

1861.

For the Alumni House.

Princeton College Administrations in the Nineteenth Century.

BY JOHN DEWITT, CLASS OF 1861,
Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary.

(Reprinted from *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, for Oct., 1897.)

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PRINCETON COLLEGE ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

UP to the close of Dr. Witherspoon's presidency, Princeton College during each administration derived its special traits almost wholly from the president. He determined its curriculum; he exercised its discipline in all serious cases; he begged money for its maintenance; he led its religious life; he taught several branches of learning to the members of the higher classes. The distance at which many of the trustees lived and the difficulties of travel prevented frequent meetings of the board, and threw on him responsibilities, in number and variety, far beyond those now devolved on college presidents. The faculty of instruction was made up of himself and two or three tutors. The latter, by the constitution of the college, were so completely under his direction as scarcely to deserve the name of colleagues. The relation between the president and the students was immediate and close. He stood to them *in loco parentis*, and they felt at liberty to go to him at all times for advice and for aid. Princeton was fortunate in its presidents. Each was fitted by his character and prepared by his previous career for the conduct of his office. All had been pastors. In obedience to what they believed to be a divine vocation, all in early manhood had undertaken the cure of souls. Some of them had successfully conducted private schools, and all had had their religious affections warmed by evangelical revival. If some of the readers of this historical sketch should be disposed to criticise it because so much attention has been given to the presidents, the answer is obvious: the life of the college was almost wholly directed and determined by the president for the time being. To send a student to Princeton was to commit him to Samuel Davies or John Witherspoon for the formation of his character, for the discipline of his faculties, and, in some measure, for the direction of his subsequent life.

The death of Witherspoon marks the point at which the president loses much of his relative prominence. From this point onward the college has a powerful life of its own. Of course, the president is always the great figure in a college. But the

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presidents of Princeton after Witherspoon are far less prominent than the institution; and the success of their administrations is due to the exaltation of the college at the expense of activities to which their gifts would otherwise have impelled them. Jonathan Edwards expected to find in the presidency of the Princeton College of his day an opportunity for literary activity, and planned to compose a great philosophy of history with the title, *The History of Redemption*; but James McCosh, though always industrious as a writer, found the administrative duties of his position so various and so commanding as absolutely to forbid the composition of volumes like those which had given him distinction, before he came to America.

On the sixth day of May, 1795, the trustees unanimously elected Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith Dr. Witherspoon's successor. Dr. Smith had been vice-president since 1789, and had relieved the president of many of the burdens of his office. He accepted at once, appeared before the board and took the oath of office. His inauguration was postponed until the next commencement, the thirtieth of September following, when he delivered an inaugural address in the Latin language. For the first time the salary of the president was designated in the coinage of the United States. It was fixed at fifteen hundred dollars a year, with the usual perquisites. The new president was a native of Pennsylvania, and the son of a pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Pequea. His mother was a sister of Samuel Blair, the head of the academy at Fagg's Manor. He was the first alumnus of the college to fill the presidency. He was graduated in 1769, and as the first scholar of his class pronounced the Latin salutatory. A year after his graduation, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to Princeton as tutor in the college, and for the purpose of reading divinity under Dr. Witherspoon. He taught the classics and belles-lettres. Here he remained until 1773, when he went to Virginia as a missionary. The interest awakened by his preaching was deep and widespread. "Throughout the Middle and Southern States," says Dr. Philip Lindsley, "he was regarded as a most eloquent and learned divine by his contemporaries." The impression made by him as a preacher and scholar led to his call as the first president of Hampden Sidney College. He was president for three or four years, when the state of his health compelled him to resign. In 1779 he was invited to become professor of moral philosophy at Princeton, and though strongly attached to Virginia, he accepted and from this time on labored for his *Alma Mater*. He came only two years after the battle of Princeton. Dr. Witherspoon was a member of Congress, and a large amount

of administrative work fell on Prof. Smith. This work was done under most difficult conditions, for he was never strong; and on several occasions he was prostrated by hemorrhages like those which compelled him to retire from Hampden Sidney. Yet he neglected no work; and his learning obtained recognition from the two colleges of New England and from learned societies. In the year 1785 he was made an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society, and delivered its anniversary oration, an address intended to establish the unity of the species. In 1786 he was engaged with other eminent ministers of the church with which he was connected in preparing its form of government with a view to organizing the General Assembly.

Dr. Smith was anxious to extend the course of instruction and to enlarge the teaching body. Besides himself, at the time of his accession to the presidency, Dr. Minto was the only professor. Dr. Smith established a professorship of chemistry the year of his accession to the presidency. The first occupant of the chair was John Maclean, a native of Glasgow and a graduate of its university. When he had completed his medical course, Dr. Maclean gave special attention to chemistry, studying at Edinburgh, London and Paris. While at Paris he adopted new theories, not only in chemistry, but in government. He became a republican and emigrated to the United States. Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, to whom he brought letters, recommended him to settle in Princeton and practice his profession. Dr. Rush, at the same time, recommended the college to secure his services as a lecturer in chemistry. The lectures made a profound impression. In 1795 he was elected to the first chair of chemistry established in any college in the United States. It was through Dr. Maclean that Princeton College was enabled to perform a valuable service for Yale College. Benjamin Silliman, the first professor of chemistry in Yale College, writes as follows in his diary: "Brief residence in Princeton. At this celebrated seat of learning an eminent gentleman, Dr. John Maclean, resided as professor of chemistry, etc. I early obtained an introduction to him by correspondence, and he favored me with a list of books for the promotion of my studies. I also passed a few days with Dr. Maclean in my different transits to and from Philadelphia, obtained from him a general insight into my future occupation, inspected his library and apparatus, and obtained his advice respecting many things. Dr. Maclean was a man of brilliant mind, with all the acumen of his native Scotland, and a sparkling wit gave variety to his conversation. I regard him as my earliest master of chemistry, and Princeton as my first starting-point in that pursuit, although I had not an opportunity to attend

