we not to have them? We have the teachers needed; we have the apparatus required; we have a healthy locality happily exempted by its retired position from the temptation to dissipation and extravagance, by which many other institutions are beset."

Wait disposes of complaints about the youth of the members of the faculty, referring probably to the tutors, Marsh and Smith. He also takes occasion in closing to express the high satisfaction of the Trustees with the administration of Wingate.

This earnest plea put forth in behalf of the Trustees seems to have had little effect. The number of students for the next year suffered a further decline from ninety-five to seventy-six for the year. This decline seems to have been accentuated by the election of William Royall to the Chair of Languages by the Trustees at their meeting in Charlotte on November 3, 1859. This was doubtless done on the recommendation of Wingate who had known Royall as a Professor in Furman University. As it proved Royall was one of the ablest and best men who ever served on the faculty of the College, and Wingate did the College a great service in getting him. The friends of Foote, however, that is, the members of the Philomathesian Society, did not know this. They saw in Royall's election a purpose to displace Foote, who was Professor of Ancient Languages. They at once took action, and at their meeting on November 12, 1859, introduced resolutions looking to the suspension and possibly the final dissolution of their Society; a week later they first passed these resolutions and then on the advice of some old members who were brought in for the purpose they reconsidered them and ordered them expunged, as will be told in the chapter on the Literary Societies. In the same chapter it is shown that much care was taken to mollify the anger of the Philomathesians by Royall's accepting honorary membership in their body rather than membership in the Euzelian Society, which also was proffered him.

At the Commencement in June, 1860, Foote notified the Trustees

that with the close of the session the chair of Ancient Languages which he held would be vacant. The Trustees in alarm sent a committee of their wisest members, headed by the genial and tactful T. E. Skinner, to Foote with the request that he consent to remain. In this the committee was successful, and the Trustees made place for both Foote and Royall by naming the former Professor of Greek, and the latter Professor of Latin. But the mischief was already done and could not be remedied in a day or a year. The next year, 1860-61, the registration fell still lower and was only sixty-seven.

In the year 1860-61, however, there was the further cause of fewer students in the discontinuation of the preparatory department, but a few years before there had been more collegiate students registered than the entire enrollment that year.

During the ante-bellum period of Wingate's administration sixty-six students were graduated, considerably more than half of all during the first twenty-three years of the College. Nearly all of these were to prove able and good men, and some of them men of high attainments and distinction. Among the ministers were Marable, Hufham, Belcher, Beacham, Shuck, Ivey, Richardson and Burrows; among the educators, Emerson, Mills, Royall; among the men of affairs Ellis and Wooten. A full list is given in the footnote below.<sup>12</sup> Some account will be given of nearly all under other heads.

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<sup>12</sup> Graduates: 1855, Robert Hayes Burn, Andrew Jackson Emerson, Philip Washington Johnson, Benjamin Franklin Marable, James A. Pitchford, John Calhoun Pitchford, Robert T. Pitchford, William Robert Trawick. 1856, Moses Baldwin, Elijah Forbes Beachum, Benson Field Cole, Charles Wilmot Egerton, Thomas Jackson Foote, Henry Hamilton Harris, James Dunn Hufham, Frederick Marion Purefoy, Lewis H. Shuck, Benjamin Franklin Simmons. 1857, Joseph Dozier Boushall, John Clayton Devin, Charles Stephen Ellis, Hardiman Dunn Fowler, William Hill Jordan, Jr., Addison Foster Purefoy. 1858, John Berry, William Junius Bishop, Benjamin Franklin Hester, James Elisha Lassiter, James Washington Mitchell, Thomas J. Pitchford, William B. Watford. 1859, Thomas Deans Boone, George A. Graves, William G. Graves, John H. C. Jones, Peter P. Parker, William Carey Parker, N. V. B. Powell, Anthony Edmund Rhodes, James Matchet Taylor, James McDaniel White. 1860, Fitz Henry Ivey, Griffin Stevens Jones, John Randolph Kelly, William R. Larkins, Abram Wimbish Poindexter, Robert Risop Savage. 1861, Francis Adolphus Belcher, J. Thomas Deans, William Raleigh Lindsay, Dougald C.

Like other colleges of the day Wake Forest College gave the degree of Master of Arts, both "in course," that is, to its graduates of previous years who had won some distinction, and as an honorary title. Beginning with 1843 and ending with 1860 the College conferred twenty-nine such degrees, of which twenty-one were "in course," and eight honorary. Those who received the degree "in course" were: in 1843, Alexander Argo Connella (A.B., 1840); in 1844, Oscar Fitz Allen Baxter (A.B., 1840), William Tell Brooks (A.B., 1839), John Lamb Pritchard (A.B., 1840), John Cave Rogers (A.B., 1840), Matthew Turner Waddill (A.B., 1840); in 1846, Willis Whitaker Childers (A.B., 1839); in 1854, John Crumpler Averitt (A.B., 1851), David Richard Wallace (A.B., 1850), Washington Manly Wingate (A.B., 1849); in 1855, William Edward Poole (A.B., 1848), William Gaston Simmons (A.B., 1852); in 1856, John Mitchell (A.B., 1852), James Henry Foote (A.B., 1852); in 1857, John Haymes Mills (A.B., 1854); in 1858, Philip Washington Johnson (A.B., 1855), Benjamin Wesley Justice (A.B., 1850); in 1859, John Calhoun Pitchford (A.B., 1855), Lewis H. Shuck (A.B., 1856); in 1860, James Dunn Hufham (A.B., 1856), Benjamin Franklin Marable (A.B., 1855).

All the eight honorary degrees of Master of Arts were conferred in the two years 1851 and 1852. One was on Rev. James McDaniel of Fayetteville, who had been a student of Wake Forest Institute in 1837-38, who for many years was president of the Baptist State Convention. He was given the degree in 1851. In the same year this degree was conferred on Rev. J. Lewis Shuck, missionary to China, and Rev. C. R. Hendrickson, then pastor of the Baptist Church at Elizabeth City, of whom some account is given in the chapter on "Public Exercises." In 1852 the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on William H. Bennett

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McMillan, Luther Rice Mills, James B. Richardson, William Bailey Royall, Thomas Fentress Toon, Council Simmons Wooten. 1862, William A. Brunt, Lansing Burrows, Alonzo Harris Dunn, Junius H. Dunn, David Dowd Gill, James King Howell, John G. Jones, Thomas Tinsley Lawson, Edwin Smith Moore, George Washington Sanderlin.



of Carroll County, Mississippi, Rev. John H. Lacy of Caswell County, Albert H. Dowell of Greene County, Daniel S. Richardson of Franklin County, and Rev. Thomas W. Tobey of Raleigh. Of Bennett no further record is available; Lacy was an able and respected Baptist minister; Dowell was afterwards principal of the Associational Academy at Holly Springs in Wake County; Richardson was a distinguished master of several academies in succession in Franklin County; Tobey was at that time editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, which position he resigned after two years to become pastor of the church in Yanceyville; later, he held important pastorates in Alabama, Kentucky, and Florida, and was connected with Howard College, Judson College, and Bethel College, of the latter as president.

In this period the College conferred two doctorates, the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1849 on its former president, Samuel Wait, and the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1855 on John B. O'Neal, at that time Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of South Carolina, and from 1858 until his death in 1867 President of the Southern Baptist Convention; of him an extended account is given in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopedia*.

It is probable that in 1855 some other was recommended for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, as a resolution was introduced before the Trustees at their Commencement meeting declaring that the Board did not "regard itself competent or authorized to confer Ecclesiastical titles such as that of Doctor of Divinity upon the ministers of Jesus Christ," which after prolonged discussion was laid in the table. In the same year there was some discussion of the matter in the *Biblical Recorder*, which was only the prelude to a discussion of the same question by Dr. William Hooper and Rev. William Hill Jordan which ran through many issues of the same paper in the latter half of 1857, with the former favoring and latter opposing the granting of the degree.

A very important event in Wingate's administration was the organization of the Wake Forest Alumni Association. This was proposed in a communication in the *Biblical Recorder* on Novem-

ber 6, 1856,<sup>13</sup> but nothing came of it. The organization was effected, however, on the afternoon of Commencement day, June 10, 1858. Its chief promoters were J. L. Prichard, then pastor at Wilmington, A. McDowell, B. M. Baxter, W. E. Pool and John Mitchell. The first alumni address was delivered at the Commencement of 1859, when the institution was a quarter of a century old, by W. T. Brooks of the class of 1839. His subject was the early history of the institution and his address was both humorous and interesting. It was published and is extant, and is a valuable historical document. According to a practice established at this the Society of the Alumni speaker alternated from year to year. Brooks was a Euzelian. The address at the Commencement of 1860 was by a Philomathesian, Dr. O. F. Baxter, on "Some Educational Errors of the Age."<sup>14</sup> After this there seems to have been no further meeting of the alumni until after the War.

Of the faculty of this period little remains to be added to what has been already said of them. On coming to the College Professor William Royall brought his family with him, among them his son, William Bailey Royall, who graduated in the class of 1861, and was afterwards to be its distinguished Professor of Greek. As the greater part of the elder Royall's service, until his death in December, 1892, was at a later period, further account of him will be given in another volume.

William Gaston Simmons, who began his services as Professor of Chemistry in January, 1855, remained at the College, except for the interruption of the Civil War, until his death on March 3, 1888. His wife was Miss Mary E. Foote, daughter of Mr. Henry Foote of Warren County, whom he married on September

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<sup>13</sup> The article is headed: "Attention, Graduates of Wake Forest College!" and is signed "L. H. Alumnus," Probably L. H. Shuck, who had graduated the previous June. He says: "Wake Forest has already received the credit of being behind hand in every improvement, and always bringing up the rear in the march of progress, and shall we, fellow graduates, refuse our aid when it is in our power to quicken her footsteps in the path of progress and improvement? Let us hear through the *Biblical Recorder*."

<sup>14</sup> A synopsis of Dr. Baxter's address is found in the *Biblical Recorder*, June 21, 1860.

1, 1853. With her husband she spent nearly all her life at Wake Forest greatly respected and admired for her good works and influence. A fuller account of Dr. Simmons and his family will be given in another volume.

Some account of Professor W. T. Walters has already been given.

Of President Wingate's work as pastor of the church and of his part in raising the endowment an account is given elsewhere in this volume. Only some personal matter need be mentioned here. On December 19, 1850, he married Miss Mary E. Webb, daughter of Jonathan Webb of Bertie, deceased, then living with her mother who had become the wife of Mr. William Mitchell of Rolesville. In the spring of 1856 President Wingate built a residence in true Darlington County style on the eminence where the President's House now stands. He planted his grounds with many rare shrubs and flowers, which he was the first to plant on the Campus also.<sup>15</sup>

In the story of the Literary Societies account is given of the absorbing interest in the state of the country that was manifested at the College for several years preceding the opening of the War. The students were much excited by John Brown's raid and execution; at the Commencement of 1860, Rev. T. G. Keen of Petersburg, in his address before the Societies had expressed the great and prevailing alarm lest our national government be dissolved. The country was already at War in May, 1861, and though the Commencement was advanced from June to May 27-28, the North Carolina's ordinance of Secession had come a week earlier, and military companies were being organized in all sections of the State, several of them in Wake County. On the very day of Commencement, news came of the battle of Big Bethel and excitement was great at Wake Forest as elsewhere. Many students of the College were already enlisted and in training. The others were

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<sup>15</sup> Editorial report of Commencement, June 19, 1856. In the same spring the house of Mr. John Battle, now the home of Professor Sledd, at the corner of Middle Street and the Durham road, was built.

The Wingate house was burned in January, 1920.

eager to be at home and free to enter the army, and especially the nine members of the graduating class.<sup>16</sup> President Wingate's parting words to them on that occasion are recorded here as illustrative the regret and yet the courage and high resolve with which many good men of the South reluctantly gave their approval of the conflict that was forced upon them. At the same time this baccalaureate address is one of the noblest monuments of Wingate's wisdom, humanity, courage, goodness, and sympathy for those under his charge.<sup>17</sup>

In beginning President Wingate alluded to the changed circumstances under which the class was graduating. Where could they go? What could they do? All the peaceful avocations were closed. Yet their college training had not been in vain. No one must imagine that for such a time as this brute hardihood and animal courage were all that was required. Needed now as never before were men of culture and of soul, men who could not be brought down to the low level of brutal passion. Such men must be had to give tone and direction to our public movements, and to hold in check vandalism, degrading passion, the spirit of revenge, which had already begun to spread its contagion and which unless checked would run riot, gathering strength with every fresh victim, and mowing down before its relentless fury the strongest and the best.

"Where shall we find the men for such times?

"First of all, we may look to the Christian sentiment of our people... "We shall look hopefully to our military leaders trained in war as a science and imbued with the generous code of military honor.

"We shall confidently look to woman to humanize us by her soothing accents and her kindly acts, and while her words of cheer and smiles of approval shall animate us in the struggle in which we are now engaged, her moistened eye and quivering lip will, I am sure, restrain us with thoughts of her gentle and womanly nature.

"But may we not expect our *educated* men-our *educated young men* -whose thoughts have been elevated with liberal culture, whose minds

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<sup>16</sup> Mills, *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, October, 1907, New Series No.49.

<sup>17</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 20, 1861.

have been enlarged at the generous fountains of genius, may we not expect them to lift themselves above the prejudices of the hour, and looking forward to the time when the historian must stand with pen in hand to fill up the page of this eventful era, endeavor so to enact their part in this great drama that their children may read its inspiring lesson and coming generations may glow as they take up the precious legacy? I repeat it, young gentlemen, subjugation by our Northern foe is not what we have to fear in this great revolution, but under the provocation which may be freely given, it is degradation in our own eyes by yielding to the fierceness of hate and the fury of passion. And it is to you we look in part for safety from this cruel blow upon ourselves; this deep disgrace upon the age.

"You will see, then, that soldiers are not the only want of the times. Nor need you think that this is necessarily the best way in which you can serve your country. The forms in which you may labor are still various. A choice in noble and worthy callings and in manly and earnest efforts is yet open before you. Be not too hasty in this selection. Let not momentary impulse decide your mode of service. The State in her need can ill spare a single son, and requires that all her talent shall be well directed. And-what is higher than country-duty and the interest of humanity make the same demand.

"There has never been an age which required more at the hands of her votaries or, requiring it, promised more abundant and sure rewards. Look well then, young gentlemen, to the choice which you are to make, and when you have made it, earnestly and faithfully perform its duties. And if that choice, wisely taken shall bear you to the tented field there to stem with stern bosoms the surging tide of battle, then our heart's best sympathies, the burden of our warmest prayers, shall go with you to shield-it may be-your breast from the shafts of evil; to cover your head in the day of battle and to nerve your arm to deeds of noble triumph. There let the soldier and the man, the patriot and the Christian, nobly vindicate the righteous cause in which you are engaged.

"Whatever you do, wherever you go, young men, in this eventful age, which may put to the test the stern manhood of us all, discharge your whole duty. Be aroused to the full exigencies of the times in which you live; collect in calmness your whole strength; quit you like

men-honorable, high-minded, Christian men. And if after the carnage of this sad day is passed, you and I should be left on the stage of action, then with hearts untainted and filled with precious memories, we may meet and mingle in the delights of social intercourse; may

again clasp the ties of fast friendship amid these joyous festivals and find still awaiting us and smiling to greet us the charmed pursuits of peace."

After this great address, which Editor Hufham of the *Biblical Recorder*, calls "an example of the affectionate relation existing between faculty and students," the faculty set about preparing for the next session. An advertisement in the *Biblical Recorder*, gave notice that the session would open on July 22, with a Military Department, with which every student would be required to connect himself, purchasing a substantial uniform.

Professor Foote, however, was already planning to enter the military service of the Confederacy. On July 16, at a great rally at Forestville, a military company was organized of which he was elected captain and H. D. Fowler of the class of 1857 one of the lieutenants. On that occasion both President Wingate and Professor Walters were present and had charge of the religious part of the *Exercises*.<sup>18</sup>

On the same day, July 16, 1861, came the death of William Crenshaw, one of the first Trustees and the first Treasurer of the Institution. He was born, July 19, 1783; married Sarah Bodie Martin, January 6, 1806; became a member of the Wake Union Church in 1830, being baptized by Rev. John Purefoy, and becoming a deacon in 1842, held that position until his death.<sup>19</sup>

Only about thirty students were registered in the year, 1861-62. Five of these were beneficiaries, and several others ministerial students. All, however, took military training, and fell into line with alacrity. Even President Wingate had to exclaim at the change in appearance of peace-loving men clad in the habiliments of war, and remarked on their altered gait from the leisurely walk of the days of peace to the firm tread of the soldier as he goes to duty. "But," says he, "our whole country is changed, and we shall strive here to be useful by maintaining on the one hand, as best we can, society's integrity, and by preparing on the

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<sup>18</sup> Raleigh *Sentinel* and also Raleigh *Standard*, July 24, 1861.

<sup>19</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 24, 1861.

other for our country's defence. May God help us and our country to succeed in both."<sup>20</sup>

Affairs at the College went on without event until well into the spring term, when the new conscription laws took all the students except five.<sup>21</sup> *Exercises* were discontinued on May 5, 1862. With reference to this we quote from the report of the Board of the Convention found in the minutes of 1862:

The suspension of the College, which we so deeply deplore, will, we are fearful, operate more seriously upon the interest of the denomination than any other calamity which has befallen us in our benevolent operations during these troublous times; with this suspension, falls for the time being, the *most prominent object* which the Convention sought to promote.... We pray God that the time may not be far distant when the merry laugh of the student may again be heard on the Campus.

In June, 1860, the salaries of the professors had been raised to \$1,200, and that of the president to \$1,400. With the prospect of suspension before them in June, 1861, the Trustees voted that the Treasurer should pay the professors the balance due on salaries. For the year 1861-62 the compensation of the members of the faculty was to be derived from the income from the endowment less three per cent for the improvement of the College Building and the Campus, and such tuition fees as were collected from the students. After the suspension of the *Exercises* the Trustees voted at their meeting on November 2, 1862, to pay the members of the faculty one-third of their regular salaries during the suspension of the College, provided those receiving such pay should hold themselves ready to respond to the call of the Trustees when they should deem it expedient to reopen the institution. This was regularly paid in Confederate money until the close of the War, but not between that time and the

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<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, July 31, 1861.

<sup>21</sup>The Conscription Laws were printed in the *Biblical Recorder* of the time. Under them the President was authorized to call into service all male white persons between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Students were not exempted. Ordained preachers and college teachers, however, were exempted.

reopening of the College in January, 1866.<sup>22</sup> At the same time Rev. William Royall was named agent with a salary of \$75 a month.<sup>23</sup>

About this time Professor W. G. Simmons went with his family to Warren County<sup>24</sup> but he returned in February, 1863, when he and Professor William Royall opened a seminary for girls in the College Building. They had a liberal patronage, but the price of provisions rose so rapidly that they were unable to supply them from the amount of the fees charged, and at the close of the first session the school was discontinued.<sup>25</sup>

In September, 1863, the Confederate Government made requisition for the College Building for use as a hospital, but did not take possession until June, 1864<sup>26</sup> from which time they continued to use it until the close of the War. The Government also built several wooden houses on the Campus, which the Trustees sold after 1866, and applied the proceeds to much needed repairs on the College Building.<sup>27</sup>

Wingate like all the other officers of the College, as has been said, was an ardent partisan of the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> After the suspension of the *Exercises* he held pastorates at Oxford, Franklinton

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<sup>22</sup> L. R. Mills, "Our College," *Wake Forest Student*, III, 313.

<sup>23</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 132. As late as July 29, 1863, Rev. Elias Dodson was urging in the *Biblical Recorder* that an agent be kept in the field to collect subscriptions.

<sup>24</sup> See his advertisement for a "youth who can read well." He was asked to address him at Macon depot. *Biblical Recorder*, December, 1862-January, 1863.

<sup>25</sup> Mills, L. R., *loc. cit.* Dr. Wait was very reluctant to have the College close. In a letter dated May 20, 1862, which appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* of May 28, 1862, he says that he has heard of the suggestion to open a "promiscuous school," (probably a school for both sexes) in the College, and he calls upon the Trustees to be prepared to consider it at a meeting on June 10, and continues: "If our classes are disbanded and go home, we shall have a long and uphill labor in commencing anew."

In October, 1863, Professor J. H. Mills, proposed to the Trustees to rent the College Building for a Female School, and the matter was referred to a Committee. Probably the requisition of the building by the Confederate Government prevented consideration of the proposal. *Proceedings*, p. 133.

<sup>26</sup> L. R. Mills, *loc. cit.*, Wait, notice of Trustee meeting, *Biblical Recorder*, September 21, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> Letter of J. S. Purefoy, *Biblical Recorder*.

<sup>28</sup> *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, III, 18.



and Brassfields, but he found time to visit the soldiers in Virginia, who struck by his strange appearance called him "Old Abe," and accused him of having swallowed a horse all but his tail, but they heard his sermons with rapt attention. When defeat came he felt it severely. According to Professor Mills:

When he heard of Lee's surrender his heart rose in rebellion against the Providence of God. He had a wife and several young children to support, and yet his property was all swept away at one stroke. He loved our beautiful Southern country and could not bear to think that it had been conquered and lay at the mercy of our enemies. But he was a Christian and could not rest in a state of rebellion against God. He went into his parlor and locked the door behind him and laid the whole matter before his God. He stayed there a long, long time. God met him and satisfied him. He came out of that room, as he has often told me, perfectly reconciled to everything, submissive to the will of God, and feeling that God would still reign and that he "would restrain the wrath of men and cause the remainder of wrath to praise Him." And then he preached one of his greatest sermons from this text: "And we know that all things work together for good to them who love God to them who are the called according to his purpose."

#### IV ACTIVITIES OF STUDENTS

## HERE'S TO WAKE FOREST

Oh, here's to Wake Forest, a glass of the finest,  
Red, ruddy Rhenish filled up to the brim !  
Her sons they are many, unrivaled by any;  
With hearts o'erflowing we will sing her hymn.

### *Chorus*

Rah, Rah, Wake Forest Rah!  
Old Alma Mater's sons we are;  
We'll herald her story and die for her glory.  
Old Gold and Black is ever waiving high.

As frosh we adore her, as sophs we explore her,  
And carve our names upon her ancient walls ;  
As juniors patrol her, as seniors extol her,  
And weep to leave fore'er her sacred halls.

Though fortune forsake us and fate o'ertake us,  
We'll ne'er forget our dear old college days,  
And o'er memory's treasure we'll drink without measure,  
And sing fore'er our Alma Mater's praise.  
C. P. WEAVER.

## DEAR OLD WAKE FOREST

Dear old Wake Forest!  
Thine is a noble name;  
Thine is a glorious fame,  
Constant and true.  
We give thee of our praise,  
Adore thy ancient days,  
Sing thee our humble lays,  
Mother so dear.

Dear old Wake Forest!  
Mystic they name to cheer;  
Be thou our guardian near,  
Fore'er and aye.  
We bow before thy shrine,  
Thy brow with bays entwined,  
All honor now be thine,  
Mother today.

## BOARD AND DRESS

During the period of the Institute, 1834-1838, the institution furnished board for all students. This was reckoned, the first year, at \$4.50 a month, the entire cost for the year being \$60. At this price the amount received did not pay the cost.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly at the close of the first year, with the table three hundred dollars in debt, the Trustees found it necessary to increase the price of bed and board to \$6, \$5.50 for board and 50 cents for bed, per month.<sup>2</sup> This action, however, caused loud complaints. The duty of providing board was at first incumbent on the principal; we have already seen something of the shifts he and his wife made, to furnish meals to the students whose numbers were so much greater than they expected ; at first in a room of the residence, the largest being eighteen feet square, in which only one-third of the students could eat at a time, making it necessary to set the table nine times a day; and then in a tent, nearly 70 feet long constructed especially for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> In this he had the assistance of his wife, whose faithful services were mentioned with appreciation by the Board of Trustees.<sup>4</sup>

At the close of the first year Charles B. Merriam, a brother of Mrs. Wait, was formally appointed steward, some of the duties of which place he had already been performing while overseer of the farm. He was given the general duties of providing the students with meals, wood, washing, and the care of rooms.<sup>5</sup> Though a dining room large enough to accommodate all the students was found in one of the temporary buildings, if not by the close of

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<sup>1</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, II, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 12, December 22-25, 1835.

<sup>3</sup> Wait, *Wake Forest Student*, II, 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 14, December, 1834. "Inasmuch as Sister Wait has with unremitting perseverance afforded such valuable services in the management of the stewardship the past year, Therefore be it Resolved, That we tender her our grateful acknowledgments."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14, 15.

the first year, soon after, Merriam found his position full of difficulties of another nature. It was still impossible to furnish board even at the advanced prices. On March 10, 1836, the Trustees ordered that charges should be advanced to \$100 for board, bed, tuition, washing and firewood, the new terms to go into effect on July 1, 1836. At the close of the year 1836 Merriam was relieved of the stewardship, after the Trustees had investigated and reinvestigated his accounts; finally a committee submitted an audit of his accounts as a part of the general statement of the financial affairs of the Institute to the close of the year 1836.<sup>6</sup>

For the years 1838 and 1839 George Ryan was steward. On coming to the Institute he was allowed to bring with him "two negro women for the use of the Institute and his wife." The duties of the steward were now more clearly defined and new duties added.

He was to visit all unoccupied students' rooms, and outhouses, keep them locked and preserve the key; he was to pay all necessary attention to sick students, but to see that in no case food was carried in the College Building except to a sick student. He was to keep an account with every student charging him with all the injury he might do to the property of the Trustees; if the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21, 23. The statement of the audit is in Blank Book A, and is dated December 30, 1836. It is signed by David Thompson, Chairman, and A. J. Battle. The part that relates to the Steward is as follows:

Charles R. Merriam (Steward)

Amt. disbursed by him on st. acct. and vouchers rendered

.....	1834	\$ 753.59
Amt. disbursed do. do. do. do. ....	1835	5391.73
Amt. disbursed do. do. do. do. ....	1836	<u>5554.73</u>
		\$11700.05
Amt. of funds received from Treasurer for year 1834 ...		\$. 701.00
Amt. of funds do. do. do. do. do. 1835 ....		3470.68
Amt. of funds do. do. do. do. do. 1836 ....		925.91 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Amt. received of S. Wait, Agt. in the years		
1834, 5. and 1836 .....		<u>6334.19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub></u>
		\$11431.79

Amt. due C. R. M., Steward advanced on balance	\$ 268.26
Amt. due do. for Salary for the year 1836	<u>250.00</u>
Total balance due Stew	\$ 518.26

injury could not be fixed on its doer it was to be charged to the general account. It can thus be seen that with such duties the steward probably found himself in hot water most of the time.

This fact was recognized by the Trustees who ordered that each member of the faculty have a room in the College Building and be required regularly to visit the rooms of the students. The Trustees required further that one or more members of the faculty preside over the students at their meals.<sup>7</sup>

Thus affairs went on until the close of the session of 1838 on November 28. As the institution was now becoming a college the Trustees after some deliberation ordered that the steward's department should be separated from the literary department, and appointed a committee to advertise for bids "to secure a suitable person to take charge of the boarding house."<sup>8</sup>

This committee, of which David Justice was chairman, advertised in the *Biblical Recorder* of November 10, 1838, and in the other Raleigh papers, offering "the house now occupied by the steward, the dining hall, the kitchen, the garden, and a small lot of ground," and to accommodate the purchaser on reasonable terms with "furniture, bedding, cooking apparatus, farming utensils, and all other things necessary for carrying on an establishment."

They seem not to have been satisfied with Mr. Ryan-it would have been a miracle had they been-but a month later the committee reported that Mr. Ryan was the only applicant for the place, and that he proposed to take the place on terms of charging eight dollars a month for board, bedding and washing, and fire wood to be cut on the lands of the Institute; and that he should have the kitchen and dining room furniture at a reasonable valuation. But probably because the Trustees insisted that Ryan should give a bond for three thousand dollars for the faithful performance of his duties, and also because the Trustees appraised their property at a higher price than Ryan was willing to pay, he threw up the contract. The Trustees had much difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory settlement with Ryan; he had disposed

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<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 25, 29, June 3, 1837.  
1838.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32, November 29,

of some of the property, possibly in the line of duty, which was not yet accounted for; some of his relatives had been getting meals at the steward's table at no fixed price, and there were other irregularities. Furthermore, the steward had made debts on account of the Institute. Possibly no satisfactory settlement was ever made, for as late as October, 1840, the Trustees were considering "the expediency of commencing a suit against Ryan." In December, 1838, they had ordered that a committee take over the property from Ryan, make an inventory of it and turn it over to the new steward, Mr. A. S. Wynne.<sup>9</sup>

Wynne accepted the position of steward on these terms: "That he give bond to board the officers and students at eight dollars each per month, furnishing them food, wood, bedding, and washing-the wood for the Brick Building for recitation rooms and for officers, and that he have the use of four choice cows, the bedding belonging to the Institute, the kitchen furniture, the garden, the clover field, and the ten-acre lot back of the Brick Building, all of which are to be returned in good condition, and also that he provide for the reception of the Trustees, when they may visit the Institute." He immediately filed the bond and came into the use of the property, but Ryan remained at Wake Forest somewhat longer, being allowed to live in one of the "long houses" until he could settle his business.<sup>10</sup>

Mr. Wynne, the new steward, had resided in the New Light district, near Wake Forest. He was a Baptist minister, and a charter member of the Board of Trustees, by whom he was highly regarded and trusted. Taking over the premises formerly occupied by Ryan he advertised in the Raleigh papers that he had opened a "public house" and was ready to "accommodate travelers and those who might want a temporary location near the college."<sup>11</sup> He resigned his place as Trustee in October, 1840, and after a year at Raleigh left the State and went to Shelby County, Tennessee, where after

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36 f., December 20, 1838.

<sup>11</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, February 16, 1839.

an active and useful life as a minister he died in 1865. He seems to have made no success as steward, and probably did not continue in the place many months. Before the close of the year, notice was given in the *Biblical Recorder* that at the Examination at the close of the fall term of 1839, there would be a sale on the premises of the "stock, kitchen utensils, beds, mattresses, and other articles belonging to the Institute."<sup>12</sup> After Wynne gave up his stewardship, which was only in name, since it was a private enterprise, the College made no further effort to provide for the board of students.<sup>13</sup>

In the provisions for the sale of lots the Trustees ordered at their meeting on February 4, 1839, that after the close of the present year, probably meaning the year that closed with the Commencement in June, no restrictions would be put on students boarding with the purchasers of lots.<sup>14</sup>

Those who bought lots and others seem to have lost no time in preparing for boarders, and after a year there were no fewer than six boarding houses at the College at which the students were permitted to board at discretion.<sup>15</sup> This number of boarding houses should have been well able to minister to the needs of the students who in the spring of 1840 numbered 65, a number seldom exceeded before 1845-46. A partial list of names of such keepers of boarding houses for the period before the War as have been preserved and also their location is given here: A. S. Wynne, College Dining Hall, 1839; J. L. Terrell, 1840-42; M. D. Freeman, 1843, South Brick Building; W. T. Brooks, who bought the lot on which he built his residence in 1842. He first is listed as a keeper of boarders in 1843 and subsequently named until the Civil War and after; J. B. White, 1844-1853, at his residence in the Old Jones House to the west of the Campus; S. Wait, probably at the North Brick House, 1846-48; Mrs. Gaines, 1846;

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<sup>12</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 30, 1839.

<sup>13</sup> The following action of the Trustees, *Proceedings*, p. 43, February 4, 1839, is of interest: "Moved that Bro. Wynne shall have \$5 per month for boarding, clothing, and for paying the taxes of the servant. Mr. Wynne agrees to this." "

<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 43.

<sup>15</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 30, 1839.



William Hooper, 1848, in North Brick House; William Jones, 1849-50, in residence on lot where residence of Dr. R. M. Squires now stands (one of the "long houses" removed); F. B. Ryan, 1850, first to north of Campus; Mrs. Martha Ryan in Purefoy hotel; B. J. Hackney, 1850; J. S. Purefoy, 1853 and after; College Hotel, 1857, and after; John A. Battle, part of the present residence of Dr. B. F. Sledd; J. M. Brewer, 1857, residence, now home of Mrs. Pickering, on west side of Main Street first block north of Campus; J. H. Foote, 1862; W. M. Wingate, 1861.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to those named above Robert Hicks also opened a boarding house about 1852 in his house of lot No. 10, which he had bought that year from J. S. Purefoy; this house with considerable improvements is now the parsonage. For many years Mr. Hicks's house was largely patronized by the students.

Another boarding house was that of Professor W. T. Walters, who had graduated at the College in 1848, and returning the next year as tutor became Professor of Mathematics in 1852. His first wife was Miss Bettie B. Davidson, of Charlotte County, Virginia, daughter of A. A. Davidson.<sup>17</sup> In 1853, after the departure of President White, Professor Walters purchased his place and farm, and occupied his house, the old Jones residence, which still stands to the west of the Campus. The following from the pen of Dr. J. D. Hufham gives a good picture of their table and of the groups of choice spirits that gathered around it:

I boarded with Dr. Walters, and the last two years of my stay in College I had a room in his house. It was a company of fine young men what met around that table: Marable, [Jack] Mills, Burn, and others. In a long life I have seen nothing better. Dr. Walters, who always sat with us, was ready for an argument or a joke. Marable and Mills were ready with the argument and Burn with the witticism or the jest. Over all presided Mrs. Walters, young and beautiful,

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<sup>16</sup> The data for the boarding house keepers in this list are derived from the Minutes of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, but show only the names of those to whom money was paid for boarding the beneficiaries of the Board of Education.

<sup>17</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 12, 1850.

full of joy and living, reared according to standards of the best social life of Virginia, her presence inspired each person of the company to do the best that he was capable of. Alas ! that after a few happy years she should have been removed from the life here to the life above.<sup>18</sup>

There is other evidence than that just given that the quality of the board was excellent; tradition says that it was generally so. It was probably as good as was obtainable in a country village like Wake Forest, which before the War had scarcely a dozen dwellings, and was accessible in the winter season only by poor roads, except for the railroad of which the nearest station was at Forestville. For provisions the town had to depend for the most part on the country round about, which brought in an abundance of chickens and eggs, pork, beef and mutton. For vegetables and boarding houses seem to have depended on their own gardens. The following from the pen of Mr. D. R. Creecy, a student of the first years of the College, will give some further indication of the character of the board:

We had everything to eat in the meat line: eggs, five cents a dozen; mutton and beef, six to eight cents a pound; flour, eight to ten dollars a barrel; meal, one dollar per bushel; sweet potatoes, one dollar per bushel; fat turkeys, seventy-five cents apiece; spring chickens, ten to fifteen cents apiece; geese, thirty to fifty cents each; no fish (Creecy had come from Perquimans, a county where fish and oysters are plentiful); no oysters, because there was no water to produce them, and at that time no railroad to bring them. Provisions were brought there in large two-horse wagons, but these were never more than one-fourth full on account of the miserable roads. Did you ever hear of eggs selling by the peck and half-bushel? Well, such is a fact. A man came there one day with his load nearly all sold out, and insisted on the landlord's buying the balance of his eggs. The latter did not want them, but the farmer begged and pleaded, saying that they were all he had for sale and that he wanted to start home, a distance of some fifty miles, through mud and mire, so the landlord concluded to strike a bargain, and the latter bought the half bushel of eggs for one dollar. My opinion is that the average landlord made six dollars a month out of each boarder.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 339.

<sup>19</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 311 f. Mr. Creecy, a student of 1839-41, says that board was twelve dollars a month. In view of the other printed in-

But although the meals seem to have been good at the boarding houses, the Wake Forest students like all others of their kind liked to have little collations of their own. These were forbidden by the rules of the College, and were probably made and enjoyed with difficulty, since the professors might be expected to visit the rooms at any time in the course of their duties; yet stolen waters are sweet, and the risk only added a relish to the viands consumed at forbidden hours. Accordingly, not seldom with the help of the faithful unfaithful college servants the students prepared a mid-

formation this statement must be regarded as due to a slip of memory. This further statement in the same article gives an interesting sidelight on student life. "Bull-frogs also were for sale. The boys would sometimes get a negro to prepare them a late supper for a company of four or five students; and they also knew my hatred for frogs. One night a student came bursting into my room, wanting to know why I did not come over and eat fried chicken with them, saying that they had sent over twice for me. Of course, I went in a hurry, as I was very fond of fried chicken. The boys saluted me, saying, Come in, Dave. We have left four nice chicken legs for you.' Well, I was not long in devouring the four legs, and I remarked that they were the sweetest chickens that I had ever tasted. The boys began to laugh and I found out that they had sold me. To my disgust I had eaten bull-frogs for a late supper. I imagined myself swelling, and went to my room as fast as my legs would carry me. I hawked and spit and beat my stomach, but to no avail. The legs stuck.

"I'll tell you about another late supper that beat the frog supper out of sight. One night I dropped into one of the student's rooms. A negro had just brought in a nice baked possum. Of course I was invited to partake, but I politely refused, as I had not entirely gotten over the taste of frog. Naturally I eyed the thing with suspicion. I had caught 'possums' and had seen them baked, on the table, and ready for eating, but I never saw one dead or alive that would not show its teeth; and no teeth were visible in this animal. The others ate it greedily, and next morning I asked one of the boys how he liked-the cat. You ought to have seen that student gasp for breath, and in less than an hour the news had spread all over the College."

Another story of a night supper is told by James H. Foote, who was a student of the College, 1848-52. He says (*Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 336), "The students would have night suppers against the rules of the College. Ben Lea and Jim Bond one night went to old Uncle Isham Holding's, about a mile up the road, to get one of his turkeys, and as they were in the act of climbing a tree for the turkey, Uncle Isham appeared in the shadow, and said, 'What are you doing here?' Ben replied that they wanted to 'buy' one of his turkeys. The old man concluded that he had better make the most of it, and accepted the price offered. So we had a big turkey supper the next night, nicely cooked by two old College servants, Bill and Ralph Pearce. While John Mitchell was too conscientious to help steal the turkey, he joined us to help eat it, *particeps criminis*, as the lawyers say. I am not sure that Joe Freeman was not along when Lea and Bond got the turkey out of the tree that night."

night banquet; sometimes with purchased and sometimes with stolen fowls or other dishes.

The dress of the students of this period is also a matter of interest. At first no great attention seems to have been paid to wearing apparel, as might be expected of students who were going to a manual labor institution. But even in the first years, according to Major J. M. Crenshaw, the boys dressed as well as average people. The ordinary every-day dress of the students of the period of the Institute was simple, consisting of a sleeved jacket and a pair of "trap-door" usually brown trousers, a cap and a pair of boots, or brogans, a shirt and a woolen scarf around the neck in cold weather. No other underclothes than a pair of drawers were worn, except by invalids and older men; stockings were usually woolen and knit by sisters and mothers at home. Clothes were also homemade for the most part. The professors, however, dressed as their station demanded, Wait and Armstrong wearing "fashionable hats, big at the top," but they were too expensive for the students.<sup>20</sup>

Neatness, however, if not elegance, in dress was insisted upon. According to the statement of a student of the first year, Mr. A. G. Headen of Pittsboro, on Saturday afternoons every student was expected, in fine weather, to appear bathed and neatly

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<sup>20</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 305. Statement of Major Crenshaw: "The boys dressed as well as the average people. Their clothes were made at home and their garments were cut short in order to save cloth and money also, and so it was not customary for the students to wear coats provided with long coat-tails. Usual color of clothes was brown. Woolen scarfs were worn around the neck."

The following is from the article of D. R. Creecy, student 1839-41, *Ibid.*, 313. "As to the way the students dressed in those days, I do not believe there was an overcoat in the College, unless the President or some member of the Faculty brought them from the North when they came. The boys wore mostly home materials; their mothers and sisters supplied them with good, warm, knit stockings for the winter. Many of the boys sported in "trap-door" pants. The first pair of the present fashion I wore were white, which caused me no little embarrassment in the company. Generally boys in full dress wore glazed fur or cloth caps that covered all their heads, not as at the present time. They also wore short jackets, pants, reaching to the shoe soles, no vest, very rarely collar or cravat. I think all had shirts, however. No such thing as flannel underwear was ever dreamed of. Boots and brogans prevailed "

dressed in fresh linen in the grove in front of the residence for social recreation and music. Wait liked to see them well dressed and desired that they should keep their wardrobes in good condition, even as he himself dressed neatly and impressed the students with his dignified demeanor and fine bodily appearance.<sup>21</sup> On Sunday morning the students put on their best to attend the religious services of the day. Sanders M. Ingram, a student of the first year, returning to the school in April, 1838, found the students much better dressed than in 1834. They parted their hair in the middle and let it grow long and hang down on their shoulders, giving them the appearance of girls. On public occasions some dressed in elegant style.<sup>22</sup> It was only the rare student however, that must be supposed to have had the wardrobe of the dandy of the day, "biled" shirts, gaudy ties, black coats and white vests.<sup>23</sup>

Towards the close of the antebellum period in the years after 1850 many sons of rich planters were students of the College. These kept up the standards of dress of their homes, and according to Professor L. R. Mills, in neckwear, linen, and handkerchiefs their wardrobes were well stocked, every student having from six to twelve large linen handkerchiefs costing one dollar and fifty cents each. They also had fine vests and coats.

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<sup>21</sup> Ingram, *Ibid.*, XIII, 196.

<sup>22</sup> Ingram, *Ibid.*, XXIII, 473 ff.

<sup>23</sup> D. R. Wallace, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVII, 321: "We reached the Yarborough Hotel in Raleigh, where we met four young men, also students at Chapel Hill and acquaintances of young Grimes. Rollicking fine fellows from Alabama and Mississippi. Supper over, trunks flew open, 'biled' shirts, gaudy ties, black coats and white vests were in evidence."

## SOCIAL LIFE, RECREATIONS AND DISCIPLINE

In this period (before the Civil War) the students had very little time or opportunity for social life except among themselves. Their only vacant period in the week was Saturday afternoon, five full days being given to recitation and study, and Friday night and Saturday forenoon to the work of the Literary Societies. In the College sessions there were no holidays. In the early years the Commencements seem to have had no social features and to have been very meagerly attended.<sup>1</sup> After the period of the Institute, the first notice of anything of a social nature in connection with Commencement was with that of 1843, when on the night of the last day a large party of ladies and gentlemen partook of the refreshments provided, and after a suitable time spent "in a most friendly manner," left at an early hour much pleased.<sup>2</sup> It was in 1845 that a reception such as prevailed at Wake Forest Commencements on the evening of the graduating day until well into the present century was first given by the students of the two Literary Societies.<sup>3</sup>

One may gain from the reports for the successive years after this that these occasions were greatly enjoyed; they were soon fittingly left to the more cheerful and fairer portion of those in attendance, while the more serious older people retired to their homes. The reporters of the occasions were not insensible to "the array of female beauty" and of "the very large number of beauti-

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<sup>1</sup> Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 314, says "As the College was in its infancy, I think the commencements were rather tame affairs; with very little preparations and very thin attendance. A notable man spoke, as well as the graduating class."

<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 28, 1846. "In the evening a large party of ladies and gentleman (among whom were Governor Graham and lady), attended an entertainment given by the students of the two literary Societies, who remained until a late hour at night. The occasion was enlivened by the excellent brass band from Raleigh." (N. J. Palmer.) Similar accounts in the same paper in reports of nearly every other Commencement until 1861.

ful and interesting ladies," whose enjoyments were enhanced by "the harmony of sweet sounds and perhaps the articulation of sweeter words." Music was provided from the earliest years, and received due appreciation. In a report for the Commencement of 1852, it is said: "A fine band of music was present to cheer and enliven the scene; the ear was filled with the melody of music, and the eye was ravished by rapid succession of beauties, which passed like magic before minds in a trance." At the Commencement of 1859, the party closed with a dinner at the College Hotel in honor of the graduating class, at which the young ladies in attendance were guests, having been "invited to partake of a largely and handsomely furnished supper." This feature seems first to have been added this year, and to have been retained at the Commencement of 1860.

Those who write of these parties and entertainments take pains to emphasize the fact that order was good and the entertainments innocent, and that there was nothing untoward to mar the joy of the occasions. Probably the writers were tending to draw a contrast between these parties and the balls with which it was customary, to close the Commencements at the State University and at most other colleges. Another manifest purpose of the reporters was to dissipate the general idea that such parties were dull and unpleasurable. "Tell us not," says the reporter of the Commencement of 1852, "there is no pleasure at a party but where they trip the dance on the light fantastic toe.' We have seen and know better, and the truth is, it is only those who can use their heels better than their brains that cry out, Oh how dull, how insipid all these conventional parties are.' "

During manual labor days the students got all the physical exercise they needed and often more than they desired from work on the farm or in the shop. But after the institution became a college no regular provision for such exercise was made. In that day intercollegiate sports were unheard of in the South, and there were no such games as the modern games of baseball, football, and basketball. The College had no gymnasium, and had no regula-

tions requiring care of the body. The most common method of physical diversion was walking for the mail to Forestville or taking long walks into the country.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes these strolls took the young fellows to the homes of the better class in the surrounding country.<sup>5</sup> A new student coming to the College for the session that opened February 1, 1839, found the boys skating on the ice on a pond formed by the excavation for clay for brick for the College Building.<sup>6</sup> Skating on ice, however, was seldom practiced, for the very good reason that it is a rare season at Wake Forest when ice thick enough is formed. In the winter the students from the earliest days until the close of the century often amused themselves with running, jumping, leapfrog, and similar sports; in warmer weather with marbles-not the game which children now usually play, but one in which five large marbles called "men," were placed, four in a square on the edges of a ring, and one larger marble, "the middle-man," in the center, while the players, two or two pairs tried to knock the marbles from the ring by shooting smaller marbles called "taws,"-by no means a sorry game.

One writer also mentions tops as among the summer sports in the early days, during the period when boys of almost any age were admitted to the "Academical" department; bandy, called also hockey and shinny, was among the winter sports.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> There were no athletic sports that would be called such now. Most of the students walked out for exercise. I did not, for I never had time. I studied from twelve to sixteen hours daily." Dr. D. R. Wallace, class of 1850, in *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 329.

<sup>5</sup> "Athletics were then unknown. The exercise consisted in walks to the postoffice at Forestville, or long strolls into the country or visits to the elegant homes a few miles from the College: the Forts, the Dunns, the Lignons and others of that ilk." Dr. J. D. Hufham, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 341. See also statement of James H. Foote, A.B., 1852, *Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>6</sup> The first thing I noticed after getting there was the brick-hole near the embankment of the railroad, and the college boys skating on the ice. I think it was the last of December." (More probably the last of January.) D. R. Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 311.

<sup>7</sup> "In winter the boys amused themselves with bandy, running, jumping and leapfrog; in warmer weather, with marbles and tops." D. R. Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 314. Dr. W. R. Gwaltney told the writer of his proficiency in shinny in his college days, about 1860-62.



In the early college period as well as in the manual labor days the students voluntarily formed a military company, and drilled on Saturdays, and organized a band as subsidiary.<sup>8</sup>

The military company drilled on Saturdays because as the College did not provide the means for physical exercise, so also it did not provide the time, the first five week days being devoted to a round of recitations, and Friday night and Saturday morning being devoted to the work in the Literary Societies.

Though Major Foote says that "The health of the students was perfect,"<sup>9</sup> sometimes the more studious neglected physical exercise altogether. Dr. Wallace said that he had no time for it, and stayed in his room and studied twelve to sixteen hours a day; the result was that at the end of his college course he was "run down like a shadow," and found it necessary to go to a watering-place to regain his strength.<sup>10</sup> The opinion prevailed a half century ago that this neglect of exercise was harmful and often disastrous, and students then intending to go to college were warned by students of former days not to work too hard at their books and to be certain to take sufficient physical exercise and recreation to avoid loss of health.

In general the behaviour of the students through all these years seems to have been as good as could be desired, and their diversions harmless. In the reports for the year made at the Commencements the conduct of the students is often commended, and often the statement is made that there had not been a single case of discipline. They did not drink nor indulge in other bad habits, not that the members of the faculty knew of. But the students at Wake Forest were like all other college students of that day

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<sup>8</sup> "About thirty students formed themselves into a military company with regular officers and drilled on Saturdays. Besides that we had a fair band. Ned Hunter beat the bass drum, Mat. Cooley the kettle drum, Thomas Skinner played the violin. Pat Dozier the clarionet, Frank Alfred [Francis Alford of Currituck] the triangle, and your humble servant the octavo flute." D. R. Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 315.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 347.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 329 f.

and since. Though generally obedient they often felt free to depart somewhat from the strictest construction of the laws, when they supposed they were doing no one harm. We have seen that they had night suppers in violation of the rules. It was also against the rules to have firearms, but in the early days many of the students had each his own pistol. It was also against the rules to have intoxicating liquors or drink them, but the students would sometimes surreptitiously play with strong drink, escaping the notice of the watchful faculty. Buying a jugful from some ready vendor and carrying Dick, the negro fiddler, they would "dance around a stump and have a good time." But few got drunk, or fought or got into serious trouble.<sup>11</sup>

The boys also found pleasure in teasing the members of the faculty by ringing the college bell at the midnight hour and sometimes earlier in the night. Often the ringer would ring until warned by a confederate of danger and then escape, to take up the ringing again as soon as he thought it safe. One night the bell was ringing at an early hour and when the college officer appeared, it kept ringing, though no ringer was in sight. Another member of the faculty came up and then another, and finally all; the bell continued to be rung as if by spirit hands; the beloved teachers were in a fret and stew but the students were calm and had knowing faces; the bell continued to ring for half an hour, until by accident a teacher caught his foot in a rope and observed as he stumbled that the bell's regular ringing was interrupted; following up his rope he traced it to a student's rocking chair, who while studiously reading as if oblivious of the tumult around him was regularly rocking to and fro and ringing the bell. Tradition says that the professors were so glad to be relieved of their growing fear that spooks were playing pranks with them

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<sup>11</sup> "I never knew of any case of drunkenness during my stay at College, but the boys would sometimes buy a jugful and get Dick, the old negro fiddler, to go into the woods and have a good time dancing around a big stump. One thing I can say in the students' favor is that I never knew of a fight or any serious trouble while there." Creecy, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 314.

that they freely forgave the offending student. On another occasion one of the students caught in the act escaped punishment by witticism.<sup>12</sup>

The disorder of the students was usually of that harmless kind indicated above. The uniform testimony both oral and written is that, as Dr. Hufham has said,<sup>13</sup> the spirit of the College was in favor of studiousness and clean living. Hazing was not tolerated, and if now and then a student was inclined to idleness and dissipation the example and influence of the leaders made it hard to neglect one's studies and waste time in bad living. With a regular round of duties for the day the students found the discipline strict but at the same time inspiring to lofty attainments.<sup>14</sup>

No proper appreciation of the discipline and standards of living at Wake Forest in the days before the Civil War can be gained except by considering them in relation to those that obtained in the larger and stronger educational institutions of the South at that time, most of which were State institutions.

As Wake Forest College began to feel her strength and to claim a place under the sun, the contrast between her standards and those of the State institutions became evident and the distinguishing features of the two were clearly drawn. The students of the College coming for the most part from homes of so-called middle class and many of them with small means were necessarily frugal in their expenditures. Being barely able to remain in college they devoted themselves with all possible ardor and industry to taking advantage of the opportunity they had. While several of them

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<sup>12</sup> This story was told the writer by Dr. W. B. Royall. Major Foote has this further story of bell ringing: "It was against the rules of the College to ring the bell except at certain hours, but the mischievous students gave the Faculty no little trouble by ringing the bell at night. So one night to avoid detection, a student climbed up in the belfry and rang the bell with the clapper. A member of the Faculty spied the culprit with his lantern and bid him come down, and on asking him why he rang the bell, the student replied that he read in his lesson that day that "Caesar fecit bellum in Germania Sylva," that "Caesar made a bell of German silver" and he wanted to see if it were true. The joke was so good that he escaped punishment." *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 336.

<sup>13</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 341.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336 f. Statement of Major Foote.

were from wealthier homes yet they came to the College with full knowledge of the strict discipline enforced there and usually with the purpose to conform to it. On the other hand the sons of the older and more aristocratic families and of the wealthy were so numerous at the State institutions that they dominated and gave tone and color to the ideals and life of the students. They were extravagant rather than frugal and often thought more of having a good time than of their studies. Such was believed to be the condition of the affairs at the University of North Carolina, where laxity of discipline increased year by year after the death of President Joseph Caldwell in January, 1835. With reference to the character of the life of students in State Colleges of the South, but doubtless with the University of North Carolina in mind, a writer, in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 12, 1855, over the signature of "Philomathes"<sup>15</sup> said:

Denominational, or sectarian colleges as they are generally called, I will not say give a cheaper and better education, though I cannot see why it may not be said. I will say that they offer, from the circumstances attending them, a cheaper education. These circumstances are not intended to include tuition and board, for in these they may generally be the same; but they arise from the class of men who throng, and will forever throng our State Colleges. Here are collected from every distinction of sect or political party the sons of our great men, who are generally so free with their fathers' purses (as much so as with their reputation), and the sons, worse still, of our overgrown rich men-these having little to do in any of the ordinary drudgeries of life, and their fathers having reputation or money enough to last some two or three generations of spoiled and petted children, conclude to spend their time as becomes their birth or wealth; and then follows upon these wise deductions a round of wild, reckless extravagance, that one would scarcely believe, were he not an eye wit-

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<sup>15</sup> "Philomathes" was probably Thomas H. Pritchard, who belonged to the Philomathesian Society and had graduated at the College in 1854 and in 1854-55 was the College agent. Over his own name in the *Biblical Recorder* of March 29, 1855, he had made vigorous and able reply to an attack in the University of North Carolina Magazine for December, 1854. Later "Philomathes" had a series of five articles in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 12, 19, 26, and August 2, 9, 1855, which had the title, "The Comparative Advantages of Denominational and State Colleges Reviewed." They reveal a writer of much ability and controversial power and also of manifest fairness.

ness. But of what force is this to the argument? Just this: The young man who would mingle with a large company of these, without going their rounds of smoking, eating, drinking and dressing, would be treated by these young lords with a haughty superciliousness and cool effrontery, which would drive away one of ordinary nerve. (From the first article.)

The example of such young men, the sons of the wealthy and the distinguished, is far more distinguished than many are aware of. They give tone to the place though the professors may use their best efforts against them. Young men ardent, high-spirited, reckless, with their pockets full of money, and their heads full of pride, will be dissipated. They will smoke, and drink, and curse, and swear, and swagger their heads in proud defiance; they will revel and play cards by night and sleep and lounge by day. And if *they* do it, *others* will. Many, very many, whose purses are not so long, nor heads so full, cannot resist these fine boon companions as they take them by the arms and honor them with their company. (From the fourth article.)

Possibly the picture of "Philomathes" is too lurid and somewhat overdrawn, but it is valuable as throwing in clearer relief the stricter discipline that was prescribed and cheerfully complied with at Wake Forest College, and valuable too in drawing the contrast between the extravagance and dissipation of the students in the State Colleges and the plain living, industry, and high thinking that characterized the Wake Forest students of that period.

It must not be thought, however, that the well-dressed young man of good manners was unknown at the College. Glimpses of them are sometimes caught, as of Dr. T. H. Pritchard's chum and classmate, Joseph John Williams—"a handsome young man of popular manners, and known in College as a great ladies-man, a tremendous Democrat, and an uncompromising teetotaler."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XI, 225.

## XXXII

### RELIGION

Some account of the religious life of the Institute has already been given. That of the period of the College was continuous with it and of like kind, and both have had several distinguishing characteristics which are easily recognized and which through all the years of the institution exercised a powerful formative influence on the lives of the students both while they have been in college and after.

Among these characteristics has been a truly evangelical view of religion, with the acceptance of a belief in the necessity of conversion, or regeneration, as the entrance to the Christian life. But this has not precluded the view that religious and catechetical instruction is valuable in itself and not to be neglected.

Again, correct living was from the first emphasized as the indispensable indication and evidence of the sincerity of profession and of fitness for a place in the visible church. Especially in the period before the Civil War the discipline of the Wake Forest Baptist Church was strict both for students and for others, white and colored. Although the church exercised much patience and charity and gave unhasty consideration to the charges that were often brought against members, it never failed to act severely when severe action was indicated.

A further characteristic of the religious life at Wake Forest has been the attention given to public worship. Like all other colleges of the day, this institution required students to attend religious services twice a day and also on Sunday. Among the students, also, the religious life was fostered in societies of their own, such as Bible classes, and missionary societies.

Most powerful of all in influence on the lives of the students was the simple faith that was preached and exercised at Wake Forest. There was no cant, no affectation, no vain repetition, no necessary formulas in the worship either in the first days of the institution or later.

The pastors during this period, 1834-62, were Samuel Wait (1835-1847), William Hooper (1847-48), William T. Brooks (1849, January to August), John B. White (1849-53), William T. Brooks (1853-54), W. M. Wingate (1854-79). Assistant pastors were John Armstrong (1835-37), and Daniel F. Richardson (1838-39).

One general characteristic of all these pastors was their sanity. They preached the gospel of the New Testament and were satisfied with its theology, being more concerned with teaching the morality of the Sermon on the Mount than with theological subtleties. The burden of their sermons was the necessity of repentance and of regeneration, and the duty of living a correct life. With an unquestioning belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God they were mainly concerned with the religious development of those under their care. It was a time when in New England and the Middle States there was much discussion of the Millennium, the Number of the Beast, the Reign of Satan, and the Final Judgment. In the first half of the nineteenth century college presidents, such as Timothy Dwight of Yale University, and learned members of college faculties and able scholars in that most cultured section of the country, spent much time in devising ingenious schedules of the events for the end of the world, which they thought were already in progress or would soon begin and certainly culminate before the year 2000, while William Miller, quick at figures but no great scholar, threw all the northern and eastern sections of the country into a ferment of excitement by preaching the inevitable end of the world in 1843. Such vagaries had no voice in Wake Forest College. All the pastors of the Wake Forest Church were alike in this : they did not know the time of the end of the world, and they did not think they knew.

Of Samuel Wait, the first pastor, something has already been said. He preached to the students regularly from the first and was the minister of the church continuously from its constitution in August, 1835 until 1847. It is evident from the notes from Brooks's diary, already quoted, and for other reports that his

sermons were well wrought out and delivered in an impressive though unimpassioned manner.<sup>1</sup> The evangelical quality of his preaching may be inferred from the fact that during his pastorate there continued to be accessions to the church by baptism, especially from the students. In the year 1839-40 there were two revival periods, one in November, when eight students were baptized, and another in April, when five others were added to the church in this way. The number of baptisms, however, was usually less than the number of conversions. As stories of these revivals were seldom published in the *Biblical Recorder* during these years the account must remain incomplete, but the following from the report on the College to the Chowan Association of 1843, is probably typical:

During the year there has also been a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit and many have been made to rejoice in God. Such tokens of the smiles of our Heavenly Father should encourage every heart. They show that our labors are not in vain in the lord.

In 1841-42 there were few baptisms; in 1842-43 there were six; in 1844-45 there were five. Taking into consideration the fact that during these years President Wait was absent from Wake Forest about half the time, and was often unwell, and that the number of students in residence was often not more than fifty,<sup>2</sup> one may see that the number of baptisms was large enough to be encouraging.

This little church continued during this period to be made up largely of students and members of the faculty. In October, 1839, it had twenty-seven members, of whom only three were females. These were the Mrs. William Jones, the wife of a graduate of that year, and the wives of President Wait and Professor White; four

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<sup>1</sup> S. M. Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 463: "Mr. Wait (in April, 1838) preached an eloquent sermon from Job XIX: 25-26. I marked many of his texts in my Bible, and can refer to them now. I carried my Bible with me through two wars and have it now. I enjoyed Mr. Wait's sermons very much."

<sup>2</sup> Wait in *Biblical Recorder*, February 3, 1844: "We had last session between forty and fifty students. The session has just now commenced, but nearly forty have arrived."



were colored servants; three were members of the faculty; the remaining seventeen were students, some of whom were no longer in residence. In 1847 the total number of members was forty-seven of whom thirty-one were students. With such a large proportion of students the church found not its least important work in training them for lives of Christian service, often licensing some of them to preach and sometimes ordaining them. The students continued to serve the church as officers and were almost solely chosen for the offices of deacons and clerk.<sup>3</sup>

Nor was the church membership nominal for students in those days; even the lay members who held no office had important duties laid upon them, often being called upon to serve on committees and to be delegates to union meetings, associations and conventions. They too were expected to attend all meetings of the church whether for worship or for business, and if absent from the monthly conference were expected to make proper excuse therefor. In cases of discipline affecting those of their own number they were the mediators. There is abundant evidence that the students found the church life most stimulating and that they devoted their attention and time to its duties and obligations with much enthusiasm.

Wait's resignation as president of the College became effective at the Commencement in June, 1845, but for some years he continued to reside at the Wake Forest and served as pastor until May 8, 1847, when his resignation was received and Dr. William Hooper elected pastor in his stead. It was generally understood that the president of the College should be pastor of the church. Accordingly after President Wait gave up his place as head of the College, the church saw fit, on February 7, 1846, to request

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<sup>3</sup> The clerks from the constitution of the church until 1862 were as follows: August 30, 1835, George Washington; August 6, 1836, R. M. Noxon; August 12, 1837, W. W. Childers; August 13, 1839, O. F. Baxter; September 11, 1840, John B. White; June 11, 1842, Isaac N. Lamb; October 7, 1842, G. Bernard; January 28, 1843, M. T. Yates; June 8, 1844, A. McDowell; February 14, 1849, H. B. Folk; June 6, 1849, J. C. Averitt; November 8, 1851, R. P. Jones; September 25, 1855, John M. Brewer; October 24, 1857, G. S. Jones; April 21, 1860, J. L. Carroll; May 14, 1862, John M. Brewer. Of these all except White and Brewer were students during their term of office.

that he continue as its pastor. To this he consented. Though Dr. Hooper had been elected president of the College on October 17, 1845, he did not come to Wake Forest until January, 1847, and on coming he showed some reluctance to displace Wait as pastor.<sup>4</sup>

Toward the close of his pastorate Wait had the satisfaction of seeing Matthew Tyson Yates graduate from the College, and set apart for missionary work in China. It was through his encouragement that Yates had come to the College as a student in the Academical Department in 1840; on November 17, 1846, he baptized Mrs. Yates into the membership of the church, and by authority of the church gave husband and wife letters of dismission. This was the consummation of his services as pastor of the Wake Forest Baptist Church.

Dr. William Hooper succeeded Wait as pastor, taking up his duties on May 8, 1847, though he had probably filled the pulpit earlier.<sup>5</sup> He remained at Wake Forest only until the close of the fall session of the College on December 14, 1848. Though his term was short his influence was powerful and lasting. Like his predecessor he had no eccentricities in his theological and religious

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<sup>4</sup> In the period when an officer of the College served the church as pastor he received no additional salary for his pastoral services. As Wait was no longer on the College faculty, the church rather belatedly, in November, 1846, ordered that the "deacons be authorized to circulate a subscription, for the purpose of paying our pastor." After being unprepared to report at the next meeting, the committee finally reported on March 13, 1847, that they had secured subscriptions to the amount of \$27.84, and collected \$17.50, and were asked to continue until they had collected the full amount subscribed, which seems to represent all the money the church paid for pastoral services until the College closed for the Civil War. The members, however, were often called upon for contributions for several church expenses amounting to about \$25 a year-for lamps and stoves which evidently wore out every few years and once for blinds for the Chapel.

On April 15, 1843, the church voted that every male member be requested to pay ten cents a quarter to defray the expenses. There is no evidence that the members responded.

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Hooper came to Wake Forest late in December, 1846, or early in the following January. As was said above, he seemed reluctant to take the work of the pastorate. A minute from the church record of February 13, 1847 reads: "The Church requested Bro. Brooks to invite Dr. and Sister Hooper to attend and participate in our church meetings."

views, but to great stores of learning added much common-sense, lowly piety, exquisite taste, and a healthy outlook on life. It has been said that perhaps no man in America wrote better English.<sup>6</sup> One who heard him preach while he was a teacher in South Carolina and afterwards, Dr. William Royall, often declared that no public speaker was more choice in his language in the pulpit. The following characterization of his preaching is from one who knew him well, Elder W. H. Jordan:

Dr. Hooper's excellence as a preacher was in the earnest, highly evangelical and practical character of his ministry. It contained that happy combination of sound doctrine, with its enforcement, as productive of a holy practice, which is so fully exemplified in the ministry of Christ and his apostles. He was not what is called a popular preacher. Though an elegant writer, he was not a fluent speaker; and after he became a Baptist his preaching was extemporaneous. But though his elocution was somewhat slow and embarrassed, frequently when his mind became heated and ignited with his subject he would break into strains of extraordinary beauty and power.

His preaching was remarkably calculated to cultivate both the mind and the heart; to promote, in other words, an intelligent piety. He was a devout believer in the doctrine of salvation as flowing from the unmerited and sovereign grace of God; while he believed with equal steadfastness that this grace teaches its subjects "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

It is uniform testimony of all who knew him that though no one was more decided in his religious principles yet he was charitable towards others and entirely free from bigotry. "The love of good men and of a spiritual religion were the passions of his soul."

As teacher in the University of North Carolina he had been greatly loved and respected.<sup>7</sup> He was regarded in like manner by the students of Wake Forest College, and his gentleness and humility as well as his sincerity and native dignity, won their admiration, and stimulated them to high endeavor. The following from David R. Wallace, who proved to be one of the ablest men

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<sup>6</sup> T. H. Pritchard in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopedia*, p. 512.

<sup>7</sup> See the resolution of the University students on the occasion of Dr. Hooper's leaving the institution. *Raleigh Register*.

The College has turned out, is indicative of Dr. Hooper's wholesome influence on the students:

Dr. Hooper, the President, was a slender, tall, fine-looking man, something over six feet, as I recollect him; about seventy years old, I would say-my ideal of a scholarly gentleman. His manner was graceful and dignified; his methods approached as near perfection as are within human competence. I thought then and still think (perhaps I ought not to say so) that he was the only personality for whom I have any special admiration-dignified, learned, modest, a manly man, he seemed worthy to be president of any institution of learning. He baptized me into the Baptist church.

It remains to be said that the character and careers of the men who were students at the College during the presidency of President Hooper are sufficient evidence of the nature of the influence he exerted over them. Among them were such men as H. B. Folk, A. McDowell, S. G. O'Bryan, B. W. Justice, J. J. Davis, John Mitchell, William Hayes Cheek, W. M. Wingate, W. T. Walters, T. J. Boykin, J. B. Solomon, J. C. Carlyle. At no time of equal duration in its history has the College had a group of men who have excelled these in nobility and usefulness. In politics we hear of "Honest Joe Davis"; no braver and better loved soldier served in the Civil War than General Cheek; Wingate was like his great teacher in representing the Baptist faith in its breadth of view, its charity and liberality, its warm evangelism, its hopeful outlook, its practicality, its sweetness and light. It is no accident that all these men and most of their fellows were serious in their purposes, sincere, gentle, pure in heart, and though humble yet aspiring; whatever natural endowment they may have had in this way had been quickened by the instruction and example of Dr. Hooper.

Dr. Hooper left the College on December 15, 1848.<sup>8</sup> On his departure, Professor William T. Brooks, being the only ordained minister on the College faculty assumed the duties of pastor, and continued in that service until September 14, 1849.<sup>9</sup> That he

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<sup>8</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, December 23, 1848, Adv. of Hooper's Family School.

<sup>9</sup> There is no definite statement in the church records to this effect, but the

preached often after Dr. Hooper's departure is evident from the following statement by Dr. Wallace,<sup>10</sup> which indicates also the quality of his preaching and the wholesomeness of his influence

I recollect Prof. W. T. Brooks as a kindly pleasant man. He was a good-hearted man, guileless as a child. His sermons were as unpretentious as was his teaching, but breathed the spirit of the Master and left you in no doubt as to his heart being in the right place. *You* felt ready to say of him: "*Bonum Virum facile dixeris-magnum libenter,*" gentle spirit rest in peace.

In June, 1849, Professor J. B. White was elected president of the College. He had been licensed to preach by the Wake Forest Church on September 7, 1839, but had never been ordained. Seemingly because his position as president of the College laid upon him the ministerial service he was called to ordination by the church and on September 14, 1849, was ordained by a presbytery appointed by the Raleigh Association, consisting of J. S. Purefoy, William Jones and D. S. Williams. His examination of this occasion on Christian experience, call to the ministry, and doctrine was perfectly satisfactory to the committee, and he was doubtless in full accord in these respects with his predecessors in the Wake Forest pulpit. He was a man of deep piety and personal uprightness of character and of great courage in insisting on clean living and a blameless life by those in positions of influence in the denominational councils.<sup>11</sup>

His Christian charity may be inferred from the fact that when, on April 7, 1849, the question of having the colored members participate in the Lord's Supper was raised, White made the motion

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minutes show that Brooks was often Moderator of the church meetings during this period, baptized those who joined the church, and gave the right hand of fellowship to new members. Once in this period this last service was performed by Elder Wait, while the minutes speak of "our pastor," seemingly with reference to Brooks.

<sup>10</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 325.

<sup>11</sup> He had given up the practice of law from conscientious reasons. See statement of Sanders M. Ingram, *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 474, who says in the same connection: "I thought that Professor White came as near being a perfect man as any man whom I had ever seen, and the more I became acquainted with him the more I appreciated him." The records of his activities recorded in the Wake Forest Church Book well bear out this estimate of Major Ingram.

that they be admitted, and gained unanimous acceptance for it. As to White's courage in demanding a righteous walk by those in high places, this is sufficiently attested by his course of action with reference to the moderator of the Raleigh Association, Rev. P. W. Dowd, against whom ugly charges were current. White thought they ought to be investigated. He made a motion to this purpose before the Raleigh Association of 1852, and also stated his position in a letter in the *Biblical Recorder*, May 21, 1852. Though his resolutions were rejected, since the moderator was popular, the Wake Forest Church severed her connection with the Raleigh Association, the separation finally coming in a rather dramatic way at the session of the Association of 1855. Perhaps this was the greatest service in a religious way that President White rendered the College and the Baptists of the State. Though several former students have been severe in their criticism of him, of which I have said something above, none of these impugn his uprightness of character and his Christian influence, which are sufficiently attested by the evidence already given and also by the general religious life of the College during his pastorate.

The year 1849 was a period of great revivals in many sections of North Carolina and especially at Wake Forest College and the surrounding country. The minutes of the Raleigh Association, which took account of the baptisms of late summer and fall of 1849, show 463 baptisms. The college revival began in August while Brooks was pastor of the church, and seemingly continued for several weeks. As a result more than a score were baptized, seventeen of them students, among whom were many who attained distinction and honor in their various fields of service—Bedford Brown, Benjamin J. Lea, G. F. Hinton, B. F. Biddle, and Thomas H. Pritchard. They were baptized by Professor Brooks, one group on September 9, another on October 14, 1849.

Another great revival came in the spring of 1852, resulting in twenty-four baptisms and many more conversions. Among the thirteen students baptized were Joseph Freeman, John Mitchell, W. G. Simmons, J. F. Oliver, L. H. Shuck, John Ward and B. Simmons; among the other people were John Brewer and wife,

Mrs. Eliza Ann Brewer, daughter of President Wait. The preacher during this revival was an Irishman, Rev. J. S. Reynoldson of Petersburg, Virginia. He was a revivalist of no ordinary powers. He spoke with a broad Irish brogue and with the eloquence of a Grattan.<sup>12</sup> In the fall of 1851 he had preached in a revival at Milton in Caswell County and made a hundred converts. Coming from there to Raleigh early in 1852 he had stirred the city from center to circumference, more than a hundred persons professing conversion. At one time fifty-seven joined the Raleigh Baptist Church. Coming to Wake Forest, says Foote,<sup>13</sup> "He preached with such power that when he left every student of the College was converted." The Church Book shows that Reynoldson himself baptized one group of the converts-Joseph Freeman, John Mitchell, William Mitchell, and W. G. Simmons.<sup>14</sup>

On President White's leaving the College late in 1853 Professor W. T. Brooks again became pastor and served until Rev. Washington Manly Wingate took up the duties of the president of the College the following August.<sup>15</sup> Nothing of special interest in the church life occurred during this period.

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<sup>12</sup> J. H. Foote, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 335.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Foote supposes that Reynoldson came "about 1850," but it was in 1852.

<sup>14</sup> Foote's reminiscences are inaccurate. Reynoldson was reported at the meeting of the Chowan Association for 1852 as having preached in a revival at Murfreesboro in which "37 of the young ladies of the Institute" were converted. Probably for the entire Associational year, 1852-53, he was agent of the Institute; he resigned on May 31, 1853. See the minutes of the Chowan Association for these years. Though he continued his revival work, he served the Board of Domestic Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention as agent in the fall of 1853. In December of that year he sailed for Europe, intending to be back in Petersburg in the following March; on his return he sailed from Liverpool on the *City of Glasgow* which was never heard of again and was thought to have hit an iceberg. He was a great revivalist and four thousand persons, it is estimated, were added to Baptist churches as a result of his preaching. *Biblical Recorder*, June 17, Nov. 4, Dec. 18, 1853; June 22, 1854.

<sup>15</sup> The Church Book shows that on Nov. 12, 1853, "Letters of dismission were granted to Elder John B. White, his wife, his daughter Emily, and two servants." At the same meeting the church adopted a resolution, "That the President of the College shall be considered Pastor of this Church, provided he be an ordained minister; and in his absence or during a vacancy the oldest ordained member of the Faculty, shall be Pastor." As this was Brooks the pastorate fell to him. Thus the church gave Brooks a vote of confidence, which members

Washington Manly Wingate was perhaps the greatest Baptist preacher who has been connected with the College and the denomination in the State. Such is the unanimous testimony of many of the ablest of his brethren who knew him and heard him.<sup>16</sup> Beginning his pastorate in August, 1854, from the first he exercised a wonderful influence over the young men of the College who were greatly attracted by his preaching and his life and conversation and his work in the classroom, and were thus won to a higher and more spiritual ordering of their lives. Some conception of the character of his preaching and influence at this period may be gained from the testimony of students of those days. Dr. J. D. Hufham, who had been at the College two years when Wingate became president, says :<sup>17</sup>

In the beginning of 1854 I heard Wingate for the first time and made his acquaintance. The preaching of President White, Dr. Walters and Dr. Brooks had not interested or benefited me. Here was a preacher of a different type. From the first sentence of that first sermon he held me to the end. After that I never missed a chance to hear him. In June, 1854, he became President of the College and took charge of the Chair of Philosophy. The recitations of those years, including moral and intellectual philosophy, logic and rhetoric, political economy and the Constitution of the United States, are among the most delightful memories of the three and a half years now *so far away*. I have met no other man who seemed to me so great in so many departments of life and thought.

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of the faculty and Board of Trustees of the College and others had been prompt to do when he was severely attacked in a long article by Rev. P. W. Dowd in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 1, 1853. The occasion of Dowd's article was a letter of Brooks in the *Biblical Recorder* of February 23, 1853, which was part of the bitter controversy that raged over Dowd's fitness to retain his place in his church and in the denominational councils. For defence of Brooks, see Owen's letter, *Biblical Recorder*, July 8, 1853, in which he says: "Of the many able and excellent men with whom I have been associated, or whom I have known as instructors of youth, I have known no one who tried harder to teach his pupils 'whatsoever things are true,' etc. In the same paper of August 5, 1853, was published a list of resolutions one of which read: "That we have *undiminished confidence* on Prof. Brooks." This was signed by several Trustees of the College-Samuel Wait, *President of the Board*, N. J. Palmer, A. McDowell, Peyton A. Dunn, *Sec. of Trustees*, and John B. White.

<sup>16</sup> *Biblical Recorder* of March 5, 1879-obituary article by T. H. Pritchard, and many statements in succeeding issues.

<sup>17</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 341.



Another student of the time who wrote of Dr. Wingate's preaching and influence was Professor L. R. Mills.<sup>18</sup> Coming as a mere lad to Wake Forest College on January 19, 1857, Mills went to the house of Professor W. T. Walters, where he found "a peculiar looking man," with head, neck, hair and shoulders of unusual appearance, who in the short time he remained after Mills's arrival impressed him with his gentleness as well as his physical peculiarities. This was President Wingate. Mills was not long in learning of the influence of his preaching on the students. He tells of it in these words:

On occupying my room I noticed that on the ceiling over my bed in letters two feet long was written the word "Forever." The same word in smaller letters was written on the side walls of the room, on the books left by the former occupant of the room, on the walls of the hall-ways. Turn my eyes in any and every direction and there stood out in bold relief the same word, "Forever." I walked over the building, and everywhere on the side walls, over the door lintels, and on the doors, in large, bold characters was the same word, "Forever." I found that the word "forever" was written in all the students' rooms just as in mine. "Forever," "Forever" was everywhere. It haunted me day and night. In my dreams it stood over me. I tried to think out a solution of the mystery. At last I asked one of the old students what it meant, and why it was written everywhere. He told me that in the preceding fall term Dr. Wingate preached one of his great sermons and dwelt on the idea contained in the word "Forever" until he so impressed the students that they wrote it everywhere. They spoke of the sermon with bated breath and awe. Perhaps no sermon that he ever preached made as deep and lasting impression as that one did on the entire body of students.

It must not be inferred, however, that Wingate in his preaching stormed the citadel of his hearers' hearts and took it by force. He spoke in gentle and almost conversational tones and being tender himself presented a tender and compassionate Saviour, and yet with what one of his hearers called "the majestic march of his thought." Another has said: "He had analysis, vocabulary,

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<sup>18</sup> *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, III, 161 ff. "My Recollections of Dr. W. M. Wingate."

imagination, and heart power."<sup>19</sup> In speaking of the effect of his sermons Professor Mills said: "Somehow, in some way I can not describe, the feeling gradually grew in my heart that I wanted to serve God because it was right, and that I must leave my old life because it was wrong. The world lost its attraction for me."

Under such a ministry the students were continually turning to the Christian life and asking for baptism. In the first few months Wingate baptized, among others, J. D. Hufham and H. D. Fowler. In 1856 there was a great revival at the College. The next fall Wingate baptized fifteen, among them such men as L. R. Mills, T. J. Toon, Carey Parker, W. G. Watford, Thomas Carrick, Francis Gilliam, A. W. Poindexter, and J. B. Richardson, G. W. Sanderlin, and E. S. Moore. Sometimes the interest of an ordinary service would be so general that it assumed the nature of a revival. One of these occasions is described by Professor Mills, as follows:

On the third Sunday night in September, 1857, after preaching a sermon of great power and observing some interest on the part of the students, Dr. Wingate asked if any one in the congregation would like to have the church to pray for him. He seemed to feel it was quite doubtful whether there was any such in the audience. Immediately, without any urging, twelve or fifteen students got up and walked to the front seat. He was surprised at the number, and every member of the church was amazed. Here was a great work of grace upon them, and they had not expected it-had not asked for it. College *Exercises* were suspended for two weeks. Such a meeting, such preaching and praying we did have! The meeting did not close till every student except one made a profession of religion. I have seen many meetings at the College since then, but in force, power and thoroughness I have never seen anything to compare with it. Dr. Wingate was at his best and his sermons were wonderful.

Wingate exercised his powerful and elevating influence not only in his sermons but, says Mills, "Contact with him in daily life not only made me desire to be a better man, but it made me feel

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<sup>19</sup> The first is the statement of Dr. W. B. Royall and the second of Dr. W. L. Poteat.

I was a better man. The power of his godly life made a deep impression on all the students. Every one admired and loved him." He was a man of nice perceptions and knew how to deal with students. In his presence incipient fusses between students were forgotten, and animosities were impossible.

The nature of these revivals and of the religious life of the College at this period may be seen in the following letter of Wingate which appeared in the *Biblical Recorder* of October 1, 1857. It refers in particular to the same revival of which Mills wrote. It is as follows:

We have had indeed a season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. There has been an interesting state of things the whole session. On Wednesday evenings, prayer meetings were attended by nearly all the students; from these indications we were encouraged to continue them every evening. Nor were we disappointed in our hopes. The convictions of many became clear and decided; and the prayer meetings were converted into nightly preaching, and services at sunrise. But soon the work seemed to be so deep and so general that it was thought best to dispense with College *Exercises*, and attend exclusively to the soul's interest of those who were asking earnestly the way of life. This was done for a week. Fifteen of our students profess to have found hope in Christ; ten are still inquiring what they must do to be saved; and there is not one who at some stage of the meeting did not present himself for prayer. Only about fifteen of our entire number, including the anxious, are left without faith in the merits of the Saviour. Truly we have reason to bless God and take courage.

Just one year ago we enjoyed a most precious season from the outpouring of God's Spirit. More than twenty-three consecrated themselves to the service of the Redeemer, and we have as yet heard of none who have turned away from Him who called them. My Brethren, is not this the time for earnest prayer and devout thanksgiving? Surely God has blessed us, and marked with this approbation our beloved Institution.

Such were the religious influences that the students of the days before the Civil War found at Wake Forest College. Their worth is to be read in their lives.

Early in the period of the Institute, as has already been related, Bible classes were formed, under the direction of some of the in-

structors. These met on Sunday afternoon. So far as appears from the records for the first twenty years attendance on them was voluntary, but the catalogue of 1854-55, the first after Wingate became president, contains under the head of "Public Worship" a new provision, that, on Sunday, "in the afternoon all the classes are required to stand an examination on one or more chapters of the Old or New Testament." After a year or two this was changed to read: "In the evening [probably meaning afternoon] all the classes are required to prepare recitations on some portion of the Bible."

Probably this regulation was suggested by the fact that the catalogues of the University of North Carolina for many years preceding the Civil War carried a similar statement, and it was thought that a denominational college should not be behind the University in its requirement of Bible study.<sup>20</sup> Little is said about the workings of the new regulation at Wake Forest, though it was kept for the remainder of the period. It was at a period when students at nearly all schools were subjected to a discipline of almost military nature, and the time of both students and instructors was disposed according to directions of Boards of Trustees.

With Bible classes taught by members of the faculty and few other than students to attend them it was many years before the College and community felt the need of a regularly organized Sunday School. The first proposition to establish one made in the Wake Forest Church was on March 26, 1859. On motion of Elder

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<sup>20</sup> See the catalogues of the University for the years 1852-53 and following. A by-law of the University, seemingly adopted early in the administration of President Caldwell, prescribed "instruction in morals and religion," Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 191. The catalogue requirement was that in the afternoon students "recite on the Historical parts of the Old and New Testaments." The classes, in 1840, were assigned to three professors who evidently had no great relish for the Sunday work. *Ibid.*, 482. The University also required all students to attend worship in the Chapel on Sunday morning, which requirement was somewhat modified on complaint of the Episcopal Church in 1859. *Ibid.*, 713. The University began to give Bibles to the graduates in 1842 and continued giving them for many years. The dissatisfaction of the students of the University with the regulations on religion found expression in many ways. *Ibid.*, 299, 465, etc.

R. B. Jones the church appointed a committee consisting of Dr. Wait, R. B. Jones, R. R. Savage, A. J. Kelly, and F. A. Belcher with authority to appoint a superintendent and organize the Sunday School. Four weeks later this committee reported that the school had already been established with R. R. Savage superintendent, that their efforts were meeting with general and hearty cooperation, and that had begun operation under circumstances truly flattering.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Savage is described by Professor Mills, his roommate from August, 1857 to June, 1860, as "a gentle, pure-hearted soul-a man of large common sense, and a devoted Christian."<sup>22</sup> He was a fit man to stand first on the long list of worthy men who have succeeded him in the same office.<sup>23</sup> After his graduation in June, 1860, Mr. Savage was succeeded as superintendent by Prof. J. H. Foote, who in turn was succeeded by J. L. Carroll in September, 1861.

The Wake Forest Church was liberal of its means in regular contributions for the objects of the Baptist State Convention, Missions and Education, and, in the last years of the period, Colportage. Its method of collecting funds for these objects was the appointment of a committee to solicit the members for contributions; this was done shortly before the time of the meeting of the Convention; the amount of the contributions governed the number of delegates to the Convention to which the church was entitled. When the contributions were large often many students were named as delegates, and sometimes prominent Baptists who were not members of the Wake Forest Church. At other times part of the contributions was used to purchase life memberships for individuals. The price was thirty dollars. The church, which was constituted on August 30, 1835, sent up to the Convention of that year the sum of \$93. After that the contributions were

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<sup>21</sup> Church Record Book, March 26, April 23, 1859.

<sup>22</sup> *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, III, 165 f.

<sup>23</sup> There is an excellent appreciation-without date-of Savage in the *N. C. Baptist Almanac* for 1893, p. 54, by Dr. R. T. Vann. Savage was born in Virginia; after his graduation he labored until his death in the Chowan Association, and proved a man of much ability and influence, being a trusted counsellor in the State Convention and in the Board of Trustees of the College of which he was a member.

somewhat smaller for several years, but a marked increase is seen in 1846 when the amount sent by the church was \$205 with an additional \$15 by the Society of Inquiry, the occasion being the departure of M. T. Yates and his wife for the work in China. For several years after this the records of the amount of the contributions is not clear, since the reports on the Convention minutes are not explicit and the Church Book is silent, and contributions were made to the Yates fund through the Raleigh Association, about \$80 a year; in 1853 the Church Book shows contributions of \$160. The increasing prosperity of the College and the evangelical enthusiasm excited by the ministry of Wingate in the years 1854-62 are reflected by larger contributions, which in 1858 rose to \$500.19, of which \$13.44 was given by the colored members of the African Mission.<sup>24</sup> At the meeting of the Convention in Raleigh, in 1858, the members of the College faculty and the students manifested their interest in the endowment of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, then located at Greenville, South Carolina, by making liberal subscriptions, fourteen students subscribing \$150; and Wingate and Walters, \$100 each. At the Convention of 1856 among the large subscribers for the endowment of the College was Wingate who raised a former subscription to \$1,000, while a number of former students made subscriptions of \$100.

In this period the church served also as a kind of training ground for the students. As we have said above, they held nearly all the offices of the church. During the first eighteen years the church had only student deacons. In the period from 1835 until 1862 the number of deacons was eighteen, of whom all but four were students; two, Professor J. H. Foote, and J. M. Brewer,

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<sup>24</sup> The contributions to the objects of the Convention year by year, so far as they can be learned from the Church Book and minutes of the Convention are as follows: 1835, \$93; 1836, \$61.50; 1837, \$40; 1838, \$30; 1839, \$32.50; 1840, \$31.87; 1841, \$30.40; 1842, \$40.10; 1843, \$52; 1844, \$30; 1845, \$44.00; 1846, \$220; 1847, \$120; 1848, \$64; 1849, \$52, included in report of William Jones, Agent, and not published; 1851, reported for Education, \$10; 1852, \$13.35; 1853, \$41; 1854, \$160; 1855, \$147.75; 1856, \$200; 1847, \$276.74, including Wingate, \$35, and Brooks, \$10; 1858, \$500.19; 1859, \$383.91; 1860, \$500; 1861, \$364; 1862, \$247.

were former students; two others, Samuel H. Dunn and W. B. Dunn, were laymen not connected with the College. In addition there was a deacon of the colored portion of the church, Sam Ryan, who was once brought before the church for unbecoming conduct, but was excused when it was found that his major offense was undue haste in marrying again after the death of his first wife.<sup>25</sup>

In these days the office of deacon, at least in the Wake Forest Church, was invested with much reverence and great care was exercised in finding proper men for it. Often a committee was appointed to make recommendations, and these committees sometimes took many weeks to find those whom they were willing to recommend. Of the fourteen student deacons eleven were ministers or later to become ministers, such men as W. T. Brooks, J. L. Prichard, M. T. Yates, and J. L. Carroll. When they were to be elected directly by the church the balloting was preceded by prayer, and on one occasion at the election of 1836, a day of prayer and fasting preceding the election was ordered by the church. After election they were inducted to their office by ordination in the most solemn manner, for the church was scrupulous about allowing an unordained person to distribute the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper. To the deacons, often with the help of other members, were intrusted the most important functions of the church, such as hearing the experiences of applicants for baptism, investigation of charges against members, collections of funds for various purposes, and the oversight of the colored members at the African Chapel.

There were many things in the church of this period, which was so largely made up of students, well adapted to fit men for places of responsibility and leadership in religious and church

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<sup>25</sup> The full list of deacons, with the dates of their appointment is as follows:

September 5, 1835, H. K. Person and W. R. Powell; April 3, 1836, J. W. Hoskins and W. T. Brooks; August 11, 1838, J. L. Prichard; June 11, 1842, M. T. Yates; September 21, 1846, A. R. Vann and J. P. Montague; January 12, 1848, J. C. Averitt and S. G. O'Bryan; November 10, 1849, S. O. Tatum; February 7, 1852, E. F. Beachum; September 13, 1853, S. H. Dunn and J. M. Brewer; October 25, 1856, W. B. Dunn; September 24, 1859, F. A. Belcher; November 26, 1859, J. L. Carroll; April, 1860, J. H. Foote; and Sam Ryan, colored, April 7, 1849.

life. Here they could learn methods of conducting the various meetings and conferences of the church, both business and devotional, and were trained in such things as appointing delegates to Associations and Conventions, taking up collections, looking after indifferent or negligent members, disciplining the erring, and in stimulating the spirit of fellowship and cooperation. Often too the students were present when men were licensed or ordained. On leaving college they knew the workings of a Baptist church and often had been trained to work themselves.

Such in this period was the religious life of the College of which the students were a great part. Let him who doubts the value and place of conversion in the religious life consider the young men for whom conversion while students at Wake Forest was the beginning of lives of Christian service; and if anyone doubts the value of church discipline such as the students of the College received in the Wake Forest Church in this period let him follow them through their lives and see what an indispensable part they have had in bringing the Baptist denomination in the State to its present position in numbers, influence and favor because of its sweet and liberal spirit.



## V LITERARY SOCIETIES

## THE EUZELIAN BANNER

Euzelians, you have aspired to the honors of Science and the distinctions of Literature. You have talent and industry-you have resolved to ascend the hill of Science, and its pathway, however steep and rough, cannot deter you; its summit, however lofty, cannot discourage you. Here is your Standard-it speaks for you. Science and Literature, Agriculture and Mechanics, will receive your fostering care. All will be prosecuted with industry, and what you do you will do well. And though your latter end, the grave and dust, are before you, yet your immortality has commenced; your star is above the horizon. No difficulties can deter you, no toils can appal you. Your motto is, "*Inveniam viam aut faciam.*" Gentlemen, Heaven prosper you-may you be an honor to your Institution, a blessing to the State, and a benefit to mankind.

## THE PHILOMATHESIAN BANNER

Fellow Philomathesians, we also have entered upon the race for intellectual honor. We too have aspired to Literary distinction. To us life without knowledge would be as gloomy as the grave. For the promotion of our own happiness, and especially for the extension of our usefulness among mankind, we have resolved to be scientific men. We have entered upon a literary course, and no difficulties, no discouragements, shall check our progress. We have hoped great things, and we have attempted great things. We shall never forget that he who attempts to throw over the sun will throw higher than he who attempts to throw over a shrub. Here is our Standard-it speaks for us. Our motto is, "*Esse quam videri malo.*" But while we shall always appear as we are, we shall never be content with common acquirements or the laurels that may wreath the brows of other men. With the benediction of Heaven, we shall be an honor to our Alma Mater, a blessing to the State, and a benefit to mankind.

*-From the Fourth of July Oration of James C. Dockery, at the first public Exercises of the Literary Societies, July 4, 1845.*

## EUZELIANS AND PHILOMATHESIANS

Of the College for the first three-quarters of a century the Literary Societies were a constitutional part. Accordingly, no history of Wake Forest that omitted a comprehensive account of them would be complete. Fortunately the records and documents relating to them are preserved, and little that is essential is left to conjecture.<sup>1</sup> They give a vivid moving picture of successive generations of able young men in all the joyousness and enthusiasm of youth as they come in constant stream upon the stage, play their parts and pass off as if under some divine compulsion. No one can contemplate the changing scene without much admiration and satisfaction, since it provides the first appearance of many who on other scenes of action in church and state were to play noble parts.

The student of government might find in the records of these Societies as good examples of democracies as ever existed. Their members were in full charge of their organizations and without direction or interference from outside. They chose their own form of government, elected their own officers, established such rules and regulations as seemed to them necessary for their welfare, and enforced them with proper penalties. If they made mistakes they were able to correct them. They exacted certain fees and required the performance of certain duties; they required a strict accounting in all financial matters; they imposed such a discipline as made for the development of the members socially, morally and intellectually, and fitted them to take places of leadership in

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<sup>1</sup> For the Euzelian Society the transcribed minutes for these years fill two large volumes and part of a third, about 1,500 pages; part of the original records are also preserved. For the Philomathesian Society the minutes of these years are contained in one volume and part of another, with larger folios than those of the Euzelian records. The minutes of both Societies and a list of their members for the year 1835 are found in the *Wake Forest Student* for February, 1910, XXIX, 384 ff. There is a "Short History of the Literary Societies," by Dr. T. H. Pritchard, in the *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60 ff.

active life; and in everything they had the utmost loyalty, the cheerful support, the fraternal devotion of their entire groups.

"The object of this Society," said the original constitutions which were the same for both societies, and probably the product of John Armstrong, "shall be the intellectual improvement of its members." This purpose, as expanded in the beautiful and grave and solemn words first heard by the new member on his introduction into the Hall and regarded by many members almost as sacred as Holy Writ, becomes:

The Creator has endowed man with a disposition for association. These associations result in good or evil according to the object which calls them into exercise and the principles upon which they are conducted. The object of our association is the development of our minds, thus preparing us for the duties of active and manly life. The principles upon which it is conducted are such as are in accord with our responsibilities as moral agents. As a member of this association you will bear in mind that the Philomathesian (or Euzelian)

Society is entitled to your active zeal for its prosperity and your mental efforts for the promotion of its literary character.

Any student of the institution was eligible for active membership, provided he was not a member of the other. Originally members of the faculty also might become members, but were to be exempted from the demands of the Society. In addition both Societies, early in the year 1842, made provision for the reception of transient members, "any gentlemen of good character," who were elected and introduced as other members, but were free from charges for society fees. The provision seems to have been made for the benefit of residents of the vicinity who desired the advantages of the Societies; if they should register as students they would automatically become active members. Very few ever became transient members.

The condition and terms of membership were not at first clearly understood; in the first years some became dissatisfied and offered

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<sup>2</sup> Phi. Records, January 15, 1842; Eu. Records, February 13, 1842, September, 1859.

their resignation, one or more of whom afterwards sought reinstatement which was denied. Sometimes one who had been a member of one Society sought membership in the other, forgetting that the Constitution forbade this. After a short time, however, all the initiated were aware of the seriousness of the obligations they assumed and generally abided by them with cheerfulness and loyalty. Those few who did not soon found that the Societies had and could exercise the power of expulsion if any member acted in contempt of their regulations or did not conduct himself as a gentleman, or violated a statute of the criminal law.<sup>3</sup>

The societies embracing all the students could take care of some matters pertaining to the welfare of the College that are usually the responsibility of the faculty. Among these was the care of the dormitories, but it was late in this period before the Societies took full charge. That they might better effect this the faculty had sought to have them take each one end of the College Building, but as the Euzelians declined the arrangement, it was not adopted at this time.<sup>4</sup> The Societies, however, were already punishing some of the grosser abuses of sanitary laws, and by joint resolution, in September, 1859, passed regulations that forbade even the throwing of an apple peel from the windows of the dormitories. There were many murmurs of dissatisfaction at first but soon this became one of the most rigidly enforced of all the Society laws.

None of the Society regulations was made a burden, however, on the free and youthful ardor of the young men. Society meetings were important, but our young men were ready to adjourn to attend

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<sup>3</sup> In May, 1836, the Philomathesian Society expelled two members for ungentlemanly conduct, which led to some resignations; later it expelled a member on the charge of stealing. Euzelian Society also found it necessary to exercise its power to expel on more than one occasion, in June, 1853, expelling one for "disrespect of the Society." In September, 1836, J. H. Brooks, W. T. Brooks, and J. L. Prichard, a Committee "to draw up a code of laws for the moral government of the society," reported advising first a fine, and on the persistence in the offence, expulsion for "any member who shall play at any game of cards," or who "shall be guilty of uncleanness" (sexual immorality). After a few years these laws, proving either unnecessary or inoperative, were repealed.

<sup>4</sup> Eu. Records, May 1858.

a social gathering, to see Daniel Webster pass on the train, or to welcome home Professor Walters with his fair Virginia bride.<sup>5</sup>

Although before 1869 there was no restriction on the portion of students either Society might have, usually the balance was fairly well maintained both as to numbers and quality of members. According to the *General Catalogue*, which records the Society membership of about nine-tenths of the 1,087 matriculates of this period, 512 were members of the Philomathesian Society and 473 were members of the Euzelian Society. All along, however, the competition for new members was keen and often bitter. Of this something has been said above. At first there was undue haste in initiating any student who had been won for one Society or the other. To correct this, after a few years, an agreement was made that none should be initiated until four weeks after matriculation. It seems that even this was not strictly abided by. Early in the session of 1851-52 the Philomathesians by formal resolution, in language that the Euzelians regarded as discourteous, charged that the latter had violated the agreement. Although this charge was admitted by the Euzelians they made the counter charge that the Philomathesians had made a "violation even more palpable," without indicating its exact nature; whereupon the Philomathesians in another set of resolutions indignantly denied the allegation and called for particulars, at the same time disclaiming any intended discourtesy.<sup>6</sup>

The Philomathesian Society came in for much more serious trouble after Wingate came to the College in 1854, since the Euzelians gained an extraordinary proportion of the new men, getting nineteen in the fall term while the Philomathesians got only one, and twenty in the spring term and the Philomathesians eight. In the beginning of the next session, the new men were more, but not quite, evenly distributed. The Philomathesians seeing their sister Society outstripping them, supposed the cause of it was the greater number of Euzelians on the faculty; of these there were three, Brooks, Wingate and Walters; all of whom had

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<sup>5</sup> Phi. Records, August 1, 1847; October 6, 1850.

<sup>6</sup> Phi. Records, September 27, 1851; Eu. Records, September 20, 27, 1851.

been active Euzelians, while Owen was an honorary member. From July, 1853, to June, 1854, the Philomathesians had no representative at all on the faculty, and for the remainder of the year 1854 nothing more than a tutor. In June, 1855, the Trustees had elected Simmons, a Philomathesian, but this did not satisfy the young men of his Society since it left the odds against them on the faculty three to one. It was easy for them to believe that there was a direct relation between this unequal faculty representation and their failure to get new members, and they got in a very ugly temper about it. Some left the College, while others were filled with a spirit of resentment and insubordination that caused them to lose their interest in the institution, neglect their work, and openly violate the College regulations in such a way as to bring about their expulsion. It was anything but a healthy condition. This led the Society to address the Board of Trustees at their meeting in June, 1856, in a set of resolutions setting forth the grievances just mentioned, which is important enough to be inserted here in full:

Phi. Hall, June 10th. To the Honorable Board of Trustees of Wake Forest College. Whereas the Philomathesian Society from the fall of 1853 to June, 1854, had no representative whatever in the Faculty, and from that period to January, 1855, was represented by a Tutor only, and from that period to the present has not had an equal representation with the Euzelian Society; and whereas this unequal representation has had an unfavorable bearing on its prosperity not only by the silent and indirect influence which the Faculty necessarily exert but also by the dissatisfaction engendered in its members, resulting in their untimely departure, thus diminishing its members and retarding the progress of the College; and whereas the unequal representation has the tendency to cause many of its members to distrust the fairness and impartiality of the Faculty in regard to discipline and awarding distinctions, and this mistrust, whether well grounded or not is also a further cause of dissatisfaction, with the attendant evils before mentioned, and with the additional one of causing its members to treat the Faculty with disrespect, thus creating many cases of discipline among its members and thereby injuring its reputation and diminishing its numbers; and whereas this want of equal representation with its resulting evils seems to have escaped the observation of the Board of Trustees:

Therefore, be it resolved by the Philomathesian Society, That, the Board of Trustees be and is hereby memorialized to correct as near as possible the evil now presented to their consideration by granting this Society an equal representation in the Society as soon as practicable. (Signed) H. D. Fowler, B. T. Simmons, J. C. Devin, Com.