any lectures there." All accounts of Prof. Maclean show that the admiration expressed for him by Dr. Silliman was general. Archibald Alexander visited Princeton in 1801, and wrote of him as one of the most popular instructors who ever graced the college. "He is at home," says Dr. Alexander, "almost equally in all branches of science. Chemistry, natural history, mathematics and natural philosophy successfully claim his attention." For a period of seventeen years he was professor in Princeton College. In 1812, believing that a milder climate would restore his health, he resigned and accepted the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry at William and Mary; but before the first college year closed, illness compelled him to resign. He returned to Princeton and died in 1814.

The funds of the college and its buildings suffered greatly during the War of the Revolution. Its library was scattered and its philosophical apparatus almost entirely destroyed. The trustees appealed to the State of New Jersey for aid, and the state granted six hundred pounds a year, proclamation money, for a period of three years; the use of the money being limited to the repair of the college buildings, the restoration of the college library and the repair and purchase of philosophical apparatus. This appropriation was intended simply to make good losses which the college had suffered as a consequence of the war; and if the influence exerted by the college on behalf of the independence of the colony is considered, it must be regarded rather as the payment of a debt than as a gift. Dr. Minto, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, died in 1796. The college was too poor to fill his place with another professor, and the work of his chair was taken by Prof. Maclean. The reputation which Prof. Maclean gave to the college led to applications on the part of students who desired to pursue only the scientific part of the college curriculum. These applications were granted by the board, and a resolution was passed not only that they should be permitted to read on scientific subjects only, but also that they should receive certificates of their proficiency, to be publicly delivered to them on the day of commencement, the college reserving to itself the privilege of bestowing honorary degrees on those who have highly distinguished themselves in science in this or other colleges.

As though the college had not been sufficiently disciplined by its poverty and the calamities incident to the war of Independence: on the sixth of March, 1802, Nassau Hall, except the outer walls, was destroyed by fire. This was the second destruction of the library and a large part of the philosophical apparatus. The trustees met on the sixteenth, and at once determined to rebuild upon the orig-

inal plan of the college, making, however, a few alterations, partly with a view to security from fire, and partly to increase the room devoted to instruction and philosophical apparatus. An address was issued to the people of the United States, reciting the design and history of the college and appealing to the friends of religion, of science and of civil liberty for contributions for the rebuilding of the hall and the endowment of the institution. Forty thousand dollars were subscribed. In 1802 the chair of languages was founded, and William Thompson* was chosen its professor. In 1803, Dr. Henry Kollock,† a graduate of the class of '94, was elected professor of theology and Andrew Hunter, also an alumnus, professor of mathematics and astronomy.

A report from the faculty to the board describes in great detail the curriculum at this time, of which Dr. Maclean justly says, that no one after reading it can fail to see that the labors of the president, professors and tutors must have been extremely arduous, and that the course of instruction was liberal and in many respects would compare favorably with that of the college at a much later date. So rapidly did the number of students increase, that in 1805 it was proposed to erect an additional building. It was thought that a wealthy gentleman interested in scientific pursuits would aid the college, but his offer was withdrawn, with the result that seventy students were compelled to room elsewhere than in Nassau Hall. How rapid this increase was may be inferred from the fact that in 1806 fifty-four members of the senior

* William Thompson, in 1802, was called from Dickinson College, Pa., where he had been professor of Languages to the chair with the same title in Princeton. Dr. Maclean (*Hist.*, Vol. ii, p. 45), says of him: "He had the reputation of being an accurate scholar, a good teacher and an excellent man. He was advanced in life when he had become Professor in Princeton College, and after a few years, his mind giving way under the pressure of arduous duties, he was constrained to give up his position, and died not long after."

† Henry Kollock was born at New Providence, N. J., December 14, 1778, and was graduated at Princeton, 1794: in 1794 was appointed tutor, with John Henry Hobart, afterwards P. E. Bishop of New York, who says of Kollock: "Although he is a Democrat and a Calvinist, he is the most intelligent, gentlemanly and agreeable companion I have ever found." He pursued his theological studies without a preceptor and "made considerable proficiency," says Dr. Carnahan, "in Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic." His teachers in theology were the great English theologians, Anglican and Puritan. He was licensed to preach in 1800 and soon after became pastor of the Church of Elizabethtown. In 1803 he returned to Princeton as pastor and professor of theology. In 1806 he accepted a call from the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah. He died December 29, 1809. Dr. Carnahan, Bishop Capers, of the Methodist Church, and the Hon. John M. Berrien, of Georgia, all speak of him as a man of great eloquence, charming in society and exceptionally faithful and acceptable as a Christian pastor. Vide *Sprague's Annals*, Vol. iv, pp. 273 *et seq.*

class were admitted to the first degree in the arts. At no previous period in its history had the college attained an equal degree of prosperity and reputation. The faculty consisted of a president, four professors, three tutors and an instructor in French, and the number of students had risen to two hundred. Indeed, the number of students was almost too large for the faculty. Disturbances occurred which compelled that body to invoke in their behalf the authority of the trustees. Commencement day was regarded as a public holiday for the population of the entire district in which the college was situated. It furnished an occasion for other than academic sport. "Eating and drinking, fiddling and dancing, playing for pennies, and testing the speed of their horses, were the amusements to which no small numbers of those assembled on such occasions were wont to indulge." Just because of the college's prosperity discipline was difficult to exercise; but had the trustees not interfered with the faculty, it is probable that the strife arising from time to time between the students and their instructors would have been easily composed.