This resolution was put in the hands of Dr. Wait, President of the Board. The minutes of the Board, however, make no direct reference to it, but it was probably this that caused the introduction of a resolution calling for the resignation of Professor W. H. Owen, which after violent discussion was laid on the table. At this Commencement, however, the Trustees appointed as tutor B. F. Cole, a young minister from Chatham County, who was just graduating. He was a young man of much promise, but his career was cut short by his death on November 18, following. This left the Philomathesians represented on the Faculty by Simmons alone, who, so far as the record shows, took very little interest in the Society at this time. Owen continued to hold his place; at the meeting of the Trustees on June 8, 1858, he was summarily asked to "hand in his resignation at that meeting of the Board." This he did, the resignation to take effect at the close of the session, in December, 1858. At the same meeting W. T. Brooks, a Euzelian, resigned from the faculty of the College, his resignation also to become effective in December, 1858. In June, 1859, the Trustees elected J. H. Foote, a Philomathesian, to take the place of Owen. At the same time, the Trustees took pains to say, and the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* said for them editorially, that they had unchanged confidence in Wingate's singleness of purpose to serve the College.

For some reason, however, the Philomathesians were not satisfied. With increased endowment, although the number of students had fallen off from 118 in 1854-55 and 127 in 1855-56 to less than 100 in each of the three years thereafter, it was decided to add another member to the faculty. It seems that the Philomathesians expected that a Philomathesian would be appointed, but Wingate



recommended instead Professor William Royall, then teaching at Furman University, where Wingate had known him. He was a man of first class ability, in fact, one of the very ablest men ever on the faculty of the institution. In securing him, it may be said, Wingate made a manifestation of that fine judgment of men that he afterwards displayed in securing men for the college faculty-Mills, W. B. Royall, Taylor. But the Philomathesians knew nothing of Royall whom the Trustees had elected at the meeting in Charlotte on November 8, 1859. Though it is not expressly stated in the Philomathesian Society minutes, it seems that the dissatisfaction in the Society arose from this failure of the Trustees to elect a member of their Society instead of Royall, and caused it to entertain a resolution for its dissolution, the reason assigned being "the present exigences, brought about, as we sincerely believe, by undermining contrivances to thwart our efforts for an upward progress to prosperity and usefulness."<sup>7</sup> A committee appointed to report on the matter brought in a resolution a week later, which declared in a preamble that, "the Society has existed long to elevate and refine the minds of those who came within the pale of its jurisdiction, and long still would it exist were it not for many and various reasons wholly external, which require its suspension and as we believe its dissolution." Accordingly, the resolutions further advised the suspension of the operations of the Society, from November 26, 1859, until nine o'clock Monday of Commencement, when a meeting was appointed, in which the active members would determine, probably after learning the will of the Board of Trustees with reference to their complaints, whether or not the Society should be dissolved.<sup>8</sup> The resolution was read, and was in course of adoption, article by article, when further consideration was continued one week. At that next meeting several former members of the Society, most probably Professors Simmons and Foote among them, were present,

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<sup>7</sup> Phi. Records, November 12, 1859.

<sup>8</sup> The committee consisted of W. R. Lindsay, William Brunt, C. S. Wooten, F. A. Belcher, and Tyler Ellington.

and though the resolutions were all passed and provisions made for the publication of a card justifying the action, they were taken up again at the same meeting and ordered expunged.<sup>9</sup>

After this the commotion gradually subsided and was wholly removed when Professor Royall had come, and though elected to honorary membership in both Societies, after some delay and probably after counsel had chosen the Philomathesian rather than the Euzelian.

Of active members certain fees were required, both initiation and term fees. The first was paid only once; it ranged at different periods from two to ten dollars; the term fees, which were first collected quarterly in both Societies, ranged from fifty cents to three dollars. To secure greater secrecy the Euzelians often stated their fees for an amount lacking one-third or one-fifth of a cent of the amount actually paid.<sup>10</sup> Of ministerial students who were beneficiaries of the Board of Education no fees were usually required in either Society, "in respect to the custom of those showing respect to the office of the Ministry."<sup>11</sup> The Euzelians in one instance went further, and paid the tuition fees of a student, Mr. Lewis H. Shuck, whose father was a missionary to China. The Philomathesians had profited greatly by having Matthew T. Yates; to offset this the Euzelians thought they must have Shuck, if not a missionary yet a son of a missionary, and on August 2, 1851, passed a resolution that "if Mr. L. H. Shuck shall become a member of our Society and so continue through College, we will pay his tuition expenses, if not so long as he is with us."<sup>12</sup> Mr. Shuck was thus won, and the Euzelians were faithful to keep their promise.

It is interesting to observe that in most instances students who were active and prominent in the Societies continued such in their life work. In the Euzelian Society in the early years the leaders were W. T. Brooks, H. K. Person, and J. L. Prichard; they were

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., November 26.

<sup>10</sup> Eu. Records, May 31, 1843; August 11, 1849.

<sup>11</sup> Phi. Records, February 11, 1860.

<sup>12</sup> Eu. Records, January 28, 1853.

succeeded by such men as Archibald McDowell, W. T. Walters and W. M. Wingate; then followed John Mitchell, A. J. Emerson, C. S. Ellis, J. D. Hufham, J. H. Mills, F. H. Ivey, L. R. Mills, T. F. Toon, and R. R. Savage, and J. L. Carroll. Among the Philomathesians the first leaders were J. C. Dockery, W. W. Childers, J. J. James, and S. M. Ingram; then came Willie P. Mangum, Thomas C. Dockery, O. H. Dockery, B. W. Justice, and D. R. Wallace; these were followed by W. J. Houston, James H. Foote, T. H. Pritchard, W. G. Simmons, W. T. Faircloth, F. A. Belcher, Lansing Burrows, and W. R. Gwaltney.

Of course these are only a few of those who were both prominent in their Societies and in after life. The names of others, though not of all, may be seen in the list of the presidents of the Societies in the footnote below. At first both Societies elected two presidents a year, but from the opening of the session of 1847-48, the Euzelians had four a year. In these years the president was often chosen in each Society not only from the Senior Class but also from the Junior Class. The same person might be president a second time, but not for two terms in succession.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> List of Presidents of Philomathesian Society: 1835, C. R. Merriam, J. C. Dockery; 1836, W. Jones, J. W. Hoskins; 1837, J. J. James, W. W. Childers; 1838, A. A. Connella, M. T. Waddill; 1839, spring term, O. F. Baxter; 1839-40, James Murray, J. C. Rogers; 1840-41, J. M. Brewer, James H. Lane; 1841-42, Thos. H. Williams, James Joyner; 1842-43, S. M. Ingram, James Joyner; 1843-44, W. Grandy, Wm. L. Crocker; 1844-45, Menalcus Lankford, Thos. C. Dockery; 1845-46, Jonathan W. Merriam, Willie P. Mangum; 1846-47, W. L. Crocker, Priestly H. Mangum; 1847-48, R. L. Brewer, Samuel Davis; 1848-49, B. W. Justice, D. R. Wallace; 1849-50, W. J. Houston, S. O. Tatum; 1850-51, W. A. Ramsay, James H. Foote; 1851-52, James L. Bond, A. J. Rogers; 1852-53, T. Slade, J. J. Williams; 1853-54, T. H. Pritchard, R. P. Jones; 1854-55, Wm. R. Trawick, B. F. Cole; 1855-56, M. Baldwin, C. W. Egerton; 1856-57, J. C. Devin, H. D. Fowler; 1857-58, B. F. Hester, T. J. Pitchford; 1858-59, J. C. H. Jones, T. D. Boone; 1859-60, W. A. Whitted, A. W. Poindexter; 1860-61, F. A. Belcher, C. S. Wooten; 1861-62, Wm. Brunt, H. Lansing Burrows.

The Euzelian Presidents were: 1835, Hiram K. Person, Elisha Burns; 1836, R. B. Seawell, R. M. Noxon; 1837, J. H. Brooks, J. L. Prichard; 1838, W. T. Brooks, J. H. Brooks; 1839, spring term, W. T. Brooks; 1839-40, J. L. Prichard, W. J. Gatling; 1840-41, Joseph McClees, B. M. Baxter; 1841-42, Wm. A. J. Boone, Wm. J. Holley; 1842-43, Wm. Foy, Daniel DuPre; 1843-44, A. McDowell, W. C. Hunter; 1844-45, G. W. Collins, P. T. Henry; 1845-46, F. C. Bryan, G. W. Collins; 1846-47, F. C. Bryan, A. McDowell; 1847-48, Wm. T. Walters, F. C. Bryan, W. E. Poole, W. M. Wingate; 1848-49, R. C. Meachum, J. T.

Some account of the officers has already been given, but a fuller statement may be made here. The elective officers at first were President, Vice President, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, Censor, Librarian, Senior Critic, Junior Critic, and a General Committee which was soon left off. In October, 1836, the Philomathesians changed the name of Censor to Supervisor, and added an Assistant Treasurer to look after the correspondence. About the same time the Euzelians added an officer with similar duties whom they called first Register and later Transcribing Secretary on adding to his work the duty of transcribing the minutes to permanent record books. Before many years each Society found it necessary to have a Corresponding Secretary. A Chaplain and a Vice Chaplain were provided by the Philomathesian Society in September, 1838, and by the Euzelians in February, 1841. From the first, however, the Euzelians opened their sessions with prayer by some one called upon by the president, and after a few months the Philomathesians did the same.

In the beginning the Societies met fortnightly, on alternate Saturday evenings. In October, 1836, with the consent of the faculty, they began to hold their meetings on Wednesday evenings.<sup>14</sup> After this both Societies had weekly meetings at the same hour, except that the Philomathesians voted that the bell for their assembling must be rung five minutes after the Euzelians' bell ceased to toll, not so much to manifest their independence as to

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Cauthen, W. H. Owen, H. McDowell; 1849-50, T. C. Collins, E. Long, Bedford Brown, John Mitchell; 1850-51, J. J. Freeman, A. McDowell, G. J. Hinton, John E. Norwood; 1851-52, W. H. Mitchell, George A. Norwood, John Mitchell, Jos. J. Freeman; 1852-53, J. F. Oliver, A. J. Emerson, John H. Mills, Sam'l Jacobs; 1853-54, Robt. H. Burn, B. F. Marable, A. J. Emerson, L. H. Shuck; 1854-55, J. D. Hufham, C. S. Ellis, E. J. Beachum, W. F. Webster; 1855-56, F. M. Purify, J. M. Taylor, J. D. Hufham, W. J. Bishop; 1856-57, J. D. Boushall, W. B. Watford, J. Washington Mitchell, Anthony E. Rhodes; 1857-58, W. R. Larkins, A. T. Dargan, J. R. Kelley, W. G. Graves; 1858-59, A. A. Johnson, F. H. Ivey, R. R. Savage, Francis Gilliam; 1859-60, G. S. Jones, L. R. Mills, T. F. Toon, J. T. Deans; 1860-61, T. T. Lawson, W. B. Royall, John G. Jones, J. K. Nowell; 1861-62, E. S. Moore, A. H. Dunn, J. L. Carroll, J. J. Toon.

<sup>14</sup> Eu. Records, October 14, 1837; under the same date a minute of the Phi. Records shows that the Committee beg leave to report, that jointly with the Committee of the Euzelian Society they have "waited upon Mr. Wait and have obtained his assent to whatever day the Societies deem proper."

avoid the confusion of having members of both Societies crowding at the same time the narrow passage which formed the only approach to the doors of their halls. They continued this arrangement until June 8, 1839, when with the permission of the faculty the Societies changed the meetings to Saturday morning, having each the one meeting a week in which they had their debates and other literary work and attended to all their business. After ten years, at the beginning of the fall session of 1849-50, however, they again manifested a desire for a change of time, their choice falling on Friday evening. Appointing the usual committees to wait on the faculty they were informed that while those guardians of the students' welfare were willing for the young men to meet on Friday night, they could not consent to their being idle all the day Saturday, and would grant their request only on condition that the Societies provide some proper *Exercises* to engage their members on Saturday mornings, and not waste that time in amusement.<sup>15</sup> The Societies agreed to the suggestions and began the arrangement, which held for sixty-five years, of having two meetings a week, the Euzelians holding their first meeting under this plan on Friday night, October 12, 1849, and the following Saturday morning, and their sister Society beginning November 9-10. On Friday night new members were elected and the debate held; on Saturday morning came declamations, dissertations and the general business of the Society.

The Constitutions of the Societies provided that all persons of distinction were eligible for election as honorary members, and a reading of the minutes of the Societies would suggest that about all who were eligible were elected. Hardly a year passed that each Society did not elect a score or more, and before the end of the period each Society had on its roll several hundred whom it has thus honored. Among them were notable educators such as Francis Wayland, James P. Boyce, Charles F. Phillips, Basil Manly; divines such as W. T. Brantley, James B. Taylor, James C. Furman, R. C. B. Powell; lawyers such as W. B. Rodman, E. G.

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<sup>15</sup> Eu. - Records, November 6, 1849; Phi. Records, July 28, and October 7, 1849.

Reade, H. W. Miller; Judges like William Gaston, Thomas Rufin, James Iredell; statesmen of our own State such as T. C. Clingman, David S. Reid, J. M. Morehead, Z. B. Vance; statesmen of national renown like Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Sam Houston, Alex. H. Stephens; Presidents such as John Q. Adams, John Tyler, James Buchanan; authors such as William Gilmore Sims, Seaton Gales, Washington Irving, J. B. Jeter, Richard M. Johnson. Being liberal with their favors the Societies also honored many of more limited renown, whose merits were known probably only to the members who proposed their names.

To notify these members when elected was the duty of the corresponding secretaries of the Societies, which they were expected to do in a neat and courteous letter which usually took the form of a request that the gentleman elected would do the Society the honor to permit his name to be put on their list of honorary members.<sup>16</sup>

Usually, but not always, those elected honorary members accepted in letters of warm appreciation. Many of these are still preserved and are to be found in the College Library. They were also transcribed in books kept for the purpose. Three of them—one from Henry Clay, one other from Daniel Webster, and a third from James Iredell are copied here:

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<sup>16</sup> The writing of so many letters required no little labor, and cost the Societies no little money. Postage rates were high and soon both Societies were running up accounts with the Postmaster at Forestville, in which were included charges not only for letters sent but often for letters and other matter received. Sometimes there is a tone of dissatisfaction in the minutes recording the motions ordering the accounts paid. One one occasion the Euzelian ordered payment, "provided it can be collected." Eu. Records, December 10, 1842; December 12, 1848: Phi. Records, April 17, 1852, Possibly because the Postmaster required it, about 1853, the Societies began to keep small deposits at the postoffice, usually only one dollar, though sometimes as much as three dollars. Adhesive postage stamps, though introduced in 1847, did not come into general use until 1855, but on September 26, 1852, the Euzelians ordered the purchase of one hundred, of which fifty were soon ordered sold; they went to individuals who desired to be among the first to use them. In August, 1855, when the use of stamps and prepaid postage was prescribed, the Philomathesian Society provided its Corresponding Secretary with stamped envelopes. Phi. Records, August 18, 1855.

Ashland. 30th May, 1835. Gentlemen: I have received your favor communicating the wish of the Philomathesian Society of the Institute at Wake Forest to place my name on the list of its honorary members. Greatly obliged by the friendly sentiments towards me which prompted that wish, I take particular pleasure in acceding to it, and shall feel honored by the association of my name with those of the members of the Society. I add my fervent hopes for their welfare and fame, collectively and individually, and request your acceptance of the assurance of the high esteem and regards of Your friend and obedient servant, H. Clay. (To) Messrs. J. C. Dockery, G. Washington, P. A. K. Pouncey.

Boston, October 22nd 1835. Gentlemen, I received your letter some time ago, giving me information that the Society with which you are connected at Wake Forest Institute had done me the honor of making me one of its honorary members. I owe an acknowledgement of thanks for this mark of respect from strangers, and I pray you to accept, Gentlemen, for yourselves and your brethren of the Society my cordial good wishes for your health and happiness and for your rapid advancement in all good learning. Your Friend and Obt. Servt.-Danl. Webster.

The third letter, from that distinguished native of North Carolina and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, James Iredell, has the added interest of showing the good will with which Wake Forest was regarded by the enlightened people of the State. It is as follows:

Raleigh, May 29, 1835. I beg pardon for the delay which has occurred in answering your polite communication and assure you it has been entirely accidental. I feel much flattered by your proposal to enroll my name as one of the honorary members of the Philomathesian Society of the Wake Forest Institute and accept the offer with great pleasure. I have felt the advantages of such association myself and I believe they cannot be estimated too highly in connection with the other *Exercises* of a literary seminary.

That your Society may produce among its members all the profit of which it is susceptible, so that hereafter they may look back upon it with grateful and delightful recollections, and that the whole plan of the Institute to which you are attached may have the effect of elevating and improving the literary character and moral habits of our

State is the sincere wish of, Gentlemen, Your obliged & obedient Servt., Ja. Iredell.

These letters were always read before the Societies and were heard with much eagerness, and doubtless brought a new selfrespect and higher aspirations to the young men who were addressed in such flattering terms by the highest and best in the land.



## THE SOCIETY HALLS

As the College Building was nearing completion, early in April, 1836, halls in them were assigned to the two Societies. This was done by lot, in accord with an ingenious plan of Professor Armstrong. On one of the two sheets of paper of the same size and quality he wrote the word "east," and on the other the word "west." Then in the presence of members of each Society he sealed each sheet and carried them and gave them to Miss Ann Eliza Wait, with the request that she present one to the Euzelian Society, the other to the Philomathesian Society. "After tea," says the minute of the Philomathesian Society for April 9, 1836, "the Societies formed a procession separately, and marched in front of the house of President Wait, where the letters were to be received. They were presented. The Philomathesians received the sheet indicating the East Room, and the Euzelians the one indicating the West Room."

Just how long it was before the Societies began to hold meetings in their new halls is nowhere indicated in their records. It would seem probable, however, that it was not long after this time. At the next meeting the Philomathesians ordered some tables made, which would have been out of place in the recitation rooms in which the Societies had been holding their meetings, and also passed a resolution requiring the members "to take their seats on the front benches in a circle before the President," a measure more obviously necessary in the large hall than in the narrow recitation room. On the other hand the Euzelians did not get their books into their new hall until November, 1837.<sup>1</sup>

These halls were on the third story of the central portion of

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<sup>1</sup> The date of the order was November 8, 1837. Hereafter, however, when the reference in the text is approximate no exact reference will be given in the footnote. Dr. T. H. Pritchard in "Short History of the Literary Societies," *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60 f. says that they occupied the halls about the first of 1838.

the College Building, but were reached by the stairways at each end to the fourth story of the dormitories. They were separated by a narrow passage way connecting with those at each end. In size they were about a thirty-five by twenty-five feet. Each was lighted by three large windows. Their ceilings were arched and while rather low at the ends were sufficiently high in the center.

The halls suffered greatly from a defect which was common to the entire building: they were under a leaky roof; already on January 25, 1840, when the Societies had been in their halls barely three years, the Euzelians were representing to the faculty that the roof needed repairs. In February, 1842 both Societies joined in a complaint of the same kind. Finding no other way of having the repairs made the Societies bore an expense of eleven dollars in having the worse leaks stopped. The investigation made by the Societies showed that the roof was irreparably bad; the roofing was zinc, which it was all but impossible to keep from leaking; the Trustees were expecting to cover the building anew.<sup>2</sup> The College, however, was so much embarrassed with debt that the new roof was not put on until after June, 1857, when the Trustees declaring that repairs on the roof were indispensable, ordered that a new roof be put on and the zinc be sold in part payment.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime the leaks were causing constant trouble despite numerous repairs both by the Societies and a standing local committee appointed by the Trustees for the purpose, October 1, 1844. Portions at least and perhaps all were covered with shingles over the zinc, and once and again coats of sand and tar were applied; the fretted Societies stopped holes and did what else they could, calling Professor White, who was then in charge, into conference, and talking over the dilapidated condition of the roof. But with all the patches the roof continued to leak. Perhaps the halls suffered more from these leaks than the other parts of the building, since they were immediately under the roof, which was broken in the center by the belfry. The leaks were ruinous to

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<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Phi. Soc., February 26, 1842.

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 111; June 10, 1857. The zinc was sold in 1862, tradition says to the Confederate States Government. *Proceedings*, p. 131.

their costly carpets, curtains, and other furniture, and their books. Time and time again both Societies remonstrated. In April, 1845, the Euzelians interrupted a subscription they were making for money to buy a new carpet and returned the money already collected to the donors, fearing that promised repairs on the roof would not be made or would be of no avail.<sup>4</sup>

When the halls were turned over to the Societies they were without furniture and probably had not yet been plastered. After a year, the Philomathesians with Professor Armstrong as adviser, finished their hall with hard plastering, and with an elaborate centerpiece and cornice.<sup>5</sup> The Euzelian contract has not been preserved, but their hall was doubtless finished in much the same way. This plastering though often whitewashed seems to have been of excellent quality; it was many years before either Society found it necessary to have new plastering done.<sup>6</sup> Both Societies had their windows fitted with blinds, and painted. Those of the Euzelians were painted green,<sup>7</sup> and those of the Philomathesians were probably of the same color. On March 16, 1850, the Euzelians ordered Venetian blinds to be purchased.

One of the first needs of the Society Halls was rostrums. The first, which were made in 1837, seem to have been inexpensive, made of common pine boards and painted. From the first, however, they were decked with costly curtains and fringe of like quality, later if not at first, matching the color and material of the curtains of the windows.

The Philomathesians, after ten years, with the opening of the session of 1848-49, took measures to have a new and larger rostrum constructed. The committee to which this work was intrusted presented it at the meeting of the Society, December 1,

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<sup>4</sup> For actions ordered by Trustees, *Proceedings*. pp. 35, 55, 61, 63, 111; for complaints of the Societies, Phi. Records, August 1, 1846; November 28, 1846; and often; Eu. Records, February 10, 1844; April 12, 1849; and often.

<sup>5</sup> Phi. Records, August 12, 1837; the cost was \$110; Phi. Records, November 16, 1837.

<sup>6</sup> Eu. Records, October 1, 1859. Total cost, itemized statement, \$168.20. Phi. Records, February 2, 1856.

<sup>7</sup> Eu. Records, April 18, 1846.

1849, reporting that "they in their judgment thought that the plan of the rostrum in the Commons Hall in the State House in Raleigh would be the most suitable and would meet the more general appreciation of the members. And they have therefore employed a workman and have had the rostrum built after the aforesaid model. And also that they have employed a painter and had it painted in the neatest style." The total cost was \$133.30 including \$13.55 for trimmings.

This rostrum though made after so noble a model for some reason failed to give satisfaction for very long. On June 3, 1854, the Society ordered to be taken out and deposited in an empty room, and later sold it for the sum of two dollars. During the vacation there was built in its place a much more elegant rostrum, of which the total cost was \$213.60 not including freight and trimmings, nor the cost of desks for President, Secretary and Supervisor.<sup>8</sup>

The first rostrum built for the Euzelian Society seems to have been better than the first built for the sister Society. At any rate they were satisfied with it the entire period before the Civil War. The only change was an arch built over it in consequence of a suggestion made to the Society on March 1, 1853, by Professor W. H. Owen. It is clear that this rostrum was large enough to accommodate the desk for President, Secretary and Censor. In care for trimmings and decorations of the rostrum the Euzelians rivaled and perhaps surpassed the Philomathesians. Both Societies kept the floors of their rostrums covered with carpet, and provided with curtains and trimmings similar in color and material to the curtains of the three windows in each of the halls. The curtains, hanging from the rails in front of the three desks and possibly on each side of the platform, were bordered with fringe, and curtains and other trimmings were of silk and silk velvet. Enough of these materials could be obtained for the rostrum for

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<sup>8</sup> Phi Records, May 26, 1853, June 3, 1854; November 25, 1854; December 1, 1854.

twelve to twenty-five dollars, and for the windows for eighty dollars.<sup>9</sup>

Setting great store on having their rostrums and windows and halls in general present a fine appearance, the young men of the Societies sought and secured the assistance of the ladies, both married and unmarried of the Hill, as the community was then called, in trimming them. In May, 1837, the Euzelians were assisted by Miss Sarah Hall, whose mother had moved to Wake Forest in order to educate her son. In June, 1838, Mrs. J. B. White assisted them in making their curtains. In April, 1851, they thanked Mrs. Purefoy, probably Mrs. J. S. Purefoy, Miss Ligon and Miss Owen, for their services. The Philomathesians were as ready to avail themselves of the services of the ladies. In April, 1850, the ladies were so good as to bind a new carpet for them; in May, 1849, on invitation they covered the tables on the rostrum with fringe; after they had set up their last rostrum, having appealed to the ladies to help them with the trimmings, they did the unheard of thing of providing their fair assistants with a box of confections costing \$1.10 to eat while they worked, and voted their thanks besides, especially to Mrs. Purefoy for wool.<sup>10</sup> On many other occasions the young ladies ministered unasked to the deficiencies and necessities of the young men of both Societies. But for these ladies the halls would doubtless have presented a much less fine appearance on public occasions, a great concern of the young men. The ladies were all the time ready with suggestions and sometimes with little gifts, the Misses Owen on more than one occasion presenting both Societies with books, while in April, 1852, Miss Sallie Montague gave the Euzelians "two beautiful mats for lamps," for which the young men expressed gracious thanks. The Philomathesians received a like present in April, 1855, from Misses Amanda and Anna

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<sup>9</sup> Eu. Records, June 2, 1849; April 25, 1850; Phi. Records, August 12, 1837; April 28, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> Phi. Records, April 28, 1855; June 2, 1855.

Fowler. In June, 1842, Miss Caroline Crenshaw presented them with a badge.

Attention had to be given to the lighting of the halls also. Among the first purchases of each Society were a half dozen candlesticks; on May 5, 1836, the Philomathesians ordered the purchase of four pairs of snuffers. The Societies bought candles in five-pound lots. They continued using candles for more than ten years; sometimes they had trouble in collecting the candlesticks since members would use the candles to light themselves back to their rooms, and forget to return them; there was trouble or expense in having the candlesticks cleaned. But this trouble was nothing to that which they found when once they had discarded candles for lamps, then a new thing. On February 2, 1838, Waddell and Murray presented a lamp to the Philomathesians, who seemed not to know what to do with it, and left it unused. In May, 1849, however, they authorized the purchase of a better lamp, to cost not less than ten nor more than fifteen dollars. Professor Brooks at this time going to Petersburg, bought velvet for the Euzelians and a lamp for the Philomathesians, for which they were very appreciative.<sup>11</sup> The Euzelians had had a lamp since July, 1848, but seem to have discontinued its use. Being unwilling, however, to be outdone by the Philomathesians at Commencement, they appointed a committee to get the lamp ready for that important occasion.

These lamps seem to have been large hanging lamps; certainly such was the lamp of the Philomathesians. Later both Societies had several smaller lamps which they set on tables, those for which the young ladies furnished mats. Early in 1854 both Societies purchased other large lamps, that of the Philomathesians costing thirty dollars and that of the Euzelians costing forty. One is described as a camphene lamp, and the other was probably like it, camphene being the name by which refined turpentine used as a luminant was sometimes known in those days. In September, 1860, the Euzelians purchased a very elegant chandelier, paying

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<sup>11</sup> Phi. Records, June 2, 1849.

for it \$61.30. Late in 1861 or early in 1862 a committee of the Philomathesians having the matter under consideration, went to Richmond, and with the assistance of Dr. J. L. Burroughs, inspected several types of chandeliers, some fitted with lamps to burn lard, and others with lamps to burn kerosene, but owing to the increasing seriousness of the War deemed it inexpedient to buy.<sup>12</sup>

The fuels used for the lamps were of several kinds: "burning fluid" (probably the same as what is also called "gass" and "gas" in the Society records), lamp-oil, sperm oil, refined turpentine, or as it was also known, camphene, and kerosene. Sperm oil was bought only once, by the Philomathesians on March 22, 1851. Until the introduction of kerosene, which was not manufactured for commercial distribution until 1854 and was not in general use for several years later, the Societies usually used the "burning fluid," at first buying this so sparingly as to suggest that candles were still used regularly, at least to supplement the light of the lamps. In April, 1854, however, the Euzelians were already purchasing ten gallons at a time. After they had bought their new forty-dollar lamp with two chimneys—we should say burners—they made an experiment with camphene, which came near proving disastrous. Intending to have this lamp burning in all its glory at their opening meeting of the session of 1854-55, they purchased in Raleigh ten gallons of refined turpentine in a carboy, which with freight cost them ten dollars. This was accidentally destroyed. Their next purchase was eight gallons of camphene in a carboy. At the first meeting in which this was used, the night of August 4, 1854, the records say "an accident to the lamp caused a suspension of the rules and the Society adjourns." Later minutes reveal that the accident was an explosion causing a fire which was extinguished only by the cool and courageous action of Isaac Franklin Hodges, of Duplin, who was just entering college at that time, and perhaps was fresh from a turpentine still. The

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<sup>12</sup> The committee consisted of Lansing Burroughs, W. R. Gwaltney, and S. S. Biddle.

next morning the Society voted him their highest appreciation; and well they might since by his heroic service the life of the College Building was prolonged for more than eighty years. After this the Society had camphene for sale, but used no more of it in their lamps. Soon both Societies were using kerosene, which from about 1860 they were able to procure from the local merchants. For the other illuminating fuels they had to go to Raleigh and buy them from Peter Francisco Pescud, wholesale and retail druggist. The price of kerosene was about one dollar and fifty cents a gallon, but after the opening of the War it rose to two dollars and for the last purchase of the Euzelians, January 25, 1862, ten dollars was paid for three gallons.

The care of the lamps was a great task. Those purchased in 1849 were swinging lamps, and hung very high when suspended from the ceiling. The Philomathesians after several months of investigation of methods to lower their lamp finally decided to get a "wooden horse" to enable them to light it where it was, which they continued to use, though when they bought the new lamp in 1854 they lengthened the chain somewhat. The Euzelians procured "a pair of steps" for the same purpose.

These lights with all care and attention proved unsatisfactory. The Philomathesians at first appointed one of their members to attend to the lamp, but this was such an unpopular office that it was soon abandoned,<sup>13</sup> and Bill Pearce, a colored servant, was voted two dollars for lighting the lamp, a service he continued to render for some months. The lamp, however, would get out of fix. On March 7, 1851, a committee was appointed to look after it, and the next Saturday reported that they had succeeded in making it "give the very fine light" desired by the Society. Like other lamps of more recent days this elegant lamp was soon back at its old bad habits, and as we have seen, in 1854, was brought down from its eminence, to make place for another higher-priced if not better. After lying around as an eyesore for a year it was sold for two dollars and fifty cents.

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<sup>13</sup> Phi. Records, March 2, 1850.



The Euzelians, except for the mishap already noted, were more successful in getting their lamps attended to. Realizing from the beginning the seriousness and importance of the work, and thinking it too great for any one man, they periodically appointed two men whose duty it was to attend to the lamp. That the work might be cheerfully done they gave the servants of the lamp immunity during the term of their service from other functions, such as sweeping the floor of the hall, which came around in regular succession with the regularity of clock-work. Later when the office of sexton was created the Euzelians entrusted the keeping of the lamp to him, doing this with the greater assurance since the sexton was also one of themselves, a loyal Euzelian.

There was nothing that appertained to the comfort and appearance of their Halls to which the Societies gave more attention or took more pride in than carpets. There is some evidence that they had cheap carpets from the first, but little is said about them. An account will here be given only of the more costly carpets which were procured after a few years.

In May, 1838, the Philomathesian started a movement to purchase a carpet to cost \$350. No more was heard of this for nearly two years when action was again taken, which resulted in the purchase of a carpet, in October of that year, costing \$327.50. Even before it had been laid measures had been taken for the care of it, the roll of members divided into four sections to which in alternations were assigned week by week the care of the carpet. Before the Commencement of next year, one of the sections was ordered to take up the carpet, brush it and relay it preparatory to the occasion. At the beginning of the next term, August 8, 1841, the carpet was ordered to be taken up and rolled up. In 1850 it was bound by the ladies of the Hill. In September, 1851 the Society was thinking of buying a new carpet, but it was not bought and laid until just before the Commencement of 1854. The new carpeting cost \$174.50, and the making \$6.55. The Committee of ten who had charge of the relaying of the carpet in October of that year, laid it with straw, which was presented by

Professor W. T. Brooks, while the tacks were the present of B. F. Simmons, then a student. To protect this carpet the Society procured fifty-six yards of coarser carpeting which they laid on the more exposed parts, at the door and rostrum and about the chairs.

The Euzelians having started a subscription to get a new carpet in 1840 for some reason abandoned their purpose, and did not renew it until the spring of 1845. Again, a subscription was started and was meeting with some success when the matter was postponed, since, as has been said above, they feared that the Trustees would not repair the leaks in the roof. After, however, the Trustees had taken measures for the repair of the roof at the Commencement of that year, the Society early in the next session, appointed a committee to purchase a carpet, limiting them to carpeting that should cost no more than \$1.25 a yard. With the assistance of Professor J. B. White they bought this from a Boston house, 108½ yards, at a cost of ninety-two cents a yard. The ladies of the Hill made it and it was put down before the end of the year. This carpet whether because of its poor quality or for some other reason did not long satisfy the Society. Early in 1850 the Society sold it to two ladies of the Hill, Mrs. Battle and Mrs. Ridley, for forty dollars, and bought a new carpet, which the ladies of the Hill again had the kindness to make. For the protection of this carpet a rug was laid near the door, which made it necessary to cut the door, and later to lay a carpet strip. It is not on record how much this carpet cost. The Society taking the lead from the Philomathesians began to use straw in October, 1852, and oil cloth as a protection for the carpet, in 1854. The life of this carpet, however, was not very long. In April, 1858, a committee of the Society having reported that they thought it "very desirable and expedient that the purchase be made," the Society bought a new carpet. How much this cost is not quite clear, but it was about three hundred dollars, of which \$207 was provided by subscriptions from thirty-

four members of the Society.<sup>14</sup> After it was laid the Society took care to cover it with a cheaper covering, which we may be sure was removed before the young ladies came for Commencement. On such occasions the Societies exercised the greatest care that their carpets and curtains and rostrum and all their furniture should have a most elegant appearance. No ladies boudoir could have been finer.

Though, as has been said above, when the Societies were given their new halls, they found them barren, and for a time were content with unpainted pine tables and benches for seats, such as they had when they met in recitation rooms<sup>15</sup> one of their first cares was to provide a sufficient number of chairs of good quality.<sup>16</sup> It was late in this period, however, before they had procured chairs which were of an elegance that comported with their other furnishings.

The Euzelians made their purchase of better chairs in May, 1854. Not being able to find in Raleigh such as they desired A. J. Emerson, on the appointment of the Society, went to Petersburg, where, following instructions, he purchased three dozen common chairs for sixty dollars a dozen, and one President's chair for eleven dollars. Twenty-five dollars additional were needed to pay traveling expenses and freight. A few months later the Society got a half dozen more of the common chairs. These chairs were of walnut and substantial, with low back curving around and furnishing rests for the arms, and comfortable upholstered seats. Several have survived ill usage and are now in possession of citizens of Wake Forest who prefer them to any other seat.

It was in the spring of 1858 that the Philomathesians got their better chairs. They made the purchase through Mr. Purefoy of the College Hill, very fine chairs of Gothic style with spring

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<sup>14</sup> Eu. Records, for April 17, 1858. The old carpet was sold for \$40. The Phi. Society sold old carpets for about the same amount, one for \$50.

<sup>15</sup> Eu. Records, Nov. 7, 1835.

<sup>16</sup> Phi. Records, March 4, 1837; Eu. Records, December 7, 1838, Jan. 30, 1839.

seats, no arms, upholstered in crimson plush, with backs of unstained white oak. This was the prescription for the common chairs; the president's chair was of like design but with back and arms upholstered in plush. The common chairs, of which three dozen were bought, cost nine dollars each, and the president's chair cost twenty dollars. Very beautiful and elegant chairs they were, as some survivals now to be seen in the halls and parlors of the homes of Wake Forest attest, while the president's chair is now in the Louisburg Baptist Church. They doubtless presented a grand appearance ranged in rows on the fine carpet and in a hall fitted with curtains and draperies of silk and velvet, but they were better fitted for my lady's parlor than for the rough usage of a Society hall of strong young men. Their backs were, like so many of the backs of parlor chairs of that day, exceedingly weak and fragile. They had not been in the hall a year before the Society began to provide for the first of the long series of repairs indicated in the records.<sup>17</sup> But their beauty was captivating and the students of those days after many years spoke of their purchase as their great service to the Society.

Of their banners something has already been said. In the halls they were set just back of the presidents' chairs, just as today. As they were painted of the finest silk and much used in processions, of which more will be said later, they became worn and sometimes needed repairs, which were usually made by the ladies of the Hill.

In the spring of 1856, through the interest of Mr. J. H. Mills, then on the faculty of Oxford Female College and a year later its owner and president, the Societies got new banners. Through his arrangement they sent their old banners to the young ladies of the Clio Society, who made and painted and gave them new ones for the old. The Philomathesians with proper concern for "the unknown Philomelia" who had contributed to their first banner and suggested the design for one side, requested the young ladies "to paint it like the old Banner," but the Euzelians gallantly told

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<sup>17</sup> Phi. Records, May 21, 1859, Hall chairs repaired at cost of \$19.35.

the young ladies that they were "authorized to make any alterations they may see fit." Probably, however, the kind young artists made both the new banners exact replicas of the old.<sup>18</sup> Both were artistically executed. That of the Euzelians was lost with the burning of Wingate Memorial Hall, February, 1934; that of the other Society, much worn is to be found in the Society store room. It deserved all the praise of the Philomathesian resolution of thanks, in June, 1857, as "very elegant, tasteful and costly."

Several other articles of furniture, which need not be named here, were common to both halls, but the Euzelians alone had a clock, purchased early in 1857 on the suggestion of Mr. C. S. Ellis of Wilmington, who acting for the Society paid nine dollars for it. Later it was replaced by the present more costly timepiece, now silent. The Philomathesians seem to have been first to purchase a screen, in June, 1856. After the War they matched the clock of the Euzelians with a large and costly mirror, which still graces their hall.

Both Societies also had center tables. The Philomathesians made a subscription amounting to more than forty dollars for purchasing theirs in October, 1845. This table had a marble top and until a few years ago stood in the hall, but has now been sent to the closet. The Euzelians purchased their table several years later, in January, 1850, but they made much greater use of it than their sister Society made of theirs. In the center of it they laid one of the heavy quarto Bibles so much prized in those days for which they paid \$15, and around the Bible placed books which they thought the best examples of book-making. Later they added albums containing the portraits of their members who were alumni of the College. All now have been removed, but several volumes of the albums may yet be found in the College Library.<sup>19</sup>

Week by week each Society appointed two of its members to keep its hall in order. The Euzelian records were free from all

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<sup>18</sup> See Pritchard's statement, *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Phi. Records, October 4, 11, 1845; Eu. Records, Jan. 26, 1856.

euphemism, the appointment being made of two "to sweep the carpet and dust the hall." In order that both might have the tools necessary for their important work brooms were provided in pairs. The office went by rotation, no partiality being shown, the high and the low, freshman and senior, being appointed with the certainty of fate when their names were reached. On several occasions those appointed failed in their important duty, but they did it to their sorrow. On November 15, 1845, one who was afterwards a beloved physician, a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, and a distinguished resident of Wake Forest, failed to do the assigned sweeping and dusting, and was promptly fined by the impartial Society.<sup>20</sup> The Society showed equal impartiality when on February 17, 1855, it imposed a fine for failure to brush the cobwebs from the hall on Joseph Dozier Boushall, of Camden County, who later was an officer in the Confederate Army and died a glorious death at the head of his company in the battle of Chancellorsville. He was then in his Freshman year and having made a motion that a committee of one be appointed to sweep the cobwebs from the ceiling drew the appointment on himself.

This sweeping, however, coming with monotonous repetition, was found to be irksome even by the most loyal, many of whom came from homes where there were swarms of slaves and never had a broom in their hands. Accordingly, early in 1847, the Euzelian Society resolved to employ a servant for the purpose and to pay him two dollars for the session of five months. One such servant, named Gilbert, was procured. This salary, however, was not long sufficient to retain any of the various colored servants of the vicinity. Accordingly in August, 1850, the Society appointed a committee empowered to pay as much as \$3.75 or even \$4.00. Entering into negotiations with Bill Pearce, a wily colored servant who knew how to drive a bargain, the committee failed to get him, probably because the committee was instructed "to see that he did his duty." Later a committee was given instructions

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<sup>20</sup> This was Alexander Russia Vann, of Darlington, S. C., the grandfather of our Professor of Anatomy.

to employ a servant "at the lowest possible price," and secured Green, another colored servant, for \$2.75. Green remained in service until the next December, when the Society bethought itself of electing one of their own members sexton with a salary of two dollars for ten weeks, which increase was justified on the score that the sexton was to have the several duties of sweeping the floor, lighting the lamps, and keeping the hall in order. Even with this great stipend a sexton on one occasion failed to do his duty and incurred the inevitable fine.<sup>21</sup> Lest it be supposed that this office was considered menial it is necessary to state that it was held by sons of some of the noblest and richest families of the South, among whom may be named Alonzo Timothy Dargan, afterwards a lawyer, and a lieutenant-colonel of the 21st South Carolina Infantry, who paid for his devotion to his State and the Confederacy by his death in the battle of Petersburg, May 9, 1864; another was Luther Rice Mills.

Though the Philomathesians were less harsh in their name for the office, they were no less inexorable in bestowing it, and they continued it all through this period. Their term on making the appointment of the two was "to attend to the hall." After January 28, 1854, they used the term "besomers," stating week by week that So and So were appointed Besomers for the next week, probably with the hope of making the work of using a broom the less wearisome as it had a more honorable appellation. During the spring session of 1848, indeed, they had Bill Pearce employed for sweeping the hall, but having a difficulty about paying his salary, they returned to the old plan of doing their work themselves.<sup>22</sup>

Although under the leadership of Professor John Armstrong a library for the Institute was begun in 1835, the Societies al-

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<sup>21</sup> Eu. Records, March 20, 1858.

<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of the next term they ordered Bill to be paid \$2.50 for his service. Bill wanted more and refused the proffered amount, and the Society canceled the debt. Then Bill came to terms and took the \$2.50. A year or two later Bill had so far forgiven them that he lighted their lamp for a term for two dollars. Phi. Records, August 12, 1848, February 2, 1850.

most from the day of their formation began to gather books for the use of their own members. As the number of these books increased year by year from scores to hundreds and from hundreds to thousands the Societies were under the necessity of protecting them and making them available for users. At first a book case met their needs, but as the number of books increased well constructed shelves were provided for them around all the vacant spaces on the walls, except between the windows and near the rostrum. These were built, after a regular pattern, of excellent material. The base extended about two feet from the floor, and in the Philomathesian hall was fitted with doors and in the Euzelian with panels. The posts, or pillars, at regular intervals to furnish supports for the shelves were neatly finished and carved in the Philomathesian hall, but plain in the other. The shelving extended to within six inches of the moulding. In early years both workmen and material had to be got in Raleigh. In 1852, and after, the Euzelians let the contract for the construction on the model indicated, at \$2.50 a foot to Mr. J. S. Purefoy, not all at once but as the Society needed more room for their books. The cost of painting was in addition. In the hall of the Philomathesians who built on the pattern indicated a year earlier than the Euzelians, the color scheme was bird's eye maple, with the panels of a darker color than the rest. The Euzelians advised that their library should be painted in a color "somewhat lighter and not so gaudy." Thus each Society had shelving for three or four thousand volumes.<sup>23</sup> The discarded book cases were presented to citizens of the Hill, that of the Philomathesians to Professor White, in May, 1851; that of the Euzelians to Dr. A. H. Taylor, in 1852.

In the halls of this period there was little room for pictures, though each Society seems to have had some prints. The first portrait mentioned is the miniature of Professor J. B. White, which

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<sup>23</sup> Eu. Records, February 2, 1838; March 24, 1849; October 22, 1852; March 11, 1854. Phi. Records, May 17, 1847; October 10, 1847; May 5, 1848; February 7, 1852; February 8, 1856; April 2, 1856.



the Philomathesians received on November 18, 1843. Unfortunately it does not seem to have been preserved.

In January, 1846, the Philomathesians appointed a committee to report on plans of having ex-President Wait's portrait put in their hall. Nothing more was heard of this. In December, 1855, the Society again gave attention to the matter, with the result that the portrait of Wait that now hangs in the Philomathesian hall was made and delivered to the Society within a year. It was painted by O. P. Copeland, probably of Oxford, at a cost of thirty dollars. The frame cost twenty dollars additional; half of the total amount was raised by subscription.<sup>24</sup> This seems to have been the first painted portrait owned by either Society, and the only one before the Civil War.

Except for the constant complaint about the leaks in the roof, for which there was good reason, the Societies in general seem to have been well satisfied with their halls. But a proposition to erect a building of their own gained much favor with the Philomathesians. In April, 1850, Mr. B. W. Justice presented a set of resolutions to the Society, suggesting means of raising the necessary money for its erection, which was fixed at \$3,000. The members were to pay each session additional fees of one dollar each and as much more as they would; a subscription was to be circulated among resident members; former members were to be solicited for contributions, and even honorary members were to be approached, but no others. It was to be wholly a Philomathesian enterprise. Professor J. B. White drew the plans and much enthusiasm was aroused. The members of the Society subscribed most liberally, seven members pledging \$650, while the total subscription reached \$2,137.50. After this, for some reason the interest lagged, and within a year the purpose was altogether abandoned.

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<sup>24</sup> Phi. Records, December 12, 1855; March 28, April 12, May 25, 1856; February 7, 1857.

## THE SOCIETY LIBRARIES

Mention has been made above of the libraries of the Society; a more extended account will be given here, but first some account of the small library of the College which, in 1844, was deposited in the Society libraries.

At their first meeting, May 3-5, 1834,<sup>1</sup> the Trustees voted to make a request through the *Baptist Interpreter* to all friends of the Institute to donate such books as they were willing to spare, in order to form a Library for the Institute. This request was published as a part of the minutes of the Board of Trustees in the next issue of that periodical, but it is not known what response it brought.

Coming to the Institute in February, 1835, as Professor of Ancient Languages, Rev. John Armstrong, became the first librarian, and may justly be called the founder of the Wake Forest College Library. On his leaving the institution in 1837 he was succeeded in the office of librarian by Rev. H. A. Wilcox, who coming to the State as agent of the Home Mission Board of the Triennial Baptist Convention, served the College as Tutor for the year 1837-38. The records do not mention another general librarian in this period.

It seems to have been the purpose of Armstrong for the institution to have the chief library while those of the Literary Societies should be supplementary. But he did not remain long enough to make his scheme effective. For the general library he probably made the only purchase of books, in the summer of 1836, when, according to Brook's Diary, quoted above, a magnificent collection came, part of which was for the Euzelian Society. In the records of the Societies there is an occasional reference to this library, but not in such a way as to indicate that the books were much used or that they were made easily available for consultation by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 3.

students. No book cases were provided for them and they probably were piled on tables or on the floor in some recitation room.<sup>2</sup> After the College Building was finished a room in it was designated as the Liberty.<sup>3</sup> Nearly all of the College collection consisted of Congressional documents, beginning with the 25th Congress, donated by kind-hearted Congressmen. It contained also books on religious subjects, such as Bible Dictionaries, Commentaries, and theological expositions ; there were also sets of Martin's and Williamson's histories of North Carolina, Wilberforce's *Letters* in two volumes, Rutherford's *Letters*, *Life of Homer*, Clarkson's *History*, Marshall's *Life of Washington*, and the *Works of Sir Walter Scott*, doubtless many of them given in response to the request mentioned above, but some of a character such as merited the choice of Armstrong. Early in 1844 the whole collection was deposited with the Literary Societies, divided as equally as possible, consideration being had of the needs of each. To the Philomathesian Society went 123 volumes; to the Euzelian, 135, a total of 258 volumes. Later, until 1851, the College continued to deposit with the Societies such documents as were sent by the Congressmen-some fifty volumes with each Society. Before they were turned over to the Societies these books had no mark to indicate ownership, but now in every volume was written in a good strong hand, "College Library," with an added "E. S." or "P. S." to designate the Society to which it was going.<sup>4</sup> Many of these books are still to be found in the College Library.

The institution also provided a general reading room, to which reference is made in the records of the Societies.<sup>5</sup> It is known to have been supplied with the "North American Review" and with other papers, probably the "*Star and Register* of Raleigh and the *Biblical Recorder*."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.      <sup>3</sup> Charter and Laws.

<sup>4</sup> A full list of volumes going to each Society is found in Book "Blank A," mentioned above, near the end. That for the Philomathesian Society is receipted for by Menalcus Lankford, that for the Euzelian Society by J. G. Hester.

<sup>5</sup> Phi. Records, March 20, 1844.

<sup>6</sup> Phi. Records, Aug. 13, 1842, speaks of the "editors of the papers of the Reading Room."

After the deposit of the College books with the Societies nothing more is heard of the Reading Room; soon each Society began to subscribe for its own periodicals.<sup>7</sup>

In the original Constitution of each Society was a provision for the election of a librarian, who should "preserve the books of the Society, keep a regular catalogue of the same, and lend them to the members as he may be directed by the by-laws of the Society." It is probable that this provision was suggested by the fact that the two Societies of the University of North Carolina had in point of usefulness at least the principal libraries of that institution, numbering about 3,000 volumes each.<sup>8</sup>

In accord with the provisions a librarian was among the officers regularly elected at stated intervals by the Societies, the first of the Philomathesian Society being William Jones, and the first of the Euzelian Society being J. Thomas Rayner. The Philomathesians were the first to take actual measures for collecting books. So far as the records show the first books received by this Society were a donation of September 5, 1835, from Mr. John Shaw, an honorary member, and consisted of *The Universal Gazetteer*, *History of South America and Mexico*, *Religious Rites*

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<sup>7</sup> Phi. Records, February 11, 1843; Eu. Records, April 25, 1846.

<sup>8</sup> At this time the University library was of very little service to the students. In 1836 it contained about 1,900 books, according to the report of Tutor W. H. Owen, later Professor of Ancient Languages in Wake Forest College, and said by Battle to have been the best of the tutor librarians of the University. From 1824, however, until the suspension of the University in 1868 the reports show no volumes added to the University library by purchase, the chief addition being public documents. It was of no use to the students except that occasionally one of them would borrow one of its ponderous tomes to make a dead-fall for mice. It was not until 1887 that the University library and those of the Societies were consolidated. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 404 ff.

In Davidson College during this period conditions were much the same; the general library was poorly and sporadically supported but it was kept together and in 1859 numbered about 2,000 volumes. Cornelia Rebecca Shaw, *Davidson College*, 216 ff.

In Virginia, the University library was thought to be one of the best in the country, being designed and fostered by Jefferson and receiving his fine collection of 7,000 books as a bequest, and many other donations, and also adequate support. Because of restriction in lending books, however, it was of little service to the students. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, II, 193, 201-04.