In 1810 and 1811 conferences were held between a committee of the trustees and a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church on the subject of establishing a theological seminary for that church. The intimate relations between the college and the General Assembly, the large support that the college had received from Presbyterians, and the benefits which in return it had conferred upon that communion led both the trustees of the college and the committee of the General Assembly to consider seriously the question of affiliating the theological institution so closely with the college as to make the two institutions one. This plan was soon abandoned. But the trustees and the committee concurred in the belief that the seminary might well find its home near to the college; and an agreement was made by which the trustees engaged not to appoint a professor of theology in the college should the seminary be permanently established at Princeton. The college retained its freedom, and the seminary was established as an institution of the General Assembly, beginning its life in 1812. While the immediate effect of the establishment of this new institution was to prevent for many years all collection of funds for the improvement of the college, both institutions derived substantial advantages from their establishment in the same town, and from their warm friendship.

Dr. Smith resigned in 1812. He lived seven years after his retirement. He revised and published some of his works. He died on the twenty-first of August, 1819, in the seventieth year of his age. The graduates of the college during his administration did

not, as a class, gain the distinction reached by those graduated under his predecessor; but the list includes a vice-president of the United States, two presidents of the United States Senate, nine United States senators, twenty-five members of the House of Representatives, four members of the president's cabinet, five ministers to foreign courts, eight governors of states, thirty-four judges and chancellors, and twenty-one presidents or professors of colleges.

Dr. Ashbel Green's administration of the college, as president *pro tempore*, soon after the burning of Nassau Hall, in 1802, was so successful, that upon Dr. Smith's resignation he was unanimously chosen president. When elected he was a trustee. He was an alumnus. His father, the Rev. Jacob Green, a graduate of Harvard, was one of the trustees named by Governor Belcher in the second charter: his grandfather, the Rev. John Pierson, a graduate of Yale, was one of the promoters of the college and a trustee under the first charter; and his great grandfather, Abraham Pierson, a graduate of Harvard, was one of the founders of Yale, and its first president and rector. His father had acted as president of the college, with the title of vice-president, during the period intervening between the death of Jonathan Edwards and the election of Samuel Davies. Ashbel Green was born at Hanover, in Morris county, New Jersey, in 1762. He was graduated at the college in 1793, and delivered the valedictory oration. Immediately after graduation he was appointed tutor; and two years afterwards was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. After holding his professorship for a year and a half, he accepted a call from the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. In this position he had from the beginning an eminent career. His fine presence, courtly manners and prominent family connections made him a prominent citizen of Philadelphia. As Philadelphia was the national capital, he was brought into intimate contact with some of the most eminent men of the country. His autobiography is one of the interesting personal records of the period. He had scarcely been settled in Philadelphia when the work of reorganizing the Presbyterian Church for the now independent United States was begun. This work was contemporaneous with the formation of the Federal Constitution. Young as he was, no minister of the church, not even Dr. Witherspoon, was more influential in this important and difficult work. From the first he was in favor of the separation of Church and State, and strongly advised those changes in the Scotch Confession of Faith which placed the Presbyterian church of this country specifically on the platform of the widest religious liberty.

He was a high Calvinist and a strong Presbyterian, active in the

church's judicatories and deeply interested in the organization of its missionary work. He was elected chaplain of the congress of the United States in 1792, with Bishop White, and was reelected by every successive congress until, in 1800, the capital was changed from Philadelphia to Washington. During his pastorate in Philadelphia he made two extended journeys, one to New England and the other to Virginia, and was received in both sections of the country as a man of eminence. He was deeply interested in theological education; was one of the original committee of the General Assembly to organize a theological seminary, and was the author of the plan for a theological institution which the assembly adopted and to which it gave effect in the institution at Princeton. He was president of its board of directors from the beginning until his death in 1848; and when, in 1824, the trustees of the theological seminary were incorporated, he was made one of them, and continued a trustee for the remainder of his life. At the time of his election to the presidency of Princeton College he was the best known and probably the most influential minister of the Presbyterian Church.