*and Ceremonies, A Chart of the World*, and two maps, all of which were "thankfully received by the body." On October 3, following, regulations for the government of the library were adopted. On the 21st of the following November the Society, "viewing with deep interest everything which is calculated to enlighten the mind and refine the taste," decided to use the money in the treasury and to raise additional money by subscription for the purchase of books. This money was to be turned over to Professor Armstrong to make the purchase and the books to be such as his best judgment should dictate. The Society also pledged its members to their best efforts during the winter vacation, which was about to begin, to procure such books as should be of service to the Society. All gifts were to be acknowledged by letter and through the public press. All this was done the same year the Societies were constituted. Among the chief movers in this matter were C. R. Merriam, a brother-in-law of Wait, and George Washington of Craven County.

The Committee was able to place fifty dollars in the hands of Professor Armstrong, and on April 30, 1836, reported their purchase. It is interesting to note Armstrong's selection, which was Gillies, *History of Greece*; Russell, *Modern Europe*, 3 vs.; *Plutarch's Lives*; Gibbon's *Rome*, 4 vs.; Miller, *History of England*, 4 vs.; Ferguson, *Roman Republic*, *Encyclopedia Americana*, 13 vs.; Anderson, *History of Commerce*. The total cost was \$50.25, half of which went for the Encyclopedia. The Plutarch was only a selection, while the History of Commerce seems to have been an abridgement of the great four-volume quarto edition. The young democrats would probably care very little for Gillies' history, which was a defense of monarchy rather than a history of Greece, and in fact, its pages show little thumbing, but otherwise the selection was as good as could have been made. The Society was very proud of the books and made more stringent library regulations for their protection.

It was on February 13, 1836, that the Euzelians took their first action looking to gathering a library, the leader being J. H.

Brooks. At the next meeting, a fortnight later, the Society voted to take immediate measures towards raising money for the purchase of books, and went about the matter with much earnestness and collected in a few months about eighty dollars. Principal Wait showed an interest in their purpose that was highly pleasing to the Society, which appointed a committee to express their thanks.<sup>9</sup>

Like her sister the Euzelian Society asked Professor Armstrong to purchase the books. These came on August 22, along with many others, some for the other Society, and some for the College library, eight hundred dollars worth in all. The coming of books was a great event in the institution of those days; great crowds gathered round the box, even before it was opened, and when the lid was off and the beautiful new volumes laid out, they could not restrain their expressions of admiration, while those nearest would not make way for those in the rear, some of whom had to wait another day before getting to see and handle the volumes. Those for the Euzelian Society were "very elegant, some first rate works," if we may believe W. T. Brooks, from whose diary the above account is taken. An inspection of the library catalogue<sup>10</sup> shows that the same books in most instances were purchased for the Euzelians as for the Philomathesians.

It would be interesting to follow the pages of the records year by year and read the efforts of the young men of the Societies to get such books as they needed. Needing so much money for carpets, and rostrums and chairs and curtains and table covers and ribbands and fringe and repairs, it might be asked where they could find money to purchase books also. They usually got it by subscription. A subscription for books never failed to get a substantial sum, and if it fell short of the amount desired the Societies did not hesitate to borrow money for the purchase.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Eu. Records, April 23, 1836.

<sup>10</sup> This is a manuscript catalogue made about 1852-60 and listing 3,667 volumes.

<sup>11</sup> Phi. Records, April 17, 1847; Eu. Records,

Subscriptions for two hundred or three hundred dollars were common, and at times they reached from five hundred to seven hundred.<sup>12</sup>

Much care was exercised in the selection of books. Some weeks before the purchase was to be made, a book committee would be appointed, whose duty it was to make recommendations for purchases to cost no more than a stipulated amount. This committee would get advice from all possible sources, and especially from members of the faculty. In the spring of 1847 the Philomathesian Society having \$150 to spend asked Dr. William Hooper, then president of the College, to make the selection for them. After some weeks the committee reported the following list, which is given in full both because it is to some extent an indication of the literary interests of Dr. Hooper and because it furnishes a fair sample of the books which made up the libraries. They were: Lord Brougham's *Pleasures of Science; Elegant Extracts*, in three or four octavo volumes, Letters, Verse, Epistles; Coleridge's *Table Talk, Aids to Reflection, Letters and Conversation*; British *Eloquence*, 2 volumes; Works of the Author [Taylor] of *Natural History of Enthusiasm; Modern British Essayists*; Macaulay, Mackintosh, Brougham, Sidney Smith, Carlyle, the uniform 21 mo. edition in large print; Pope's *Homer*, 8 vo; Mumford's translation of the *Iliad*; Dryden's *Vergil*, 8 vo.; if to be had send a large 8 vo. containing Pope's *Homer*, Dryden and Pitt's *Vergil*, and various translations of ancient poems; Dante, translated by Cary; Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, translated by Hunt; Thirwall's *History of Greece*; Dr. Quincey, *Confessions of an Opium Eater*; Works of Maria Edgeworth, large 12 mo.; *Penny Magazine*, from the beginning; Whately's *Essays and King of Christ*; Foster's *Life and Correspondence*; Brown's *Character of Statesmen*, etc.; Bunyan's *Pilgrim Progress*, splendid illustrated edition; Middleton's *Life of Cicero*; Leland's *Demosthenes*; Francis's *Horace*;

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<sup>12</sup> Eu. Records, July 30, 1853; October 3, 1855; Phi. Records, August 7, 1852; March 21, 1856; May 28, 1859.

Schlegel's *Lectures on Drama and Literature*; Shakespeare, illustrated, Harper's edition.<sup>13</sup>

So long as Armstrong was at Wake Forest he purchased books for the Societies; after his departure they got them the best way they could, sometimes entrusting their list and money to Mr. J. S. Purefoy as he was "going North to buy goods." Purchases were also made of Turner in Raleigh but the larger orders were sent to Gould & Lincoln in Boston, recommended by Professor J. B. White, who also made the purchases.<sup>14</sup> The Societies manifested their appreciation of this service by making presents of books and bookcases no longer needed to Professor White.

The stock of books which the Societies secured with their own means was considerably supplemented by volumes given by friends. In the beginning as noted above, every member of the Societies was instructed to consider himself an agent to solicit during vacation periods the gifts of books. It seems that these young men were wise in their solicitations, for not only were many volumes procured in this way, but most of them were readable and are now of much antiquarian value and among the treasures of the Library; very few were dull theological treatises. The members of the faculty generally took much interest in helping the young men with their libraries; the interest of Armstrong, Wait, White and Hooper has already been mentioned. Worthy to be mentioned along with these was the Owen family, Professor W. H. Owen and his sisters, whose encouraging assistance was often manifested. Professor Owen made gifts to both Societies ; on January 14, 1844, Miss Mary Owen, later Mrs. Archibald McDowell, presented the Euzelians with a set of Sir Walter Scott's Works; at the same time Misses Sarah and Lucy Owen presented to the Philomathesians, the one Rollins *Ancient History*, the other a volume of stories called *Winter Tales*.

From the first, members of the Societies were constantly presenting to the Libraries books of their own choice. Sometimes

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<sup>13</sup> Phi. Records, March 8, 1847; April 14, 1847.

<sup>14</sup> Eu. Records, April 26, 1849; July 30, 1853; Phi. Records, May 20, 1848; March 3, 1847; August 1, 1847.



these gifts were almost munificent. In the early days Mr. G. A. Stephenson, Euzelian, of New Bern, made several valuable donations; in November 22, 1856, C. S. Ellis, a loyal Euzelian of a wealthy Wilmington family, presented his Society with a fine set of Dickens' Works, one of his many manifestations of interest in the Society library. Another fine gift was a five-volume set of Shakespeare's *Dramatic Works*, by certain members of the Society and residents of Wake Forest.<sup>15</sup> Other gifts were by members of Congress not only of documents but also of such works as *Annals of Congress*, the *Congressional Globe*, *Debates in Congress*, and *Smithsonian Reports* year by year. For these the young men, at first at least, were as duly grateful as for donations that cost their givers actual cash. Mention has already been made of the deposit of the College Library with the two Societies; for the portion received by them the Euzelians ordered a separate book case made.

A further word about the number and character of the books needs to be said. The catalogue of the Euzelian Society ordered made in August, 1857, shows 3,400 volumes, in addition to 338 volumes lost and advertised for in the *Biblical Recorder*.<sup>16</sup> In the Philomathesian Society a committee appointed to count the books reported on February 2, 1854, that they had found 1,831 volumes and 150 miscellaneous pamphlets ; on August 23, 1855, the number was 2,312; before the close of the period it was doubtless as much as 3,000, but no exact figures have been found.<sup>17</sup>

Both Societies very soon saw the importance of periodicals. In 1841 the Philomathesian Society bought twelve back numbers of the *North American Review* from the College Reading Room,

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<sup>15</sup> The full list of donors, which is inscribed on a fly leaf of each of the two surviving volumes of the set, is as follows: Mrs. R. B. Walters, and Messrs. E. F. Beachum, A. J. Emerson, C. S. Ellis, N. Clark, Esq., L. H. Shuck, J. W. Trotman, J. W. White, Esq., R. H. Burn, A. F. Purify, F. M. Purify, J. D. Huffman, W. T. Walters, E. Manning, D. P. Kirkland, Esq., S. J. C. Dunlap, Esq., W. H. Dunlap, & B. F. Marable, Esq. September 10, 1853.

<sup>16</sup>Eu. Records, May 17, 1856; note in front of MS, Catalogue.

<sup>17</sup> Additions of several hundred volumes often were made, e.g., on May, 1859, 264 volumes.

paying ten dollars for them, five dollars less than the original cost. In August, 1842, this Society purchased sixteen volumes of the *Edinburgh Review* and had them bound in Raleigh. It continued to take the used numbers of the *North American Review* of the Reading Room until February, 1843, when it placed its own subscription for that periodical. Later the Society took the *Christian Review*, purchasing the back numbers, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *North Carolina Journal of Education*, the *Whig Review*, the *Democratic Review*, *Aurora*, a secession journal published in Wilmington, and some other lighter periodicals. In March, 1854, the four British Reviews and Blackwood's were added. The Euzelian Society subscribed first for the *Christian Review*, in April, 1846, ordering the back numbers at the same time. In February, 1847 this Society subscribed for the great British periodicals, the *London Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Westminister Review*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*. In August, 1857, the Societies added to its periodical list the *North Carolina Journal of Education* and the *African Repository*. For the care of these periodicals the Euzelians had an officer called Periodical Agent, who alone could take them from the postoffice. He reported to the Society arrivals from week to week. The Philomathesians had no such officer. Both Societies had their periodicals bound, often finding it necessary to fill in missing numbers.

Another word may be said about the character of the books. An inspection of the catalogues shows that they were such books as young men needed in their work in the Societies. The young men debated historical questions, and therefore provided themselves with the very best standard histories. They also debated the problems of the day and such political questions as were agitating the people of the country, North and South, and they provided themselves with the volumes in which these matters were best discussed, both other books and such Government publications as the *Congressional Globe*; they debated questions of government and provided themselves with the works of Calhoun,

Clay and Webster, of Hamilton and Jefferson, the *Federalist* and Elliot's *Debates*. Furthermore, they bought the standard works of fiction, poetry, drama, essays and letters, and travels, but they did not buy many volumes on linguistic or technical or scientific subjects, containing themselves with what they might find on these subjects in their encyclopaedias. It was a great and useful collection of books that the Societies gathered, many of which are in circulation till this day.

With all their care certain books got on their shelves that the Societies as a whole did not approve. Among these were Tom Paine's Theological Works. These had been reposing on the shelves of the Philomathesians' library for an unknown period when their heinous nature was discovered, and on motion of J. M. White, the librarian was ordered to destroy them. It was on August 13, 1858, that this sentence of execution was passed. A month later on motion of E. A. Poe, "the Librarian was authorized to destroy immediately a book called Boccaccio's *Decameron*." It is not known whether that officer faithfully executed his duty or got faint-hearted, carried the culprit volumes to the shelter of his own room and trunk, and there learned to regard them with affection, for the Philomathesians did not require a report of duty performed. But there is no doubt about the fate of a sister copy of the *Decameron* which the Euzelians found spreading its contamination in their library. On February 25, 1860, George R. French, Jr., a Wilmington youth of good family, revealed to the unsuspecting Euzelians that Boccaccio's *Decameron* was lurking on their shelves, possibly having convinced himself of its baleful character by reading every word of it, and moved that a committee be appointed to burn it, thus relieving the librarian of the cruel necessity of cremating one of his own darlings. French himself and F. H. Ivey, a zealous ministerial student, getting the appointment, reported at the next meeting that the sentence had been duly executed.

Both Societies very early made regulations for the Libraries, which though modified from time to time were much the same

during the entire period. The Philomathesians made their first regulations in September, 1835, the Euzelians in May of the next year. In general, no student was allowed to use a library book for a textbook; books were not to be taken from the Hill under a penalty of one dollar; no book was to be borrowed without the permission of the librarian; a student borrowing the librarian's key must return within an hour; a book returned must be placed in the hands of the librarian and not on the shelves; at first no student might borrow more than one book at a time, but this was soon changed to two, while those who were elected to make orations or read essays on special occasions were allowed a greater number. All books borrowed must be kept covered with paper until returned, a rule strictly enforced in the Euzelian Society, but not in the Philomathesian.

Both Societies had regular library hours. The Philomathesians first ordered that the library should be open on Saturdays from twelve o'clock noon to three in the afternoon; before the end of the period, but it is not clear when, the hours were changed, the librarian being required to keep the library open from one o'clock to two on Wednesday afternoons and from one to three on Saturday afternoons.<sup>18</sup> Books might be kept no more than five weeks.

The Euzelians for some years had the library open for lending and receiving books only on the first Saturday in every month. Afterwards when the Society began to hold its meetings on Wednesday, books were lent on that evening after the adjournment of the Society, the time for return being the first Wednesday in every month. With the beginning of the session of 1847-48 the library was open twice a week, on Wednesday and Saturday, from 12:30 to 1:30 in the afternoon.

It is evident that in both Societies the librarian was at liberty to lend a book at any time, or to allow a member to use his key to consult a book in the library. Both Societies also freely lent books to members of the faculty and those of their families, and to any former Society member living in the vicinity. Other people

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<sup>18</sup> Phi. Records, November 13, 1836; January 29, 1853; May 12, 1860.

of the vicinity were permitted to borrow books provided that some member of the Society would become responsible for them, although the frequent regulations about this class of borrowers makes it clear that the privilege was sometimes abused. Library privileges were given to the Civil War refugees some of whom, abandoning their homes in sections occupied by Union armies, found residence in and around Wake Forest during the War.<sup>19</sup>

The regulations for the use of the libraries as given above may seem illiberal as compared with those in use in libraries of the present day, but for that day they were liberal indeed. Both students and librarians were under the same roof as their libraries and books might be consulted if not borrowed at any time the librarian could be found. Again, during the sessions of the Societies their members sat surrounded by their books; they saw them in long lines on the shelves, and thus became acquainted with the external appearance of the volumes individually, a thing of no little value in creating a desire for reading. Doubtless, they were also allowed to handle such volumes as they wished. Few libraries of that day offered students such stimulus to read or were so serviceable.<sup>20</sup>

The librarians were untrained, in the Euzelian Society changing four times a year, in the Philomathesian semi-annually. They

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<sup>19</sup> Eu. Records, April 21, 1838; April 22, 1862; Phi. Records, March 3, 1848.

<sup>20</sup> Take the following account of the great library of the University of Virginia, Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, II, 201 ff.: "The regulations for the government of the library were drafted in March, 1825 . . . no student was permitted to carry away a volume unless he could show a request to that effect from one of the professors; and the number he was allowed to remove was limited to three. . . . The Librarian was ordered to be on hand in the library once a week, and to remain at least one hour to receive all books returned, and to give out all those that were asked for.... So anxious were the young men to obtain volumes that some of them went so far as to forge their professors' names to formal permits. Later in the course of the same year, 1826, the library was accessible to students on every day of the week except Sunday. . . . Only twenty such (admission) tickets could be made out for a single day. When he had succeeded in getting through the door, the student was not permitted to take down a book of reference without the consent of the librarian in writing.... No student was permitted to enter the room save to consult a book. In 1831 he still had to receive the removable volumes which he asked for through a hole in the door."

knew nothing of what is now called library science, and little of how to keep books in order. No book at first seems to have had any regular place on the shelves, but was put where the librarian found most convenient. If one librarian introduced some system and order his successor most probably disregarded it and deranged the whole. The first attempt at order was to place labels (what are now called bookplates) in all the volumes and number them serially. The Euzelians learned to do this consistently and placed the books on the shelves in the order of number. In this order they were kept on the shelves, giving the one advantage of having a permanent place for every book. The Philomathesians, however, made some effort, as their book-plates reveal, to arrange their books by shelves, but with the addition of new books and the frequent change of shelves it was very difficult to keep a book where it could be readily found. In 1854 a committee appointed by this Society to assist the librarian in getting the books in some kind of order, reported that they had accomplished that task only "after labors Herculean." Finally in 1859 this Society ordered the books to be arranged in alphabetical order on the shelves, as they were already roughly grouped in their catalogue.

One other trouble that until the days of vacuum cleaners was common to all libraries was that of dust. No one librarian seemed to think it a part of his duty to keep the books clean, and the Societies were obliged to appoint committees for this purpose, consisting in some instances of as many as eight persons.

Before the end of the period both Societies had manuscript catalogues of their books, and the Euzelians a printed catalogue. The Philomathesian Society in April, 1841, ordered the librarian to register the name of the Society in all books and count them, and in November, 1853, appointed a committee which arranged the books and catalogued them. This committee however, seems to have made no permanent catalogue for all its great labors mentioned above. It was not until March 26, 1859, that the Society ordered that a committee of seven be appointed to arrange the books in alphabetical order, and to purchase a book in which

to register them. The ledger catalogue of the library of this Society now found in the College Library was probably purchased at this time, and the registering begun, though it was not completed. In the fall of 1860 the Society found it necessary to appoint another committee for the same purpose, which worked for several months and probably catalogued all the books then in the library, some 3,000 volumes.<sup>21</sup> In this catalogue the books are arranged by titles, roughly in alphabetical order, number of bookcase and self. At the end of each letter several pages were left blank for names of volumes to be added later. No date of publication is given; the catalogue shows a few books added after the War.

The Euzelians, in January, 1852, ordered that a catalogue of their books should be made; in marking a book the accession number, the title, the author, and shelf number were to be recorded in the order named. In May of the same year, the Society ordered that the catalogue of their books should be published, after the pattern of that of the Dialectic Society of the University of North Carolina.<sup>22</sup> This catalogue was printed and for it the Society paid twenty dollars; unfortunately no copy of it is found in the College Library. The manuscript catalogue was made in a small account book which became full in 1857, with 3,400 entries; it was continued in a longer and larger book in which on October 24, 1860, a committee consisting of G. R. French, J. H. Dunn and E. S. Moore, drew off from some temporary records the list of books received since the filling of the first book, adding titles to make the total of about 3,500 by May 1, 1862. Additions were made until 1869 when the number had reached 3,667.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Phi. Records, September 14, 1860; November 19, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> Eu. Records, January 1, 1852; May 8, 1852.

<sup>23</sup> The handwriting is uniform until the number 3,544 is reached.

## LITERARY WORK

The intellectual improvement of their members was the primary purpose of the Societies, and this took the form of literary training. It was in this that they attained their greatest distinction. Their excellent libraries were in themselves a great stimulus to the young men and offered opportunity for reading that was rare in those days. It was, however, as aids and instruments in their regular programs of literary *Exercises* that the Societies gathered their books.

These literary *Exercises*, as was usual in the literary societies of that day, were debate, declamation, and dissertation. These were provided for in every regular session. In addition there were other addresses provided for as the Societies grew; addresses at the first meeting of every month, at the beginning of each term, orations by members of the Junior Class, speeches by the presidents on their inauguration, by members saying farewell, and on the death of some member, and public addresses at the Fourth of July, on Washington's birthday, and orations, beginning in 1854, at Anniversary and declamations and orations at the regular annual Commencements.

Before the end of this period both Societies discontinued their declamations, the Philomathesians on September 27, 1851, and the Euzelians on January 1, 1853. It is not known why this was done, but possibly because in the general interest in debate declamation was thought superfluous.<sup>1</sup>

The requirement of dissertations was more persistent. At first each Society had one dissertation read at every regular meeting. In October, 1841, the Euzelians authorized a change so that as many as four dissertations might be provided for a meeting, and, on abolishing declamations, they

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<sup>1</sup> After the Civil War, however, the declamations were resumed in both Societies.



increased the number to six. The Philomathesians held to one dissertation until September, 1851, when they discontinued their dissertations along with declamations. After that they had neither until March, 1857, when they restored dissertations, to the program, but from this time they required them only of the Freshmen and Sophomores, dividing these classes into five sections, each of which in turn read dissertations at intervals of five weeks. In both Societies the dissertations when read were handed to a critic or to a committee who corrected them and made suggestions for improvement, sometimes though not uniformly in reports before the Societies.<sup>2</sup>

In this part of their work the Societies were, so far as they were able, providing their members with a training in English composition which was not given in the regular collegiate classes of that day, either at Wake Forest or elsewhere. It is true that courses in Rhetoric were provided by the faculty, but they were largely lecture and textbook courses and were valuable chiefly because they furnished those who took them with general principles of composition to apply as they could, the chief emphasis being on argumentation and debate. In this situation the dissertations required by the Societies offered practically the only opportunity the students had for practice in supervised writing. Even this was limited in its value by the lack of training of the critics in the essentials of composition. And yet, whatever its inefficiencies, this required writing of dissertations doubtless called forth latent powers which otherwise would have never been developed.

The character of some of these early compositions may be inferred from their subjects, which were such as "Republicanism," "On Influence," "On the Improvement of the Heart," "Education," "On Man," "Innocence," "Independence," "Love of Freedom," "Curiosity."<sup>3</sup> With such subjects which continued through all

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<sup>2</sup> The dissertations were continued after the Civil War until toward the end of the century when the instruction given in the classroom in English Composition was thought to have rendered the Society training unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Phi. Records, March 21, September 3, 16, 25, 1838; February 2, 1848; March 12, 1842; October 7, 1843. Only the Phi. Society Records give subjects of dissertations.

this period, it is evident that the dissertations must have been little more than mechanical products. It seems a great pity that these young men should not have had the advantage of an able instructor.

The students of that day published little in the newspapers, or elsewhere. Almost the only occasion on which they prepared anything for the press was on the death of some active or former member of their Societies. Uniformly on learning of such death, often in a called meeting, they would appoint a committee to prepare resolutions, ordering that they both be spread on the minutes and sent to the *Biblical Recorder* and sometimes to other papers for publications. For the most part these resolutions were laboriously written and in stilted style, much as such productions are written till this day.

#### THE DEBATES

Although the Societies gave reasonable attention to writing and dissertations their principal literary concern was their debates. In fact, all their other activities may be said to have been subsidiary. The debate was the most important part of the program when one meeting a week sufficed for all the literary *Exercises* and attention to business affairs; and after two meetings a week were introduced, the Friday night meeting was given over to the debate except on the occasions when new members were to be initiated, and all other business was relegated to the meeting on Saturday morning.

The debates were carefully provided for in such a way that every member of the Society should have a part in his turn. To manage the debate the Societies appointed certain members, called disputants, to have charge of it. In the Euzelian Society these were appointed one week beforehand, except for the year 1851-52, when they were appointed two weeks ahead; the Philomathesians however appointed disputants two weeks before the debate. In the Philomathesian Society the number of these disputants was four, two on each side of the question; in the Euzelian after a few

weeks the number was increased to six, three on each side, which arrangement was kept except for a period of six weeks from February 6, 1841, when the number was increased to six on each side.

At the time of naming the disputants the query which they were to debate was also announced, being chosen by the disputants, when they so desired, from the list of questions which had been selected by the query committees and approved by the Societies. Soon both Societies had query books with some three hundred queries each, on almost every conceivable historical or current subject, except that controverted religious subjects were debarred.<sup>4</sup>

The disputants were expected to make special preparation and invest the subject on either side, a thing they were the more able to do with the help of the books, and periodicals in the libraries. At the time of the debate they opened the discussion; when they had finished, others in one section were required to speak, being free to take the side of their choice; then the question was open for miscellaneous debate, when any member who desired might speak if he could get the floor. In November, 1839, the Philomathesians divided their roll into two sections in alphabetical order, requiring those on each section to debate at alternate meetings. After a few years they discontinued this but before the end of the period they divided the roll into five sections, requiring those on each section to debate once in five weeks, in regular turn. The Euzelians having a greater number of disputants required speeches of them alone, and when they had finished threw the subject open for general debate. For this in both Societies there were almost always a great number of participants, who went about it with much enthusiasm. To secure them in this privilege the Societies found it necessary to forbid those who had already spoken once to speak again so long as there were others who wished to speak. It was also found necessary to limit the time which a speaker

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<sup>4</sup> Some of the later query books of the Euzelian Society are to be found in the College Library; those of the Philomathesians are lost. Nearly all the queries, however, are found in the regular records.

might take on any speech. At first this was fifteen minutes in each Society. To this rule the Philomathesians adhered, and permitted no one to speak more than twice. The Euzelians however modified this in May, 1853, allowing three speeches, the first of not more than thirty minutes, the other two of not more than ten minutes each. If each of the disputants used the maximum time on the first round, the six had spoken three hours. At the end of that time the fray had just begun, for there were usually many who had become interested and were ready to do battle in defense of their views. Accordingly, no one need be surprised that the conflict which began at candle-light often did not end until midnight or after, and that, too in a room in which there was no heat from fire or stove.

It must not be supposed, however, that every member of the Societies felt a like interest. There were always some to whom the regular Society work was irksome. A committee of one of the Societies appointed to interview a member who did not attend the meetings reported that the delinquent said that he had no interest in the Society and got nothing from attending its meetings, that the debates and other *Exercises* bored him, and that he had rather do the hardest physical labor, such as ditching and mauling out rails, than sit through one of the meetings. So many of the other members absented themselves that the Euzelians found it difficult to get a majority quorum as their constitution provided, and in November, 1849, made the quorum one-third of the members. Both Societies also at times expelled or suspended members for non-attendance.<sup>5</sup> Many whose will was good and who were faithful to attend all the meetings sometimes found it impossible to resist the somnific effect of burning candles and fervid orators; as member after member rose to speak and hour followed hour, their eyes would become heavy and they would fall into unconsciousness. For this "indulgence in sleeping" the Society soon provided a fine of twenty-five cents, which the sufferers endured

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<sup>5</sup> Eu. Records, December 8, 1849.

for a short time when they found themselves sufficiently numerous to reduce the fine to ten cents. Sometimes the fagged-out secretary was betrayed into writing into the minutes such expressions as "after a long discussion and at last a tiresome one, the question was decided in the Negative by a majority of 14,"<sup>6</sup> and thus General Scott was declared to have had a more brilliant record in Mexico than Cortez. Two months later another secretary wrote, "Critical remarks were submitted for a long time." Again, in September of the same year, "after a long discussion," it was decided that Titus Manlius was justly executed.

On the other hand the participants in the discussions felt none of this weariness; they were in the game to the last, and if defeated would sometimes have called for a reconsideration in the vote at a subsequent meeting had the laws of the Society allowed it. In many instances they brought the same question back for debate in a few weeks.

The questions debated were on a great variety of subjects, any that were suggested by the books or periodicals in the libraries. The greater number were questions of current interest, questions affecting the College, the State and the United States, questions moral and religious, philosophical and scientific, educational, social, political, national and international. In fact, a reading of the questions in their sequence would almost enable one to reconstruct the economic, social, educational, and political life of the State and the nation; they bring the reader into intimate relationship with the young men of that day and reveal to us the mind and aspirations, the social, political and sectional and religious views and prejudices, of these antebellum young men.

Although early regulations of both Societies forbade the discussion of controverted religious questions, yet it is evident from the queries that restriction did not apply to questions about atheists and Roman Catholics, and Mormons. The Philomathesians never added any other restriction, but the Euzelians in

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<sup>6</sup> Eu. Records, August 8, 1857.

November, 1852, excluded all "controverted party questions," and thus for a number of years narrowed the interest of their debates.

Though it will be impossible to consider a tenth of the many questions that were debated in these years, some understanding may be had of what the debates meant in the education of the members of the Societies if we arrange them into groups, and consider each separately.

Many of the questions debated were historical. It is necessary to warn those who live at a time when courses in history are given in such great number in the grades and in high school and college that they must not think lightly of debates on historical subjects in the days when hardly any history was taught or read. It was from these debates that the college students of that day gained the greater part of their historical knowledge. To learn the relative merits of the laws of Solon and Lycurgus one had to read early Greek history; to be able to discuss the generalship of Alexander and Hannibal one had to know something of what each did. A rather extended knowledge of medieval history was needed to enable one to understand whether or not the Crusades were beneficial to Europe. And one had to read much of what then was recent modern history to decide whether Napoleon was justly banished to St. Helena. If one could defend the thesis that the Regulators were patriots he had to familiarize himself with the works of Swain and Hawks and Jones which at that time were coming from the press. Thus these debates on historical questions were a stimulus to the reading and study of history which the students of that day would not have engaged in otherwise.

Some of the questions were mythological rather than historical. Such was the query, "Was Gyges justified in slaying Candaules?" which was several times debated. And today we hardly regard as historical several questions based on the story of early Rome, such as "Was Horatius justified in putting his sister to death?" Perhaps it was the issue of casuistry and morals rather than the

historic interest that made such questions so interesting to the students of that period; we are no longer much interested in them nor in the many questions of morals which were often debated. There is, however, no denial of the educational and cultural value of the discussion of the questions mentioned above; the same may be said of questions of the character of Cromwell, Charles I, and Elizabeth, or the merits of Hamilton and Jefferson.

Perhaps the historical question most often debated was whether Elizabeth was justified in putting Mary Queen of Scots to death. In the Euzelian Society, after the banning of party questions, it was especially popular and always the "Good Queen Bess" found herself condemned by most decisive votes. On one occasion, November 30, 1855, not a voice was raised in her defense, by her appointed champions, F. M. Purefoy, W. C. Parker, and Erastus D. Nixon; seeing her thus basely deserted Professor Jack Mills of Oxford College, who perchance was present, offered some words in her behalf, but all to little purpose; by a vote of 39 to 3, she was convicted of unjustly putting her sister queen to death, or as the record reads, the question, "Was Mary Queen of Scots justly executed? was decided in the affirmative over the left, by a vote of 3 to 39."

On November 11, 1853, the badly worded question, "Who was the greatest general that ever lived?" brought many Euzelian champions into the field. The record shows that "after a long discussion it was decided in favor of Napoleon Bonaparte." The Society which had suffered for six hours immediately revised that question. This historical interest was what gave point to such questions as the relative oratorical powers of Demosthenes and Cicero or of Cicero and Daniel Webster, which were sometimes up for discussion.

In that day before Darwin had disturbed the calm depths of thought with his *Origin of Species* and science was the handmaid of religion, scientific questions were freely discussed, but such as dealt with the telescope rather than the microscope. The nearest approach to forbidden ground was when the Euzelians debated,

in May, 1858, the question, "Was the Noachian flood universal?" A few weeks later, Dr. S. S. Satchwell, the Commencement speaker, bravely insisted that it was not. One query was "Are the other planets inhabited?" Another which the Philomathesians discussed on October 7, 1838, reads: "Is it probable that the atmosphere will become navigable so as to be a medium of communication between different nations?" The affirmative, supported by Childers, of South Carolina, and Thomas Steele, of Richmond County, won over the negative supported by James Murray of Virginia, later Superintendent of Public Instruction of Wilson County, and William Jones, later Agent of the Baptist State Convention. Unfortunately we are not told by what arguments-or assertions those present were led to dip into the future and see the heavens fill with commerce.

Other scientific queries related to medicine. One, debated by the Philomathesians on September 18, 1840, was, "Is the steam system of medicine more calculated to cure diseases than the mineral?" Another debated a year later was, "Ought botanic physicians be allowed to collect their accounts like the mineral?" The impartial judges decided both in the affirmative.<sup>7</sup>

The last query mentioned raised a question of duty, and in general the queries were not on questions of fact but of conduct and obligation-what was expedient and better for the individual, Society, the College, the State, the Nation? Some were very practical, such as "Should the Euzelian Society purchase a carpet?" "Should public declamation be dispensed with at College?"<sup>8</sup>

One group of questions may be classed as social. In this class the young men gave much attention to problems that concern the opposite sex, which they usually designated as "females," following the custom of the day. They used their debates to determine

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<sup>7</sup> The "steam system of medicine" seems to have been a modification of the system usually known as hydropathy, which used water in many forms in the treatment of disease; it was much in the public prints at this time. A "Botanic physician" is said by Webster to be one whose "remedies consist chiefly of herbs and roots." A "Mineral physician" seems to have been the popular designation of one whose chief remedy was calomel, which was much used about 1840.

<sup>8</sup> Eu. Records, December 3, 1842; Phi. Records, February 8, 1851.



whether woman is a curse or a blessing to mankind.<sup>9</sup> Another question which the young men sought to settle was whether females are capable of managing public affairs, May 24, 1851, and whether her abilities are equal to man's.<sup>10</sup> Having settled those questions in woman's favor on most occasions, they often recurred to the query as to whether a married or single life was better and happier, better for the man and better for society as a whole.<sup>11</sup> Being well convinced that married life was better they also discussed the question whether the State should tolerate a man of sound body who refused to marry.<sup>12</sup> They were also much interested in the question as to whether early marriages were better.<sup>13</sup> The next question was the kind of wife to be sought, which they often debated, the query being characteristically stated as follows: "Is a lady of wealth but of ordinary mind more to be desired than one of excellent mind without wealth?"<sup>14</sup> They also wanted to know the rhyme and reason about not marrying a deceased wife's sister.<sup>15</sup> Seemingly desirous of being judicious they discussed the question as to whether the current views on the influence of woman were not extravagant.<sup>16</sup> Another question was whether a wife should take a marriage vow to obey her husband.<sup>17</sup> They were also asking and deciding such questions as to whether a woman should pay as much attention to her mind as to her person,<sup>18</sup> and how she should dress, the Euzelians in September, 1851, debating the query, "Ought the Bloomer costume to be adopted?"<sup>19</sup> The young men were up-to-date, and voted in favor of Bloomers. For a better understanding of female

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<sup>9</sup> Eu. Records, August 22, 1846; Phi. Records, May 24, 1851.

<sup>10</sup> Phi. Records, April 22, 1843.

<sup>11</sup> Eu. Records, November 25, 1843; Phi. Records, March 18, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, April 25, 1838.

<sup>13</sup> Phi. Records, April 21, 1848.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, March 28, 1838.

<sup>15</sup> Eu. Records, March 31, 1851.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, August 15, 1851.

<sup>17</sup> Phi. Records, April 10, 1852.

<sup>18</sup> Eu. Records, August 21, 1847.

<sup>19</sup> "A costume consisting essentially of loose trousers drawn close at the ankles, under a short petticoat, advocated as a dress for women by Mrs. Amelia Bloomer of New York in 1849-50." *Standard Dictionary*.

character they debated the question, "Are ladies in general fond of flattery?" and also "Are flirtations under any circumstances justifiable?"<sup>20</sup> They also often convinced themselves after lengthy debates that it was morally right to steal a wife.<sup>21</sup> A more immediate question and one they often sought to resolve by debate was "Should the Collegiant frequent any society of females?"<sup>22</sup> And if so, should he do it voluntarily.<sup>23</sup> Often questions in relation to women concerned their education, which is considered next.

Some of the questions with reference to the relation of the sexes, as outlined above, may seem light if not trivial. This is doubtless true of some of them; they were probably introduced to offer diversion and to relieve the strain of more serious discussion. About many of them, however, the young men were dead in earnest, as they were about the great number of educational questions, relating to the major educational interests of that day discussed in the years from 1835 to 1862.

One of these questions that almost from the foundation of the Societies was agitating the Baptists of North Carolina was the duty of providing for the young women education comparable to that provided for the young men of the State at the University and at Wake Forest. In the year that Wake Forest opened as a college the Philomathesians were debating the question, "Is the education of females as much entitled to the consideration of an enlightened people as that of males?"<sup>24</sup> As early as 1836 the Baptist State Convention was considering this question and it remained vital for many years. Other questions connected with the education of women were: Are they capable of receiving a classical education? yes, they decided that they were, although

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<sup>20</sup> Eu. Records, November 13, 1847; March 10, 1849.

<sup>21</sup> Phi. Records, March 28, 1848; Eu. Records, January 20, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> Eu. Records, October 17, 1838.

<sup>23</sup> Phi. Records, February 22, 1846.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, August 31, 1839, "it was argued by Gent. Lane and Oliver aff. vs. Gent. Joyner and Brewer Neg. Was decided in Aff." James Joyner, Pitt Co., later a lawyer; J. A. Oliver, Duplin Co., Architect; J. M. Brewer, Wake Forest; J. H. Lane, Marion Dist., S. C., later a physician.

some of the stronger sex were having some difficulty with such reception at Wake Forest College. Does the higher education of women unfit her for domestic duties? Should females study for a profession? Such questions were nearly always decided in a way complimentary to women, for the young men of that day were magnanimous.<sup>25</sup> They even considered the possibility of co-education, "mixed schools," in the language of the day, which "after a lively debate," the Euzelians in November, 1859, decided were desirable. On several occasions the same Society debated the question whether Oxford Female College should be removed to Wake Forest, and usually decided it in the negative.<sup>26</sup>

The Societies discussed also many other phases of college education: Could the curriculum be amended to advantage? Should we patronize our own college? Is Wake Forest on the retrograde? (this is the dark days of 1842-43) ; Will Wake Forest College in the course of a quarter of a century (from 1856) be one of the great literary institutions of the country?<sup>27</sup> They also debated the question, whether a better education could be obtained in college or with tutors at home.<sup>28</sup> With reference to their own work they tried to determine in debate whether a college student should take an interest in politics, whether he should make an early choice of a profession, and study in college with reference to it; whether he should read novels, whether he should have optional attendance on public worship, whether more attention should be paid to language or science; whether distinctions should be given on graduation.<sup>29</sup> On September 10, 1842, the Euzelian Society debated the query, "Are the advantages to be derived from the Euzelian Society superior to those accruing from the prosecution

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<sup>25</sup> Phi. Records, August 3, 1839; May 23, 1858; Eu. Records May 30, 1830; May 20, 1847; Nov. 19, 1858.

<sup>26</sup> Eu. Records, April 8, 1854; Dec. 2, 1859.

<sup>27</sup> Phi. Records, March 8, 1856; November 10, 1849; Eu. Records, May 16, 1840; February 18, 1843.

<sup>28</sup> Eu. Records, April 11, 1848.

<sup>29</sup> Phi. Records, October 30, 1841; September 3, 1841; October 26, 1846; December 7, 1849; May 16, 1857; October 9, 1857; Eu. Records, January 22, 1844; February 28, 1846; April 11, 1846.

of a college course?" which they decided in the affirmative by a vote of 13 to 5.

The following questions are interesting as indicative of the popular interest in college education at that time. In November, 1847, the Euzelians debated the query, "Are Literary institutions productive of more evil than good?" In April, 1848, the same Society discussed "Whether the South should not patronize its own institutions rather than those of the North?" and in May, 1857, the affirmative of the question, "Ought the South to establish a great Southern University?" was stoutly maintained by Dargan, of South Carolina, and others, and as stoutly assailed by Ivey and others. "After a long and highly interesting debate," says the record, "the vote was taken and decided in the negative 10 to 9." In February, 1840, the same Society had after debate voted favorably, 18 to 8, on the expediency of Congress establishing a great national university. In March, 1853, the Philomathesians debated a similar question with a like result.

The young men were also interested in the question of general education. In less than a year after the Legislature had provided that the counties might vote a tax for free schools the Euzelian Society was debating the question.<sup>30</sup> The Philomathesians in February, 1851, discussed the question of public or private schools, one that was long afterwards still discussed with no little acrimony by loiterers around country stores. It seems that in 1844 there was some discussion of the feasibility of the Legislature's establishing reading rooms in the counties of the State. In August of that year the Euzelian Society discussed it and decided that it was impracticable. On several occasions educational qualifications for voting and compulsory education were up for discussion, more often in the Euzelian than in the Philomathesian Society.

Of the religious and moral questions it is possible to select only a few of the great number. One great moral question which the young men of both Societies wanted to settle by debate was

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<sup>30</sup> Eu. Records, August 17, 1839.

the right or wrong of slavery. With the Philomathesians, in April, 1838, the question took the form, "Is slavery compatible with the Bible?" In March, 1854, the query read, "Is slavery an evil per se?" With the Euzelians in September, 1843, and afterwards, the form was, "Is slavery a moral evil?" Always, Paley or Wayland to the contrary notwithstanding, they decided that slavery was not morally wrong.

Some even at that time were raising the question whether the profession of soldier was consistent with Christianity, and the Euzelian Society, responsive to the current interest had it up for debate in November, 1861, after the Civil War had been in progress several months. The most usual religious questions which the young men debated was the right of atheists and Roman Catholics to vote and hold office in this country. Usually the decision was they should not.<sup>31</sup> Once, October 23, 1848, the Euzelians debated the momentous question, "Is it probable that the Roman Catholic Religion will prevail in the United States?" They found sufficient arguments for believing that it would not prevail.

The interest felt by citizens of the State generally in their own affairs was reflected by the discussions in the Societies. One of the first questions debated by the Euzelians was, "Would it be policy in North Carolina to establish a penitentiary?"<sup>32</sup> This question was often debated in both Societies until nearly the close of this period,<sup>33</sup> and was usually decided in the affirmative, although the State waited until the days of Reconstruction to build its penitentiary. In July, 1838, the Philomathesians thought the question, "Was it policy in the Legislature of North Carolina to appropriate money for the erection of such a Capitol as is now being erected?" of sufficient interest to merit discussion, and decided it in the affirmative, although the negative doubtless made much use of the argument that it was sheer extravagance to spend

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<sup>31</sup> Eu. Records, August 27, 1836; August 26, 1848; Phi. Records, August 14, 1841; November 11, 1845.

<sup>32</sup> Eu. Records, September 3, 1835.

<sup>33</sup> Phi. Records, November 9, 1860.

a half million dollars on a State House. In January, 1843, however, the same Society decided by a vote of 4 to 8 that the State should not survey and construct a turnpike from Raleigh to the "Buncombe County Courthouse." Another attitude towards internal improvements on the part of the State is shown in the repeated affirmative decisions in both Societies that the State should aid in the construction of the central railroad from Goldsboro to Charlotte.<sup>34</sup>

Questions of State policy which were moral rather than economic were also the subject of frequent discussion. Very often the question was debated of the prohibition by legislative enactment of the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits except for medicine.<sup>35</sup> The decisions were usually in the affirmative by close votes. Until prohibited by the Constitution of 1868, imprisonment for debt was a possibility in North Carolina, and one of the College's benefactors, Rev. Amos J. Battle, surrendered his body to the Wake County sheriff when he could find no money to pay the debt he had incurred in building a Baptist church in Raleigh. It seems to have been regarded as a proper measure if the decision of the Philomathesian Society which debated the question in September, 1836, is indicative of public opinion. Duelling was another question which was agitating the people of the State in those years. Even after the Legislature had passed its drastic law of 1802 against it, it still had its defenders and also other victims later than Richard Dobbs Spaight, killed by John Stanly in that year. In the eighteen-thirties and forties it was still considered a debatable question, and in March, 1838, the Euzelian Society voted with those who had maintained in debate that it should be tolerated. It is interesting also to observe from the Society records that the matter of a legal rate of interest was being considered in North Carolina in the years 1839-55.<sup>36</sup>

Our Societies were also interested in the question of proper

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<sup>34</sup> Eu. Records, May 26, 1849; November 24, 1849; Phi. Records, July 27, 1850.

<sup>35</sup> Phi. Records, October 10, 1836; Eu. Records, March 10, 1838.

<sup>36</sup> Eu. Records, May 8, 1839; October 10, 1855.

amusements. Should theatrical performances be tolerated? Not so, said the Philomathesians in May, 1850, although in March, 1842, they had not been convinced that circuses should be denied the right to traverse our State. Another query, debated by the same Society in September, 1841, "Should executions be made public or private?" shows that our antebellum forbears were about as modern as we of today. Betting on elections was common among college students generally in those days, and the Euzelijans thought best to have it discussed by the Society in April, 1844.<sup>37</sup>

In the quarter of a century before the Civil War there was much discussion in the State of the undemocratic constitution of 1776 as modified somewhat by the amendments of 1835. Although the amendments of that year gave the people a greater share in the control of their State Government than they had previously had, there was still dissatisfaction that their share was so small. At the same time the reactionaries were complaining. In 1835, the election of governors had been given to the people, and this gave the State what it had not had before, a gubernatorial campaign every two years, with the candidates setting forth their claims in public addresses, sometimes in joint debates engaging in most spirited charge and counter charge, extending more than ten hours.<sup>38</sup> It was such things that doubtless called forth the debate in the Philomathesian Society in November, 1843, on the query, "Should the practice of gubernatorial candidates canvassing the State be abolished?" The members were about equally divided. That at this time there was a resurgence of opinion in favor of electing governors by the Legislature is shown by the fact that early in 1846 both

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<sup>37</sup> Dr. T. E. Skinner, tells about losing \$600 in bets rashly made while he was a student of the University, that Clay would be elected in 1844, which his father paid for him. *Reminiscences*.

<sup>38</sup> Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, 429, gives the following account of the debate in 1842 at Fayetteville, between Louis D. Henry, Democrat, and J. M. Morehead, Whig: "At length Morehead and Henry met at Fayetteville in joint debate, the Governor opening and speaking three times, and Henry twice. They each occupied over five hours, the debate lasting ten hours and a half, and the candidates indulging in charges and counter charges."

Societies debated the question, but both voted decisively in favor of popular election. Until 1858 only those possessed of a freehold of fifty acres could vote for the State Senators. The question of "free suffrage" which had been championed by David S. Reid, first came up in the Legislature of 1848, but that it was much earlier a vital question is suggested by the fact that the Euzelians were debating it in October, 1843; the vote was 6 to 5 in favor of the freehold qualification. Another constitutional question was the manner of election of judges and another their term of office. Until after the Civil War judges held their office "during good behavior," and were elected by the Legislature. Doubtless reflecting public interest the Euzelian Society, in April 1847, debated the question, "Should judges be elected for life?" and in March, 1851, the Philomathesians discussed whether "The election of judges should be given to the people?" In both Societies the minutes indicate a lively debate, and in both the conservative view prevailed. Another restriction of the constitution of 1776 that caused much chafing was the exclusion of ministers of the gospel from membership in the General Assembly. After the Convention of 1835 had failed to correct this inequality the Euzelian Society made it a matter of debate, and voted that this exclusion was not consistent with religious liberty.<sup>39</sup> On May 3, 1862, as the College was discontinuing for the War, the same Society approved the question for debate, showing that public interest in the matter had not been altogether lost.

One other North Carolina question must by no means be omitted, that of the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The Euzelians debated it first in March, 1844, when the only question was whether Jefferson or the author of the Mecklenburg Declaration deserved more honor. They debated it again after their interest had been renewed by the sane discussion of the matter by Colonel R. M. Saunders, at the Wake

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<sup>39</sup> Eu. Records, April 10, 1839.



Forest Commencement of 1852, not once but several times.<sup>40</sup> The decisions were always on the side of patriotism.

Sometimes the interests of the Societies were world-wide. In January, 1853, the Philomathesians discussed the expediency of a world court, and several times each Society discussed the query, "Would a Congress of nations be effectual in preserving universal Peace?"<sup>41</sup> In August, 1854, the Philomathesians discussed an international copyright law.

Some of the questions of national policy were such that on them even members of the same political party or section might differ. One of the chief of these was foreign immigration, which was perhaps more often debated than any other political question, beginning with a discussion in the Euzelian Society in July, 1838; on this general topic was the question of the length of residence of immigrants before acquiring the right of suffrage. Other questions debated which were fairly free from a partisan nature were the veto power of the President; the protective tariff, which was often on the program; rechartering the United States Bank-one of the first questions debated before the Euzelian Society; the sale of the public lands; the election of military leaders to the presidency; paper or metallic currency; water and land transportation; public or private operation of the postal service; the Cuban "fillibusters": the extension of the control of the United States over Mexico or from pole to pole; removal of the seat of government; two political parties; changing the Constitution by legislative enactment ; and the support of exploring expeditions.

There was somewhat more of a political character to such questions as to which was the greater statesman, Webster or Calhoun;

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<sup>40</sup> Eu. Records, March 10, 1844; February 3, 1845; February 15, 1856. I have spoken of the sane discussion of Colonel Saunders. He was more than half convinced that the "Resolves of May 31" was the only set of resolutions passed, but thought that in substance they were a declaration of independence. The same is the view rather weakly supported in Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 437 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Eu. Records, February 11, 1839; April 10, 1851.

which had a better claim to the presidency, Webster or Clay; who was in the right Jackson or Calhoun; and should Congress have made an appropriation to pay the fine imposed on Jackson in the Hull case.

Among the many phases of contemporaneous political and national interest that were reflected in the debates of the Societies was the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon Territory. In the early forties a slogan often heard in the United States was "Fifty-four-forty or fight." In April 1840, the Euzelians, discussing the query, "Would it be better to give up the disputed territory or appeal to arms?" decided by a vote of 20 to 2 that it was better to fight. Two years later they had the question again before them in the form, "Would the United States be justifiable in declaring war against Great Britain?" which after "being ably and eloquently discussed by Messrs. Lamb and Prichard on the affirmative and Foy and West on the negative, was decided in the negative."

Another matter of national interest was the Mormons. In 1854-55 in both Societies different phases of the question were discussed-their right to hold office, their expulsion from the United States.

Another subject that was tending to become sectional was the admission of Texas and the Mexican War. Within two years after Texas won her freedom the Philomathesians debated the question, "Would it be policy in the United States to receive Texas into the Union?" which after being supported by Messrs. Connella and J. M. Brewer and opposed by Messrs. Worrell and Murray, was decided in the affirmative. The question was several times repeated before one or another of the Societies until annexation had been consummated.<sup>42</sup> That the question was not altogether free from sectional interest may be seen from the form it took in March, 1839, when debated first by the Euzelians. It read: "Should the North resist the annexation of Texas to the Union, would the South be justifiable in seceding?" which, however, was decided in the negative. Six months after Texas

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<sup>42</sup> Eu. Records, September 16, 1839; April 23, 1842; February 17, 1844.

had been formally annexed the Philomathesians, in September, 1845, voted after debate that Mexico would be justifiable in declaring war on the United States. It was probably because their love for Henry Clay was still strong. Several of their queries seemed designed to give occasion for praise of Clay; in May, 1842, after making bold to debate the question, "Should Henry Clay be our next President?" through two meetings, the Philomathesians voted in his favor 17 to 7. After the Mexican War had begun and was in progress, all the voting was the other way in both Societies on such questions as to whether Mexico should pay the cost of the war, and whether Congress should supply the President with funds to prosecute the war. In the next decade, however, the question whether the Mexican War was justifiable was usually decided in favor of the negative.<sup>43</sup>

Though the Societies found much interest in all national affairs, the two questions of absorbing interest were slavery and secession. Even after excluding party questions in 1852, the Euzelians were able to keep them off their program for only four or five years. Scores of times in either Society some phase of the slavery question was discussed. "Is slavery morally and politically wrong?" was the question the Euzelians set out to answer in November, 1835. Should slaves be educated? Will they probably be freed? Ought slavery to be abolished? Would slaves be happier if emancipated? Is slavery consistent with free government? Which is more dangerous to the South, the abolition of slavery or a dissolution of the Union? Is the negro race constitutionally or only circumstantially inferior to the white?<sup>44</sup> Only once was the decision of the debate adverse to the Southern viewpoint; on August 6, 1858, the Euzelians debated the query, "Will African slavery be perpetual in the United States?" and decided it in the negative by a vote of 12 to 8. The affirmative was supported by two of the ablest debaters of the Society, F. H.

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<sup>43</sup> Eu. Records, August 9, 1858.

<sup>44</sup> Eu. Records, November 21, 1835; September 10, 1811; May 19, 1814; November 6, 1847; July 7, 1849; September 29, 1855; August 6, 1858; October 20, 1860; Phi. Records, March 12, 1842; March 30, 1843; November 23, 1845; August 31, 1845; April 3, 1847; September 7, 1850; April 1, 1854.

Ivey and W. H. Eddins, while the negative was defended by R. R. Savage, A. F. Rhodes, and S. H. J. Bridgers, of whom both Savage and Rhodes were men of ability but hardly equal as debaters to Ivey. Later some reader of the minutes penciled between the lines in bold hand, "O ye Abolitionists!"

Connected with the question of slavery was that of the extension of the territory of the country. This connection was the chief cause of the opposition of the North to the annexation of Texas. Accordingly it furnished topics for debate. The Euzelians, in April, 1837, voted after debate that it would be conducive to the prosperity of the United States to have her territory extended. The large accession of territory in consequence of the Mexican War brought the question again to the front and it was frequently debated in both Societies.<sup>45</sup> In April, 1847, the Philomathesians debated a territorial question which revealed the ground of their interest, the query being, "Should Congress enact laws to prevent slaveholding men from settling our territories?" This was decided in the negative by a vote of 25 to 6. On March 30, 1855, the same Society voted 11 to 10 that Congress did right in passing the Nebraska Bill, which under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, became law in May, 1854, "a voluntary offering to the South by a Northern Democrat."

Along with questions relating to slavery went those relating to the slave-holding and non-slave-holding sections of the country and of the dissolution of the Union. Many were the debates on these momentous issues; will the Union continue for a century? for twenty-five years? for ten years?<sup>46</sup> On August 5, 1859, the Euzelians debated the question in the form: "Would a dissolution of the union be beneficial to the South?" The affirmative was supported by E. S. Moore and others, the negative by Kelly, Guy, Savage and Howell. "After a debate of some warmth," the question was decided in the negative by a vote of 5 to 16.

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<sup>45</sup> Eu. Records, August 12, 1848; September 8, 1849; Phi. Records, May 20, 1848.

<sup>46</sup> Eu. Records, February 26, 1842; September 21, 1844; September 10, 1848; April 11, 1857; August 5, 1859; December 17, 1860; August 31, 1845; May 30, 1856.

In the minds of the young men of those days this question was should the South be separated from the North. We have seen that in March, 1839, the Euzelian debated the possible secession of the South in case the North blocked the annexation of Texas. After this, secession and kindred questions were debated scores of times. With the disputants and those who heard them they were not so much academic as practical. The young men were watching the course of political affairs in the country with an interest which became more and more absorbing as the years went by. This will be evident to any one who will follow chronologically the account of such debates, as it appears in the records of the two Societies. Only a selection can be given here.

On October 5, 1840, the Euzelians debated the question, "Is there more danger of our government being destroyed by a civil than a foreign war?" "The query was discussed in the most animated manner and decided in the affirmative 15 to 8." On May 15, 1841, in the Philomathesian Society Matthew T. Yates and James H. Lane, afterwards a physician of Clio, South Carolina, being appointed to choose a question, selected the query, "Has any State a right to oppose with force an act of Congress?" Being debated two weeks later with Lane on the affirmative and Yates on the negative, by the president's vote it was decided in the affirmative 12 to 11.

In 1845 came the formal division of the Baptists of the North and the South, with the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention at Augusta, Georgia, May 8, 1845, and the formal division of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in Louisville, Kentucky, in the same month and year. This division was caused by differences over slavery, in which the opponents of slavery living in the North and assuming powers not theirs made union of their denominations North and South no longer possible.<sup>47</sup> That

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<sup>47</sup> It was the Baptist Mission Board, located in Boston for purposes of easy communication with foreign ports that precipitated the matter with the Baptists by refusing to sanction the appointment of any slaveholder to a mission post; among the Methodists the attempt of the General Conference, meeting in New York in 1844, to take away episcopal rights from a Southern

this division of the two largest Protestant denominations in the country was fraught with dangers politically and might lead to strife and division was not unforeseen at the time. In September of the same year, the question was before the Euzelians for debate with the query, "Is it probable that the ecclesiastical division of the North from the South will ever cause a political division of the States?" The negative, supported by W. T. Walters, later on the faculty of the College, F. B. Ryan, later an able minister and physician, and J. T. Cauthen of York District, South Carolina, won by a vote of 13 to 3, probably because of the skill of the negative debaters. A year later, perhaps, after the embittered attacks of the Northern religious journals on their Southern brethren were becoming more pronounced, the decision might have been different.

After this the annexation of Texas and the success of the Mexican War, somewhat relieved the general tension, though the records reveal that questions of sectional strife were at all times present with the young men at the College. On February 28, 1851, the Euzelians debated the bald question, "Has a state the right to secede?"<sup>748</sup> On the affirmative was one of the ablest debaters in the history of the Society, Robert Hayne Burn of Cheraw, South Carolina, but he lost to the strong negative debaters, J. F. Oliver of Duplin, Bedford Brown of Person, and W. J. Palmer of Caswell, by a vote of 10 to 19. The Philomathesians debated the same question "with interest and animation" on May 30, 1851, with a like result, the vote being 5 to 15. After these, adverse decisions, however, the right to secede seems to have been taken for granted, and the questions debated were on the expediency of secession. For some years these debates were confined to the Philomathesian Society since the Euzelians were

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Bishop, James O. Andrew, D.D., who had married a wife who owned slaves, brought on the crisis.

<sup>48</sup> One of the strongest and most active advocates of remaining in the Union when the question of secession was before the people of the State, was Rufus Yancey McAden, a graduate of the class of 1853. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, 569.

excluding controverted party questions. The drift of sentiment may be seen in the following query, debated by the Philomathesians on May 25, 1860, "Did the Harper's Ferry Invasion have a beneficial effect upon the South?" which was decided in the affirmative by a two to one vote, the benefit doubtless being supposed to be the unification of Southern opinion in regard to the attitude of the North.

Towards the close of this period the Euzelians returning to political questions debated, once in February, 1860, the query, "Would a dissolution of the union be beneficial to the South?" deciding it on the negative by a vote of nothing to twenty-five. A year later with the alarm of the John Brown raid hardly abated they decided after debate that our country is in more danger from internal friction than foreign foes, the vote being 15 to 1.

After the die was already cast and the fatal conflict was in progress the few students who remained at the College doubtless were influenced by current public opinion in proposing queries such as these: "Should North Carolina have seceded?" and "Did South Carolina act prematurely in seceding from the United States without proposing a concerted action with her sister States?"

The last question debated by the Philomathesians in May, 1861, when the last full session of the college before the War ended, was: "Was the United States justifiable in fighting the war with Mexico?" which was decided in the negative by a vote of 4 to 8; the last in the other Society was: "Should government compel parents to send their children to school?" which was decided in the affirmative by a vote of 7 to 4. A year later, on May 22, 1862, the few students who had remained at the College had their final debates before the College disbanded for the War. The Philomathesians used the query, "Do savage nations possess a full right to the soil?" "Which, after a discussion of considerable interest" was decided in the negative by a vote of two to one. The disputants were H. M. Cates and W. R. Gwaltney of the affirmative and W. C. Nowell, and J. H. Yarboro for the

negative. The question of the Euzelians was: "Was the Execution of Charles 1st justifiable?" the affirmative being supported by J. M. French and the negative by Roscius Thomas. The decision was in favor of the negative by a vote of two to one.



## XXXVII

### PUBLIC EXERCISES

Above account was given of the Fourth of July celebrations at the Institute in the years 1835-38, when a member of one of the Societies delivered the oration of the day. When the Institute had become a college, with the change of the calendar, the Fourth falling in the summer vacation, was no longer celebrated at the College. Following the custom of the day the Literary Societies had a part in the annual Commencements, which during the period of the Institute came at the close of the academic year the last of November.

At the Commencement in November, 1834, there seems to have been no other *Exercises* at the close of the session than the examinations. But in the year of the formation of the Literary Societies, 1835, the privilege of inviting a speaker to address them at the annual Commencement was granted them. By an arrangement which was begun in this year and continued until the end of the century the Euzelians were expected to invite the orator in the odd-number years and the Philomathesians in the even-number years. For the Commencement of 1835 the Euzelians invited William Gaston, who had recently come into greater prominence than ever by his speeches and counsel at the Constitutional Convention of 1835. He had accepted and announcement had been made that he would speak on November 25. But a week before that date the *Biblical Recorder* carried a note from W. T. Brooks, Secretary of the Euzelian Society, stating that Gaston, having been delayed on a trip to the North, and under present pressure of business, would not be able to attend the Commencement. Accordingly, after the examinations were over, on Monday, November 23, 1835, the Principal dismissed the students with a short valedictory address, which seemed to have increased rather than lessened the sadness which the lads and young men felt on the occasion of their separation from one another.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brooks, Diary.

## 1836-THOMAS MEREDITH

Since the Euzelians had failed to get Gaston in 1835, the Philomathesians offered them the choice of speaker for the Commencement in November, 1836, provided they could secure Gaston. The Euzelians, however, were discouraged, and proposed that no further speaker be asked to address the Societies until 1838. To this proposal the Philomathesians did not agree, and failing to secure Judge John D. Toomer of Fayetteville, invited Rev. Thomas Meredith to make the address. He did not disappoint them, but on November 25, 1836, addressed the Societies on things that tend to discourage and encourage students, "a few practical thoughts, designed to facilitate the pursuits in which they were engaged." His speech was in that terse, vigorous language for which Meredith was famous, and closed with a summary of what he had said. In speaking on the necessity of relaxation from mental pursuits, he commanded the manual labor feature of the Institute in these words:

It has been often observed by those who have philosophised on the subject, that to preserve a healthy and pleasant action in the system an equilibrium should be maintained between the exercise of the mind and that of the body. That is, that in all cases where the mind is exercised severely, there should be a corresponding severity in the exercise of the body. If this be true-and that it is I can see no reason to doubt; then it follows that the very hardships which are experienced in our manual labor schools are to be enumerated among their greatest advantages; and not only so, but as advantages peculiar to seminaries of this character alone. Where, allow me to inquire, can you find the severe, the manly, the invigorating exercise in all the walks of science and of literature, which is provided for in seminaries of the kind of which I now treat? And what, I must be permitted to ask further, is there to be found in the gentle amusements to be witnessed on college greens, and in academic groves, which can compare with the manly, refreshing, renovating exercise to be found in these fields? Were I required to give proof that there is truth in this suggestion, I would appeal to the ruddy complexions, and the athletic forms of those whom I address. And might I not add, I

would appeal to the literary excellence habitually witnessed in these halls ?<sup>2</sup>

Following the custom of the day the Societies beginning with the address of Meredith, published at their own expense the addresses of the speakers they invited to address them on commencement occasions. Usually on the day the address was delivered the Society that had invited the speaker would have a called meeting, and appoint a committee to thank him for his able and eloquent speech and to ask for a copy for publication. Though varying slightly in diction the letters of the committees and the replies to them were, for Wake Forest and all other schools, such as followed the speech of Z. B. Vance at his first appearance at a Wake Forest Commencement in June, 1872: This is the correspondence in that instance:

Wake Forest, June 26, 1872.

Dear Sir: We are authorized by the Philomathesian Society to officially thank you for the elegant and forcible, searching address delivered before the Societies of this Institution today, and to beg of you a copy for publication.

Believing a wide circulation of it would do great good, by instilling into the minds of the people, especially the youth of the country, healthy political principles, we respectfully insist on a compliance with our request. Very respectfully Your Ob't and Obligated Serv'ts, M. D. Burney, A. W. Moye, S. P. McDaniel, *Committee*. To Hon. Z. B. Vance, *Charlotte, N. C.*

Charlotte, July 15th, 1872.

Gentlemen of the Committee: Your favor of the 26th ult. received. I must perforce comply with so urgent a request, so flatteringly conveyed; stipulating only for the time and leisure to somewhat revise a very hasty composition.

Thanking you, and through you the Society for your complimentary letter, I am, with high regard and best wishes, Very Truly Yours, Z. B. Vance. M. D. Burney, A. W. Moye, S. P. McDaniel.

To publish these addresses, usually about 1,000 copies, was often very costly, especially if the address was long, the expense

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<sup>2</sup> The published address, for which see below. Brooks, in his diary also speaks of the subject of the address.

ranging from forty to one hundred dollars, but reaching the latter amount only when the printer took advantage of the polite young men who did not like to offend by getting prices beforehand. When the addresses had come, neatly stitched into regulation pamphlets, from the press, the Society that was publishing them would provide the other Society with a liberal number, present each member of the faculty with five or ten copies, send ten to twenty copies to the author, put a dozen or more in the Society archives, and distribute the remainder among its own members, who sometimes would find sale for them at five or ten cents a copy. The Wake Forest Societies were in correspondence with the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies of the University of North Carolina and exchanged publications with them.

Mr. Perrin Busbee, of Raleigh, the speaker at the Commencement of 1848, declined to have his address published. All the other addresses were published and all are extant except that of Henry W. Miller, 1839.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Miller was a native of Virginia, a graduate of the University of this State, and in the class of 1834, and a lawyer of Raleigh. Of him Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, says: "Henry Watkins Miller was one of the ablest lawyers and most eloquent orators in the State. He was elected to the Legislature at the beginning of the Civil War, and died while a member." Several of his addresses are extant. His speech was well received and said to be a good, manly production."<sup>4</sup>

The subject of Mr. Busbee's address, also a lawyer of Raleigh, was the general licentiousness of the press. It was delivered with an easy flow of language and in the forceful and spirited manner, and commanded general attention.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1838-WESTON R. GALES

The Euzelians, it seems did not elect a speaker for the Commencement of November, 1837; at least my search for record of

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<sup>3</sup> All except two or three, which are in the Library of the University of North Carolina, are in the Library of the College.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 29, 1839. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1818.

it has been fruitless. But in 1838, the Philomathesians chose Weston R. Gales, who in 1834 had succeeded his father as editor of the *Raleigh Register*. He spoke at the last November Commencement, on the 24th of that month, 1838, and made a speech which in every way must be regarded as among the very best ever delivered before the Societies. It was short, in English that was clear and correct, and the speaker adapted his words to the young men who had invited him to address them. His theme was the value of American college life and education; he closed with many valuable practical suggestions. It would be hard to find even today after a hundred years of discussion a better statement of the value of Latin and Greek than Mr. Gale made in his address, of which I give one paragraph:

Independent of the taste for the beauties of composition, acquired by the study of the Latin and Greek languages, I cannot imagine a more useful exercise for the improvement of the mind. There is an absolute necessity of understanding the sense of the author; a continual obligation on the student to search in his own language for the appropriate words and expressions; and an impossibility of proceeding a single step without close observation and reasoning on the relations that one word has with another, in reducing the transposition of these languages to the natural construction. By these operations the mind is kept in continual activity; and in every lesson, the student, with the greatest abundance of useful ideas, acquires ingenuity and sagacity in reasoning, and a promptitude and facility of speech, never to be attained in the simple reading of his own language.

It may be said that Weston R. Gales was the son of Joseph Gales, one of the ablest editors that ever lived in North Carolina. In 1838 he was thirty-six years old. He died ten years later. His address on this occasion indicates that if he had been encouraged by a larger and more sympathetic reading public he might have been among the most noted writers of his day.

#### 1840-WILLIAM H. BATTLE

The address at the Commencement on June 18, 1840, was by Mr. William H. Battle, first a lawyer of Franklin County, then a judge of the Superior Court, and from 1852 to 1865 a Justice

of the Supreme Court. Later he was the sole editor of the famous "Battle's Revisal" of the laws of North Carolina. For many years had charge of the department of Law at the University of North Carolina. In 1833, while a member of the Legislature, he had shown his friendship for Wake Forest by introducing in the House of Commons the bill for the charter of the Wake Forest Institute.

The address of Mr. Battle is very short, covering only fourteen pages in large type. After an introduction in which he speaks of the critical character of the college period, he asks the students as they are parting to forget any unfriendliness and renew pleasant relations with one another. Addressing those who are to remain in college he asks that they remember gratefully their parents and try to show themselves worthy of the sacrifices they are making in their behalf; to remember their faithful instructors and their efforts to help them acquire knowledge and wisdom, and also to be grateful to those who have given of their means to found the institution. To the graduating class he makes appeal to continue the pursuit of knowledge, to avoid both avarice and extravagance, to be circumspect in their conduct; to love their country and obey its laws; to preserve a fair character, and not to forget the claims of religion.

The following paragraph from the introduction will indicate Mr. Battle's style and the quality of his thought:

There are few periods in the short and transitory course of our existence which are more interesting and important in themselves and which exert a more deep and permanent influence over our destiny for time and eternity than the years of our collegiate pupillage. The tender age of childhood is then passed, and all the toys and sports and amusements of infancy are discarded as unworthy to attract attention or engross the care of the ripening intellect. New wishes and desires arise in the bosom, and new objects of pursuit begin to present themselves before the expanding imagination. The passions, too, then begin to assume a controlling sway, and the whole youth like the rosebud, which in the genial warmth of spring unfolds its tender leaves and expands into flower, discloses new capacities and enlarged powers

with every rolling sun, until at last he seems almost to lose himself behind and to enter upon a new mode of existence.

#### 1841-JAMES B. SHEPARD

The address before the Societies at the Commencement of 1841 was by James B. Shepard, who had graduated at the head of his class at the University of North Carolina in 1834, and was the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1846, but lost to W. A. Graham. He was born in New Bern but made his residence in Raleigh. In his address he discussed the faults of the system of university and college education of the time. The following paragraph, somewhat abridged from the original, will reveal the quality of Mr. Shepard's thinking, and at the same time indicate the narrowing tendency of the secluded life of the college students of his time:

One of the greatest defects in our system is that youth becomes too much withdrawn from the duties of life. Confined with the prison bounds of a university he has no associates but the deceased of other times and is unaccustomed to polite society, and deprived of the familiar conversation of experienced men. Endowed with all the useful branches and ready to storm—

The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar,

he comes forth into the gay and busy world. The reputation acquired among his fellows precedes his entrance upon the stage of life. Friends receive him with joy, and strangers are on tiptoe to witness the demeanor of this young candidate for renown; invitations rapidly succeed each other from those who desire an acquaintance; some wish to win, others to conciliate. Having been for years immured in the precincts of a college he is totally unknowing how to act. He demands immediate deference to his opinion on matters of practical importance, because his Mathematics and his Latin obtained it for him in a different theater. Hoping to find obedience he meets with neglect, and soon begins to suppose that people are too stupid to worship at the footstool of preeminent knowledge.

But perhaps no position can so well paint the effects of seclusion upon the recluse as when thrown into the company of ladies. Instead of indulging in the light and the facetious, he enters into a proxy

[possibly a misprint for prosy] harangue on Fluxions, describes some principle of the Conic Section, or is willing to entertain with his Geometry. He soon perceives, however, that the fair creature has no use for such erudition and is eager to escape any advice that may not explain her future prospects.

#### 1842-SIMEON COLTON

In 1842 the address before the Societies was by Rev. Simeon Colton, a graduate of Yale University in the class of 1806, later a Congregational minister and a teacher in Massachusetts, but in 1842 and for several years before and after, principal of the celebrated Hay Mount High School in Fayetteville, and known for his interest in education and internal improvements. (See his Railroad Report in the North Carolina Historical Review, XI, 205 ff., edited by A. R. Newsome.) His subject was *Education* which he treated in a speech of much literary merit and wealth of thought.

In it one may be surprised to find discussion of many educational problems which we are accustomed to regard as peculiar to our own century. In introducing his topic he called attention to the "Experiments and theories, and books and schemes, and projects, which had followed close on the heels of one another during the past forty years."

In the next division of his subject Mr. Colton calls attention to the lack of national spirit among the people of the country, sees in it the seeds of disunion, and pleads for a national system of education, in which alone could a common national interest and feeling be developed, and demanded also a National University, "a rallying point to every section-a common centre, whence an influence should go forth that should reach every part of the nation."

In the third division of his subject which was on "Discipline in College Education" he called attention to the democratic spirit as the most valuable feature of American collegiate training; but one is chiefly interested in what he said about common school education which just then was starting in North Carolina. In



regard to this he had a fullness of view of a complete system of public education from primary school to university which has not yet been realized. Prefacing this part of his address with the statement that North Carolina, unlike many of her sister States, had avoided financial bankruptcy, he made the following apology for the establishment of the common schools:

The establishment of a Literary Fund for the support of what are called common schools is a measure intimately connected with the prosperity of our political institutions. Intelligence, diffused among the mass of people, is a safeguard to the State. In a government like ours, where every man has a voice in the selection of rulers, it is important that each individual be furnished with education sufficient to enable him to form a correct opinion of the duties that as a citizen he owes to the public. As the State is to reap the benefit, so it is reasonable that the State should provide the means of instruction.

But is a common school education all that is needed? Or are they only entitled to the public bounty, who confine their education to elementary branches? Or can a system of common schools be maintained if the higher branches are neglected? If the State will support a system of common schools, is she less bound to provide teachers than to provide the means of teaching? What will the common schools be without competent teachers, and where are the teachers to be obtained unless means are provided for preparing them? The common school system is worth nothing without the intermediate or high school. The intermediate, or high school, will accomplish little without the college, or the university. Each has an influence upon the other, and all must flourish together, if they flourish at all.

In making provision for common schools, the work has been but half done. To begin with common schools and think to make them successful without providing for higher institutions, is as preposterous as to require a plantation to be conducted without the requisite labor and tools. How are our schools to be supplied with teachers, and how are our colleges to be filled with students unless intermediate, or high schools are established? And how can it be expected that men from the colleges will become teachers in the high schools unless means beyond the payment of tuition, be provided for the support and furnishing of such institutions? Hitherto this class of intermediate or high schools, has been left entirely without public patronage. This department of education has been given up to individual enterprise, and the consequence is that we have scarcely an institution of this character which can hope for anything beyond an ephemeral existence. No

State is in a better condition to act liberally on this subject, and a liberal policy is imperiously demanded to render valuable what has been begun. With a half million of white population, we have not a single institution for any of the learned professions, not a single well endowed high school, where the intermediate branches of Education may be taught. One College endowed by the State, and two recently commenced under individual patronage is all of which we can boast.

#### 1843-JOHN HILL WHEELER

The address at the Commencement of 1843 was by Colonel John Hill Wheeler, the author of the *History of North Carolina*, a native of Murfreesboro, but later a resident of Lincoln County, and in 1842-43 State Treasurer. His subject was, "The Appropriate Pursuits of American Youth." His matter was interesting but not very well arranged, and in the end he turned to exhortation and advice. In the body of his address he defended the interest of young men in politics, since this interest was necessary to the welfare of the State in a republican form of government; he also warned his hearers against the custom of the young men of the South to enter only one or two lines of work, saying:

I allude to the rush to the learned profession of Law and Medicine, which characterizes the present age, and particularly among Southern young men. We have become too much a people of consumers, and not enough of producers. This is the true cause of the superiority of the North over the South. Every man who is too lazy to become an industrious farmer, or who has not ingenuity enough for a skillful mechanic, is supposed by the fondness of doting parents to be intended for a lawyer or a doctor. Under our wretched system of multiplying laws and lawyers, the practice of law is becoming so cheap as to be profitless, while the bar continues to be crowded by the rising generation; and annually our medical schools turn out so many young doctors they they are becoming as numerous as Brandreth's or Beckwith's pills.

Even more interesting, however, was his tribute to President Wait, in whose classes he had been in Columbian College. In his introduction to the main topic of his address he said:

Under the fostering care of your Alma Mater, I know that your advantages have been great. I trust I may not be misunderstood, or be guilty of offering the incense of flattery, at a shrine where I would be exposed to reproach, and where flattery would be indignantly refused, when I say that, under the care of the excellent and venerable head of the institution, you, gentlemen, have received every advantage that your ambition could desire, or your hopes anticipate. I must be pardoned, for I was under his care before some of you who hear me were on the stage of existence. He laid the foundation of those studies which, to me, have been a source of unalloyed pleasure, and his hand assisted in riveting that armor which has since enabled me better to stand the tilts and tournaments of the forum and the bar, and now after years of separation I return to lay at his feet the tribute of grateful acknowledgment.

Tully [Cicero] acknowledges the transports which he felt on beholding the porticoes of Athens, where Socrates taught, and where Plato held his disputations. Similar feelings pervade my mind when I behold these classic edifices, the object of the tender cares of my venerable preceptor, and as I consider the enviable condition of the youth blessed with his inspiration and advice.

As a further tribute of friendship and gratitude Colonel Wheeler dedicated his published address to Wait in a few well chosen words.

#### 1844-HENRY I. TOOLE

The address at the Commencement in June, 1844, was by Henry I. Toole, of Tarboro, an able lawyer and eloquent speaker. His general subject was Education, which he treated in a new and interesting manner, and "enhanced the attention of the delighted auditory more than an hour."<sup>6</sup> Near the close of his address he paid the following beautiful tribute to John C. Calhoun<sup>7</sup>

There is another American name whose intellectual lustre pales before no other in our history: that of a statesman whose analytic mind has explained and developed all the complexities of political forms: who has brought to the discussion of political topics, a power of moral

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<sup>6</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 29 and July 6, 1844.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Toole was a staunch Democrat and had made a strong campaign for Congress against the Whig incumbent, the able Edward Stanley. Afterwards an ardent advocate of Secession, he edited *Aurora*, a Secession paper.

reasoning, that for cogency and exactness approaches mathematical demonstration: who will rise to a topic which weaker minds have hacknied until it has almost nauseated the public taste; will first state the question with a precision and clearness so remarkable, that nine to one, the hearer will perceive that he never before understood what it really was: will then start with a proposition as plain as an axiom of Geometry; will then make a deduction so obvious that belief is compelled; will pile deduction upon deduction, each a sequence of the preceding; will find new harmonies in trains of thought apparently the most diverse; will strengthen his positions with arguments and illustrations from other subjects, between which and the topic in hand no connection has heretofore been seen; jumping to no conclusions, but building his mental fabric like the architect piling stone upon stone, rearing arch upon arch; whose arguments resemble the Homeric Chain of Gold, resting upon earth and terminating in heaven: of a genius so towering that it has been deemed by superficial thinkers unfit for practical business, as if the iron scythe were fitter for the harvest than if possessing the temper of the Damascus Blade; of a temperament as ardent as his own Southern clime, yet with a head as clear and cool as the crystal fountains of these hills: an intellectual giant, striding as it were from mountain top to mountain top, overstepping the little rills of mind in which the political pigmies of the hour disport themselves in all the conceit of imaginary greatness; a statesman, who enthroned in his own mental and moral elevation may well regard all office as beneath him. In closer allusion necessary to point our meaning? Can it be necessary to pronounce the name of John C. Calhoun?"

#### 1845-CALVIN H. WILEY

The address before the Societies in June, 1845, was by Calvin H. Wiley, who at that time was an attorney at Oxford. His subject was "The Injurious Effects of too Great Zeal for Political Distinction, with Suggestions of Appropriate Tendencies." It was well received and most highly praised. A correspondent of the *Biblical Recorder* of June 28, 1845, says that for appropriateness of subject, chasteness and beauty of composition, and eloquence of delivery he had never heard it excelled. The *Milton Chronicle* praised the high moral tone of the address and its stimulating effect on the young men "to be useful in the advancement of the arts and sciences, and not to give in to the

prevailing mania of the day, ambition for political distinctions without regard to qualifications and the means of obtaining them." The following extract<sup>8</sup> will indicate its general character

Gentlemen, of all the uninspired sons of Adam one only has acquired fame-the real fame of a great man. While the mightiest of earth's conquerors and heroes, rulers and statesman, have succeeded only in gaining a partial eminence, whence to be descried by the admiring gaze of a single eye or a single party-while men have disputed and will dispute about the merits of all others, the fame of Washington, like the sun in heaven, will shine in unclouded glory on all nations and in all time. All people of all ages-every party every caste-the Christian and the Jew-the Turk and the Pagan-the philosopher and the historian-the novelist and the man of science-the sanguine enthusiast of democracy-the loyal monarchist, and the gloomy, misanthropic votary of depotism-all, all, with one consenting vote, join in proclaiming him, of moral and fallible men, "the first the last, the only" great. And thus glorious, universal and all-pervading will his fame remain; growing brighter and brighter, amid the crumbling and evanescent things of earth, till the great drama of time shall close.

His is a reputation sufficiently extensive and enduring to satisfy the craving of the most hungry soul; and yet how simple the secret of his greatness-how short an essay his political creed-"My highest ambition," said he, "is to be the private citizen of a free country." Here, gentlemen, is the portion of his conduct which you ought to emulate.

#### 1846-WILLIAM B. RODMAN

The address in 1846 was by William B. Rodman, a young lawyer of Washington, North Carolina, who then lacked a week of completing his twenty-ninth year. He had graduated ten years before at the University of North Carolina, with the highest honors. His selection for the address at this time shows that he was already manifesting those talents which were to gain him recognition as one of the most cultivated gentlemen and ablest jurists in our history (Moore), and to bring him to the Supreme Court Bench. His speech on this occasion, though somewhat rhetorical and youthful, reveals a wonderful acquaintance with

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<sup>8</sup> Reprinted from the *Biblical Recorder* of August 23, 1845.

the progress of human thought and with ancient and modern and what was then contemporary English and American literature. His keen mind had already sensed the nature and comprehensiveness of the great revolution in science and scientific thinking, which was then beginning but not generally realized until Darwin and Wallace published their theories of evolution in 1858. Introducing his subject Mr. Rodman said:

On this occasion, when some of you are just entering this scene of revolution-happily bloodless and peaceful,<sup>9</sup> but not less real and important-and all are standing on the verge and lending to the results your intelligence and sympathies, I have thought that I could not choose a theme more pertinent; that I could not interest you more for the brief hour that we are together, than by reviewing some few of the most prominent features of those great intellectual changes that have already accomplished themselves, and endeavoring to note some of the points of that now in progress and in which you are destined to participate.

Philosophy, literature, and government, the influence of the papacy, the Reformation, the new sciences, political economy, constitutional government, were all mentioned and briefly discussed by the speaker with wonderful insight and discrimination. In a passing reference to slavery he showed that he realized its blighting effects on the development of inventive and practically scientific genius among the people of the South. In his closing paragraph he pleaded with his hearers-among them Matthew T. Yates, Archibald McDowell, S. B. O'Bryan-for a tolerant spirit in these words:

You will perceive, gentlemen, that this view leads to toleration of the opinions of others. It is time, indeed, that the reign of bigotry and fanatism were over. I do not mean to stigmatise, by these harsh names, earnestness of belief or an ardent attachment to our own convictions of right, which are laudable and indeed almost inseparable from a generous and manly temperament; but that baleful distortion of vision, which can recognize in dissent neither capacity nor virtue.

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<sup>9</sup> Probably Judge Rodman changed his mind about the revolution being "peaceful," even though he died before the day of the Scopes Law.

No spirit can be more fatal, either to the acquisition of truth or to true greatness of character than this.

#### 1847-WILLIAM H. JORDAN

Rev. William Hill Jordan made the address at the Commencement of 1847.<sup>10</sup> His subject was the reciprocal influence of Education and Religion, which he developed in a very lucid and pleasing manner. Applying his conclusion that both education and religion are necessary for the highest interest of man and society, he paid as eloquent tribute to our country and the Constitution as was ever spoken by any orator.

Place here, however, must be given to Jordan's tributes to certain men who had helped in the establishment of Wake Forest. These were Turner Carter, like Jordan a member of the Cashie Church, a brilliant young minister of Bertie County, who died in 1835, at the early age of 32, and who according to Meredith had few equals in this State, or indeed in any other. Another was Stephen Graham, a native of Murfreesboro, who became a physician and practiced his profession in Duplin County. He died in October, 1834, in his forty-eighth year, much lamented. Another was John Armstrong, and the other, unnamed, was Samuel Wait. In a kind of appendix to his speech Jordan spoke of them in these words

The hands which assisted us in laying the foundation and rearing the walls of this Institution are, many of them, mouldering in the cold grave. Among these names, hallowed to our feeling by all the tender and solemn associations with which the tomb invests their memory, who that ever knew him will forget the name of *Carter*?

Oh, Carter, my friend ! my brother ! I shall be pardoned if I pause for a moment to drop a tear over thy early grave. Who that knew thee did not love thee ! Let fond memory dwell upon the image of thy modest worth, the fidelity of thy friendship, the sweetness of thy temper, the unsullied purity of thy character, united with excellent understanding, all consecrated to virtue, to benevolence, to truth. When I think of what it was permitted thee in the brief moment of<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> A sketch of Jordan has already been given above in connection with his agency for the College.

thy existence to do, I feel encouraged, but my heart melts when I reflect upon what thou would'st have done.

Close by the side of Carter, fell the excellent *Graham*. Intelligent, generous, devoted, he gave to our cause the vigor of a strong mind and the affection of a warm heart. The loss of two such men as Carter and Graham, struck down by the same blow, and sinking, as it were, into the same grave, might have dampened our zeal and discouraged our hopes, if conscious of the purity of our designs, we had not been able to rely for success upon the patronage of Heaven.

But there is another name that must not be forgotten by the founders and patrons of this Institution. His bones are mouldering on the banks of the Tombigby, in the soil of Mississippi, but his name and toils are associated with the history of Wake Forest. And so often as we shall be permitted to assemble on this spot, consecrated now to our affections by so many sacred associations with the living and the dead; and so often as we shall here on the altar of virtue and science renew the pledges of devotion to one another and to the common cause in which we have embarked; and so often as we shall be permitted to behold with admiring eyes the unfolding honors of this Institution once the object of *his* hopes, *his* toils, and *his* prayers—so often will we yield the tribute of fond recollection and grateful remembrance to the name of *John Armstrong*.

There is another name—a name which we all delight to honor and which we should all be pleased to hear announced in this connection, but delicacy forbids it to be mentioned. He to whom it belongs, happily for us, still lives to cheer us with his active zeal and cordial cooperation in every good work, and by his labors of piety to animate us to an emulation of his own bright example. From the summit of the Alleghany to the sand washed by the waves of the sea, he has left behind him witnesses of his zeal and his piety, and has engraven his name upon the hearts of the lovers of virtue, and the lovers of good men. His labors have been among the earliest, the most arduous, and the most devoted for the elevation of the Baptist cause in our State; and if it might be considered invidious to say, that to *him* more than to any other person, it may certainly with great justice be said that to *no other person* more than to him, are we indebted for our present happy position as a denomination compared with that position of twenty-five years ago. His name is engraven deeply on the foundation stone of this Institution; and some of us can remember when the weight of it rested upon his shoulders with an almost crushing power. We say no more than will meet with a ready response from the hearts of the many thousands to whom his services have introduced and en-



deared him, when we say that he is entitled to the lasting gratitude, admiration, and love of the Baptists of North Carolina. He is a father of the denomination, and doubtless impartial history on her faithful page will so record his name. Long may he live, an ornament to his Church and a blessing to society. And when it shall please the God in whose service he has already grown gray to call him from his toils on earth to his home in the Heavens, may the close of his life be as peaceful and happy as its course has been virtuous and useful.

#### 1849-J. L. REYNOLDS

In 1849 the address was by J. L. Reynolds, a native of Charleston, South Carolina; from 1839 to 1844, Senior Professor in Furman Theological Institution, and later for some years pastor of the Second Baptist Church at Richmond, Virginia, and also Junior Editor of the *Religious Herald*, in which position he had for several months kept up a "newspaper war" with Thomas Meredith of the *Biblical Recorder*. Owing to the bitterness of that contest the young men of the Euzelian Society had not done a very gracious thing to invite Reynolds.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Reynolds chose as his subject "The Man of Letters." Although without organic unity his speech seems to have been well received.

#### 1850 CHARLES H. HENDRICKSON

The address at the Commencement of 1850 was by Charles R. Hendrickson, at that time pastor of the church at Elizabeth City, to which place he had come in 1848 from Norfolk, and where he was publishing a local semi-monthly religious paper called the *Messenger*.<sup>12</sup> On this occasion his subject was "A Knowledge of the Bible Essential to Complete Scholarship," which he handled in a simple and yet masterful way, revealing those qualities which made his pastoral services sought in cities on the shores of both

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<sup>11</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 24, 1849.

<sup>12</sup> Hendrickson born in New Jersey, in 1820, was at first a Methodist and a Methodist preacher, but had become a Baptist in 1842, and traveled as an evangelist in Maryland and Pennsylvania until 1846, when he took up the work in Norfolk. In 1852 he became the pastor of the first Baptist Church of Memphis, and later of the First Baptist Church in San Francisco. After eleven years in California he entered upon a pastorate in Philadelphia, and in 1873, took the pastorate of the church at Jackson, Tennessee.

oceans. Though in some things he shows credulity yet he evidently had an open mind; at the same time he had a vivid imagination and a correct appreciation of literary excellence. The following quotations are characteristic:

The literary excellencies-the perspicuity, the energy, and the beauty of style-the bold, striking, and splendid imagery-the personifications, the interrogations, and apostrophes of the Scriptures, surpass anything that can be found on the classic page. Under the magic touch of prophets and apostles the material world becomes animated, and unites with intelligent creatures to accomplish the purposes and magnify the power and grace of Jehovah. The trees of the forest clap their hands for joy, the waves of the sea leap up and shout their Maker's praise, the mountains tremble in their base, the earth reels to and fro, the stars fight in their courses, and the sun pauses in his march along the sky. The solitary place becomes glad, the desert blossoms as the rose, the streams of water gush forth in the wilderness. Death, War, and Famine are mounted on horses and career over the earth, carrying desolation and horror in their path. An angel flies through the heavens, another reveals his form standing in the sun, while another with a rainbow encircling his head, placing one foot upon the sea and the other upon the land, declares that time shall be no more.

#### 1851 - E. G. READE

The address in 1851 was by Edwin Goodwin Reade, a native of Person County, born in 1812, and in 1855 a member of Congress, and later a superior court judge. In 1852 he was made a Trustee of the College. In 1868 receiving the nomination of both political parties he was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of the State, a position which he held until 1878. His address before the Societies was on the general topic of the choice of profession and on the moral and religious qualities essential to success. It was somewhat puritanical in character and showed faults of style characteristic of those who have had limited education, and yet was strong and impressive. Perhaps the best paragraph is this:

Exemption from all restraint in the choice of pursuits leaves you exposed at a point, which, if not guarded, may be as fatal as if you had made no choice. When there are so many pursuits open to aspir-

ants, and distinction is attainable in all, there is danger of indecision, of procrastinating any choice at all, and of quitting one and trying another, if success follow not immediately. Learn then this truth, if vacillation characterize you, mediocrity awaits you. Choose your pursuit-choose it freely, but upon reflection with judgment, and when you have chosen it, let it be your polar star, not in the sense that everything else is to be neglected, but in the sense that everything else is to be subordinate or auxiliary.

#### 1852-ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS

Romulus M. Saunders made the address at the Commencement on June 9, 1852.<sup>13</sup> His subject was "The Early History and Present Resources of the State," which he treated in an illuminating way. He laid special emphasis on the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence," with fine historical sense recognizing that the "Resolves of May 31" must be regarded as the sole historical document, but not yet seeing that they do not constitute a declaration of independence. For quotation, however, I am giving some words from his introduction, which not only show his own noble interest in the College but doubtless reflect contemporary sympathies of the cultured and intellectual classes towards it.

Nineteen years, said he, have elapsed since the General Assembly of the State incorporated "The Trustees of Wake Forest Institute." During this long and anxious period, the Trustees have had great embarrassment and many difficulties to encounter, which they have met with that manly resolution, that entitles them to the thanks and gratitude of the community. Nothing, I assure you could have induced me to place myself before you, in obedience to the call of one of your Literary Societies, but a desire to gratify my young friends and at the same time to second as far as may be in my power the efforts of those who are displaying such a commendable zeal in sustaining the fortunes of this Institution.

#### 1853-A. W. VENABLE

The address at the Commencement in June, 1853, was by Abraham W. Venable of Granville County, who had been elected

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<sup>13</sup> Born in Orange County, March 3, 1791; after 1831 a resident of Raleigh. Died April 21, 1867. Member of Congress, minister to Spain, judge.

a member of the lower house of Congress in 1848, as a Democrat. He discussed the two questions, How shall I secure success in coming years? and, How shall I attain distinction amongst my fellow men? with much richness of thought and suggestiveness and in admirable style. There are many short pithy sentences, such as: "High aims indicate a noble nature-an elevated mind. He who has no high aspirations confesses to inferiority-nothing can elevate him. He was never made to soar-to crawl is his destiny." "Honorable success and high usefulness in life are not its common issue but the exception." "The business of life demands all life's time." "Of all the calamities which befall an age the reign of mediocrity is the most deplorable." The last sentence forms the basis for two fine paragraphs of exposition. Like Saunders who spoke a year before, Venable would have the young men use their talents and education for the development of their native State, agriculturally, mechanically, commercially. He urges them to devote themselves to the extension of scientific discoveries and their utilitarian application which have for their purpose improving and blessing mankind, and closes with these words:

In this progress I urge you to be active. Let instruction, mechanics, agriculture, commerce, practical engineering, and geological research engage your minds and employ your energies. Whilst you desire the blessings of heaven upon North Carolina, work diligently that the blessings may come. Cease not to enlist all of talent and of energy which you can influence, until with resources developed, and fields smiling under the direction of the skillful tiller of the soil, together with the supply from our own genius and resources of the wants of our citizens-our State blessed with climate, soil, health and all the bounties of Nature, shall stand forth as she did in the memorable era of her declaration of independence-first amongst the foremost. This glory North Carolina demands at the hands of her sons.

1854-T. G. JONES

The address at the Commencement of 1854 was by Tiberius Gracchus Jones, at that time pastor of the Freemason Street Church at Norfolk. Of good parentage he had the training of

three educational institutions of Virginia, Richmond College, the University, and William and Mary. In October, 1853, he was elected to the presidency of Wake Forest College, but did not accept the position. A few years later he was also elected president of Mercer University, but again did not accept. After the Civil War he was president of Richmond College for a few years, but resigned that place to return to the ministry, and became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Nashville, Tennessee; he was regarded as one of the finest pulpit orators of the country, and was possessed of rare dignity of manners and fine scholarship. His address at Wake Forest reveals the great orator. It shows that he had an easy familiarity with the masterpieces of classical literature and those of his own tongue, was well read in the productions of contemporary American writers, and had a great wealth of historical and general information ready for use as required. His subject was "The True Man." It was an analytic study presented in a most attractive way and in the best of style. To illustrate his versatility I have chosen the following from his delineation of the qualities of the "True Man":

The true man is *an ardent lover of truth*. All forms of deception and hypocrisy are abhorrent to him. He may have the politeness, but he is incapable of the duplicity commended by Lord Chesterfield. If he speak a word, it is true, or else he thinks it true. He makes no mental reservations. That memorable saying of Tallyrand that "the tongue was given, not to reveal the thoughts and feelings but to conceal them," is not true of him, however true of the author of the saying. He deals in no ambiguities or equivocations, like lying oracles of old. He makes no words of promise to the ear, to break it to the hope, like the witches of Macbeth. Nor does he violate the truth in deep perversions of its holiest symbols. He betrays not with a kiss like Judas. No smile indicative of love lights up his face, while hate is rankling in his heart. He does not give a cordial pressure of the hand and call the name of a friend while plotting evil. No Joab is he, with affected tenderness inquiring, "Is it well with thee, my brother?" and then plunging his murderous blade into the Abner's unsuspecting and already sorely-stricken heart.

There are many fine paragraphs in this oration, all of them are exactly in place; especially fine is his close which is an exhor-

tation to his youthful hearers to be true men and measure up to their great opportunity and the responsibility of the time.

#### 1855-GEORGE STEVENSON

At the Commencement of 1855, for the first time, the address was by a former student of Wake Forest College and Institute, Mr. George S. Stevenson of New Bern, who after graduating at Brown University in 1841 had taken up the practice of law in his native town, in which he attained unusual distinction and success, and continued until his untimely death in 1861. His address in 1855 was such to make the College proud of her son. Its subject was "The Educated Farmer." In his introduction he made some happy references to his student days at Wake Forest:

Here I passed the golden hours of college life. Fifteen years ago, on this platform, in youthful emulation, we practiced our first lesson on oratory. This building, the foundations of which I saw laid, and in which I have so often enjoyed the social pleasures of the student, is to me almost as sacred as home. These hills, and vales, and streams, and forests, all have their associations never to be effaced. The students of my day were the first born of this our Alma Mater. Wake Forest College, when I first became a student here, was a very different institution from what it is at the present day. In those days before the erection of this edifice, our dormitories were log cabins, our studies were rustic arbors erected with our own hands, and our recitation hall the college grove. We were the pioneers of this institution which was of the first fruits of the general awakening of the public mind in North Carolina to the importance of education.

In his exordium Mr. Stevenson made reference to the fact that Wake Forest was founded by farmers and as a manual labor institution; that North Carolina is an agricultural State, and that with so large a part of her population of the agricultural class the education of farmers should be her matter of chief educational concern. In defining his subject more in detail he said:

In the outset, I desire to be understood, that by the education of the farmer I do not mean that technical education which is intended to prepare him exclusively for agricultural pursuits. I propose not to advocate the establishment of separate institutions, or departments,

in our colleges, for instruction in botany, agricultural chemistry, the best system of draining, &c. These are well enough in their place, but are of public injury, so far as they foster the opinion that a liberal education is unnecessary for the farmer, and all that it is important for him to acquire is such knowledge as is immediately connected with his pursuit. My object is a higher one. I announce that our farmers should be liberally educated gentlemen; that they should have the advantage of a thorough college course, that they should be taught Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and that this intellectual training is necessary to prepare them for the high and important position, as a class, which they occupy in this State.

With this introduction Mr. Stevenson went on to show the need of educated farmers in the political life of the State, especially in the halls of legislation ; as political leaders and advisers of their communities; as members of the inferior courts and justices of the peace, as members of school committees and as promoters of literary production. He emphasized the fact that the common school system was dependent for support and operation almost entirely on the agricultural population; for the proper management of these schools men of liberal education are required; our colleges should as far as possible educate the sons of farmers so that to them may be safely committed this sacred trust.

Let us then, said the speaker, recognize more fully our common schools as a part of our system of general education. And let us educate those to whom are committed the education of the masses. Imagine in every school district in North Carolina an educated farmer, who takes charge of the administration of the public fund for the education of his neighbors, presiding over the deliberations of the committee, deciding upon the qualifications of teachers, stimulating by his own example the desire for knowledge, in a word, carrying into every neighborhood of six miles square the intellectual influence of college experience. How soon would the clouds of ignorance which have hung over the State be dispelled like the mists of night before the rising day!

1856-B. F. MOORE

The address at the Commencement of 1856 was by Bartholomew F. Moore, a native of Halifax, but at that time a lawyer of Ra-

leigh.<sup>14</sup> His theme is the progress of scientific knowledge and its application to modern life. His discussion shows that the speaker was familiar with his subject but contains nothing distinctive. It was delivered, however, with all the force of Mr. Moore's imposing presence and drew from the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* this encomium: "The address of Mr. Moore was a fine production, and furnished a good model of oratory for the young gentlemen who had solicited his services on the occasion. The sentiments uttered by the speaker were just and appropriate, combining the useful and the beautiful and evincing classic culture seldom equaled by the literati of our country."<sup>15</sup> The reader of today would be much more moderate in his praise, and perhaps would lay it aside unread after finding some rather severe strictures on the founders of denominational institutions which are noticed in the footnote. In his introduction, however, Mr. Moore had said:

Among the first emotions, gentlemen, which I felt on receiving your invitation, was one of gratitude to the founders of this flourishing institution, which though of brief existence, has quietly and firmly established itself in the republic of our colleges, by its merit and success, and advanced into reputation by the excellence of its fruits.

A little later he said in speaking of our denominational colleges: "These institutions are now set in our educational system,

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<sup>14</sup> A sketch of Mr. Moore may be found in the *Biographical History* of North Carolina, V, 275-86.