On the twenty-ninth of October 1812, after having been a pastor for more than twenty-five years, he left Philadelphia for Princeton, and entered upon the duties of the college presidency. The trustees associated with him Mr. Elijah Slack, vice-president of the college and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and chose two tutors. Soon after, Mr. Lindsley was elected professor of languages. During the first year of Dr. Green's administration these gentlemen constituted the faculty. The period was one of great excitement throughout the country. It was the year of the beginning of the second war with Great Britain. The excitement of the nation was reflected in the life of the college. Discipline was difficult. Soon after Dr. Green's induction disturbances became so serious as almost to threaten a general rebellion. The conduct of the faculty and of Dr. Green, especially, in the suppression of the disturbances and in disciplining the offenders was eminently wise; certainly, it was so regarded by the trustees. The latter body put on record its opinion that the faculty manifested a degree of prudence, vigilance, fidelity and energy that deserved the warmest thanks of every friend of the college. The succeeding year was passed not only without any recurrence of the difficulties, but with good order and a profound religious movement. This was true also of the year 1815. But the college year of 1816-17 proved, "to be the most turbulent year of Dr. Green's administration." It was the year of the great rebellion, and was ended with the dismissal of a large number of students. The

action of the trustees, or the remarks of some of them, following the rebellion, the vice-president of the college interpreted as a reflection on himself; and he resigned. Dr. Slack was a man of ability, and indeed of eminence in the departments under his charge, and Dr. Maclean, who knew him, pays a high tribute to his character, his fidelity and ability. The vacancy caused by his resignation was filled by the election of Prof. Henry Vethake, a member of the faculty of Rutgers College. In 1818 a chair was added with the title of Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History. Dr. Jacob Green, son of the president and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, was elected and filled it with ability until his father's resignation.

Meanwhile, as the college was increasing in numbers, the trustees proposed to build a new edifice and to place its students under the government of an entirely different faculty so soon as the number of students should render it expedient to do so. A site was not selected, but a committee was appointed to seek one within the limits of the village, and resolutions looking to the endowment of this new college were passed. The plan failed. Had this succeeded, it is probable that Princeton University to-day would have been a collection of small colleges under one corporation. In 1819, the qualifications for admission were made more severe, but the regulations could not be enforced owing to the inefficiency of the preparatory schools on which the college depended for students. The subject of discipline was oftener before the trustees during this administration than during any other; and in a resolution the relation of the faculty to the students was fixed. Dr. Green's health compelled him to resign in 1822. No one of his predecessors had before him more difficult problems connected with the interior life of the college. These he solved with great wisdom and conscientiousness. The trustees received his letter of resignation with deep regret. When they accepted it, they addressed him a letter in which they said: "In accepting your resignation, they cannot withhold the expression of their highest respect for your ministerial character, your general influence in the Church of God, your uniform and unwearyed exertions to promote the best interests of the students under your care both for time and eternity. Under your auspices the college has not only been extricated from its financial difficulties, but it has secured a permanent source of increasing income, while it has sent forth a number of students not exceeded in former times, calculated to give stability to its reputation, a ledge for the continuance and the growth of its usefulness to the church and state." After his retirement from the presidency he returned to

Philadelphia, where he had been so eminent and successful as a pastor, and lived for twenty-two years a life of great activity and usefulness. He was influential in the missionary work and in the judicatories of the church. He was eminent as a citizen and a churchman. He was most deeply interested in the religious life of the students while connected with the college. He was stongly attached to the church in which he had been born, and which he had done so much to organize after the revolutionary war. Probably, he was at his best when addressing a deliberative body, or acting as a councilor upon a committee. In these two positions he was unexcelled; and it was his eminence and reputation as a councilor and legislative speaker that led ~~to~~ his successor, Dr. Carnahan, to say at his burial: "By his talents he was fitted to fill any civil situation, and by his eloquence to adorn the halls of our national legislature." He died when eighty-five years of age, in the year 1848, at Philadelphia, and was buried at Princeton in the cemetery where his predecessors were at rest.

After the resignation of Dr. Green, the trustees elected as president Dr. John H. Rice, of Richmond, Va. Dr. Rice was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place, an eloquent and widely popular preacher, an influential writer on ecclesiastical and theological subjects, and deeply interested in collegiate and theological education. Owing to the severe illness with which he was suffering at the time of his election, and which continued for several months, he was unable to respond to the invitation until the fourteenth of March, 1823. In a letter of that date, he declined the position, believing that he was called to labor in the south; and not long afterwards he accepted a call to the chair of systematic theology in the theological seminary at Hampden Sidney, Va. The trustees appointed Prof. Lindsley to the vice-presidency and put upon him the duties of the higher office until the president-elect's arrival in Princeton. Mr. John Maclean was made teacher of mathematics and natural philosophy. Prof. Lindsley, Mr. Maclean and two tutors constituted the faculty, and about eighty students were in residence. On receiving Dr. Rice's declinature, the trustees at once elected vice-president Lindsley to the presidency; but Dr. Lindsley declined, probably because the election was not unanimous. The board then chose the Rev. James Carnahan, a native of Pennsylvania, and, at the time of his election, forty-eight years of age. Through both father and mother he was descended from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had settled in the Cumberland Valley. His father had been an officer of the army of the colonies during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Carnahan was graduated at Princeton in 1800 with high honor.

After a year's theological study under the Rev. Dr. John McMillan, at Cannonsburg, Pa., he returned to Princeton, and was for two years a tutor in the college. Although earnestly pressed to remain, he resigned in 1803. He labored first as a pastor, largely in the state of New York, and afterwards as a teacher. For eleven years preceding his election, he taught with great success an academy at Georgetown in the District of Columbia. He was highly esteemed throughout the communion of which he was a minister as a man of excellent judgment and absolute devotion to whatever work he gave himself.