<sup>15</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 19, 1856. After the speech had been put in print the editor had a like complimentary notice. He had failed to comment on the fact that Mr. Moore had made a very uncomplimentary comparison of the College with the State University, and had spoken in slighting terms of the purpose of the denominations of the State to make their colleges serve in the propagation of their faith, and had designated this as selfishness. A writer in the *Biblical Recorder* of August 1, 1856, however, in a well conceived and well written article called attention to what Mr. Moore had said in this way. The nature of this writer's defence of the colleges may be judged from these words: "And in the present instance, the zeal which has been manifested in the cause of general education by the different Christian denominations of our country affords ample proofs that they have not been actuated by the spirit of mere partisans. It is true that each group desires the success of their own schools and enterprises, but we hope not with the feeling of a mere selfish party; but as conscientious believers in the truth of their own creeds, they support a zeal



as stars of the first magnitude." Possibly remarks such as these went a long way to excuse a little severity in a man who afterwards as a representative of a defeated State was angrily to roar out protest against humiliating North Carolina and shake his index finger in the face of a President of the United States....<sup>16</sup> It should be mentioned further that the Supreme Court of the State adjourned and its members came in a body to hear Mr. Moore's speech.<sup>17</sup>

#### 1857-Dr. WILLIAM HOOPER

Dr. William Hooper, a former president of the College, and at the time president of Chowan Female Institute, was the speaker before the Societies at the Commencement of 1857. His subject was "The Sacredness of Human Life and American Indifference to its Destruction," which he discusses under four heads: (1) Bloodshed on the Public Highways (railways), (2) Blood of Sudden Rencounters, (3) Blood of the Duel, (4) Blood of the Bar and Jury. Though admitting the excellence of certain features of the address, "at one time keen in irony, at another burning in satire," on the whole the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* seemed as much displeased with it as he had been pleased with the address in which the speaker of the previous year attacked the founders of the College, and especially did not approve what Hooper said about lawyers, and expected it to be answered.<sup>18</sup> In this the editor was not disappointed; soon after the publication of the address, there appeared a pamphlet entitled "A Vindication" by a writer using the pen name of "Advocate," but understood to be E. G. Reade, the same who was the Commencement speaker at the College in 1851. The members of the bar of the State, some of whom doubtless made suggestions in its prepa-

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originating in the love of truth. As Baptists we claim as much. We have never feared to trust our cause to the dispassionate judgment of the enlightened masses, nor *desired* to 'sectarianize learning with the dogmas of creeds and invest education in the gown of the priest, rather than robe it in the free habiliment of literature.' Such a fear of such a desire would be contrary to the very nature of the liberal truths we profess."

<sup>16</sup>*Biographical History of North Carolina, loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>*Biblical Recorder*, June 26, 1856.

<sup>18</sup>*Biblical Recorder*, June 18, 1857.

ration, professed to think their vindication complete, and Dr. Hooper refuted, but the unbiased reader of the present day would hardly agree with them; in reading the two one cannot fail to be struck with the high moral tone which pervades the fiercest invectives of Dr. Hooper and makes his indignation powerful; on the other hand the reader will be amused at the pettiness and weakness of the severe language which the writer of the "Vindication" used in an attack that is personally abusive.<sup>19</sup> That it was the "swan-song" of the aged speaker was said with some show of satisfaction. Even this statement proved to be false, for two years later, at the "Buchanan Commencement" at the State University, Dr. Hooper made his great speech, "Fifty Years Since," among the very best of alumni addresses, and the pride of the University historian.<sup>20</sup>

The courage and elevated moral tone of Dr. Hooper are perhaps best revealed in his fearless denunciation before a Southern audience of Brooks's attack on Sumner in the United States Senate, which he used to introduce his second topic; somewhat abbreviated it is as follows:

But alas ! What avails my feeble voice to dissuade the youth of our country from violent personal encounters, when the representatives of the nation, in the very halls destined for calm and high debate on the momentous interests of this country, set examples of ruffian assault, and when half the nation applaud the deed ! In pursuing my present line of thought, I can hardly omit, without being faithless to my cause

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<sup>19</sup> Some of the hard sayings to which the writer of the "Vindication" objected were: "The tribunals of justice, the very sanctuary and palladium of our safety, betray us into the hands of murderers." "She delivers us, the innocent and the helpless, to the dagger and the pistol, and throws the shield of her defence around the ruffian and the assassin." "But in most cases where the killer is rich and of an influential family, his conviction is next to an impossibility." "Every great criminal lawyer ought to have this sign over his office door: *Life Insurance Office For Murderers and other Felons.*" "Such is the power given to the advocate by packing the jury."

<sup>20</sup> At the time there were some who spoke highly of Dr. Hooper's address. After reading it, a writer for the *Biblical Recorder* of October 22, 1857, said: "The times require such a satire," and it was a credit to Dr. Hooper to have been the first to enlist in checking the evils of which he spoke, and that "Those who do not admit the justice of his conclusions object because they touch harshly upon their own darling practices."

that instance of personal violence which has shaken the feelings of this nation from the centre to the circumference. I know I am treading on dangerous ground because I venture upon a collision with sectional and party spirit. But that noble sentiment of Churchill which long ago won my admiration, I trust will ever animate me:

Rather stand up, assured with conscious pride  
Alone, than err with millions on your side.

The assault on the Senator of the United States while sitting at his desk in the Senate House, defenseless and unsuspecting, and the pouring down upon his naked head a shower of violent blows with a cane, until he was felled down, in a senseless condition, was an act so outrageous, that it ought to find no apologist, no extenuator. It has increased to an incalculable degree the strength and fury of abolitionism. It has injured the character of the Southern States, first, as being perpetuated by one of their representatives, and then as tempting all the South to vindicate and even to applaud an act which has tarnished the glory of republican government to the utmost boundaries of civilization. I fear that we have not seen the end of this transaction.<sup>20</sup>

#### 1858-SOLOMON SAMPSON SATCHWELL

Solomon Sampson Satchwell, a student of the College from Beaufort County in the years 1839-41, who had become a practicing physician at Rocky Point, New Hanover (now Pender) County, was the speaker before the Societies at the Commencement of 1858. In his address he exhibited those talents which later were to bring him into prominence in war and peace, in matters connected with his profession as is told of elsewhere in this work.

His speech was long, requiring more than two hours for its delivery, but it was listened to with rapt attention by an audience that crowded the college chapel to the utmost, since he discussed themes in which his hearers had a consuming interest. The editor of the *Biblical Recorder* declared that "many of his aphorisms were worthy of being written in letters of gold." The title of his address was "The Influence of Material Agents in Developing Man." In the introductory part of his speech he made some references to the College which have a historic interest:

The passing scenes that give joy and welcome to the present, said he, are mixed with the thronging memories of the past. It seems that I am almost living over again the halcyon days that I passed among the cooling shades of these memorable oaks, and the halls of science and philosophy of this noble Institution. The electric links of memory bring before me the familiar faces that met me at every turn. The hearty laugh of the informal crowd-the chosen few who shared my entire confidence-the pealing note of the bell that summoned me to study or recreation-the numerous incidents and places which the waves of time had well nigh effaced from the shore of memory, are all, with many more impressions, brought back in all their interest and freshness; and I stand again upon the theatre of my earlier efforts, with the radiance of those happy days beaming around me.

Among those early impressions are recorded in unfading characters the recollections of devoted Instructors. Never can I fail to remember with gratitude those good and faithful men under whose skillful direction I drank here at the bubbling fountain of knowledge. Now, that public munificence has placed the College on a higher career of usefulness and distinction, let us cherish in grateful remembrance the labors of former Professors and Presidents. With stinted salaries, but heroic devotion, they adhered to her destinies through all her trials. Hosts of warmly attached friends are now looking forward with bright anticipations as to her future. Never before was she so deeply grounded in public confidence. Give her a high position among the very best institutions of the country. Still let us not forget the claims of the men of the past.

One of my Professors, the pure and scientific White, has sought a home among the more enterprising people of the Northwest. A talented and high-toned gentleman, he was an honor to the College and a blessing to the State. Another, the venerable ex-President Wait, still lingers among the hallowed walks of his former triumphs and present usefulness. His locks have whitened, and his cheeks are furrowed by his anxious cares and labors for the College. When timid friends turned away, and enemies opposed, he threw himself into the breach, and risked his all in her behalf. Almost solitary and alone he laid the foundation. For many years he struggled with a manly and devoted determination for her promotion. She now stands forth as a noble monument of his piety and patriotism. Long may he live to receive the praises and congratulations of affectionate pupils and Christian men. When his earthly sun shall set the faithful biographer will have ample materials for a glowing chapter of his self-sacrificing and successful exertions in the cause of education and religion.

Coming to his main theme he devoted his discussion largely to the effects of geography and climate on human development as sufficient to produce the various racial characteristics of the Asiatic, the African and the European. Skillfully harmonizing the science of his day and the Bible, and thus gaining the good will of his hearers, he proceeded to declare his belief in the unity of the human race. From this premise he developed his theme, and got to his main purpose, which was to demonstrate that the Negroes were inferior to the whites, so much inferior and with so little promise of early improvement, that slavery was their natural state, and that only under the tutelage of the whites could they ever hope for racial betterment. With much historical illustration he made his way step by step, probably as well as any other had ever treated the same theme. In the last part of his speech he praised America as the land whose physical features and climate favored the highest development, and urged the young men to improve the great opportunities that the country offered.

#### 1859-EDWARD WARREN

The address at the Commencement of 1859 was by Dr. Edward Warren, then of Edenton, but later of Raleigh.<sup>21</sup> The title of his address was "The Rule of Life," in which he developed the thesis that while men should not repress the desire for self-realization they should not be led by selfishness but by self-love. Dr. Warren showed himself a clear and profound thinker, and with a little more restraint his style would have been as pleasing as it is elegant. He was somewhat poetic as may be seen in his exordium in which he depicts with much eloquence the eagerness of young men to be out in the world of active life. A portion of this is as follows:

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<sup>21</sup>Warren was a physician, and, according to the notation in Battle's *History of the University of North Carolina*, was both a Doctor of Medicine and a Doctor of Laws. He was a Trustee of the University in 1862-63. In 1862 Governor Vance appointed him Surgeon General of North Carolina, in which position he had the important duty of getting medicines through the blockade. Connor, *North Carolina*, II, 181.

In this locality and surrounded by these influences, your whole being has been expanded, elevated and improved. This has been your world; the theatre of your triumphs, the scene of your pleasures, the gymnasium where your minds have been prepared for the great struggle of life, the nursery of the purest, freshest and most enduring affections of your hearts. And this, you will yet be taught by the sad lesson of experience, has been the veritable Utopia of your existence, a green oasis in the barren desert of life, and one of the most complete realizations of happiness within the boundaries of human destiny.

But though thus removed from the cares and conflicts of the world, though surrounded by scenes and associations which purify, exalt and etherealize the soul, though engaged in the ennobling and exhilarating pursuit of literature and letters, you have still looked forward to the termination of your collegiate course with intense anxiety hailing this as the Hegira of your release from bondage, and longing to be free that you may take your part in the great battle of actual life. Amid the sequestered shades of Hippocrene, the fragrant odors of Hymettus, the breezy haunts of Helicon, the eternal snow-drifts of Parnassus, the melodious murmurs of Castalia's fountain, and the awful mysteries of the cloud-piercing Olympus, a dream of the struggles and the privileges of manhood has come upon you more seductive far than the combined attractions of them all. The glorious numbers of the sightless Homer, the swelling strains of the exultant Pindar, the divine philosophy of the immortal Plato, the stirring dramas of Euripides and Sophocles, the lofty flights of Vergil, the graceful songs of Horace, and the burning eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero, have lost their fascinations and become powerless to please when contrasted with the ravishing thought of an eventual release from the thralldom of youth to perfect liberty of maturity, &c.

1860-Rev. T. G. KEEN

Shortly after the hanging of Old John Brown on December 2, 1859, the Philomathesian Society voted to invite Henry A. Wise, at that time Governor of Virginia, to make the address before the Societies at the Commencement of 1860, doubtless intending in this way to express their approval and admiration of the energetic measures Wise had taken to bring Brown to justice and prevent any interference with his execution. Failing to get Wise they next elected as speaker Rev. T. G. Keen, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Petersburg, Virginia. Mr. Keen was secured,

and chose as his topic "The Times We Live In." It is a well ordered speech, one section of which is on the political situation; in this the speaker makes no concealment of the fact that disruption of the Union was imminent, possibly with disastrous consequences. Such was the outlook before the young men just graduating from College, both elsewhere in the South and at Wake Forest, in 1860. After speaking of the political unrest in France, he goes on to tell of that in our own country, as follows:

A restlessness not very unlike this has been visible on our own shores. Here, have the political heavens been overhung with blackness; it requires no extraordinary sagacity to foresee the approaching storm. A disquiet has interrupted the once tranquil elements, and a spirit of political experimenting is fast diffusing itself among all classes.

That man must have studied the present commotions to little purpose, who cannot read in the movements of designing and plotting demagogues of either section a desire to experiment on our social organization, and see if something new, if not better, may not under their plastic hand be moulded into form and being. Are there now no ominous symptoms of yielding integrity, of treasonable ambition, and desperate factional discord, already visible? Have not some, yea many, of our wise and learned and even *honorable* men begun to threaten with fearful earnestness the dissolution of our national Union? A few years ago, and who so rash as to venture the prediction that the value of the Union would so soon have become the topic of remark-a subject of grave calculation or of speculative discussion? And now we find it the theme of every newspaper, and of discourse in every party, and the subject of harangue on every hustings. The importance and stability of the Union, a Northern and a Southern Confederacy, the relative advantages which each would afford, are as freely and as universally canvassed as the qualifications for office. Here is a fact of most solemn and portentous bearing. It speaks a language not to be misunderstood, and it necessarily creates doubt and misgiving in regard to the future. Unless the present agitation is quieted by the mighty power of the popular will, there is no alternative but the disruption of a nation whose prosperity has stood unparalleled in the history of the world. In an evil and unguarded hour the subtle enemy has invaded our delightful paradise-has thrown the apple of discord into our once united and therefore invincible house-is eagerly prompting brother to imbrue his hands in the blood of a brother, and thus

demolish the noblest political edifice ever constructed by the wisdom and genius of man.

A storm dark and fearful is gathering. It may appear no greater than a man's hand, but it is fast swelling, and threatens soon to break forth in terrible fury. The muttering thunders even now startle us, and nothing is wanting but the withdrawal of God's restraining finger to plunge our country at once into all the horrors of domestic anarchy. The last ligaments which bind us together seem almost ready to snap, and unless there be an extraordinary interposition of providence, causes even now so fearfully at work will shortly involve states and even the church of God in one wild scene of convulsion and dismay.

This address was a fitting prelude to the Civil War, and was, so far as appears, the last to be delivered before the College had suspended on account of the conflict. For although Dr. Charles F. Deems was asked to deliver the address in June, 1861, and had accepted the invitation, it seems that he was unable to come when on short notice the time of Commencement was changed to May 27, 1861.

### THE SERMONS

In the earlier years there was no sermon at Commencement. It seems to have been introduced at the Commencement of 1849, when the "valedictory sermon before the graduating class" was preached by Rev. C. B. Jennet of Petersburg, Virginia. The time for it was on Wednesday evening before the final day of Commencement, Thursday, and so it continued until well into the present century. In 1850, the effort to get a preacher failed and the hour was filled with a discussion of ministerial education in which the leaders were President John B. White and Rev. J. L. Prichard. In 1851, the preacher was Rev. James McDaniel of Fayetteville; in 1852 the preacher was to have been Dr. Cushman of Washington, D. C., but he found the train from Gaston slower than he expected and did not reach Wake Forest in time; in 1853 the preacher, Rev. J. L. Reynoldson of Petersburg, failed to come as expected. The sermon at the Commencement of 1854 was by Rev. H. H. Fuller of Alexandria, Virginia; it was published in a pamphlet with the Literary Address and an Educational Address delivered at the same Commencement; its subject is "The



Way of Life," It is long, analytic and uninteresting. In 1855 Rev. J. R. Graves of Nashville, Tennessee, was the preacher, and with his great eloquence and fervor kept the rapt attention of his congregation, which overflowed the college chapel, for more than two hours.<sup>22</sup> In 1856 the preacher was Rev. E. T. Winkler of Charleston, South Carolina. The preacher in 1857 was Rev. A. M. Poindexter, of Richmond, Virginia. Though a great storm kept the people from the auditorium at the appointed hour, at the earnest solicitation of many he preached his sermon on Thursday afternoon after the graduating *Exercises* in the morning. In 1858 Rev. J. L. Prichard was the preacher; just before the preaching hour he had a telegram from his wife in Wilmington telling of the serious illness of his child hardly a month old, and preached well even under these trying circumstances. In 1859 Dr. J. L. Burrows of Richmond, Virginia, through a misunderstanding gave an address instead of a sermon; in 1860 the sermon was by Rev. L. W. Seely of Richmond, Virginia. In 1861 the Commencement lasted only two days, Monday and Tuesday, May 27-28, and there was probably no sermon.

#### COMMENCEMENT

From the first the Societies claimed as a right a part in all public *Exercises*. Their first public function was the celebration of the 4th of July in 1835, of which an account has been given. These celebrations continued during the period of the Institute. In the summer of 1835, hearing that the Trustees had appointed a committee to attend to the "ceremonies of laying the corner stone for the College Building," the Philomathesians took it for granted that it would "be necessary that an address be delivered before the two Societies" on that important occasion; the Euzelians from whom the orator was to come, appointed a committee to consult with the faculty on the matter, who brought the disappointing report that the faculty had said that "the ceremonies would be entirely private."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>*Biblical Recorder*, June 21, 1855.

<sup>23</sup>Records of the Societies for July and August, 1835.

After the Institute had become a College, and the annual Commencements were fixed for June, the Societies in April, 1839, indicated that they were willing to participate in the *Exercises*, suggesting that three in the collegiate department from each Society in addition to the members of the graduating class should deliver original speeches, and two from the preparatory department should declaim. The next year another program was proposed, and for several years it seems to have been varied to meet the demands of the occasion, but after eight or ten years undergraduates contributed to the *Exercises* only with declamations, usually ten in number, and toward the end of the period on the day preceding the graduation *Exercises*. In the earlier years, however, original speeches were made by those in the Junior Class, especially in the years when there were none to graduate, as in 1845, when George W. Collins of Warren County spoke on "Beauty of the Ancient Classics"; Menalcus Lankford of Franklin County, on "Study of the Law"; and Matthew T. Yates of Wake County, on "The Education Called for by the Age."<sup>24</sup>

The Societies also participated in other ways in the Commencement *Exercises*. In fact, Commencements were to a large extent under the direction of the Societies and they saw to it that before Commencement their halls underwent a thorough house-cleaning, and the members looked to their linen and wardrobes. Each Society also elected marshals and managers, varying in number through the years, whose duties were somewhat more important than those of such officers today, since they extended not only to the public literary *Exercises* but also to the oversight of the social party which the Societies gave on the evening of Commencement Day, and to matters of transportation and entertainment. Election as marshals and managers was eagerly sought and was considered complimentary and possibly a recognition of one's social standing and breeding. Very soon the Societies provided these officers with costly and sometimes gorgeous regalias, each of the color which distinguished the Society of the wearer,

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<sup>24</sup>*Biblical Recorder*, June 14, 1845.

blue being the Euzelian color, and first white and then red the color of the Philomathesians. On these occasions all members of the Societies wore badges of ribbon on the coats, blue or white (later red) according to the Society of the wearer.

Several weeks before Commencement each Society appointed a Committee of Arrangements whose duty it was to provide for the proper reception of the invited speaker and to determine on the proper order of the procession with which the president was conducted from his residence to the Chapel and the invited speaker was received at the Chapel door. At times this courtesy was extended also to the graduating class. Though these processions varied somewhat from year to year their general character may be seen from the following report on the order for the procession at the Commencement of 1846.

At the ringing of the bell the students will assemble at President White's,<sup>25</sup> when the Marshals will form them into two lines according to their heights-the tallest in front-with the President, Faculty, Trustees and others falling in after them, thence down Elm Street they will march in front of Professor Brooks's-thence up Mulberry Street to Broadway, and along Broadway in front of the Main Building turning at right angles they will march to the Chapel door. The ranks then will wheel right and left and counter march, lifting their hats from their heads as they pass the Trustees, Faculty, etc., until they pass the rear of the procession. They will then fall in immediately after the procession and thus march into the Chapel.

After the close of the morning service the Students will assemble in their own halls, forming as before, the members of each Society separately, with the tallest in front, and march in single file, the Euzelians out of the North end and the Philomathesians out of the South end of the building, then following the marshals the ranks will pass one another in the rear of the building and proceed around to the Chapel door where they will turn right and left and march as before until those in the rear arrive at the door. They shall then halt, and stand facing each other until the Speaker shall enter the files; those

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<sup>25</sup>President White's residence was that to the west of the Campus, the Calvin Jones house moved. The route of the procession was northward to the corner of the present Campus, thence eastward to Main Street, thence southward along the street which ran straight through the Campus to a path leading to the College Building. At that time the Campus was not enclosed.

furthermost from the door shall then close in after him and thus march into the Chapel, and fill up the seats beginning from the front.

At some Commencements the procession was headed by musicians, probably drummers and flute-players.<sup>26</sup> After a few years the procession included a reception of the Graduating Class at the door of the Chapel on Thursday of Commencement.<sup>27</sup>

In 1852, seemingly for the first time, and thereafter until the close of the period, the members of the Graduating Class wore gowns which were provided by the Societies. They were of inexpensive material costing about five dollars each.<sup>28</sup>

It is hardly necessary to speak of the orations of the members of the Graduating Class at Commencement. Usually there was a Salutatory and a Valedictory in Latin, but those who delivered them often chose to deliver other speeches in the vernacular. The subjects differed little in general character from the subjects of such speeches today; and they were as uniformly praised both by those who heard them and by those who reported to the *Biblical Recorder* and other journals. In 1856 Lewis H. Shuck, as is told in another chapter, used as his Commencement speech an original poem, "Joan of Arc," which was published. We know the other speeches of this period only from their titles.

## ANNIVERSARY

Although it was not until February 14, 1854, that the Societies had their first public celebration of their Anniversary, interest in

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<sup>26</sup> Phil. Records, June 3, 1854.

<sup>27</sup> The following from the Records of the Phi. Soc. for May 1, 1858, will illustrate the manner of this reception. "On Thursday morning at the tolling of the bell the students will assemble at the President's (Dr. Wingate's, whose residence was where the President's house now stands), form a double column, receive the Faculty and Trustees at their head, and coming into the Campus at the east gate, march to the Chapel Door, halt, face-the Faculty and Trustees going into the Chapel. The students will counter march respectively to right and left, halt, face, and receive the Senior Class, and all march into the Chapel.

<sup>28</sup> Phi. Records, Nov. 8, 1851. The Society, on motion of W. G. Simmons, appropriated \$40 to purchase gowns for the use of the Senior Class on Commencement occasions. They expected six or eight of their members to graduate, and six actually graduated the next June. On August 26, 1854, the same Society ordered that Mr. J. M. Brewer be paid \$10 for making gowns, probably two.

it had arisen very early. In November, 1838, the Philomathesian Society had voted to celebrate publicly their Anniversary on February 28, 1839, and had elected Mr. A. A. Connella to make the principal address on that occasion. On February 13, of the following year, the Society, following the suggestion of a committee of arrangements that on February 28, "the weather in all probability will be cold and disagreeable, and our company small," voted to abandon the plan to celebrate their Anniversary, but instead to have an exhibition on April 24. For this the Society made an elaborate program, consisting of an oration, a debate, a dissertation, two declamations and one of Garrick's farces. But it was too big an undertaking, and was given up.<sup>29</sup>

In November, 1847, the Societies made arrangements for the celebration of Washington's birthday with an oration, each Society to furnish the orator on alternate years. The Philomathesians furnished the speaker for February 22, 1848, Henry Bate Folk, of Bertie County, of whose distinguished career in after life some account is given in another section of this work. It seems that the occasion excited no great interest; among the speakers, however, were some of the ablest men; J. H. Mills was chosen by the Euzelians as orator for February 22, 1853. He was probably the last Washington Birthday speaker, since the celebration was discontinued after the celebration of the Anniversary was begun in 1854.<sup>30</sup>

At their meetings on November 5, 1853, the Societies took the first action towards providing for the annual celebration of their Anniversary on February 14. Committees from the two Socie-

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Eu. So. Rec., February 21, 1852 and April 3, 17, 1852. The Euzelians purchased four gowns, and raising only \$13 by subscription ordered that the Mr. Stowd be paid for them by the Treasurer.

<sup>29</sup>Phi. Records, March 28, 1839. Mr. Connella resigned on account of the unwillingness of members to take part in the *Exercises*; "under such circumstances" the society thought best "to dispense with, as inexpedient, the celebration formerly agreed upon."

<sup>30</sup>Phi. Records, November, 1847; November 30, 1854; Eu. Records, November 28, 1847; December 2, 1854. The Philomathesians' proposal to have celebrations of both anniversary and Washington's birthday, on alternate years, was not accepted by the Euzelians.

ties<sup>31</sup> easily agreed and were instructed to ask the consent of the faculty, which was unanimously given. By joint resolution it was provided that at the first meeting in December of each year each Society should elect a speaker who should deliver an oration at seven o'clock on the evening of the ensuing February 14; the arrangements should be in charge of a committee of two from each Society. As their first representative for this occasion the Euzelians chose B. F. Marable, the Philomathesians Thomas H. Pritchard. Following the recommendations of the committee on arrangements the members of each Society assembled in their hall fifteen minutes before seven o'clock on the evening of the celebration; the Euzelians marched out of the building by the north end door, the Philomathesians by that on the south end, and hence to the chapel door where the files uniting marched abreast into the chapel, where with much pride and decorum they listened to the speeches of their chosen orators. Probably from the first an informal reception followed the orations; before many years the social feature became one of the most valuable and prized parts of the celebration.<sup>32</sup>

Thus was begun the celebration of the Anniversary of the formation of the Literary Societies, which with some modifications has continued to this day. In 1872 a debate in the afternoon was added. Soon after the beginning of the celebration it was found more convenient to have it on the Friday nearest the 14th of the month; in 1925, for the first time, the celebration of the Anniversary of the Societies was held on the first Monday in February in order to coincide with the anniversary of the opening of the College, which was the more convenient since by a change of the college calendar the second semester begins at the same time.

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<sup>31</sup> The committee of the Euzelian Society consisted of J. H. Mills, R. H. Burn, and L. H. Shuck; that of the Philomathesian of W. T. Faircloth, T. H. Pritchard and M. Baldwin.

<sup>32</sup> Records of Phi. Society, and of Eu. Society for November and December 1853; T. H. Pritchard in *Wake Forest Student*, I, makes a mistake in placing the first celebration in 1853; O. H. Dockery, "Anniversary-Its History," *Ibid.*, XI, 192 ff. *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, Catalogue Number, 1914-15; *Wake Forest Student*, XXXIV, 214 f., December, 1914.

Society Day was first celebrated on October 13, 1911, and is now an annual event falling in October or November.<sup>33</sup>

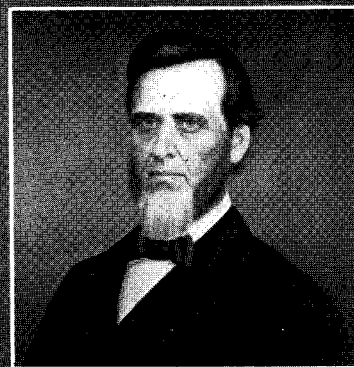
For the nine years 1854-62 the Anniversary orators of the Euzelians were in order, B. F. Marable, R. H. Burn, L. W. Shuck, C. S. Ellis, W. J. Bishop, A. E. Rhodes, Fitz Hugh Ivey, Thomas Deans, J. K. Howell; those of the Philomathesian Society were T. H. Pritchard, C. W. Edgerton, H. D. Fowler, J. K. Lassiter, John A. Berry, T. D. Boone, J. W. Biddle, J. B. Richardson, Lansing Burrows. All were able men and played a prominent part in life; one H. D. Fowler, still (1935) survives in his California home.

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<sup>33</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXXI, 157.

## VI ALUMNI





*Upper left: PROFESSOR STEPHEN MORSE, 1839-41. Upper right: PROFESSOR WILLIAM TELL BROOKS, 1841-58. Center: PRESIDENT AND MRS. SAMUEL WAIT, ABOUT 1855. Lower left: PROFESSOR WILLIAM THOMAS WALTERS, 1852-68. Lower right: PROFESSOR JAMES HENRY FOOTE, 1859-66*

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*Upper left:* PROFESSOR STEPHEN MORSE, 1839-41. *Upper right:* PROFESSOR WILLIAM TELL BROOKS, 1841-58. *Center:* PRESIDENT AND MRS. SAMUEL WAIT, ABOUT 1855. *Lower left:* PROFESSOR WILLIAM THOMAS WALTERS, 1852-68. *Lower right:* PROFESSOR JAMES HENRY FOOTE, 1859-66

## XXXVIII

### MINISTERIAL-BOARD OF EDUCATION

As we have seen above, one of the purposes of the organization of the Baptist State Convention, as expressed in its constitution, was "the education of young men called of God to the ministry." Martin Ross, before his death in 1826 according to Meredith, "for a quarter of a century had been an open and steadfast advocate for an improved and well taught ministry." Others, too, had felt the need of an educated ministry for Baptist churches. One expression of their views may be found in the minutes of the General Meeting of Correspondence for 1813.<sup>1</sup>

It was only after the Convention had been formed that the Baptists of the State determined to establish a school for this purpose. Although to put this school in operation would require some years, the Convention immediately began to provide means for ministerial education and in 1830 made it one of the three objects of its benevolences, Charles W. Skinner giving \$25 and Jesse Rountree, Sen., \$10. Collections for Education were \$174.67 in 1830-31, \$391.83 in 1831-32, and \$369.94 in 1832-33.

At the meeting of the Convention at Rogers' Cross Roads, April 15-18, 1831, Elder John Armstrong, then pastor at New Bern, offered to educate *young* men for the ministry, probably free of charge for instruction, though the record is not definite. The Convention accepted this offer and authorized the Board of Managers "to send such young men as they may approve, to him or to some school, and to defray the expense, as far as the funds of the Convention will admit."

At the same time the Convention made a statement of rules by which the Board should be guided in choosing young ministers, applying for the patronage of the Convention, rules which are still used for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter II above.

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Cullom, *Wake Forest Student*, XXX, 862, "History of the Board of Education."

They are as follows:

As we wish to be distinctly understood on the subject of Education, we agree to the following rules, of admission: The young preacher shall appear before the Board of the Convention, at a regular meeting, where he shall present a certificate of his regular standing and correct deportment in a Regular Baptist Church in this State; and also a written license from his church to preach. The Board shall then proceed faithfully, to examine the brother, touching 1st, his Christian experience; 2ndly, his call to preach; 3dly, his views of doctrine; and if found corresponding with the Holy Word, they shall pass an order for his education, as their best judgment shall direct.<sup>3</sup>

At the next meeting of the Convention, in August, 1832, the Board reported that during the year they had aided two young men, William Jones and Patrick Conely (spelled also Connelly), Jones for twelve months and Conely for six. The Board had not, however, taken advantage of Armstrong's generous offer, but had sent these young men to the school of Mr. George W. Thompson in Wake County, who "had generously offered to instruct *gratuitously* the beneficiaries of the Board." Under Mr. Thompson they had made satisfactory progress. The Treasurer's report for the year indicates that other expenses had been incurred in the education of these two young men ; Elder Thomas Crocker had been paid \$30 and Elder William Hooper \$30.25 on account of Conely, and Elder William Hinton \$51.68 for Jones. Seemingly this was for services before the young men were put under the care of Mr. Thompson, or possibly it was for money advanced to pay their board.<sup>4</sup>

Immediately after the close of the Convention of 1832 the Board had a meeting and examined Jones and Conely "respecting the proficiency they had made in their studies," and continued them under the instruction of Mr. Thompson, but "to be subject to the advice and general supervision of brother John Purify." At the

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<sup>3</sup> Minutes of Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, 1831, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Haynes Lennon in sketch in the *Biblical Recorder*, Mar., 29, 1876, says that Dr. Hooper invited Connelly to Chapel Hill, made him a member of his family for a year or more, "Where he could in a most retiring manner prosecute his studies."

same time the Board received another applicant, Benjamin Brown, provided he should be found free of embarrassment in his pecuniary affairs. He too was put under the supervision of Mr. Purify and sent to Mr. Thompson's school.<sup>5</sup> The report of 1833 shows that Mr. Purify had informed the Board that Conely had withdrawn from its patronage to become missionary of the Raleigh Association; Jones spent the year under the instruction of Mr. Carter Harrison, and Brown had been under the direction of a Mr. Parker, who gave him instruction gratuitously. Both Jones and Brown had taken only English branches of study. The sum of \$45 was appropriated for their instruction.<sup>6</sup>

From the Convention Report on Education of the same year we learn that "the principal difficulty which is now to be encountered is the scarcity of beneficiaries. The education fund of the Convention is now a considerable sum. The Wake Forest Institute, it is hoped, will soon furnish to young ministers the means of obtaining a substantial education. And all that seems to be wanting is a competent supply of approved *young* ministers." This complaint of a lack of young men designed for the ministry with the added exhortation that the churches pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest, and sometimes with the further suggestion that the churches search out and put forth such gifts as they had among them, continued to be made for a quarter of a century.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Convention for 1832.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Christmas Connelly (as the name is usually spelled) was born in Louisburg in 1811. After laboring in the Raleigh Association he went to the Pee Dee Association, married Rebecca, daughter of Elder Daniel White, and lived a most useful life, making his home in Richmond County and preaching the Gospel in not less than "twenty-five counties contiguously connected," in the Pee Dee and other Associations. He died, leaving a numerous family in 1876. *Biblical Recorder*, Nov. 29, 1876. Sketch by Haynes Lennon. Of William Jones I have spoken elsewhere. Of Benjamin Brown I find nothing further.

<sup>7</sup> See the minutes of the Convention under head of "Report of Board of Managers," and the "Report on Education" for these years. The following is from the Report on Education in 1849.

"We think it incumbent on Churches and Pastors to seek out young men of good natural ability and humble Christ-like piety, who may feel it their duty

Until the suspension of the *Exercises* of the College in May, 1862, the general Board of Managers of the Baptist State Convention had charge of the appointment and care of the beneficiaries.<sup>8</sup> In 1846 indeed the Convention distributed the work of the general Board among three boards, one of which was the Board of Education located at Wake Forest. But the next year the Convention abolished the three boards and returned to its former plan, on the representation of Professor J. B. White, a member of the Board of Education, that although three efforts had been made to get the Board together he had abandoned hope of it. The reason for the failure he assigned to the fact that some of the members lived at a great distance from Wake Forest.

In all this period, however, the Convention attached much importance to ministerial education and devoted much time to discussing it, notably in 1844, 1845, and 1849. In 1851 and 1852 under the leadership of Elder J. S. Purefoy, and in some other years, collections were made on the floor of the Convention for the support of the beneficiaries. In 1844, Dr. J. B. Jeter, a visitor from Virginia, offered a resolution "That ministerial education is of vital importance in the great evangelical enterprise of converting the world to Christ." In this view the members of the Con-

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to *prepare* for the solemn responsibilities of the ministry, but whose circumstances seem to be unfavorable to such preparation, and to recommend them to the patronage of the Convention.

"The Board have but one beneficiary at present, and are prepared to receive several others."

On hearing this report, written by C. R. Hendrickson, the Elizabeth City pastor, the Convention had much discussion, a prayer was made for an increased number of ministers, and the following resolution, offered by Elder A. D. Blackwood was passed:

*"Resolved*, That we recommend to the churches in this State to observe the Saturday before the second Sabbath in December next as a day of fasting and prayer for an increase of ministers in this State, and that the ministers urge this upon the minds of their brethren, and also that the prayers of our ministers and people to the Lord of the harvest that he send forth much laborers into his harvest, should be more prominently brought before our churches, in the sanctuary and at the family altar."

<sup>8</sup> In 1835 the Convention invited an applicant, Thomas McDaniel, before it for examination. Soon the Convention learned that it was more convenient to refer such examinations and all other matters pertaining to the beneficiaries to the Board.

vention were in a hearty accord, as they were in the oft repeated statement of the Board of Managers that, "The Board regard this [ministerial education] at the present time as the most important department of our denominational enterprise."<sup>9</sup>

Of the 1087 matriculates in the Institute and the College before the suspension in 1862 the whole number of ministerial students and of those who later became ministers was approximately one hundred.<sup>10</sup> Of these thirty-six came under the patronage of the Board of Managers of the Baptist State Convention and are classed as beneficiaries.<sup>11</sup> Only seventeen of these were registered in the first twenty years of the institution, or less than one a year. Some of them remained in college only a short time, while only four graduated before 1856. In the first twenty years, with the average period of residence short, often only one or two were usually in college under the patronage of the Board, and the largest number in any year was four, except for the year 1850 when the number was seven. In the years 1854 to 1862, nineteen others came under the patronage of the Board, and from 1855 till the close of the period the average number of beneficiaries in residence was about eight. The total number of graduates from among them before the College

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<sup>9</sup> Minutes of 1855, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> In the *General Catalogue of Wake Forest College*, prepared by President C. E. Taylor, the number classed as ministers in the notations under the individual names is only 94, but this does not include E. H. Johnson, H. Woodward, and W. H. Edwards, and some others who are mentioned as beneficiaries in the records of the Board of Managers. Under a total of 182 names, one sixth of the whole number, the *General Catalogue* shows no entry. Of these 74 were in attendance before 1840, 62 in the next ten years, and 46 from 1850 to 1862. Not improbably several of them were ministerial students, though not beneficiaries.

<sup>11</sup> The list in order of acceptance by the Board is as follows: Before the opening of the Institute, Wm. Jones, P. C. Connelly, Benjamin Brown; 1834, William H. Brown; 1835, R. F. H. Johnson; 1836, Thos. McDaniel; 1839, H. Woodward; 1840, M. T. Yates, J. H. Honeycutt; 1844, S. G. O'Bryan; 1845, J. B. Jackson, G. M. D. Finch, A. B. Alderman; 1846, J. C. Averett; 1848, W. Hobgood; 1849, R. B. Jones; 1850, M. Baldwin, E. J. Beacham, B. J. Hackney; 1851, B. F. Cole; 1853, Wm. B. Jones; 1854, J. C. Shannon, F. H. Ivey; 1855, A. J. Stradley, A. J. Kelly, R. R. Moore, E. A. Poe, L. Ashton, F. A. Belcher, G. S. Jones; 1856, M. G. Todd, J. T. Albritton; 1857, D. N. Gore, P. N. Snider; 1859, W. C. Nowell, E. B. Salmon; 1860, W. R. Gwaltney, J. H. Yarborough, J. B. Boone.

suspended for the War was eleven, seven graduating in the years 1856-62. More will be said of these and the other beneficiaries below. We now turn to consider the means provided for the support of these beneficiaries and the terms of their acceptance and the oversight kept over them by the Baptist State Convention.

From the organization of the Convention in 1830 until 1858 its funds were, unless otherwise designated, distributed equally among three objects, Home (State) Missions, Foreign Mission, and Education. In 1858 a fourth object, Colportage, was added, to which designated funds were allotted. Before the Convention was many years old, many churches and individuals had begun to designate their gifts. So long as there were only three objects any expense for agents, printing minutes and such things was charged an equal portion to each of the three departments.

During the early years the department on education, by which was meant ministerial education, fared as well as the other departments. The Baptists of the State had been taught the advantages of an educated ministry by the example and teachings of Wait on his three-year educational canvass in 1830-33, and some were ready to contribute to ministerial education who gave nothing for foreign missions. But in the early years both interest in the denominational enterprises and the contributions for them were pitifully small and education and missions suffered alike, as the following statement made in 1838, in a circular prepared by a committee of the Convention of which Thomas Meredith was chairman, will show:

Our education fund has failed probably even more than that appertaining to the department of domestic missions. We have now not a single missionary under our patronage, nor have we funds to defray the expenses already incurred in that department. When the importance of this branch of our conventional operations is considered --when it is considered how much the cause is suffering from the lack of an improved and effective ministry, it is impossible to contemplate the state of our education department without emotions of deep regret. Instead of having a flourishing school to which our young men, called to the ministry, might repair, and where they might obtain instruction



adapted to their circumstances, we have not a person under our patronage, nor a cent in our treasury.<sup>12</sup>

After 1838, however, for several years the Treasurer's report showed a favorable balance for Education: \$386.08 in 1839, and about such balances until 1842 when there was a debt of \$54.58; in 1843 the Treasurer reported that "The Education department is in debt for tuition for 1843 and part of 1842." A few years before there had been some complaint that the interest in education was such that the people contributed to it rather than to missions; possibly this had brought some reaction, but in fact, the contributions to all the objects had fallen off greatly in the early forties, the total being \$636.97 in 1842 against \$1,399.08 for 1832, when the Convention was in its third year. With only one beneficiary in 1844, all debts had been paid and Education had a balance of \$95.18. By the time of the Convention of 1846 the debt was \$414.93. In 1848, however, the report showed collections for Education amounting to \$563.85 and all debts paid. From this year there was a favorable balance, in 1854, \$675.69, until 1857, when the report showed that J. S. Purefoy had lent the Board for Education \$395.19. After this the debt fluctuated, with Mr. Purefoy always the creditor, the amount due him on account of Education, being \$562.02 in 1862. This amount had been reduced to \$335.41 at the Convention of 1863, and the entire debt was paid during the War by the accruals from the invested funds belonging to the Board.<sup>13</sup>

In the chapter on Bequests above, it was said that nearly all the bequests to the College before the Civil War from which anything was realized were for ministerial education. These were the Blount bequest amounting to about \$12,000, made in 1836 but into

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<sup>12</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, August 4, 1838.

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 133, October 30, 1863. The Trustees of the College ordered the accruals from the Blount Estate to be applied to paying the debt incurred for Ministerial Education. See also the Account book of Mr. J. S. Purefoy, College Treasurer, p. 500 ff., under head of Mims and Merritt Funds, which shows a payment of \$158.47 under date of Nov. 3, 1863, to the Treasurer of the Convention for Education.

the possession of which the College did not come until 1860; the Merritt fund of \$2,000 which came to the College in 1853, the Mims bequest amounting to \$500, which the executor sent to the College Treasurer on June 6, 1863; and the Warren bequest of \$1,000, which came into the hands of the College Treasurer about January 1, 1860. The funds received from the Blount estate, the Merritt and the Mims bequests were invested in Confederate bonds and except for some accruing interest were an entire loss. From the Blount estate, however, as has been said, one tract of land after the War came back to the College. This was sold and the proceeds invested in Raleigh City bonds, and after paying in interest \$96.65, was turned over to the Board of Trustees by J. S. Purefoy, Treasurer, on June 18, 1878, at a value of \$640. The Warren Fund was saved, since it was invested in Cape Fear and Deep River Bonds and not exchanged for Confederate bonds. It had yielded interest since, January 1860, at the rate of six per cent, or \$60 a year. Both the Warren Fund and the amount salvaged from the Blount estate were about 1878 blended with the general endowment, where, according to Mr. Purefoy, they went to pay the tuition of ministers and thus carry out the purpose of the donors.<sup>14</sup> The Merritt fund originally invested in North Carolina State bonds about August, 1853, bore interest at six per cent, \$120 a year until July 1, 1863, when the bonds were sold and the proceeds invested in Confederate bonds. The parent sum was a total loss.

That all these early bequests should have been made for ministerial education shows the interest of the Baptist people generally in it rather than in the other work of the College. Even though less than two thousand dollars of the more than fifteen thousand dollars originally realized from these bequests has been saved, yet this small portion continues to carry out the purpose for which it was given and is a lasting monument to the givers. Thanks also to these funds the Board of Education was enabled to begin work after the Civil War wholly unencumbered by debt.

At first it seems that the Board contemplated paying for the board and room of the beneficiaries but not their other expenses.

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<sup>14</sup>Purefoy's Record Book, p. 502.

The records, however, show that for some of the beneficiaries the Board in 1836 was already paying tuition charges, and after this with the authorization of the Convention the Board regularly paid tuition charges for those under their patronage until the end of 1859, when in accord with the order of the Board of Trustees the tuition charge for all Baptist ministerial students was dropped.<sup>15</sup> In 1861 and 1862 "room rent and servants hire and incidental expenses" appear in the list of charges against beneficiaries. In these years also the "washing" expenses were paid for two students, \$9.50 for one and \$7.00 for another.

The total amount paid per student for the year was at first, in 1834, \$95. Afterwards the college fees were also paid, amounting to about \$57.00 for students in the collegiate department. Board for the year until after 1850 was eighty dollars, or eight dollars a month. Thus the total amount paid for the full college student by the Board was about \$137 a year. After 1855 the cost of board advanced a dollar or more a month and the amount paid for the beneficiary was correspondingly greater.

In 1846 the Board making definite agreement to pay the tuition of beneficiaries also adopted a plan to require them each to give notes for the amount paid for his board, naming the obvious seeming advantages of such a course. But this plan of the Board was disallowed by the Convention on a report of a committee, of which Elder J. McDaniel was chairman, who thought it better "simply earnestly to request them, after finishing their education, to refund as much of the amount as had been expended on them, excepting their tuition, as they may find means to do without subjecting themselves to too great embarrassment."

Above was given a statement of the qualifications required of ministerial students who were candidates for patronage of the Convention. It soon became evident, however, that not all who successfully passed' an examination on these requirements were satisfactory as students. Of the distressingly few who applied to the Board for aid in securing an education, only an occasional student gave promise of developing into an able minister. Four

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<sup>15</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 122, 125.

were received during the period of the Institute, 1834-39. Two of these were poorly prepared and left college after a year, and only one of them became a minister. One of the others, E. F. H. Johnson, of London, being most kindly treated by the Convention, did very poor work, making grades of 30 and 35, and ended by leaving without notice, to the great disappointment and dissatisfaction of the Board of Managers; after he left college there is no further record of him.<sup>16</sup> Of the four only William Jones graduated, being one of the four in the first graduating class, that of 1839.

Since the avowed purpose of the Convention was to give the Baptist churches of the State an efficient ministry,<sup>17</sup> the Board of the Convention desired that its beneficiaries should get all that the College had to offer them and remain until graduation. What the Baptists needed in their ministers were men "trained to the severest thought, and enriched with the treasures of knowledge."<sup>18</sup> These could not be produced by a short and partial work, but only by a complete college course, involving "a laborious course of study, close thinking and discipline."<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, the Board expressed its severe censure when Johnson left their patronage in 1839, nor did it withhold manifestation of its disapproval of Matthew Tyson Yates for a similar offense. As the college records show Yates left the College on May 2, 1844, and did not return until the opening of the spring term of 1845, the next January. Yates had left to make some money to help pay his expenses. Coming before the Board at its meeting in Raleigh on October 14, 1844, he was told that, while the Board respected his feelings in leaving his studies yet they felt bound to disapprove of his course, especially as he had not duly advised with the faculty. The Board, however, voted to receive him again into its patronage. At the same time, after a lengthy dis-

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<sup>16</sup> At its meeting on November 4, 1839, the Board passed the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Board disapprove of the conduct of E. H. Johnson, who left his studies and the patronage of the Convention without permission or consultation." The "Record Book" of the Wake Forest Church shows that Johnson in August, 1839, assaulted a fellow student, and after he had made his peace with the church on that charge, asked for a church letter.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the Convention for 1842, J. B. White's Report on Education.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes for 1849, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes of Convention for 1848, p. 19.

cussion, it adopted a general regulation, under which they would thereafter receive persons under their patronage as follows:

1st. That the individual receiving assistance, promise, in writing, not to leave its patronage without first having permission to do so.

2nd. That on condition he does not comply with the foregoing promise, that he obligate himself to pay back to the Convention the amount expended on his education.

This regulation was continued in force during the remainder of this period.<sup>20</sup> The Board also looked with much disfavor on its beneficiaries marrying while in college and "highly censured Bro. [F. A.] Belcher's marrying during his connection with them without their consent."<sup>21</sup> But in general it was much pleased with the conduct and progress of the beneficiaries in their college work. In 1846, after Yates had graduated and was preparing to start to China, the Board said in its report to the Convention: "We feel that it is a cause of gratitude to God that we have been permitted to raise up and prepare one missionary to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Brother Yates has been received by the Foreign Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, and expects to sail for China soon in company with Brother Shuck and others. This is an era of our labors in this State, and we hail it as an harbinger of a glorious change."

J. H. Honeycut, Wake County, who entered the College with Yates in 1840, was not ready for college work, and leaving after one year did not take up the ministerial work. The next to be received, S. G. O'Bryan, of Warren County, remained for four years under the patronage of the Board and graduated in 1849. He immediately became a missionary of the Board of the Convention in the region extending from Lexington and Mocksville to Salisbury and Statesville, laboring most successfully until after a year the weak state of his wife's health caused him to resign his place. Going to Texas he became Professor of Mathematics in Baylor University, but gave up that work in 1854 to devote himself

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<sup>20</sup> See the entries relative to J. T. Albritton, August 29, 1857; J. A. Stradley, August 28, 1858; P. Oliver, Nov. 14, 1860, in MSS, Record Book of the Board of Managers, 1857-in the Library of Wake Forest College.

<sup>21</sup> MSS, Minutes, July 28, 1860.

altogether to the ministry, in which he had much success, doing evangelistic work and establishing many new churches. In 1864-65 he again turned to education and became president of Bosqueville Male and Female College, near Waco; in 1867 he took charge of the Trinity River Male Academy, in Waco. He was a frequent correspondent of the religious papers and prominent in the Texas Baptist State Convention until his death in 1867. "As a preacher and a pastor he was an eminent success." (Carroll)

J. B. Jackson, Granville County, being received as a beneficiary in 1845, remained with irregular attendance until 1850, but never got higher than the Preparatory department. He finally left college "to get married" and took a school located at Milton. He was one of the first pastors of the Greensboro Baptist Church and served acceptably in other pastorates in the Beulah and Raleigh Associations. Before the War he went to Minnesota.

A. B. Alderman of Duplin and G. M. D. Finch of Franklin County, entering also in 1845-46 left before they graduated. Finch had attained Freshman standing when he left in 1850; Alderman remained only one term of five months and until September 9 of the Fall term of 1846-47, when he left on account of sickness. Both Finch and Alderman, however, were of good natural abilities and did successful work in the ministry. The son of Finch and several sons of Alderman are among the graduates of the College. J. C. Averett, Cumberland County, who entered in 1846 graduated in 1851 and was given the Master of Arts degree in 1855. He was a teacher as well as a preacher. In 1856 he moved to Tennessee and the next year to Texas. William Hobgood of Wake County was a student only for the spring term of 1848, in the Preparatory department. Robert Brewer Jones of Person County, remained only, one year after entering in 1849-50, when he left "in consequence of ill health." He returned to the College in 1857 and completed his course and graduated in 1861. He spent the years between 1851 and 1857 as a missionary in the Catawba Valley and in Charlotte, and in that town reconstituted the church. After his graduation he remained at Wake Forest. He was agent of the College for 1867-68 and died in 1868. Two of those who entered

in 1850, Moses Baldwin of Randolph County and E. F. Beacham of Camden County, received their degrees in 1856. Both did a long and useful work in the central portion of the State. B. J. Hackney, Chatham County, who entered with them did not get higher than the Preparatory department. He was of no expense to the Board except for tuition. In 1860 he moved to Florida, and in 1861 died in the Confederate Army. B. F. Cole, Chatham County, entering in 1851, graduated in 1856 with high honors. He was immediately appointed tutor of the College but died on December 13, 1856. His remains were buried in the Wake Forest cemetery. William B. Jones, Johnston County, entering in 1853 remained only one year at Wake Forest; afterward he attended Brown University and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and served as a Baptist minister in Tennessee. In the Civil War he was chaplain of the 61st Regiment. One of those who entered in 1854 was Jesse C. Shannon of Pasquotank County; he remained only one year and a half, doing work in the Preparatory department; he continued in the work of the ministry until his death in 1891. F. H. Ivey, of Fayetteville who entered the same year graduated in 1860. After leaving Wake Forest College he attended the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was a Chaplain in the Confederate Army, and after the War continued in the ministry, working sometimes in Georgia and sometimes in North Carolina, except for the years 1873-74 when he was agent of the College; he died on May 5, 1893. Of those who entered in 1855, F. A. Belcher, Columbus County, G. S. Jones, Pasquotank County, and A. J. Kelly, Macon County, received their degrees, Belcher in 1861 and the other two in 1860. E. A. Poe, Chatham County, who entered at the same time practically finished his work for the degree but left in his Senior year to assume charge of Catawba Academy, an associational school. He, like the other three who graduated, did a valuable work. His field was in the Catawba River Convention. G. S. Jones, who labored as pastor, teacher, and missionary, remembered the College in his later years, making it a gift of five thousand dollars. He died at Hendersonville, where he had long made his home, early in June, 1910. Others who entered in 1855

were L. Ashton of Pasquotank County who remained only a year, doing good work in the Preparatory department; it seems that he never engaged in the active work of the ministry. J. A. Stradley, Buncombe County, entering in 1855, gave up his work in the College in August, 1858, on account of his feeble health. Later he returned to the College at his own expense, and though classed as a senior in the class of 1860 for some reason did not take his degree. He was long an able and trusted minister, "fitted by nature, training and grace to fill any of our pulpits." In his later years he resided at Oxford and labored in the churches of the Flat River Association. He died on February 13, 1912. R. R. Moore, also entering in 1855, did not graduate, but proved a useful minister as colporter in the Army, missionary and pastor. He was a liberal contributor to the College. He died in Chatham County, June 7, 1910. Of the two who entered in 1856, M. G. Todd, remained in College for three years, when he returned to his home near Eagle Rock, Wake County, and for many years was a farmer-pastor of rural churches. J. T. Albritton of Goldsboro, entering in 1856, remained in College only one year, but became one of the most useful ministers in the Baptist denomination in the State, laboring in the churches of the Eastern Association. In the years of his prime he had much interest in early Baptist history. By memorial benefactions, his children giving \$25,000 and the Eastern Association \$25,000, the Chair of Religion in the College was handsomely endowed and now bears his name. He died at his home at Calypso on December 5, 1906. Of those who entered in 1859, D. N. Gore, Columbus County, was a corporal and missionary in the Confederate States Army, and in January and February, 1864, conducted a revival in Clingman's Brigade and baptized 57 soldiers. After the war he remained in his native region and was known for his evangelical zeal. P. N. Snider of Union County remained only one year. He spent his life in his native county serving country churches. He died in May, 1871. Of the two who entered in 1859, W. C. Nowell, Wake County, remained until 1861. Being ordained in 1863, he served churches in eastern Wake and in Johnston counties. The other E. B. Salmon, of Wilkes County, volunteered



as a soldier in 1861 and died, June 15, 1862, in Raleigh of tuberculosis; dying he remembered his sweet Wake Forest, and requested to be buried in the Wake Forest cemetery, where his body now lies. A fine tribute to him by Dr. William Royall is found in the *Biblical Recorder* of June 25, 1862. Three entered in 1860, and all left the College for the army. These were W. R. Gwaltney of Alexander County, who returned to the College after the War and continued until 1867. He was one of the ablest and wisest of the Baptist leaders of his day in the State and held many important pastorates, among them Hillsboro, Raleigh, Winston, Greensboro, and Wake Forest. He died at Hickory in 1907. During the Civil War he was chaplain in the Confederate States Army. James H. Yarborough who entered the same year also served as chaplain in the Confederate States Army. After the War he labored as minister and teacher in Rutherford and Wilkes counties, dying at Forest City in 1898. J. B. Boone of Northampton County also left the College at the opening of the Civil War, and did not return. He did important work both as minister and as a teacher, being president of Judson College at Hendersonville, and also superintendent of the Baptist Orphanage at Thomasville. He died in 1907.

On the whole the beneficiaries of those years have had a noble record. Because their numbers were small, and the labors of many were required in our own State, the Board now and then felt discouraged, as is manifested in its report of 1851.<sup>22</sup> With much sadness too the Board saw the Civil War break up the great work in which they were engaged. Only five beneficiaries remained at the College when the Convention met in November, 1861. There had been thirteen the year before and still others were ready to apply. Now they were enlisting as soldiers "in defense of our liberties and constitutional rights." In consequence they realized that the fond

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<sup>22</sup> From the Convention Minutes of 1851: "The Board would recommend to those aided by the Convention in obtaining an education, to devote some time to Missionary Labor as a means of doing much good, and affording a very suitable preparation for the important office of pastor of our churches. The practice of some of leaving our State immediately after getting through with their studies, when their labor is so much demanded at home, to say the least of it, is greatly detrimental to the Baptist cause in North Carolina."

hope of providing a better ministry would be greatly retarded, possibly ended, by "the unjust and unhallowed war, which has been inaugurated in our once happy and prosperous country."<sup>23</sup>

Even sadder is the following from the report of the Board to the Convention in November, 1862:

Early in May it became necessary to suspend the operation of Wake Forest College, owing partly to the Conscription Law which included most of the students in attendance. With this suspension falls for the time being, *the most prominent* object which the Convention sought to promote. Most of the beneficiaries who were connected with the College last year, are now or have been usefully employed as teachers, colporters or privates in the army. One noble and generous hearted youth, a beneficiary, fell while in process of preparation to meet the invading foe, and was brought back to us with the dying request to be buried in the College grave-yard, thus showing his love for the sacred spot <sup>24</sup>

After this, in accord with the instructions of the Convention, the Board used what money it could collect for the education of the children of soldiers who lost their lives in the service.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the Convention of 1861, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> This was E. B. Salmons, of Wilkes County, mentioned above.

<sup>25</sup> See the Convention minutes for 1862, 1868, 1864.

## MINISTERIAL EDUCATION II

Only thirty-six of the hundred or more ministerial students who matriculated at Wake Forest College before the War, came under the patronage of the Board of Managers of the Baptist State Convention, and of these only eleven graduated. Those who received no aid from the Board, but at some time in their lives were ministers, were much the larger number, about two-thirds of all, and of them no fewer than thirty received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The list of their names of the graduates by years is as follows: 1839, W. T. Brooks, J. H. Brooks, W. W. Childers ; 1840, A. A. Connella, J. L. Prichard; 1847, A. McDowell; 1848, Henry Bate Folk, W. T. Walters; 1849, W. M. Wingate; 1850, J. C. Carlyle, D. R. Wallace; 1852, John Mitchell; 1854, T. H. Pritchard; 1855, A. J. Emerson, B. F. Marable, James A. Pitchford; 1856, J. D. Hufham, L. H. Shuck; 1858, W. H. Jordan, Jr., A. F. Purefoy; 1859, N. V. B. Powell, J. M. White; 1860, W. R. Larkins, R. R. Savage; 1861, Dougald C. McMillan, J. B. Richardson, W. B. Royall; 1862, W. A. Brunt, Lansing Burrows, J. K. Howell, G. W. Sanderlin. These added to the eleven beneficiaries who received degrees make a total of forty-one, more than one third of the entire number of 117 who were graduate from the College before its suspension in 1862. With reference to these it is to be observed that there is no evidence that D. R. Wallace ever exercised his gifts though asked by the Wake Forest Church to do so; others preached only rarely ; still others, as we shall see when we consider them in more detail, found their chief occupation at the teacher's desk, and not in the pulpit. Again, many of them formed a purpose to preach either during their college course or after they had graduated. T. H. Pritchard, John Mitchell, J. D. Hufham, and possibly some others professed faith and were baptized while college students ; these as well as many others-W. T. Brooks, J. H. Brooks, J. L. Prichard, A. McDowell, W. H. Jordan, Jr. were licensed to preach by the Wake Forest Baptist Church. Others, like J. M.

White, were not ordained until years after they left college. Two became ministers in other denominations, J. C. Carlyle in the Methodist and B. F. Marable in the Presbyterian Church. Of the graduates of 1839 I have already spoken somewhat in detail; of those of later years I now proceed to give the more significant facts.

A. A. Connella, 1840, went to Alabama and did pastoral work in Marengo County.

John Lamb Prichard, who graduated with him in 1840, became one of the most progressive and useful ministers of the denomination. In 1842 he was ordained as minister of the Danville, Virginia, Baptist Church, and remained as its pastor for ten years. Then for three years he was in Lynchburg. During his Danville pastorate, as a strong advocate of education and missions, he did much to save the Baptist churches of that section from Hardshellism. Coming to Wilmington in 1856 as pastor of the First Baptist Church he proved most progressive, and led in the building of the present house of worship of that church. In 1858 he became a Trustee of Wake Forest College. In 1862, when the yellow fever epidemic broke out in Wilmington, he remained at this post and contracted the disease, and though he recovered from it, yet his bodily strength was so diminished that he endured only a short while longer, dying on November 13, 1862.

Rev. Archibald McDowell, was a native of the Marlboro District in South Carolina. In his Junior year in college the Wake Forest Church licensed him to preach, but he was not ordained until 1850. He spent his life in the work of education of young women ; in 1848, he became the first principal of the Chowan Baptist Female Institute, but left in April, 1849, on account of the breaking out of a smallpox epidemic among the students. He then taught in Raleigh and Milton. He returned to the Chowan Institute as teacher of Science and Mathematics in 1855, and became president of the Institution in 1862. He held the place until his death, May 27, 1881.

William Thomas Walters came from Transylvania County, Virginia. He was a wise and able minister and did pioneer work for the Baptists in Weldon and Littleton; until the War his principal

field of labor was education, as a professor of mathematics in the College, of which more will be said under another head. In 1866-68, he was corresponding secretary of the Mission Board of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention.

Washington Manly Wingate was born in Darlington District, South Carolina. He graduated in 1849. After studying for two years at Furman Theological Institution he returned to North Carolina in 1852 as agent of the College, continuing in that work until July, 1854, as has been told above, and in August 1854 became acting president of Wake Forest College, and two years later president, a place which he continued to hold, except during the suspension of the College in the Civil War period and afterwards until his death, February 27, 1879. A fuller account of him will be found in another section. Here it is only necessary to say that he was considered the greatest preacher educated at the College.

Henry Bate Folk for many years was a lawyer, and some account of him is given under the head of "Lawyers" below. He was ordained in August, 1887, at Brownsville, Tennessee, and later became manager of the *Baptist and Reflector*.

Of John Calhoun Carlyle of Robeson County, and of David Richard Wallace of Pitt County no more need be said under this head, since Carlyle went to another denomination and Wallace did not pursue the work of a minister.

John Mitchell, who graduated in 1852, was known among the men who knew him best as "the Beloved Disciple." He came from Bertie County. After his graduation he spent two years in further study in theological institutions, and in 1855-58, acted as agent for the College and helped to complete its endowment, a work that has been discussed above. Later he served in several important pastorates, Hillsboro, Bertie County, Asheville; in 1890 he became Secretary of the Board of Education, after which he spent several years at Wake Forest; before his death he returned to his old home in Bertie, where he died in March, 1906, in his eightieth year. He was a saintly man; he was also most liberal, having given freely to the Mills Home at Thomasville, where he provided the funds to

erect the building called from his name, and having also been one of the two principal givers for the erection of the Wake Forest College Hospital, and having made many other gifts to the College. He was also a frequent contributor to Chowan College of which, as well as of Wake Forest College, he was a Trustee.

Thomas Henderson Pritchard came from Davie County. He graduated in 1854. The same year he became agent for the College and continued in this work for a year and a half; of it an account has already been given. After this he entered the active work of the ministry, serving first as pastor of the Baptist church at Hertford. For a year thereafter he studied theology under John A. Broadus at the University of Virginia, and then entered upon the pastorate of the Franklin Square Church in Baltimore, where he remained until July, 1863, when on account of his strong Southern leanings he was forced to come back to his native State. Here he labored first in the First Church of Raleigh during the absence of Dr. T. E. Skinner, its pastor. In 1864 he was commissioned as chaplain by Gordon's Corps, army of northern Virginia.<sup>1</sup> In 1865 he went to Petersburg where he was pastor for two years; in 1868 he returned to Raleigh as pastor of the First Church and continued as its minister until July, 1879, when he became president of Wake Forest College. Of his valuable labors as college president and for education in general an account will be given later. He died in 1896 when only sixty-four years of age.

Among the ablest men ever graduated from the College was Andrew Jackson Emerson of Chatham County, who took his degree in 1855. It seems that he first thought of a career in law. After his graduation he attended for a while the law school of Judge Pearson at Chapel Hill. He also engaged in teaching, first at Forestville, then at Clinton Female College, and then, from 1862 to 1871, at Mount Vernon Springs. 1873 he went to Missouri and became Professor of English Literature and History in William Jewell College. In 1890 he became president of Howard Payne College in Brownwood, Texas. After ten or twelve years in this work he went to Denver, Colorado, and devoted his time to writing.

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<sup>1</sup> Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, IV, 16.

He was ordained in 1860 and while he was an able preacher, he did his chief work as an educator.

B. F. Marable a classmate of Emerson, came from Halifax County, Virginia; after graduation he went to Clinton, North Carolina, and for fifteen years was one of the ablest and wisest leaders among the ministers of the Eastern (Union it was called then) Association. About 1870 he became a Presbyterian and served as a minister of that communion in Goldsboro, Clayton and Clinton. In 1888 Davidson College gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Graduating in this class was James A Pitchford of Warren. Before the War he was a teacher and planter; but in the War he was a soldier in the Twelfth North Carolina Infantry. After the War he again taught for three years in Warren County; but in 1868 was ordained to the ministry and served the Church at Littleton and other churches in that section.

In 1856 was graduated one of the ablest, most versatile, and most influential men that North Carolina Baptists have known. This was James Dunn Hufham, son of G. W. Hufham, of Duplin County. In the year after his graduation he and B. F. Marable took charge of the Warsaw High School, but, as we have seen, he gave up that work within the year. He was ordained in 1857 and served churches in the Union Association until May, 1861, when he became editor of the *Biblical Recorder*. With strong denominational and patriotic sympathies, and with independence of thought and clearness and eloquence of expression, he proved a most acceptable editor of the paper during the period of the Civil War. In 1865 he had his press wrecked by some Union soldiers who were printers, and who visiting his office smashed the presses and scattered the type, being maddened by certain editorials they found in type. He continued as editor of the paper, however, until 1867, when he resigned to take up the work of minister of the Gospel. In this he served churches in Camden County for two years. From 1870 to 1874 he was Corresponding Secretary of the Mission Boards of the Baptist State Convention. From 1874 to 1876 he did pastoral work in Raleigh, and then, in 1877, went to Scotland Neck, where

he remained as pastor until 1891, when he went to Tarboro. From here he went to Shelby and from Shelby to Henderson, which was his last pastorate. Soon after his graduation Dr. Hufham showed his interest in Baptist history by preparing a compendious article relating especially to North Carolina Baptists which was published in the minutes of the Union Association for 1860. He was one of the chief promoters of *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, published in Henderson in the years 1896 to 1899, three volumes, to which he made the major contributions in two series of articles, one of six and the other of five papers, on the *Baptists in North Carolina*. Unfortunately the series was never completed nor collected and printed in a single volume. He was a great collector of Baptist historical material, and on his death turned over his collection to the Wake Forest College Library. Though liberal in his views he always stood, and usually successfully, against radical measures in denominational councils. From 1866 until his death, March 27, 1921, he was a Trustee of the College, perhaps for a longer time than any other.

Graduating in the same class with Hufham was Lewis H. Shuck, son of J. Lewis Shuck, the first American Missionary located in the empire of China. As a Commencement address Mr. Shuck used an original poem, "Joan of Arc," a very meritorious production of 466 unrhymed iambic lines of five beats. A reading of it will cause any lover of poetry to regret that there was at the time no interest in our State sufficient to foster such talents as the writer displayed; with proper encouragement Shuck might have developed into one of the best among our Southern poets. After graduating he spent several years in as teacher, for the year 1856-57 in Oxford Female Seminary, and from 1857 to 1862 as principal of the Beulah Male Institute at Milton. In 1863 he went to South Carolina as pastor of churches in Barnwell County; from 1869 to 1882 he was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston; from 1883 to 1889 he was at Paducah, Kentucky, when he went to Fayette, Missouri. He received the degree of Master of Arts from the College in 1859, and of Doctor of Divinity in 1875.

Two of the graduates of 1857 became ministers. These were



William Hill Jordan, Jr., whose father was agent and Trustee of the College and one of the ablest ministers and writers in the Baptist denomination, and Addison Foster Purefoy, son of Elder J. S. Purefoy, of whose labors before the War for the College an account has already been given. In 1857-58 Mr. Jordan served as Tutor in the College. Later he was ordained and was one of the chaplains that Wake Forest furnished for the Confederate States Army. After the War he went to Thomasville, Georgia, and died there in 1871. Mr. Purefoy was ordained in 1858, and began his long and useful career as minister chiefly as pastor of churches in the Flat River and Tar River Associations, being well beloved in all the churches. He was the father of Mrs. William Louis Poteat. He died August 2, 1897.

N. V. B. Powell and J. M. White graduated in 1859. The former was from Caswell County. From 1859 to 1861 he was a student in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. His name is on no list of ministers except that in the Convention Minutes of 1863, where he is classed as a licentiate. It seems that he was never ordained. There is no further record. James McDaniel White came from Chatham County. After graduation he first gave his attention to teaching, being principal of an academy in Clayton in the years 1859-61. In the War he was in the cavalry, attaining the rank of captain on the staff of General Rufus Barringer. Being ordained in 1879 he joined to his teaching the work of the Gospel ministry, serving churches at Clayton, Holly Springs and Apex. He was the father of worthy sons, Dr. John E. White and Robert Bruce White. He died, November 15, 1912, in his seventyseventh year.

William R. Larkins, of New Hanover County, graduated in 1860. He was ordained in 1859 and until the opening of the Civil War served churches in Jones County, when he entered the Army. He died in service in 1864.

A classmate of Larkins was Robert Risop Savage, who came from Nansemond County, Virginia. While a student he led in the organization of a Sunday School in the Wake Forest Church and was its first superintendent. After his graduation, on the

recommendation of Dr. A. McDowell he took a pastorate in the Chowan Association, where all of his subsequent life was spent and most of his work done. He was a Trustee of Wake Forest College and also of the Chowan Institute; he died in 1893.<sup>2</sup>

Among the graduates of 1861 were Dougald C. McMillan, James B. Richardson, and William Bailey Royall. Of the last named we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, since his chief work was as Professor of Greek in Wake Forest College. After the Civil War, in which he served in the Confederate States Army for four years, he returned to Wake Forest as a teacher; he was ordained in 1869, and for many years served the Baptist churches at Forestville, Youngsville and Rolesville. He died January 28, 1928.

Dougald C. McMillan came from Robeson County, and after his graduation returned thither, and spent his life as a minister and a farmer, serving churches in the vicinity of Leesville and Ashpole. He died about 1908.

James Brantley Richardson was the son of Noah Richardson, an able and progressive minister of the Sandy Creek Association, whose home was near Carthage, Moore County. The son was ordained in 1862, and thereafter served churches at Carthage, Lilesville, Gum Springs, Wadesboro, Pleasant Grove, Meadow Branch, Matthews, Leaksville, Spray, Catawba, Newton, Hickory, Marion, Waughtown, Union Hill, Jersey, Abbott's Creek, Greensboro, and High Point. He spent the most of his life in mission work in the region to the south and west of High Point, and it is to him and Elder S. B. Conrad, more than to any others, that the Baptist owe their strength in that territory. He was also a vigorous thinker and writer. From 1873 until his death he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the College. He died on September 7, 1912.

There were four ministers in the graduating class of 1862. These were William A. Brunt, Jr., of Davie County; Lansing Burrows of Richmond, Virginia ; James King Howell of Granville County, and George Washington Sanderlin of Elizabeth City. All have honorable records.

William A. Brunt was ordained in 1863 and until 1866 was

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<sup>2</sup> Sketch by Dr. R. T. Vann in *Baptist Almanac* for 1893, p. 54.

pastor of churches in Davie and Alexander counties. From 1866 to 1870 he was a student in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; he was pastor of the church at Fayetteville during the years 1870 to 1877, and of the church at Lillington during the years 1877 to 1883. After that he was in Bladen County, and on the organization of the Bladen County Association in 1892 was elected Moderator, a position which he held until his death in 1906.

Lansing Burrows entered the Confederate States Army and served until the end of the War. Then he became a journalist in Richmond, but left this work for the ministry and was ordained on July 7, 1867, and served churches at Stanford and Lexington, Kentucky, until 1871, when he again became a student, first at Princeton University and later at Madison, New York. In 1883 he moved to Georgia. He was long influential in the Southern Baptist Convention, its chief secretary for the years 1882-1913, and its president for 1914, 1915, and 1916. He was regarded as one of the ablest church statisticians in the country, serving as such the Southern Baptist Convention, 1881-1919. He died at Americus, Georgia, October 17, 1919, in his seventy-seventh year.

Immediately after his graduation James King Howell entered the Confederate States Army as chaplain of the first North Carolina Regiment. After a year he resigned this work and began his good and long-continued work as teacher and minister, serving as pastor many churches in Wake, Iredell, Catawba, Lenoir, Johnston, and Caldwell counties. During the years 1862 to 1865 he was Secretary of the Sunday School Board in Raleigh, and for the year 1876 was Sunday School Missionary for North Carolina. He was the father of E. Vernon Howell, also a graduate of the College, class of 1892, and organizer and until his death head of the School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina. Elder Howell died at Rocky Mount in 1907.

G. W. Sanderlin entered the army and was captain of Company E, 33rd North Carolina Infantry. In 1865 he entered the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and remained two years. He was ordained in March, 1868, at Wake Forest College; for the next three years he was pastor of the Baptist Church in Goldsboro; in

the years 1871 to 1876 he was pastor of the Franklin Square Baptist Church in Baltimore. Relinquishing the active work of the ministry in 1876 he became a planter in Wayne County. In 1888 he was elected State Auditor. The College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1891. He died in 1899.

In addition to those ministers in this group who were graduated there were some forty others who took only partial courses in the College, many for only a session or two, others for longer periods. Some of these after leaving Wake Forest pursued their studies in other colleges and were graduated from them. Of those who completed one or more sessions at Wake Forest, but did not continue their college work, were Alexander Doughan Blackwood of Orange County, Benjamin G. Covington of Richmond County, Josiah J. Finch of New Bern, James McDaniel of Fayetteville, Robert Alexander Moore of Caswell, Josiah Bridges Solomon of Franklin, and John Alexander William Thomas of Marlboro County, South Carolina. The following were graduated from other institutions: Nicholas Addison Purefoy of Wake, Thomas Edward Skinner of Perquimans, Joshua John James of Halifax County, Virginia, John Lemuel Carroll of Duplin, and Mosey Tyson Moyer of Pitt, who became a minister of the Disciples Church.

Blackwood was at the College only one year, 1850-51, but became a very able and useful minister, being a strong supporter of missions. He served in succession churches in the counties of Montgomery, Wake, Buncombe and Orange. For twenty years, 1858-78, he was located at Cary. He died at Chapel Hill, March 2, 1888.

B. G. Covington was at college only one year, 1857-58, and he was not ordained until 1861; he served churches in Montgomery and Richmond Counties. In 1867-68 he was a student at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary ; later he was pastor at Kenansville and Wadesboro and Monroe. In 1877 he transferred his labors to South Carolina, serving churches at Fort Mills and Florence. He died September 30, 1893, in his fifty-eighth year.

J. J. Finch, who was at Wake Forest in 1836-37, became one of the ablest Baptist ministers in the State, serving as pastor the churches at Edenton, New Bern and Raleigh. Coming to Raleigh

in 1845 as pastor of the First Baptist Church, he also opened a school for girls, Sedgwick Seminary, which he operated with much success until his death, January 21, 1850. Among his grandsons, Dr. H. A. Royster and Dr. James Finch Royster, for several years preceding his death head of the English department of the University of North Carolina, graduated from the College.<sup>3</sup>

James McDaniel was at Wake Forest only for the year 1837-38, but the College gave him the degree of Master of Arts in 1851, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1868. He too is among the great Baptists of the State. He helped organize the Fayetteville Baptist Church and was its pastor for thirty-two years. His other principal pastorate was the First Baptist church at Wilmington, where he was for six years. He was one of the founders of the Baptist State Convention, and was its president for nineteen years. He was also a Trustee of the College from 1838 until his death in 1870.

R. A. Moore was at the College in the year 1857-58. In the Civil War he was colporter in the Forty-Third North Carolina Infantry. After the War he labored as a minister and colporter in Iredell, Davidson, Chatham, Alamance and Robeson counties. He died at Red Springs in 1921. One of his sons, Rev. J. R. Moore, is an alumnus of the College.

J. B. Solomon was at the College during the years 1845-48, and was ordained at Wake Forest in 1848. For some years he was a state missionary of the Baptists; from 1853-1860 he was pastor of the Baptist Church in Warrenton; from 1860-64 pastor of the Leigh Street Church in Richmond, Virginia. In 1867-68 he was president of Warrenton Female College; from 1870 to 1873 he was Professor of English in the University of West Virginia; from 1873-75 he was president of Monongahela College; and later pastor of churches in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Louisiana and Indiana. He spent his last years in Chicago.

J. A. W. Thomas, who was at the College in 1840-41, was not ordained until 1849. While he was in the work of the ministry in

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<sup>3</sup> See the Memoir in *The Sermons of Rev. Josiah J. Finch*, Charleston, 1853. The sermons are on a wide variety of topics and show clearness of conception and good analytic powers.

Marlborough Baptist Church in South Carolina, a company of soldiers volunteering for the Civil War service called him to be their captain. He proved a valiant soldier and was twice wounded in battle. He served his company and regiment as chaplain also. After the War he was pastor of several churches in his native County, Bennettsville for thirty-five years, and McColl for even a longer time, from 1851, except during the War, until 1896. Returning from a Sunday's preaching at this church at Tatum's, he conducted family worship, went to bed and died during the night, in 1896, when he was eighty-four years old.<sup>4</sup>

William A. Vann of Hertford County was at the College in the year 1860-61. He was ordained in 1863 and became chaplain of the Thirteenth Regiment of North Carolina Infantry. He died in 1864 in an army hospital at Lynchburg.<sup>5</sup>

Kimbrough Thompson, while a student in College in 1848-49, was a licensed minister and preached at churches, but he afterwards attended Jefferson Medical College where he got his degree of Doctor of Medicine ; he located in Kentucky. In 1863 he returned to his first love and was ordained to the ministry at Lawrenceville. Then he went to Missouri, but in 1866 returned to his native county, Surry, and spent his life as a Baptist minister and missionary. He died about 1900.

Coming to those who after leaving Wake Forest graduated from other institutions I mention first N. A. Purefoy. He was a son of Elder John Purefoy, through whose influence Wake Forest was selected as the site of the Institute. He was at Wake Forest in 1836-37. Graduating from Columbian College in 1846 he returned to North Carolina and was pastor at Tarboro, Greenville, Fayetteville, in Warren County from 1852 to 1879, and in Raleigh. He spent

his last years, 1881 to 1886 in Wake Forest, where he died July 6, 1886.

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<sup>4</sup> See the interesting sketch in the Minutes of the South Carolina Baptist Convention for 1896.

<sup>5</sup> "Bro. William A. Vann, after a short and useful career as chaplain of the 13th N. C. Regiment, fell a victim to disease, and died in the hospital at Lynchburg in the early dawn of manhood, much lamented by his Regiment and his numerous friends at, home and in the army." N. B. Cobb, in Minutes of Convention for 1864.

J. J. James was at Wake Forest in 1836-37. In 1841 he was graduated from Columbian College. He was ordained in 1842 and served churches in the Beulah Association and also taught in Trinity Academy. In 1854 he became editor of the *Biblical Recorder* and continued in that work until 1861, associating with himself Elder J. S. Walthal the last year. He was an able and a safe editor and used his paper for furthering the interests of the denominational enterprises, especially Wake Forest College. Many controversial question were exercising the minds of the people in the period of his editorship. One of these was the movement for the abolition of slavery. James was a strong defender of the Southern view, and more than held his own against the ablest of the editors of the Baptist papers of the North. "His views were comprehensive, his perception was clear, his style elevated, his language chaste, his diction excellent; all this together with a strong logical turn of mind made him one of our best writers. Few could cope with him in newspaper discussion."<sup>6</sup> He spent the remainder of his life on his farm in Caswell County, filling short pastorates at High Point, Milton and Ephesus. He was for some years Moderator of the Beulah Association; he was also a Trustee of Wake Forest College from 1844 to 1870. He died April 6, 1892, in his seventy-eighth year.

Another who belongs to this group is John Lemuel Carroll. He was at Wake Forest in the years 1858-61, and was ordained there in 1862. He received three degrees from the University of North Carolina, Bachelor of Arts in 1863, Master of Arts in 1866, and Doctor of Divinity in 1866. During the Civil War he served as pastor of churches in Hillsboro and in Sampson and New Hanover. Other churches of which he later had pastoral charge were some in the counties of Wake and Franklin; Warrenton, Virginia; Lexington, Virginia; Gordonsville, Virginia; Asheville and Chapel Hill. Perhaps his most notable achievement was the rescue of St. Johns College at Oxford (now the Oxford Orphan Asylum) from threatened extinction. Taking the field as agent he raised the funds to save it, when it had all but been despaired of. For three

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<sup>6</sup> F. H. Jones, in *North Carolina Baptist Almanac*, 1883, p. 41.

years, 1868-71, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the College, and for one year Secretary of that body. He died at Chapel Hill, June 26, 1896.

One of the greatest and ablest of the friends of Wake Forest was Thomas E. Skinner, who was a student here in the days of the Institute, 1837-40. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847. After three years of study in theological institutions he was ordained to the Gospel ministry in May, 1854. He served pastorates in several churches, at Hertford, Petersburg, Nashville, Tennessee, Columbus, Georgia, Athens, Georgia, but his greatest work was done in Raleigh, where he was pastor from 1855 to 1867, and on a second pastorate beginning in 1879. He was the builder of the stately house of worship of the Raleigh First Baptist Church, and through his devoted service and wise and progressive leadership made that church one of the most influential in the State. In the Civil War he visited England to secure Bibles and Testaments for the Southern people. Before his death he gave his excellent library, about 2,000 well selected books, to the College Library. He was a member of the Board of Trustees from 1858-68, and again from 1880 until his death in 1905, and President of that body for the years 1895 to 1903. He died in April, 1905.

In the Confederate States Army W. R. Gwaltney, William Hill Jordan, Jr., W. A. Vann, J. H. Yarborough, William B. Jones, Thomas H. Pritchard, and J. A. W. Thomas, and J. K. Howell served as chaplains ; J. A. Stradley, F. A. Belcher, W. Brunt, R. A. Moore, D. N. Gore, A. J. Emerson, S. Gilmore, R. R. Moore, John Mitchell, J. B. Richardson, and B. G. Covington served as missionaries and colporters.

In the *General Catalogue* are found the names of more than thirty other students of the period before the Civil War who are classed as ministers. Of most of them little is known but the record shows that some of these did faithful and efficient work though in humble station. Sufficient is told, however, to show how indispensable Wake Forest College has been in furnishing the Baptists of the State with trained ministers to serve as pastors and leaders in religious work. The account as given above also suggests that



the most important and valuable work of the College in this period was the education of able young men of the denomination under conditions favorable to their developing into proper ministers of the Baptist people. Of those who afterwards served as ministers probably not as many as half came to Wake Forest with the ministry in mind; but under the influences that prevailed in the College they were led to devote their lives to this great service. Two thirds of the ministers of this period who graduated were men who went through college without the patronage of the Board of the Convention, and many of them decided to preach only after having finished their college course. Taking the group as a whole one will see that no other group of their fellow students for those years in any way compares with them in their influence and service to the denomination. Certainly in the first twenty-eight years of its existence the greatest service of Wake Forest was in this calling forth and educating ministers, with a training that went much beyond the classroom, firmly grounding them in the faith, and at the same time giving them charity towards those of other communions, a progressive outlook and an aspiration for the best in Christian life. These things they have imparted to the entire Baptist people of North Carolina.

## PHYSICIANS

Of the 1087 students registered at the College before the suspension in 1862 a full hundred became physicians, counting two or three who died while pursuing their studies in medical colleges. Of these twenty-six were registered before January 1, 1840, forty-three others before January 1, 1850, and thirty-one others before January, 1862. Thirteen of the number were graduated from Wake Forest College, one from Brown University, one from the University of North Carolina, while four others took partial courses in other institutions before taking up their medical studies. Of those who did not graduate at Wake Forest, forty-seven were registered in only one year, five of whom were of those who took academic work at other academic institutions; eighteen were registered in two years, eighteen in three years, three in four years, and two in five years.

Of those generally classed as physicians the *General Catalogue* records that fifty or more received the degree of Doctor of Medicine, twenty of them at the University of Pennsylvania, four at Jefferson Medical College, five others at some place in Philadelphia, probably the University of Pennsylvania, eight at the Medical College of the University of New York, nine at Charleston Medical College, three at the Medical College of New Orleans, with one each at Harvard, Cincinnati, Castleton, Vermont, and others at places unnamed. It is probable that several others whose medical record is not indicated also received the degrees. Furthermore, it is not improbable that the number of physicians among the Wake Forest matriculates of this period is considerably greater than is recorded in the *General Catalogue*, which as was said above, gives no details for 182 students of that period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note the preparation required at this time of students at the University of Pennsylvania and other leading medical colleges of that day. Our records reveal that a student might go from Wake Forest to any of these schools at the end of his Freshman year, with only work in Latin,

There are few detailed records available from which an account of the life and work of these physicians among Wake Forest men might be constructed. It is evident, however, that their influence was most helpful to the College. The profession of medicine in its very nature makes those who practice it the trusted counselors of men of every class, and renders them loved and respected in their communities. A hundred doctors who had studied at the College must have served as a powerful recommendation of it. Furthermore, no account of the College would be complete that did not make some record of the loyal and patriotic service these physicians rendered in the Civil War, and also make record of prominence attained by certain of them in the profession and their contributions to its progress.

In the Civil War more than thirty of these former Wake Forest students who had become physicians were in the Confederate States Army, and twenty-two of them are definitely classed in the *General Catalogue*,<sup>2</sup> as surgeons or in *North Carolina Regiments*.

Heading the list of Wake Forest graduates of this period who entered the profession of medicine, of all of whom a brief notice will be found here, is the name of Oscar Fitz Allen Baxter of Currituck County. He came to Wake Forest in 1835 and was graduated in the class of 1840. After two years he won the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. Then he became a surgeon in the United States Navy and before 1861 had attained the rank of Passed Assistant Surgeon. At the outbreak of the War he resigned his place and became a surgeon in the Confederate States Army.<sup>3</sup> In June, 1849, the Trustees asked

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Greek and Mathematics to his credit, and receive his degree of Doctor of Medicine after two years in the medical college.

<sup>2</sup> The surgeons were: T. L. Banks, O. F. A. Baxter, John Berry, T. J. Boykin, I. G. Cannady, J. S. DeVane, S. B. Flowers, W. G. Freeman, F. Gilliam, C. S. Green, J. G. M. Luther, J. H. McAden, T. M. Nixon, W. E. Poole, S. S. Satchwell, J. W. Sessoms, H. R. Thorp, M. T. Waddill, D. R. Wallace, C. Whitfield, D. S. Williams, M. Williams.

Others who were physicians in the army are: S. M. Byrd, O. D. Coppedge, F. R. Freeman, L. G. Hunt, A. A. Johnson, J. E. Norwood, J. S. Outlaw, R. J. Steele, A. J. Thompson, W. H. Watson, B. C. Wilkerson.

<sup>3</sup> The *General Catalogue* says, "Surg. 49th Inf. C. S. AR." but there is no record of his service in *North Carolina Regiments*. Probably he was in a regiment of some other State.

him to accept the position of professor of Chemistry and Geology in the College, but he declined. After the War he returned to his native section and making his home in Elizabeth City engaged in his profession and in farming. His portrait is in the hall of the Philomathesian Society.

Dr. Matthew Turner Waddill, of Montgomery County, graduated also in the Class of 1840. He too was in the Confederate Army, being surgeon of the Fourteenth North Carolina Infantry. He had, soon after graduation, won his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of New York. After the war he made his home at Norwood, Stanly County, and represented that county in some years in the State Legislature. He died June 29, 1883.

John Cave Rogers, a third member of the Class of 1840 who became a physician practiced his profession in his native county of Wake.

There is no further record of John Robert Eborn, the sole member of the Class of 1843 who became a physician; he came from Pitt County, and seems to have died early, probably before the Civil War.

The next class to furnish graduates who became physicians was that of 1848. One of these was Frederick Beasley Ryan of Wake Forest, probably the son of G. Ryan, one of the early stewards of the Institute, and of Mrs. Martha Ryan, the first keeper of the Wake Forest Hotel. He made his home in Tennessee. There is no further record of him. William E. Poole, however, of Murfreesboro, graduating in the same class, that of 1848, served as a surgeon in the Army. After the War he was a physician in Hertford and Camden counties.

Of all the students of the College of this period who became physicians, the ablest and the one who attained the greatest prominence in his profession, was David Richard Wallace, of Pitt County. He was born November 10, 1825. When he was fourteen years old the family had moved to Greenville, where he was prepared for college under an able teacher. Before he went to college he had taught several years. On January 19, 1847, he matriculated at Wake Forest College. At that time Dr. William Hooper was just

assuming the duties of president of the College; for him the young Wallace conceived a great admiration, and by him he was baptized. Wallace was an able student and completed the college course in a half year less than the usual time, graduating with first distinction in June, 1850. Choosing medicine for his profession he entered the Medical College in the University of New York from which he received his medical degree. While a student in this school he was assistant in Chemistry to Dr. John W. Draper, who offered him a position in the University. However, he preferred to pursue his medical studies further and went to Philadelphia, probably to the University of Pennsylvania, where he was again assistant to the Professor of Chemistry. In 1854 he began the practice of medicine in North Carolina, but in December of that year moved to Texas, and located at Independence. For a period he was Professor of Latin and Greek in Baylor University, which was then located at Independence. In 1862 he was appointed regimental surgeon and departmental surgeon in the Confederate States Army. After the War he again took up the practice of medicine and continued it until 1874 when Governor Coke called him to the superintendency of the State Lunatic Asylum at Austin. It was in this work that Dr. Wallace achieved the greatest distinction. The following account which indicates the recognition is brought to him is from a statement by Dr. M. L. Graves, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Texas:<sup>4</sup>

Called by Governor Coke to preside over the State Lunatic Asylum at Austin, he developed a high order of administrative ability, and formulated policies and methods of care and treatment of defective and diseased minds of wide-reaching influence. So successful was this work that, when the Legislature of Texas made provision for a new and larger institution at Terrell, he was instructed by Governor Ireland to locate, build, and organize it, and for eight years superintended this great institution. To his business judgment, to his administrative and professional talent, was due the high place this institution at once took throughout the country. His papers before various scientific societies and the annual reports

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<sup>4</sup> *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 319.

of his institutional work were regarded as classical everywhere, and he has become known as one of our foremost alienists.

Elected to the Presidency of his State Association, and honored among his fellows, a new distinction was unanimously conferred upon this gifted son of the South by the American Medico-Psychological Association in its annual meeting at San Antonio, in 1903, by election to Honorary membership.

In this select circle of 24 eminent alienists in the United States and foreign countries, his name appears with Regis, Florel, Yellowless, and Clouston, whose achievements in mental medicine have become known of all men.

Early in 1891 Dr. Wallace returned to Waco, where he spent the remainder of his life. In these years he did only the work of a specialist and consultant in nervous disorders. He died November 21, 1911, having only a few days before completed his eighty-sixth year. He was considered the first citizen of Waco and one of the distinguished men of Texas, his name being "a talisman among the older people of Texas for all that is honorable, upright, pure dignified, and commendable among men."<sup>5</sup>

Gerard James Hinton, of Wake County, graduating from Wake Forest in 1852, received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1858. Locating at Chester, South Carolina, he came to an untimely death in 1858. John Cave Patterson, of Orange County graduated in the class of 1854, and pursued his medical studies in Philadelphia and New Orleans. He made his home at Chapel Hill and spent his life there in the practice of his profession. Henry Hamilton Harris of the class of 1856 won his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania. Returning to the home of his birth, in sight of the College, a mile to the north, he joined the occupation of a planter to that of physician. He died December 6, 1909. Of the class of 1858 two became physicians. One of these was William B. Watford, of Bertie County. He pursued his medical studies in the University of New

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<sup>5</sup> This account of Dr. Wallace has been compiled from the sketch quoted in the *Wake Forest Student*, and from the article in the same, XXVIII, 320 ff., "Reminiscences of Old Wake Forest," by Dr. Wallace, and from an obituary notice in the *Bulletin of Wake Forest College, New Series*, VII, 159 ff., based on an account in a Waco Journal.

York, and located at Colerain in his native county for the practice of his profession. The other, John Berry, Jr., son of the Captain John Berry, who built the first College building, studied medicine first at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. Seemingly dislodged from that place by the approaching Civil War he finally received his medical degree in 1864 from the Virginia Medical College at Richmond. During the War he was Assistant Surgeon of the Forty-second Mississippi Infantry. When peace came, he located in Hillsboro, the home of his boyhood, and practiced his profession there.

In addition to those just mentioned, who were graduates, a large number of other students of this period who did not win their degrees from the College, became distinguished as physicians and citizens. Among these was Solomon Sampson Satchwell of Beaufort County. He was in College from 1839-41. Afterwards he received his degree of doctor of medicine, but from what institution is not certain. In June, 1858, he made the address before the Literary Societies, a very able discussion of slavery.<sup>6</sup> On the formation of the Twentyfifth North Carolina Regiment, he was made its surgeon. In 1862 he left this post to take charge of Confederate States General Hospital of Wilson, in which position he continued until April, 1865.<sup>7</sup> After the War he made his home at Rocky Point, Pender County. In a few years he became a member and president of the North Carolina Medical Society. He was one of the organizers of the first North Carolina Board of Health and its first president.<sup>8</sup>

Another student of this period, Samuel Price Flowers of Wayne County also became president of the North Carolina Medical Society, and a member of the State Board of Health. He was at Wake Forest for the year 1850-51. In 1859 he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Pennsylvania, and located in Arkansas. In the Civil War he was surgeon in an Arkansas regiment; at its close he returned to Wayne County for

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<sup>6</sup> In the *General Catalogue* no degree is accorded him, but he is classed as an M.D. in the *First Biennial Report of the N. C. Board of Health*, 1879-80.

<sup>7</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, II, 291, 301; IV, 625, 627.

<sup>8</sup> *First Biennial Report of the N. C. Board of Health*, p. 3. This Board was organized at Greensboro, May 21, 1879.

the practice of his profession. He was an able, progressive physician and a frequent contributor to medical journals. He died June 6, 1886. Another of more than ordinary ability and prominence was Thomas Leach Banks of Wake County, who was at the College during the years 1848 to 1851. During the War he was Examining Surgeon. He also got his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania, class of 1854. He made his home in Wake County, and in 1888 was elected to the State Senate. Others of this period were Thomas Jackson Boykin, 1847-48, surgeon of the famous Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, and later head of the firm of Boykin, Cramer and Company, of Baltimore, wholesale druggists; William Christopher Council of Chatham County, who "went to Manasses in 61 to visit wounded relatives and was never heard from afterwards;" William George Freeman, of Norfolk, Virginia, a hospital surgeon in the War, and afterward located in Murfreesboro ; and John Henry McAden of Caswell County, 1851-53, who after a year at the University of North Carolina went to the University of Pennsylvania and won his medical degree. In the Civil War he was chief surgeon of Scales's Brigade. Afterwards he made his home in Charlotte where he was prominent in professional and business circles; Kimbrough Thompson, 1848-49, at first a ministerial student, turned to medicine, took his degree at Jefferson in 1855, and practiced his profession until 1863, when he became an ordained minister. He was first in Kentucky, and Missouri, but in 1866 returned to Surry County in his native state.



## XLI

### LAWYERS

The men who became lawyers constitute another group of the Wake Forest College students of the period 1834-62. Seventy-one of these are listed in the *General Catalogue*, of whom seventeen were registered before 1840, twenty-seven others in the years 1840-49, and twenty-seven others during the remainder of the period. Of these fifteen were graduated from Wake Forest College,<sup>1</sup> fourteen others got their degrees from other institutions-nine from the University of North Carolina, two from Columbian College, and one each from Princeton, Yale and Brown. Six others did some work at other institutions before taking up their law studies. Of the others, seventeen were registered in Wake Forest College for one year only, eight for only two years and twelve for three years or longer. On the average the academic attainment of these men on taking up the study of law was above the general average of the period from 1876 to 1934. The attainments of these men, both those who graduated and the others, on the whole most strongly commends their native ability and the character of the training they received in college. Though the records are incomplete, thirty-one or more, nearly half the number, are known to have been soldiers in the Confederate States Army, of whom eleven or more became officers, one a general, one a colonel, two majors, four captains and so on. Separate notice of some of these will be found in the individual accounts that follow.

Of the students of the institutions in the Manual Labor days, Hiram K. Person, of Chatham County, was registered for the years, 1834-36. In 1836 he delivered the Fourth of July oration, which has been preserved, and is a fair production for a college student. His further prominence in the Institute was shown by his being entrusted with the organization of the Euzelian Literary Society. After leaving Wake Forest he went to Texas, settled in

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<sup>1</sup> This number includes W. T. Faircloth who refused to take his degree and receive his diploma, because of a disagreement about honors.

Moore County and became a member of the Congress of Texas. He died there in 1843. Another student who entered the Institute in the first year was William G. Sutton of Bertie County. He remained at the Institute for four years, and after leaving practiced his profession in Williamston and Tarboro until his death in 1855. William Raleigh Gordon, of Camden County, was at the Institute in the years 1836-37. Afterwards he was a planter in his native county and a lawyer practicing in the courts of Camden and the neighboring counties. Another of this period was George Washington of Craven County, one of the three of that name who have been Wake Forest students. While at College he wrote an article for the *Biblical Recorder*, on "Wake Forest Institute," published earlier in this work, which shows good literary style. He was the first clerk of the Wake Forest Baptist Church. He located in Alabama and practiced his profession there. R. M. Noxon was another who registered in the first year of the Institute. He remained at College until 1837, and succeeded George Washington as church clerk. He located at Edenton.

Of the graduates who became lawyers, the first to receive his degree was Burwell Micajah Baxter, of Currituck County. He entered in 1835 and graduated in 1841. To his practice of law he added the occupation of a planter. His home was in Currituck County. He died in 1881. The next who after graduation became a lawyer was Henry Bate Folk, of Bertie County, who entered the College in 1846 and graduated in 1849. Going to Tennessee he became a lawyer practicing his profession in Memphis and Brownsville in that State until 1887 when he left the law for the ministry. He was afterwards manager of the *Baptist and Reflector* of Nashville, Tennessee, of which his son, Edgar Estes Folk, an alumnus of the College in the class of 1877, became editor in 1889 and continued as such until his death, February 27, 1917. Another son, also an alumnus of the College, Henry Bate Folk, Jr., had a brilliant but a brief career as a journalist. Graduating in 1883 he became Assistant Editor of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, and later of the St Louis *Republican*, but after a few months died, September 16, 1885. Another son, who also became distinguished

as a journalist was a student but not an alumnus of the College. This was Rean Estes Folk, who after serving as editor of other papers, in 1892 joined the staff of the Nashville *Daily American*. A fourth son was Joseph Wingate Folk, not a student of Wake Forest, who in 1901-02 won national renown by uncovering the corruption of municipal government in St. Louis and by his vigorous and fearless prosecution of the criminal officers.

In the class of 1852 were three who made law their profession. One of these was Bedford Brown of Caswell County, who practiced his profession in Person and Caswell counties. He was in the Confederate States Army. Another was Joseph John Freeman of Bertie County. He read law with W. H. N. Smith of Edenton, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. After serving in the Civil War he taught for some years in several States and in 1891 became a merchant in New York City. The third was Benjamin James Lea, of Caswell County. He moved to Tennessee and made his home at Brownsville, and soon became prominent in his profession, and in political affairs, being elected a member of the Tennessee Legislature. In the Civil War he was Colonel of the Fifty-second Tennessee Infantry. From 1878 to 1887 he was Attorney General; in July, 1890 he was made a Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Another member of this class, William Gaston Simmons, should perhaps be mentioned here also, for after his graduation he prepared himself for the profession of law, going to Chapel Hill, where he studied under Judge William H. Battle and Honorable S. F. Phillips. But being called to the professorship of chemistry and geology in his *Alma Mater* he abandoned law for teaching.

Two of the four members of the class of 1853 became lawyers. These were William Caswell Finch of Franklin County and Andrew Jackson Rogers of Granville. Finch received his license as a lawyer on December 30, 1854, and practiced in his profession in the counties of Franklin, Warren, and Halifax. He served in the Confederate States Navy. After the War he located at Ringwood, Halifax County. Rogers also returned to his native county, varying his practice of law with his attention to his plantation. He died

young. To be mentioned here is Rufus Yancey McAden of Yancey County, who had finished his work for a degree in the class of 1853,<sup>2</sup> but for the reason told in the footnote did not receive his diploma.<sup>2</sup> Becoming a lawyer he practiced in the years before the War at Yanceyville and Graham, going to the latter town in 1856. From 1862 to 1864 he was a member of the North Carolina Legislature and in 1866 he was the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Later he made his home in Charlotte where he became a banker and a cotton manufacturer. He died January 29, 1889.