The condition of the college was such as to make the office of president anything but inviting. The students were few. The income was small. There was almost no endowment. Repeated efforts had been made to increase the permanent funds, but it appeared impossible to excite any general interest in its welfare. There were conflicting views within the board of trustees as to the general policy of the college, and the personal relations between some of the members of the board were severely strained. Happily, Dr. Carnahan was unaware of the whole truth when the office was tendered to him. Had he known all, he would undoubtedly have declined. Indeed, so depressed was he by these difficulties, that not long after his acceptance, he made up his mind to abandon the office; and he finally retained his place only because of the earnest pleadings of his young colleague, Prof. Maclean.

Notwithstanding these exceptional burdens and perplexities, his administration after a few years became and continued to be singularly successful. The number of students was largely increased. The curriculum was enriched. The faculty was enlarged by the foundation of new chairs, and by the election of professors, some of whom became eminent in their respective departments, and whose memories are to-day among the most highly valued possessions of the university. The general catalogue contains the names of thirty professors who were elected during Dr. Carnahan's presidency. Among them are several of the most distinguished names in the annals of American science and letters. The discipline of the college, though lenient, was firmly and equitably administered, and the influence exerted by the college on the students during their residence had never before been stronger or more beneficent.

The success of Dr. Carnahan was due in part to his calm temperament, the fine balance of his faculties, his unselfish devotion to the college, and his patience under adverse conditions; partly to the liberty of action granted by him to his younger colleagues in the faculty; and largely to the remark-

able enthusiasm, energy and intelligence of the senior professor, John Maclean, who, in 1829, when not yet thirty years of age, was elected vice-president of the college. Those, who remember Dr. Maclean only in his later years, will have difficulty in bringing before them the man who, as vice-president, shared with Dr. Carnahan the duty of determining the general policy of the college; and of taking the initiative in the election of professors for chairs already established, in founding new chairs, in enlarging the number of students, and in settling the principles of college discipline. He was a man of quick intelligence, able to turn himself to almost any teaching work, always ready to change his work or to add to it, and always willing to accept a reduction of income. He was especially vigilant in looking out for new and additional teachers; but at all points he was alert, and his one ambition was the prosperity of the college. Between Dr. Carnahan and Dr. Maclean there existed, from the beginning to the close of the former's administration, a warm and intimate friendship. Each was perfectly frank with the other. Each highly valued the other. Each finely supplemented the other; and each was ready to efface himself or to work to the point of exhaustion in the interests of the institution. It is but justice to the memory of both of them to say that the administration of Dr. Carnahan, especially from 1829 until his resignation in 1854, was a collegiate administration in which the two colleagues labored as one man, the distinctive gifts of each making more valuable those of both.

Soon after Dr. Carnahan's election, the college lost the services of Vice-President Lindsley, who, as professor of languages, had done much to give the college fame. He was popular both in the college and beyond it, and his popularity was deserved. He was invited to many positions of prominence in educational institutions, both before and after he left Princeton in order to become president of Cumberland College in Tennessee. He was high-spirited, and unduly sensitive, faithful to duty not only, but enthusiastic; and as a teacher "one of the best," says Dr. Maclean, "of whom I have any knowledge."

When Dr. Lindsley retired, the smallness of the faculty compelled each of the remaining members to do an extraordinary amount of teaching as well as administrative work; and it became evident that the faculty must immediately be enlarged. The Rev. Luther Halsey was made professor of chemistry and natural history, and his acceptance gave some relief to his elder colleagues. The change in administration made discipline difficult, and the faculty appear to have begun Dr. Carnahan's administration by making one or two serious mistakes, and thus to have been responsible for

an exodus of students to Union College. One was that of invoking the civil authorities to aid the college in inflicting punishment, in a case in which college discipline ought to have been regarded as sufficient. The faculty voted, against the opposition of the president and vice-president, that the offenders should be handed over to the secular arm. These mistakes were not repeated. In 1826, the first Young Men's Christian Association connected with any college in the United States was organized in Princeton, under the name of "The Philadelphian Society;" and from that time to the present it has continued its beneficent work as the central organization of the students for religious work. The same year at commencement the first Alumni Association of Nassau Hall was formed, with James Madison, of Virginia, as president, and John Maclean as secretary.

The college continued a small institution until 1828 or 1829, when the policy of increasing the professors began to be energetically prosecuted. In this policy is to be found the chief cause of the success of Dr. Carnahan's administration. In 1829, Prof. Robert B. Patton, the successor of Dr. Lindsley as professor of languages, resigned. His resignation was a great loss to the college. He was so able a teacher as fully to have maintained the reputation which the college had secured for instruction in language during Dr. Lindsley's life in that chair. It was at this time that the board of trustees, in 1830, took the bold step of appointing six new professors, transferring, in order to do so, Prof. Maclean to the chair of ancient languages and literature. Prof. Albert B. Dod was given the chair of mathematics; Prof. Vethake, who had expressed a wish to return to Princeton, the chair of natural philosophy; John Torrey* was made the professor of chemistry and natural history; Dr. Samuel L. Howell was called to the chair of anatomy and physiology; Mr. Lewis Hargous was made professor of modern languages; and Mr. Joseph Addison Alexander† was

* John Torrey, M.D., LL.D., was born in New York, August 15, 1796, studied medicine and was admitted to practice in his native city. He was professor of chemistry at Princeton from 1830-1854. His fame rests chiefly on his contributions to botany. His active labors in this department were begun in 1815 and continued to the close of his active life. His student and associate in labor and especially in the publication of the *Flora of North America*, 1838-1843, Asa Gray, afterwards of Harvard, has written a sketch of his life, published in the Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, 1877. On his retirement from Princeton, he recommended as his successor his pupil, Dr. J. S. Schanck, LL.D., now emeritus professor of chemistry.