There were none who became lawyers in the classes of 1854 and 1855, but two in the class of 1856. These were Thomas Jackson Foote of Warren County, and Benjamin Franklin Simmons of Montgomery County. Foote was licensed as a lawyer in 1858. In the Civil War he was a soldier in the Twelfth North Carolina Infantry and made Acting Adjutant of that regiment. He was mortally wounded in the battle of Frazier's Farm and died a few days after, on June 30, 1862. Simmons before the War moved to Arkansas, but with the opening of hostilities came back to North Carolina, and entered the service in the Fifth North Carolina Cavalry. After the War he located at Troy in his native county. He died about 1912.

It was in 1861, before another who became a lawyer graduated from Wake Forest College. This was Council Simmons Wooten, of Lenoir County, of an old and distinguished family. The most of his life he spent as a planter at Old Mosely Hall (LaGrange) where he devoted his leisure to writing and reading. For six years he was a lawyer with his office in Goldsboro; he was also a member of the State Legislature, and on the Board of Directors of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad. He was the last surviving member of his class of notable men, dying in 1930.

While those who did only a year or two of their academic work in Wake Forest College and afterwards graduated at other institutions cannot be considered altogether as belonging to the College,

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<sup>2</sup> See sketch of Owen in another chapter.

In the *General Catalogue* the name of McAden is not found in the list of graduates of 1853, but under his name is the notation: "A.B. 53, W. F. Col."

yet the College can claim an interest in those who did the major part of their work at Wake Forest and afterwards graduated in other institutions. Among these was George Sears Stephenson, who was a prominent student of Wake Forest during the years 1836-40, and who later received his bachelor's degree at Brown University. He became a lawyer in his native town of New Bern; he died in 1861. Another was Patrick Henry Winston, who spending the years 1841-44 at Wake Forest graduated at Columbian College in 1846, and as a lawyer became prominent in the Civil War in the service of North Carolina as Commissioner of Claims and Financial Agent between the State and the Confederate Government. He was a member of the State Convention of 1865. With more particular regard to his practice of law, he settled in his native county, Bertie, at Windsor, and according to his biographer, "he took rank almost at once at the head of his profession, maintaining it for forty years in a bar that has rarely been surpassed in the annals of the State."<sup>3</sup>

Another of this group was Willie Person Mangum of Hillsboro, who was a student of the College in 1844-46. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1848. In January, 1849, he was appointed a Tutor in the College and held the place until January, 1850. From 1861 until his death on February 11, 1881, he was Consul and Consular General to China and Japan. He was a strong friend of Matthew Tyson Yates with whom he was in College at Wake Forest.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 441 ff., sketch by R. W. Winston. There is one statement in this excellent sketch in which the distinguished author, though a son, is in error. It is this: "At the age of eighteen he left home and entered Wake Forest College, where in one year he accomplished the work of three, passing up rapidly from one class to another." The records of the College show that P. H. Winston registered for the fall session of 1841-42 on August 2, 1841; for the spring session on January 11, 1842; and that he registered for the fall session of 1843-44 on September 20, 1843; and for the spring session on January 10, 1844, and that he left on March 2, 1844. The records of grades show that he was credited for the work of 1841-42 and of 1843-44, and of these years alone.

<sup>4</sup> The list of Wake Forest students who got their degrees from other institutions and became lawyers is: Benjamin Franklin Atkins, Cumberland County, 1843-45, A.B. University of North Carolina; David Miller Carter, Hyde County, 1843-44, A.B., 1851, University of North Carolina; David Miller Carter, Hyde

Other Wake Forest students of this period who did not win degrees but afterwards became prominent in their professions or in civic life are numerous. Here may be mentioned William Hayes Cheek of Warren County, 1846-50, who in the Civil War became Colonel of the First North Carolina Infantry, and who on March 31, 1865, for gallantry in action was promoted to be BrigadierGeneral. After the War he was occupied as planter and merchant, but in 1882 turned to the practice of law at Henderson. Another was Charles M. Cooke, of Franklin County. From June, 1871, until his death in January, 1920, he was a Trustee of the College. He was a gallant soldier and officer in the Confederate States Army. After the War he was a member of the House of Representatives of the State Legislature and also its speaker. For sixteen years, 1903-19, he was a judge of the Superior Court.

Another student from Franklin County, William Furnifold Green, who was in the College for the year 1847-48, and afterwards attended Jefferson College for a time. In the Civil War he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1875 he was a member of the State Convention; later he was chairman of the State Board of Agriculture; he made his home at Franklinton.

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County, 1843-44, A.B., 1851, University of North Carolina; Charles Cauthorn Clarke, New Bern, 1845-47, A.B., 1849, A.M., 1852, Princeton University; George Michael Duskin, Orange County, 1853-55, A.B., 1857, University of North Carolina; William James Houston Duplin County, 1847-49, A.M., Columbian College; Willie Pearson Mangum, Hillsboro, 1844-46, A.B., 1848, University of North Carolina; William Stokes Norment, Robeson County, 1852-53, A.B., University of North Carolina; Walter Leake Steele, Richmond County, 1839-40, A.M., 1847, University of North Carolina; George Sears Stephenson, New Bern, 1836-40, A.B., Brown University; Patrick Henry Winston, 1841-44, A.B., 1846, Columbia College.

## TEACHERS, PLANTERS AND OTHERS

Many of the alumni and other students of the College of the period before the Civil War did some teaching, but the number who may be definitely classed as teachers is relatively small. Of the graduates the following did considerable work in teaching or made education the main work of their lives.

George Washington Collins of the class of 1846, after his graduation in 1848 returned to his native county of Warren, and was principal of an academy there for the year 1846-47. Going to Alabama he died there on May 8, 1848.

In the class of 1850 was Benjamin W. Justice, son of David Justice, a Trustee of the College, whose home was seven miles west of Wake Forest. For two years after graduation the young Justice was a tutor in the College. Then he moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where he was principal of an academy until 1859, when he returned to his native county. At the opening of the Civil War he entered the army and attained the rank of captain in the Forty-seventh North Carolina Infantry. After the War he settled in Raleigh as a merchant. For some years he served as Secretary of the Sunday School Board. He died September 22, 1871.

Thomas Cottrell Collins of Warren County graduated in the class of 1851, and for sixteen years was both a planter and teacher in his native county. In 1867 he moved to Asheville.

In the class of 1852 were three who became famous as teachers. One of these was William Gaston Simmons, whose work as a teacher was all in the College and will be told of in the general account. The other two were Samuel Owen Tatum of Davie and James Henry Foote of Iredell. After graduation they joined in a school at Farmington in Davie County. Here Tatum continued, except for the period of the Civil War, until his death on November 12, 1869. Foote remained at Farmington until 1856, when he became principal of the Baptist Institute at Taylorsville. Of his work there an account may be found under the head of "Associational Academies."

Being called to Wake Forest College in 1859, he remained until the opening of the War, when he entered the Confederate States Army, as Captain of Company I, First Infantry. Later he was assistant Adjutant General on the staff of Governor Vance. Of his work in the College an account will be found elsewhere. After the War he taught in Warrenton, and Raleigh and in 1872 moved to Wilkes County and settled at Roaring River. He was a member of the State Legislature and also Assistant United States Marshal. He died February 27, 1909. His son, Dr. Ovid C. Foote, Surgeon and Commander in the United States Navy in the Great War, graduated from the College in 1908.

Thomas Slade of the class of 1853 first taught at Trinity Academy in the Beulah Association, but soon moved to Alabama and taught in Marion and Macon counties. His home was at Lenox Castle.

In the class of 1854 were found three educators, Rufus Pickney Jones of Wake County, John Haymes Mills of Halifax County, Virginia, and Thomas Henderson Pritchard of Davie County. The work of Pritchard as agent of the College has already been told of in this work; of his later work as a president and Trustee an account will be given in another chapter. Of the other two some account follows:

Rufus P. Jones was the son of Elder William Jones, of Wake Forest, a member of the first graduating class of the College. As was told above he became the first principal of the Mount Vernon male Seminary, and remained in that position until 1859, when he moved to Arkansas. He returned to North Carolina in 1898 as principal of the Goldston Academy, but remained only one year.<sup>1</sup>

John Haymes Mills may be regarded as one of the greatest among the alumni of the College. He was born July 9, 1831; entered Wake Forest College in 1851, and graduated in 1854. In 1855, after a year at Milton, he became a teacher in the Oxford Female College, and in 1858 purchased it, and insisted on running it without the

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<sup>1</sup> T. H. Pritchard, *Wake Forest Student*, XI, 225. His wife was Amanda, eldest daughter of Rev. James McDaniel.



help of a board of Trustees.<sup>2</sup> In this work he continued until 1866, when he sold the College and moved his school to the building of the expiring St. Johns College. Late in 1867 he gave up this work, and purchased the *Biblical Recorder* of which he was editor for six years. The remainder of his active life was devoted to orphanage work, first, from 1873 to 1884 in the Masonic Orphanage at Oxford, and then, 1886-1895, at the Baptist Orphanage, now the Mills Home, at Thomasville. Such was the interest of Mills in this work and such his ability and success in instituting it and rallying others to its support that he is regarded as the father of the orphanage work in North Carolina. He was interested also in orphanage work in other States and made the first contribution for the building of the Virginia Baptist Orphanage at Salem. He died December 15, 1898.

Among the graduates in the class of 1855 who devoted their lives for the most part to teaching were Andrew Jackson Emerson of Chatham County, Philip Washington Johnson of Surry County, John Calhoun Pitchford and Robert T. Pitchford of Warren County, and Robert W. Trawick of Wake County.

Of Emerson an account has already been given under the head of "Preachers." He lived to extreme old age and died in Denver, Colorado.

P. W. Johnson taught for twenty-two years, from 1856 to 1877, in Alabama, and for five years, 1877 to 1882 in Georgia. He spent his last years at Wake Forest, much respected and beloved. "His life was a continuous example of the good." He died January 28, 1902.

John Calhoun Pitchford, Robert T. Pitchford, and James A. Pitchford, all graduating in 1855, were the three sons of Dr. Thomas J. Pitchford of Warrenton, who was a Trustee of the College from 1850 until his death in 1867. All three became teachers, but James soon turned to other pursuits and later became a minister as is told in the section on "Preachers." Robert T. after teaching in Kinston in the years, 1856-58, went to Alabama and taught there until the Civil War, when he entered the Con-

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<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 29, 1860.

federate States Army. He was mortally wounded in 1865 in the last assault on Petersburg. John C. was successively teacher, planter and merchant in North Carolina. During the War he was with his brother Robert in Pogue's Mississippi Battalion of Flying Artillery, but his life was spared. After the War he settled in Shocco, Mississippi, where he has attained a ripe old age. William Robert Trawick went to Arkansas after his graduation, and from 1856 to 1861 he was principal of a high school at Monticello in that State. From 1861 to 1863 he was a colporter in the Army. He died at Wilmington, North Carolina, in October, 1863.

Of the class of 1857 Moses Baldwin was nearly as much engaged in the classroom as in the pulpit, and B. F. Cole, is known only as a tutor of the College in the short period that he survived after his graduation. Some account of both may be found under the sections on "Preachers."

Three of the class of 1857 are classed as teachers. These are Joseph Dozier Boushall of Camden County, of whose work and heroic death some account may be found in the story of the Reynolds on-Chowan Institute; John Clayton Devin of Henry County, Virginia, who afterwards taught in Virginia, served in the Confederate States Army, and after the War settled in Brooklyn, Virginia; and Hardiman Dunn Fowler, of Rolesville, near Wake Forest. He taught before the War in Wake County, and after the War in Arkansas. He was in Jackson's Corps in the Confederate States Army. He is now, 1935, living in Duarte, California at the advanced age of more than 103 years.

In the class of 1858 there was none who turned to teaching, but in the class of 1859 were five, Thomas Deans Boone of Northampton County, William Carey Parker of Hertford County, and James Machet Taylor, Gates County, James McDaniel White of Chatham County, and Anthony Edmund Rhodes of Jones County. In the Civil War Boone was captain of Company F, First North Carolina Infantry. He had previously taught a year in Warren County, Mississippi, and after the War he taught in the years 1865-72 in Hertford County. In 1886 he was elected Clerk of Superior Court for that County. Parker was also a soldier in the

Civil War. After the War he taught during the years 1865-89 in Hertford County, during four years of that time, 1881-84, being Superintendent of Public Instruction for the county. In 1889 he moved to Seaboard, and a few years later to Wake Forest and conducted schools in both places. Like his classmates Rhodes also served as a soldier in the Confederate States Army. After the War he taught for the years 1865 to 1878 in North Carolina, after which he moved to Florida, and settled at Keysville. Taylor was associated with Boushall in the conduct of the Reynoldson-Chowan Institute in the years before the War; like Boushall he also entered the army where he attained the rank of major in the Fifth North Carolina Infantry. He died on October 3, 1867. Though White has already been mentioned under the head of "Preachers," his principal work was teaching, in which he was engaged except for the period of the Civil War, from his graduation until his death. He taught first at Clayton, then at Raleigh and then again at Clayton, and in other places.

Abram Wimbish Poindexter of Richmond, Virginia, is the only one after the class of 1860 who may be classed as a teacher; in the year after his graduation he taught in Alabama. With the opening of the War he returned to Virginia and entered the Confederate States Army, and attained the rank of captain. He was killed at the battle of the Crater, July 30, 1864; his younger brother, William Jordan Poindexter, also a student of the College, 1860-61, had been killed in the Peninsula Campaign in 1861. Thus robbed of his two sons, the venerable A. M. Poindexter was left desolate and disconsolate.

In the class of 1861 were two, who after serving four full years in the Confederate States Army attained the highest rank in the teaching profession, both being professors of great renown and success in Wake Forest College; these were Luther Rice Mills of Halifax County, Virginia, brother of John Haymes Mills, and William Bailey Royall. The story of these will be found in the later history of the College. Still one other member of this class attained high place, both because of his native talent and patriotism and for his interest in education. This was Thomas Fentress Toon

of Columbus County. Even before the Commencement he had volunteered for the service in the Confederate States Army; "On February 26, 1863, he was elected Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment; on May 31, 1864, was appointed Brigadier General, and on the 4th of June was assigned to command Johnston's North Carolina Brigade. He followed the fortunes of Lee, Jackson, Early and Ewell in all important engagements, unless deterred by some of the five wounds he received in battle."<sup>3</sup> After the War he taught in his native county, and in 1891 he settled in Robeson, engaging in farming, "thanking God that he had one arm with which to serve his country."<sup>4</sup> In the political revolution in North Carolina in which Aycock was elected Governor, Toon was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He had started to carry out the educational policies that Aycock had championed on the stump when he was overtaken by death, February 19, 1902.

Of the young men who, though on the field of battle, received their bachelor's degree in 1862, one was Junius H. Dunn of Wake County, who after the War taught for a few years in his native county. In 1869 he moved to Henderson.

Of those who attained success in educational work although they did not graduate at Wake Forest or any other college, mention should be made of Josiah Bridges Solomon of Franklin County, of whom record has been made under the head of "Preachers." As was told there, from 1870 to 1873 he was Professor of English at the University of West Virginia; from 1873 to 1875 he was president of Monongahela College, in Pennsylvania.

Seven of those who received their training at Wake Forest became presidents of colleges. These were Archibald McDowell, Chowan College; J. B. Solomon, Monongahela College; Washington Manly Wingate, Wake Forest College; John Haymes Mills, Oxford College; Thomas Henderson Pritchard, Wake Forest College, Andrew Jackson Emerson, Howard Payne College, Texas; Solomon Green O'Bryan, Bosqueville College, Waco, Texas. In

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<sup>3</sup> Toon's own sketch of the 20th Regiment, *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 125 f.

<sup>4</sup> The story goes that a passing traveler seeing a one-armed man—who was Toon—plowing, hailed him, and inquired of the cause, when he received the reply: "I thank God that I have one arm still to serve my country."

addition to these six became professors in Wake Forest. These were William Tell Brooks, William Thomas Walters, James Henry Foote, William Gaston Simmons, Luther Rice Mills and William Bailey Royall.

#### PLANTERS AND OTHERS

Nearly all the graduates of the College before the suspension in 1862 have been grouped in the classes of ministers, physicians, lawyers, and teachers. Of the others, some fifteen, more than half, are classed in the *General Catalogue* as planters. These in the order of their graduation are Thomas Henry Williams, New Hanover County, 1843, who died in Pender County on June 18, 1858; Frederick Campbell Bryan of Jones County, who died about 1866; Priestly Hinton Mangum, 1851, Hillsboro, inventor of the celebrated "Mangum Terrace," whose fine farm was on the ridge opposite the College to the north; Benjamin Franklin Biddle of Craven County, 1852, who died in 1863; James Bond of Bertie County, 1852; Nicholas Dixon Fennell, New Hanover County, 1853, who died in Alabama, September 20, 1863; William Junius Bishop, of Bertie County, a soldier in the Confederate States Army, who died in 1889; Benjamin Franklin Hester, of Granville County, 1858, who died February 7, 1926; James Kelba Lassiter of Sampson County, 1858; James Washington Mitchell of Bertie County, 1858, a soldier in the Confederate States Army; Thomas J. Pitchford of Warren County, 1858, who though sometimes a teacher, was chiefly engaged in farming; he was also a soldier in the Confederate States Army; George A. Graves of Yanceyville, 1859, a

captain in the fifty-sixth North Carolina Infantry, and later a tobacconist at Danville, Virginia; William Raleigh Lindsay, Rockingham County, 1861, a soldier, and later a journalist at Madison as well as a planter; and David Dowd Gill, 1862, of Wake County.

Of the remainder of the alumni, the occupation of Jonathan Merriam, Fremont, Illinois, 1847, is not given in the *General Catalogue*; nor is that of Rufus Charles Meachum, Anson County, 1849; nor that of Robert Hayne Burn, Cheraw, South Carolina,

1849; nor that of John H. C. Jones, Pickens County, Alabama, 1859.

William Hayes Owen, Summerville, Tennessee, 1851, became a merchant; Joseph John Williams, Pitt County, 1854, was Probate Judge of Pitt County; moving to South Carolina soon after the War he was a member of the State Legislature for several sessions; he died in 1889.<sup>5</sup> Frederick Marion Purefoy, Wake Forest, 1856, was a merchant and planter and the keeper of the Wake Forest Hotel for many years. Failing in the mercantile business late in life, he repaired his fortune by truck farming; he died in 1914. Charles Stephens Ellis, New Hanover County, 1857, was a regimental quartermaster in the Civil War; he made his occupation merchandising and the turpentine business, first at Wilmington and then at Savannah. Peter P. Parker, Hertford County, 1859, after serving in the Confederate States Army, became an accountant in New York City and in Norfolk.

The following alumni of this group gave their lives in the service of their State in the Civil War: Charles Wilmot Egerton, Franklin County, 1856;<sup>6</sup> John G. Jones, Person County, Colonel of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Infantry, and promoted to Brigadier General, killed in battle of Petersburg, June 17, 1864; Thomas Tinsely Lawson, Rockingham County, 1862, Captain, Company D, Thirteenth Infantry, died in army hospital, February 2, 1864.

Several of those already mentioned might be classed also as editors. James W. Hoskins was editor of the *Alabama Baptist* from 1845; J. J. James, was editor of the *Biblical Recorder* from 1854 to 1861; J. D. Hufham from 1861 to 1867; W. T. Walters for a few months in the fall of 1867; J. H. Mills from January, 1868, to 1872; while for several years in and following the Civil War W. M. Wingate was associate editor of the same paper. After 1875 T. H. Pritchard also was associate editor.

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<sup>5</sup> Pritchard, *Wake Forest Student*, XI, 224 f.

<sup>6</sup> Egerton died of fever, Hufham, *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 340.

## XLIII

### THE COLLEGE IN WAR

"Look at the long list of her sons who fell in the service of their country. They fell as brave men always should, with their faces to the foe. . .

‘Leaving in battle no blot on their name,  
Look proudly to heaven from the death bed of fame.’

"They freely shed their blood in the cause of their country, and the future historian of Wake Forest College should notice their gallantry, their glorious deaths and their devotion to their country. Their names should live as long as there is a page of American history. They have rendered themselves immortal, and the lover of his country's honor and glory will ever look back to their glorious deeds with admiration and applause. But they sleep with

‘The brave who sink to rest,  
With all their country's wishes blest.’

"There ought to be a monument to their memory erected at Wake Forest College. They filled many high offices, and that too, without military education, save Junius Wheeler. Had we been instructed in tactics there is no telling how high the Wake Forest students would have risen. We had to study the military art around campfires and at chance moments.

"Great God of Heaven and of Earth! If the veil could have been lifted, and we could have seen what was to be the future of the men who composed this little company. Nathan Mathewson served with distinction in the C. S. A. army as Captain. Another [Ingram himself], as the first blast of the war-bugle, rushed to the rescue of General Taylor, and served under him and General Scott in Mexico. At Vera Cruz, when we were marching about 15,000 Mexicans out of that strongly fortified city, after fighting a week, day and night, the band struck up Hail Columbia, and I immediately thought of Dr. Wait and the advice he had given me. One might travel a long time and over much of the world before he would see another such scene as that was. Four old Wake Forest boys were

there—Dr. Oscar Baxter and Quintin Busbee of the United States Navy, and Colonel Junius Wheeler of the United States Army."<sup>1</sup>

Ingram was also there; at the first blare of the trumpet he had volunteered for the service as a calvaryman. Colonel Junius Wheeler was a student at Wake Forest in 1843-44; after a year he had left the College for a cadetship at the United States Military Academy at West Point ; later he was on the teaching staff of the Academy. Qunitin D. Busbee was a student at the College in 1838-39. After leaving the College he studied law at the University of North Carolina, and was admitted to the bar. Oscar Fitz A. Baxter, of the class of 1840, had got his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and was in 1846 Assistant Surgeon in the Navy.

#### THE COLLEGE IN THE CIVIL WAR

When the Civil War came on, the College, like all other educational institutions of the South, was seriously involved. Professor L. R. Mills thus describes<sup>2</sup> affairs at Wake Forest about the time that North Carolina seceded from the Union, May 20, 1861. "I was graduated from Wake Forest College with the degree of B.A. the latter part of May [May 28], 1861. The same day the papers brought the news of the battle of Big Bethel, fought the day before. The excitement all over the South was intense, and, as in the case of Aeneas during the siege of Troy,

Furor iraque mentem praecipitant,  
and almost before I knew it I was a soldier in the Confederate army."

The students of the College were prompt to volunteer, for service in the army.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S. M. Ingram, "Old Times at Wake Forest," *Wake Forest Student*, XIII, 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of Wake Forest College*, New Series, I, 150.

<sup>3</sup> Major James H. Foote, who was in 1861 Professor of Ancient Languages in the College has this to say in the *Wake Forest Student*, XXVIII, 337: "At the commencement of the Civil War in 1861, one hundred of the students volunteered and formed a company to go to General Lee's army in Virginia, and to my surprise elected this scribe, then a member of the faculty, as their commander. We joined the first Regiment as Company I, and many of these brave sons were slain in the great and bloody battles on the soil of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania in defense of their country. I saw twenty-five of these



Nearly all the students then in residence entered the War in one capacity or another; in the fall term of 1861 only thirty students were enrolled, and as the number continued to dwindle the College suspended *Exercises* in May, 1862, when it was found the conscription laws of the Confederate Government made all students but five subject to military duty.<sup>4</sup> Of the ten members of the class of 1862, nine, of whom three were ministerial students, were already enlisted in the army or later enlisted. The tenth member was a minister.

During the course of the War nearly every sound-bodied former Wake Forest student, unless he was an ordained minister or too old for service, was a soldier in the Confederate States Army. The im-

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brave young men shot down, killed and wounded in the first battle at Ellyson's Mills in Virginia. Their record in arms is a proud monument to their memory. General Lee said in a letter to Governor Vance that he had no braver men in his army than the soldiers of North Carolina. I have the record of nearly every one of them filed in my library for future generations to see and emulate." This library, rich in historical material, was lost when Foote's house was burned, shortly before his death.

Major Foote, in 1882, was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General to Governor Vance in charge of the *Roll of Honor Department*, with the object of procuring a history of each soldier furnished by the State, and have it arranged by companies and regiments. (See *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 51 f.) It seems strange that he should have made a statement about the soldiers of the company he commanded which is not supported by the records. But of all the 158 men in the roster of Company I, 1st N. C. Regiment, there are found only three or four names of students of the College. This company was formed of soldiers of Wake and Franklin counties, as appears in Moore's *Roster of N. C. Troops*. Several of them lived in and near Wake Forest; possibly the students who enlisted were afterwards transferred to other companies. The second captain of the Company I, however, was Hardiman D. Fowler, an alumnus of the college in the class of 1857, who is still living in California at the advanced age of more than 100 years. In the whole year, 1860-61, the College had only 67 students. Possibly a temporary company of Wake Forest students was formed and elected Foote captain, but his words indicate that the Wake Forest men remained with him.

<sup>4</sup> Mills, *Wake Forest Student*, III, 273. It is to be observed that President Wingate and the faculty of Wake Forest College made no effort to resist the conscription laws of the Confederacy which made all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years residents of the Confederate States subject to military duty. Ordained ministers and teachers were exempt but students were not. On getting a ruling of the Secretary of War to this effect the president Wingate acquiesced, in striking contrast to the stubborn effort of President Swain of the University of North Carolina to have University students exempted; Swain succeeded in keeping the University open during the entire war.

perfect records of the *General Catalogue of Wake Forest College*, in preparing which the compiler was unable to obtain information about 182 of the 1087 students who registered in the Institution before it closed for the War, credits service in the Confederate army to 302.

Some of these were in the regements of other States than North Carolina. The following facts are interesting: Number of students enrolled before May, 1862, 1087; of these 139 were from other States—from South Carolina 63; Virginia, 43; Alabama, 9; Tennessee, 6; Mississippi, 6; Florida 3; Kentucky 2; one each from New Jersey, Illinois, Texas, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, England, China. Number registered after institution became College in 1839, 873. Before the Civil War 127 had moved from the State, of whom 14 were reported as dead before 1862; of those who remained in North Carolina 72 were reported as dead before 1862, making the total number reported dead 86. This leaves 1001 supposed to be living, but of these we have no information about 182, leaving 819 of whom the *General Catalogue* gives some information, but often incomplete. The number of ministers of the Gospel was about 105. Thus it seems as if the number of living former students of the College at the opening of the Civil War of whom we have information who were possibly subject to military duty was 714. Of many of these we know only that they had moved from the State; those in North Carolina of whom anything is known with the exception of ministers of the Gospel being a full hundred less, probably not more than 600. Of the living students of the College in the years 1834-62, who remained in North Carolina, it is probable that nearly fifty per cent were in the Confederate Army.

Of the 119 alumni of the College graduating from 1839 to 1862 fifty-three of whom only 110 were living in 1861, were in the military or naval service of the Confederacy, a large proportion considering the fact that forty-one of the 119 were ministers of the Gospel.

In the course of the war sixty-seven of the enlisted Wake Forest men lost their lives, thirty-five being killed in battle or dying from

their wounds and thirty-two dying of disease, more than twenty-two per cent of the whole. Those who were killed or mortally wounded in battle were : Lawrence Richard Anderson, Pitt County, 1842-43, Captain 44th N. C. Infantry, killed May, 1864, at Cold Harbor while in command of the regiment; Joseph Benjamin Barrett, Pitt County, 1853-54, killed at Sharpsburg; Luther Rice Bell, Oxford, 1857-58, killed 1862, battle of Malvern Hill; Francis Wilder Bird, Bertie County, 1847-48, Lieut. Col. 11th N. C. Infantry, killed in battle of Reams' Station; Joseph Dozier Boushall, Camden Co., A.B. 1857, Lieut. 43rd N. C. Inf., killed 1863 at Battle of Chancellorsville; Thomas O. Carroll, New Hanover Co., 1855-57, killed April, 1865, near Appomattox, in last battle before the Surrender; John Samuel Chambers, 1847-50, Lieut., killed in battle; Clingman Craig, Bertie Co., 1857-59, killed in battle of Gettysburg, July, 1863; Larkin J. Curtis, Wilkes Co., 1860-61, 1st Lieut. 1st N. C. Inf., killed in battle of Spottsylvania C. H.; Alonzo Timothy Dargan, Darlington District, S. C., 1856-58, Lieut. Col. 21st S. C. Inf., killed in battle, Petersburg, May 9, 1864; Thomas DeVane, New Hanover Co., 1854-55, detailed for coast defence, killed 1865; William Wells Fennell, New Hanover Co., 1852-53, killed at Malvern Hill, 1862; J. William Fleming, Greene Co., Ala., 1856-59, Staff of General Gunning, killed in battle of Baker's Creek, 1863; Thomas Jackson Foote, Warren Co., 1853-56, Acting Adj. 12th N. C. Inf., killed Frazier's Farm, June, 1862; Lucius Junius Gaines, Petersburg, Va., 1845-47, Captain and Assistant Adj. General of General McCulloch, killed in battle of Moscow, Tenn., December 4, 1863; William R. Hodge, Wake County, 1859-60, killed in battle near Richmond, 1862; William James Houston, Duplin County, 1847-49, Captain Co. I, 1st N. C. Inf., killed in battle, 1863; William McAden Howard, Caswell County, 1856-58, killed in battle of Wilderness, May 5, 1864; John G. Jones, A.B., 1862, Brig. General, killed in battle, June 17, 1864, Petersburg; Duncan Garrett McRae, Montgomery Co., 1858-59, killed in battle in 1863; Henry Walter Montague, Wake Co., 1858-61, killed at White's Store, Aug. 16, 1864; George Thomas Morgan, Gates Co., 1850-51, killed in battle; Robert T. Pitchford, Warren Co., A.B., 1855,

mortally wounded in last assault at Petersburg, 1865; Abram Wimbish Poindexter, Richmond, Va., A.B., 1860, Captain Co. K., 26th Va. Inf., killed battle of the Crater, July 30, 1864; William Jordan Poindexter, Halifax Co., Va., 1860-61, killed on Peninsular Campaign, 1861; Oliver Hazard Perry Prince, Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1834-35, Capt. 41st Ala. Infantry., killed by cannon ball in battle of Chickamauga, 1863; Edgar Justin Purefoy, Wake Co., 1861-62, killed June 18, 1864, Petersburg; John Sanders, Sumter District, S. C., 1853-54, killed in action, January, 1862; Asa Philander Slade, Hyde Co., 1854-55, killed on front of Richmond, 1864; Jesse Franklin Slade, Rockingham Co., 1837-38, killed July 1, 1863, Gettysburg; Thomas McGehee Smith, Milton, 1850-51, Major, 45th N. C. Inf., killed in battle, near Richmond, 1864; William Marcellus Thompson, Wake Co., 1846-49, Lieut., killed June 27, 1862, in battle of Gaines's Mill; Hufham W. Walker, New Hanover Co., 1856-58, killed in battle September 17, 1862; Thomas Edward Watson, Bertie Co., 1847-49, killed in battle of Corinth, 1862; John Eli Wilkins, Darlington District, S. C., 1859-61, mortally wounded before Petersburg, 1864.

Those who died from disease in the Civil War were: Benjamin James Blount, Nash Co., 1854-55, captured at Gettysburg and died at Johnson's Island, December 20, 1863; Cornelius Tyson Burroughs, Orange Co., 1854-55, died 1863; David Sylvester Davis, Hyde Co., 1855-57, Capt. Co. C, 66th N. C. Inf., Major of regiment, 1864, Lieut. Colonel (*North Carolina Regiments. The General Catalogue*, says that Major Davis died in army hospital in 1864, evidently a mistake as to date, if not altogether a mistake); John M. Dockery, Richmond Co., 1844-48, died in Army in 1865; Alonzo Harris Dunn, Wake County, A.B., 1862, died 1861; Nicholas Dixon Fennell, New Hanover Co., 1847-53, in Ala. regiment, died Sept. 20, 1862; David William Fort, Wake Co., 1835-36, died 1864; David Godbold, Marion District, S. C., 1858-60, died at Richmond, November 26, 1861; Brantley Jones Hackney, Chatham Co., 1850-55, died in C. S. Army, 1861; John Randolph Kelly, Columbus Co., A.B., 1860, died March 28, 1864 at Ocala, Florida;

Thomas Michael Lane, Marion District, S. C., 1847-48, captured in battle of Missionary Ridge; it is supposed that he died in Federal hospital soon after; William R. Larkins, New Hanover Co., A.B. 1860, died 1864; Joseph Bell Lasater, Chatham Co., 1849-50, died in 1861 soon after the battle of Manassas; Thomas Tinsley Lawson, Rockingham Co., Capt. Co. D, 13th N. C. Inf., Died Feb. 24, 1864, in army hospital, Orange C. H., Va. ; D. C. McGougan, Robeson Co., died Jan. 12, 1862, while at home on furlough; David Atlas Patterson, Orange Co., died 1865, in army hospital; Corydon Perry, Franklin Co., 1851-60, died June 2, 1862; Edward L. Richardson, Johnston Co., 1857-60, died in military service, 1864; Elbert B. Salmons, Wilkes Co., 1859-61, died in Raleigh, June 18, 1862; William Gray Strickland, Jr., Wake Co., 1853-54, died in 1864; David Evans Thomas, Marlborough District, S. C., Capt. Ala. Inf., died Aug. 7, 1862; James Maxey Timmons, Darlington District, S. C., 1849-50, Capt., died in service near Little Rock, Ark., 1862; John Morgan Timmons, Darlington District, S. C., 1850-51, 1st Lieut., died 1863; James Iver Toon, Columbus Co., 1861-62, drowned Aug. 4, 1862 in Cape Fear river ; William Robert Trawick, Wake Co., A.B. 1855, colporter, died October, 1863; John Tapley Trice, Orange Co., 1835-36, Mississippi, died 1863; William A. Vann, Hertford Co., 1860-61, chaplain, died in army hospital, Lynchburg, 1864; Thomas T. Walker, Person Co., 1855-58, died about 1864; James E. Watson, Chatham Co., 1854-55, died July 9, 1862; L. O. Wilcox, Halifax Co., 1850-60, died May, 1862.

About 130 of the Wake Forest men who were in the service of the Confederacy as soldiers were commissioned officers. The *General Catalogue* names twenty-six who rose to the rank of Lieutenant and no higher; forty-one others whose highest rank was that of Captain, and seven Majors, eight Lieutenant Colonels, four Colonels, and four Brigadier Generals. In addition there were ten or twelve Adjutants, one artillery officer; one quartermaster, and one signal service officer, twenty-two surgeons, nine chaplains.

Those classed as Brigadier Generals in the *General Catalogue*

are William Hayes Cheek, Richard Gaines, John G. Jones, and Thomas Fentress Toon.<sup>5</sup>

The first of these, William Hayes Cheek, of Warren County, was at the College, 1846-50. Afterwards from 1850-61, he was a lawyer in Warrenton. At the opening of the War he became Captain of Company E, First North Carolina Cavalry. In the *General Catalogue* is the following notation under his name: "Mar. 31, '65. Brig. Gen., C. S. A. (Promoted for gallantry in action)." Cheek has this to say about it in his account of the Ninth Regiment in *North Carolina Regiments*, I, 483

"So the appointment rested until after the 31st of March, 1865, when General Lee recommended that the commission be issued *for special gallantry* on the bloody field of Chamberlain's Run. If ever it was issued by the Secretary of War it never reached its owner, but was lost amid the wrecks and ruins of the Confederacy. Some of his friends think he is entitled to the rank and kindly call him General, but he aspires not to the title, preferring rather to be known as the colonel of a regiment which under his command, from the summer of 1863 to the Surrender, made a reputation second to none on the American continent.<sup>6</sup>

The next named as Brigadier General in the *General Catalogue* is John G. Jones of Person County. He was at first Captain of Company E, 35th North Carolina. On the reorganization of the regiment in 1862 he was elected Major and soon advanced to

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<sup>5</sup> Chief Justice Walter Clark, in the *North Carolina Regiments*, V, 652, Note, credits Wake Forest College with only one Brigadier General, Toon. As somewhat of an apology for having no account from the colleges of the States in the War, along with the excellent account of the University of North Carolina by Dr. K. P. Battle, he says:

"Our other Colleges of that date, Davidson, Trinity and Wake Forest, contributed many valuable officers and men to the war, but probably not as great a percentage as a larger proportion of their alumni were educated for the ministry. Wake Forest produced one Brigadier General, the late General Thomas F. Toon."

It may be said that the pages of the *North Carolina Regiments* name no other. In the text are named four, and the reason for assigning each that rank is given.

<sup>6</sup> In the *North Carolina Regiments* is an account of the Ninth Regiment by Brigadier General Rufus Barringer, which fully justifies the statement made in the text. Colonel Cheek was one of the best cavalry officers of the War.

Lieutenant Colonel, and in 1862 became Colonel. The account of the 35th Regiment in the *North Carolina Regiments* shows that he often commanded the brigade.<sup>7</sup> He was killed on the night of June 17, 1864, in a charge on the enemies' line around Petersburg. According to Professor L. R. Mills he had already been recommended for the rank of Brigadier General and his commission came the day after his death. Professor Mills often made this statement to the writer, saying that Jones had already selected him as his Adjutant. Jones and Mills were friends in College. Probably the statement in the *General Catalogue* has Mills for authority. The following extracts from the history of the 35th Regiment in *North Carolina Regiments* illustrates the courage which characterized the Southern soldier in that war, and the great heroism of Colonel Jones:

"The loss of the regiment was heavy. It carried into action 28 officers and nearly 500 men, and brought out 8 officers and less than 200 men. Its gallant commander, John G. Jones, was shot down early in the charge; rising he advanced a few feet, when he fell a second time. Calling for help, he was again going forward, when a third time he fell to rise no more.

"In the death of Colonel Jones the regiment sustained a loss almost irreparable. He had been a student at Wake Forest College; was a Baptist preacher before he entered the army [The college records do not indicate this]; was without any military training, awkward and unsoldierly in his carriage; but of unsullied character and indomitable courage. His military aptness was of slow growth, but developed as he gained experience until at his death he was recognized as one of the best soldiers of his rank in the army. It was currently believed in the regiment that while stationed at Kenansville, N. C., in the winter of 1863 and 1864, he met a young lady of very high social position and great personal charms ; but did not presume to declare his passion until he had won her by "the dangers he had passed," and that he only waited until he could wear the wreath of a Brigadier-General on his collar, when he would solicit her hand."

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<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 136, IV, 575.

Of General Thomas Fentress Toon, we have already given an account under the head of "Teachers." He was first Captain of Company K, and through the favor of the regiment was advanced to Colonel on February 26, 1863.<sup>8</sup> In May, 1864, he was appointed Brigadier General, According to *North Carolina Regiments*, his office was that kind peculiar to the Confederate States Army known as "temporary," and he had charge of the Brigade only during the absence from May until August of General R. D. Johnson, who was recovering from a wound.<sup>9</sup>

Richard Gaines, the fourth Wake Forest man to attain the rank of Brigadier General in the Confederate States Army, was from Petersburg, Virginia, and was a student in the College in the years 1845-47. He was a Civil Engineer, and in 1861 became an Aide to General Stonewall Jackson. He was afterwards an Aide-de-Camp of General Price. He was a Major and a Colonel of infantry. In 1865 he was appointed Brigadier General. He died, Paris, Texas, 1879.<sup>10</sup> We have no detailed record of his services.

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<sup>8</sup> The following account of his election is given in the history of the regiment by Colonel Toon in *North Carolina Regiments*:

"Major Slough and Captain Brooks waived their rights to promotion and requested the board to recommend Captain T. F. Toon for Colonel of the regiment. After the examination was over, the appointment was made. When this recommendation was endorsed by the officers of the regiment, the office was accepted, for it was held that the regiment had the right to elect their own officers, notwithstanding the effort of the Brigadier-General to have one of his own selection appointed."

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV, 523; I, xii and note.

The following is General Toon's account of himself, *op. cit.*, II, 125 f.

"Thomas Fentress Toon was born in Columbus County, N. C., 10 June, 1840. Son of Anthony F. Toon, Esq., of Irish and Welsh extraction, and Mary McMillan Toon, daughter of Ronald McMillan, of Scotland. 20th of May, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Columbus Guards No. 2, a company raised by his halfbrother, Captain William H. Toon, who was afterwards Major and LieutenantColonel of the Twentieth North Carolina. After enlistment he returned to Wake Forest College and graduated June, 1861 [May 28, 1861]. June 17, 1861 elected First Lieutenant of his company. July 22, 1861, elected Captain of his company, vice Captain W. H. Toon, elected Major. 26 February, 1863, elected Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment. 31 May, 1864, appointed Brigadier-General, and 4 June assigned to command of Johnson's North Carolina Brigade. He followed the fortunes of Lee, Jackson, Gordon, Early and Ewell in all important engagements, unless deterred by some of the five wounds received in battle. Lived in Robeson County, N. C., from 1891 until elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction."

<sup>10</sup> *General Catalogue*, p. 89.



In addition to Cheek, Gaines, Jones, and Toon who became Brigadier-Generals, four others who had been students at Wake Forest attained the rank of Colonel. These were: Samuel John Calhoun Dunlap, Kershaw District, South Carolina, 1853-54; Benjamin James Lea, Caswell County, 1849-52; Thomas Stephen Kenan, Duplin County, 1853-54; and James A. Washington, Goldsboro, 1844-47. Dunlap became Colonel of 46th Georgia Infantry, and nothing more is known of his army service. In 1892 he was living at Barton, Florida. Lea moved to Tennessee before the War and was Colonel of the 52nd Tennessee Infantry. Of his career as a lawyer and judge some account has been given under the head of "Lawyers." Kenan and Washington, were graduates of the University of North Carolina; the latter in 1851, the former in 1857. Kenan was Colonel of the 43rd Regiment, Washington of the 50th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; he died December 23, 1911. Both were gallant soldiers.

A Colonel of State troops during the time of the Civil War was Thomas Boushall of Camden County, 1855-58; he died, November 16, 1911, "the best informed man, the best known man, the best loved man in Camden County."

The number of Wake Forest men who attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel was eight. These were : Francis Wilder Bird, Bertie County, 1847-48, of the 11th North Carolina Infantry, who was killed at the battle of Reams's Station; David Miller Carter, Hyde County, 1842-43, a graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1851,<sup>11</sup> 66th North Carolina Infantry; Alonzo Timothy Dargan, Darlington County, South Carolina, 1856-58, 21st South Carolina Infantry, killed in battle, Petersburg, May 9, 1864; Oliver Hart Dockery, Richmond County, 1841-46, B.A. University of North Carolina, 1848, 38th North Carolina Infantry; William Foster French, Robeson County, 1856-57, 72 Regiment, "Junior Reserves";<sup>12</sup> William Furnifold Green, Franklin County,

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<sup>11</sup> Dr. Battle fails to include Carter's name in his list of University field officers in *North Carolina Regiments*.

<sup>12</sup> An incident in crossing the Haw River, near Graham, N. C.: "In the midst of the peril of crossing the river, Lieutenant Colonel French realizing the danger to which the smaller boys were exposed, jumped from his horse, and stationing

1847-48, Home Guards ; William Martin Pickett, Anson County, 1848-49;<sup>13</sup> David A. Settle, Rockingham County, 1856-57, 13th N. C. Infantry.

In addition to those who rose to higher ranks after holding the office of Major the following other Wake Forest men attained that rank: Thomas Covington Dockery, Richmond County, 1841-46, 22nd Mississippi Regiment; James Graham Kenan, Duplin County, 1853-54, B.A., University of North Carolina, 1861, 43rd N. C. Infantry ;<sup>14</sup> Thomas McGhee Smith, Caswell County, 1850-51, 45th North Carolina Regiment, killed at the battle of Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864; Robert Guilford Lewis, Franklin County, 1847-48, Assistant Paymaster in the Pay Department of North Carolina; James H. Foote, Iredell County, 1849-52, a Captain in the 1st North Carolina Infantry, who in 1862 became Adjutant General, and probably owes his rank to his tenure of that office under Governor Vance.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the same rank belongs to Charles Stephen Ellis, New Hanover County, 1849-50, 1853-57, who was in the Quartermaster Department of the First North Carolina Heavy Artillery.

Among the Wake Forest men in the Confederate States Army were several who were rated as Adjutants. These were: Thomas H. Allen, Craven County, 1853-54, Tenth North Carolina Artillery ; William Erastus Cannady, Granville County, 1855-58, who before the War had been a student of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and in the war as Assistant Adjutant General to General L. O'B. Branch, but died in 1862; Charles M. Cooke, Franklin County, 1860-61, 55th North Carolina Infantry; Edwin Keith Dargan, Darlington District, South Carolina, 1856-57,

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himself in mid-stream just below the line of march, rescued several of the brave lads from inevitable death." *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 61.

<sup>13</sup> Pickett's name is not found in the index to *North Carolina Regiments*, but he is said to have been a Lieutenant Colonel in the *General Catalogue*, and possibly served in a South Carolina regiment.

<sup>14</sup> In the *General Catalogue* Kenan is said to have been a Major, but there is no record of it in *North Carolina Regiments*.

<sup>15</sup> "In 1862 this department of the Adjutant-General's office was established. Major James H. Foote was appointed to manage it. The object was to secure a history of each soldier furnished by the State and have it arranged by companies and regiments." *Regimental Histories*, I, 52.

Pegram's Artillery; J. William Fleming, Greene County, Alabama, Staff of General Cumming; Thomas Jackson Foote, Warren County, Acting Adjutant 12th Infantry, mortally wounded 1862; George Reed French, Jr., Wilmington, 1859-61, Adjutant General's office; Lucis Junius Gaines, 1845-47, Assistant Adjutant General of General McCulloch, killed in battle, December 4, 1863; Albert Burren Gorrell, Forsyth County, 1858-59, 57th North Carolina Infantry; T. F. Powell, Richmond Co., 1859-61, "Staff of Gen. Jubal Early."

The Captains were : Lawrence Richard Anderson, Pitt Co., 1842-43, 44th N. C. Inf. killed May 1864, Cold Harbor; William Gaston Baldwin, Columbus County, 1856-58, 20th N. C. Inf. ; Samuel Simpson Biddle, Craven County, 1855-61, 1st N. C. Cavalry; George Washington Blount, Nash County, 1853-56, Capt. and Q. M., 55th N. C. Inf. ; Thomas Deans Boone, Northampton County, 1855-59, 1st N. C. Inf.; Benjamin Moseley Collins, Warren Co., 12th N. C. Inf. ; Thomas James Crocker, Wake Co., 43rd N. C. Inf.; David Sylvester Davis, Hyde Co., 1855-57, "Captain in C. S. Ar," died 1864; James C. Dockery, Richmond Co., 1834-37, "Capt. in Miss. Regt. C. S. Ar."; William Henry Dunlap, Kershaw District, S. C., 1853-54, "Capt. in C. S. Ar."; William Turner Faircloth, Edgecombe Co., 1849-54, Captain and Q. M., 2nd N. C. Inf. ; James H. Foote, Iredell Co., 1849-52, 1st N. C. Inf.; Hardiman Dunn Fowler, Wake County, 1853-57, 1st N. C. Inf. ; William Rufus Gaines, Petersburg, Va., 1845-47, "Capt. of Inf. C. S. Ar."; George A. Graves, Yanceyville, 1856-59, 56th N. C. Inf.; William James Houston, Duplin Co., 1st N. C. Cav., killed in battle 1863; Benjamin Wiley Justice, Wake County, 1841-50, "Lieut. and Capt. 47th N. C. Inf." ("Promoted to A. C. S. of Regiment" from Lieut. (*Roster of North Carolina Troops*)); John Randolph Kelly,

Columbus Co., 1855-60, "Bapt. Min., Capt. Co. 51st N. C. Inf.," died March 28, 1864; Thomas Tinsley Lawson, Rockingham Co., 1856-60, 13th N. C. Inf., died Feb. 24, 1864, "having recently married and carried his wife with him to camp," (*N. C. Regiments*) ; John Dickson Love, New Hanover County, 1836-37, "Capt. 7th

N. C. Inf., C. S. Ar." (not in *N. C. Regiments.*); D. G. McRae, 38th

N. C. Inf., killed May 3, 1863, Chancellorsville; Nathan Matthewson, (S. M. Ingram, *W. F. Student*, 13, 194.) Richard Marshall Nelson, U. S. Mil. Acad. West Point, Capt. of Ordinance; William S. Norment, Robeson Co., 1852-53, 18th N. C. Inf.; William P. Oldham, Orange Co., 1855-58, 44th N. C. Inf.; James Francis Oliver, Duplin Co., 1850-52, "Capt. in C. S. Ar." (Not in *N. C. Regt.*); Abram Winbish Poindexter, Richmond, Va., 1857-60, 26th Va. Inf.; Andrew Jackson Pollock, Kinston, 1858-59, "55th N. C. Inf."; Oliver Hazard Perry Prince, Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1834-35, killed by cannon ball in battle of Chickamauga, 1863; Joseph C. Richardson, Johnston Co., 1857-61, 53rd N. C. Inf.; George Washington Sanderlin, Elizabeth City, 1858-61, 33rd N. C. Inf.; Lycurgus Walton Scurlock, Jackson Co., Fla., 1840-43, 5th Fla. Cavalry; Henry Andrew Taylor, Nash Co., 1852-53, "Capt. C. S. Ar.," (Not in *N. C. Regiments*); James Matchet Taylor, Gates County, 1854-59, 5th N. C. Inf., Commanding the regiment at Lee's Surrender; David Evans Thomas, "Capt. Ala. Infantry."; John Alex. Wm. Thomas, Marlborough Dist., S. C. 1840-41, 21st S. C. Inf.; James Maxey Timmons, Darlington Dist., S. C., "Capt. in C. S. Ar., died in service near Little Rock, Ark., 1862; Joseph Boykin Underwood, Sampson County, 1857-58; 51st N. C. Inf.; Joseph Calhoun Whitted, Jones Co., 1841-42, 31st N. C. Inf. (the name is given as Joseph Whitty in *N. C. Regiments*); Edward Goelet Wooten, Lenoir Va., 1858-61, "Capt. Co. C, 27th N. C. Inf." (See also *Roster of N. C. Troops*; *N. C. Regiments* seems to be in error in regard to this.)

A list of the chaplains, colporters and missionaries is to be found in the second chapter on "Ministers." Dr. William Royall of the College faculty, served for a few months as chaplain of the 55th N. C. Infantry, while President Wingate preached as an evangelist in the army.

For some account of the surgeons the reader is referred to the section on "Physicians," above.

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