† Joseph Addison Alexander, D.D., was born at Princeton, April 24, 1809. He was graduated with the first honor of his class in 1826. After his resignation of his chair in the college, he was elected associate professor of Oriental

appointed adjunct-professor of ancient languages and literature. No braver step was ever taken by an American college. It was soon justified by a large increase in the number of students. While the whole college had numbered up to this time less than one hundred, in 1830 and 1831 sixty-seven new students were received. The next year there were one hundred and thirty-nine in the college, and the number rose, roughly speaking, year after year, until the beginning of the civil war. The most remarkable increase is that in the decade between 1829 and 1839. In 1829 there were but seventy students, while in 1839 there were two hundred and seventy. The election of the six professors just named was only the initiation of a policy that was faithfully executed during the whole of the administration. Two years later the college secured the services of Joseph Henry, whose exceptional greatness as a man of science gave celebrity to the institution, and whose transparent goodness endeared him to both colleagues and students. In 1833, James Waddell Alexander* was elected professor of belles-lettres. In

and Biblical literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1840 he was elected professor; in 1851 he was transferred to the chair of Biblical and ecclesiastical history, and in 1859 to the chair of Hellenistic and New Testament literature. He died in 1860. His power of rapidly acquiring knowledge and his extraordinary memory enabled him to read in twenty-five or more languages. His interest in them was rather literary than philological. His wide cultivation, his fine gifts of expression and his enthusiasm in scholarship and literature made him a brilliant and stimulating lecturer in every department conducted by him. His essays, sermons and commentaries show him to have been an exact scholar as well as a man of letters. His published works are many and valuable. All of them show remarkable talents and some of them genius. But they do not fairly exhibit either the high quality of his intellect or his fertility. All were written rapidly, as though he were impatient to pursue another of the many subjects to which his large and various knowledge invited him. Few Americans enjoyed so thoroughly as he did a scholar's life and very few have brought into the lecture room so much of inspiration for their students. He was thought to be the most gifted member of a singularly able family. He was a man of fine sincerity of character; a devout, humble and believing Christian.

* James Waddell Alexander, the son of the Rev. Archibald Alexander, was born March 13, 1804; graduated at Princeton College 1820 and studied at Princeton Theological Seminary. Besides being professor in the college, 1833-1834, he was professor in the theological seminary, 1844-1851; pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Trenton, N. J., 1828-1830; editor of the *Presbyterian* at an earlier date, and finally pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, from 1851 until his death in 1859. He was a gifted and cultivated man. He read widely, reflected deeply and wrote charmingly on a great variety of subjects. He was one of the most frequent and highly valued contributors to the *Princeton Review* from its establishment until his death. His love of letters was a passion only less commanding in its influence on himself than his religion. Upon all his students and parishioners a deep impression was made by his ability, cultivation, refinement and elevated character. These traits appear also in his letters, as in all his published writings. The

1834, Stephen Alexander * was added to the faculty. Indeed, it may be said that the catalogue of professors, beginning in 1830 with the name of Albert B. Dod, and closing in 1854 with Arnold Guyot, † and covering the years of Dr. Carnahan's administration,

strength and beauty of his features, his engaging social qualities, his intellectual life and his purity and unselfishness enabled him, in whatever position, to exert a stronger influence on individual men, than most men, in the circles in which he moved. He was an example of the highest type of Christian preacher and pastor produced by the American Church.

* Stephen Alexander was born in Schenectady, N. Y., September 1, 1806. He was graduated at Union College in 1824, and studied theology for two years at Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1833 he was appointed a tutor in Princeton College and continued a member of the faculty until his death in 1883. In 1840 he was elected professor of astronomy, the department in which he became eminent. His contributions to science are recorded in a memoir read before the National Academy, April 17, 1884, by his successor in the chair of astronomy, Dr. C. A. Young, who says: "His native ability was of a high order and his influence on his pupils by his instructions and upon the general community by his various discourses and by his published works and observations, has contributed powerfully and effectually to the progress of his favorite science." Of his general culture, Dr. Young says: "As a scholar Prof. Alexander was unusually broad and versatile. He was an excellent linguist, familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and with the principal European languages, all of which he read and several of which, I believe, he wrote and spoke with facility. He was fond of general literature. He was an ardent lover of metaphysics, of philosophy and of theology. He was familiar not only with the ordinary range of mathematical reading, but with many works of higher order. To an extent unusual in his time, he also kept up with the current astronomical literature by means of the foreign journals, which were then not easy to obtain in this country." "He was thorough and through religious," Dr. Young says, "in his belief, in his feelings and in his life, and in everything he said and did his Christian faith shone out."

† "Arnold Guyot, Ph.D., LL.D., was born at Neufchâtel, Switzerland, on September 28, 1807. He became professor of geology and physical geography in Princeton College in 1854 and died in Princeton on February 8, 1884. The notable career of science in this country can hardly be said to have begun at the time, when, by reason of political difficulties at home, the three Swiss scientists of Neufchâtel were forced to seek an asylum among us. The lives of Agassiz, Guyot and Lesquereux had been begun in that mountain land intended for freemen, and could not be snuffed out by petty party oppression. They sought another field and rose to their full power in this their adopted country. The impetus and the moulding influence which these men exerted upon the thought of their day cannot be overestimated; nor should it be forgotten that this land was in need of just such an impulse as their coming gave. All of them were generalizers of a high order, and two of them became teachers, thus putting their powers to the best practical use. Science needed such men at that time, and mankind in general, as well as the scientific world, gave them all the more attention because of their grasp of the facts known in their day and the far-reaching interrelations of those facts. Science needs such men to-day, but with the ever-widening field of view and the more intense specialization, it is to be feared that the synthetic philosopher in science is becoming a more difficult man to secure. Of the connection of

needs only to be examined to justify the statement that no policy was ever more brilliantly carried out than the policy initiated by Dr. Carnahan and Dr. Maclean of increasing the chairs and seeking men to fill them, without waiting for an endowment. What a remarkable addition in point of numbers there was to the teaching force of the institution while Dr. Carnahan was president, will be seen from the fact that during the whole life of the college up to his presidency only fourteen professors had been appointed, while during his administration alone there were thirty. Of course, some plans were adopted which failed. As early as 1834, a year in which other additions to the faculty were made, as that of Prof. Hart * to the department of languages, it was seriously attempted

Guyot with Princeton and its meaning to us, the main facts are well known. To his ability as a teacher and his capacity of making a subject clear, and to his breadth of view and the lucidity of his mind, his pupils through over thirty years bear most hearty testimony. But his influence did not terminate in the classroom or the study. His books reached the teachers of the land, and his methods, adopted with much interest and zeal, served to reform geographical teaching on this continent. His philosophic insight into the laws of nature led to the discovery of the causes of many phenomena in the realm of glacial motion: and through his coöperation the Smithsonian Institution developed a system of regular meteorological observations which has grown into our present Signal Service."—*MS. of Prof. William Libbey.*

* · John Seely Hart, LL.D., was born in Stockbridge, Mass., January 28, 1810. Graduating at Princeton College, in 1830, he taught a year in Natchez, Miss., and returned to Princeton in 1832 as tutor of the classics, becoming, in 1834, adjunct professor in the same department; principal of Edgehill School, at Princeton, 1836-41; of the Philadelphia High School, 1842-59; of the New Jersey State Normal School, at Trenton, 1863-71; he was chosen professor of rhetoric and the English language, at Princeton, in 1872, having, during his residence at Trenton, given yearly lectures at Princeton, 1864-70, on "English Philology and Letters." Resigning his professorship in 1874, he returned to Philadelphia, busily engaging in literary and, especially, Shakespearean studies, to the time of his death, March 26, 1877. His untiring industry may best be seen from the number and character of his published works, appearing, as they did, at comparatively brief intervals, for a continuous period of thirty years. In 1844 he edited the *Pennsylvania Common School Journal* and in 1849-51 *Sartain's Magazine*. Founding the *Sunday School Times* in 1859, he edited it till 1871. He published the *Reports of the Philadelphia High School*, 1842-59, and in 1844 a *Classbook of Poetry* and a *Classbook of Prose*. In 1847, there appeared his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Spenser*. In 1868, *In the Schoolroom* was issued; in 1870, his *Manual of Composition and Rhetoric*; in 1872, his *Manual of English Literature*; in 1873, his *Manual of American Literature*, and in 1874, his *Short Course in English and American Literature*. In such a list of books as this Dr. Hart's versatility is clearly seen, while special emphasis should be laid upon the fact that few, if any, authors of his time were more conscientiously and zealously devoted to the cause of education in America, having given, as he did, over forty years of his active life to strictly educational work. This was, in fact, his vocation and he worthily fulfilled it, both within the sphere of secondary and higher learning. As editor, professor and author, he aimed to raise the standard of the

to establish a summer school of medicine. The design was given up, owing to the death of the professor of anatomy and physiology, and was never revived. In 1846, a law school was founded and three gentlemen were elected professors. The lectures were kept up with much spirit for two years, but the school was then discontinued. The position of the college was not favorable to the establishment of professional schools of law and medicine, and from that time on no attempt was made to establish them.

The growth of the college compelled the authorities to provide increased accommodation for the students. Two dormitories were erected, East College in 1833 and West College in 1836, each four stories in height; they were built of stone with brick partitions and fire-proof stairways of iron, and the stairs enclosed in brick walls. Each of the dormitories gave accommodation to sixty-four students. The college authorities were unable to gratify their taste in their construction; but for sixty years and more they have served their purpose well, and it is probable that no investment of the college has yielded a larger return. The cost of erecting each was less than \$14,000. The growth of the college led also to increased activity in the two literary societies. Up to this time they had no homes of their own. The meetings were held in rooms provided by the college in the building now known as the college offices. But in the winter of 1836-7, two new halls were built. The description of one will serve for both. "Whig Hall," says Prof. Cameron, "is a building in Ionic style, sixty-two feet long, forty-one feet wide, and two stories high. The columns of the hexastyle porticos are copied from those of a temple by Plistus near the fountain of the Callirhoe, in Athens. The splen-

day in American schools and colleges, and especially to advance the study of English as a language and a literature. It is to the lasting credit of Prof. Hart, that when instruction in English was lamentably deficient in our best institutions, he insisted that it should be given a larger place and command a better grade of teaching talent. To this high end he taught and labored and prepared his several educational manuals within the specific department of English. The fact that these manuals are now superseded by modern textbooks in keeping with the newer needs of the age, is in no sense a proof that in their place and way they did not meet an existing educational demand and point the path to still better agencies and results. Dr. Hart was, in no sense, a great educator, as was Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, or as Wayland and Hopkins, of America, were. He was, however, a patient, painstaking and helpful guide to students. He was, in no sense, an original and wide-minded author or investigator. He was, however, a discriminating collator of facts and data and did an invaluable work for those who were to follow him, nor did he ever forget in his educational efforts, the higher demands of character and conscience. In the developing educational progress of the country he had an honorable place and did a worthy work and must in justice be named among those who have made valid contributions to the cause of sound learning."—*MS. of Prof. T. W. Hunt.*

did temple of Dionysius in the Ionian city of Zeos, situated on a peninsula of Asia Minor, is a model of the building in other respects." During the administration of Dr. Carnahan, the college gained immensely not only by the separate, but also by the associated energies of the able men who formed the faculty. Their meetings were frequent and the exchange of ideas led to a higher and increased activity in all departments, discipline, examinations, lectures and recitations. The scientific researches of its eminent professors—for not a few of them became eminent—added to the reputation of the institution and gave it a standing which it had never before enjoyed as an institution of learning. Indeed it may be said, that in the sense in which it had been an eminent home and nursery of patriotism in the days of Witherspoon, it was now a great institution for the cultivation of the sciences and the liberal arts. From time to time, however, the college sustained great losses by the death or the removal to other institutions of several important members of the faculty. Joseph Addison Alexander, after three years of work, was seized by the theological seminary, where, until his death, he had a brilliant career. Joseph Henry, after laboring for sixteen years in the chair of natural philosophy and making discoveries in the sphere of science and performing inestimable services for his country, was called, in 1848, to the Smithsonian Institution. Albert B. Dod, who was brilliant not only in the chair of mathematics but in the pulpit and in the pages of the *Review*, died in 1845;* and James W. Alexander, whose

* "In my student days there was a professorial constellation in the faculty that for brilliancy has rarely, if ever, been equaled in any American institution. It was our privilege to be instructed in mathematics by Albert B. Dod, in physics by Joseph Henry, in belles-lettres and latin by James W. Alexander, in astronomy by Stephen Alexander, in chemistry and botany by John Torrey. Dr. Maclean's rare talent for leadership was strikingly exhibited in the selection and collection of such a group of educators at a critical period in the history of the college. All but one of the group, at that time the most conspicuous, lived to accomplish the full career of distinction of which their early professorial life gave promise. With the eminence to which these attained all are familiar. Few, however, at the present day appreciate how sore an intellectual bereavement Princeton suffered in the death of Albert B. Dod in the prime of his early manhood. His intellect was notable for the versatility as well as the rarity of his genius. He seemed alike eminent in mathematics, in physics, in philosophy, in literature, in aesthetics and in theology. Though his death occurred when but forty years of age, no one had contributed more largely to the high reputation of the *Princeton Review* not only in this country but Great Britain, by his profound and scholarly articles on "Analytical Geometry," "The Vestiges of Creation," "Transcendentalism" including an exhaustive discussion of Cousin's "Philosophy," "Oxford Architecture," Finney's "Sermons and Lectures," "The Elder Question" which at the time agitated the Presbyterian Church, and "Lyman Beecher's Theology." Rarely has any college or university had in its curri-

cultivation and fertility as a writer entitle one to say of him that he might have become one of the most eminent of American men of letters, felt it his duty to become a pastor, and resigned in 1844. These were great losses, but men of ability were at once called to the vacant places, and the large work of the institution did not suffer. Dr. Elias Loomis, and after his resignation, Prof. McCulloch, took the place of Joseph Henry. Dr. Hope, a man of charming Christian character, as well as a wise and stimulating teacher, succeeded Dr. James Alexander; and Stephen Alexander, a graduate of Union College, who became eminent as an astronomer, a man of enthusiasm and eloquence whether he spoke on scientific or religious subjects, took the place of Prof. Dod. By nothing is the intellectual life of the college at this time more clearly shown than it is by the fact that of the thirty professors elected during Dr. Carnahan's administration about one-half were its own graduates.

Dr. Carnahan resigned in 1853. In the thirty-one years of his administration, sixteen hundred and seventy-seven students were admitted to the first degree of the arts, the annual average being over fifty-four. Of these, seventy-three became presidents or professors in colleges or other seminaries of learning; eight became senators of the United States; twenty-six members of the national House of Representatives; four were members of the cabinet; and a large number became eminent in the liberal professions. The number graduated during his presidency was larger than the number graduated during the administrations of all of his predecessors. While he was in office, the relations between the trustees and the faculty and between the members of the faculty were singularly harmonious. The students enjoyed a larger measure of freedom than during any earlier administration. And when students were disciplined, the welfare of the students had quite as much influence as the welfare of the institution in determining the chastisement.

culum a course of lectures more inspiring intellectually and aesthetically instructive than Prof. Dod's course in "Architecture," covering the whole field, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Gothic and Modern. They were delivered without manuscript and held the audience in rapt attention by interesting information, subtle analysis of principles, elevated thought, lucid statement, brilliant rhetoric, delivered with the ease of a conversational manner with frequent passages thrillingly eloquent. The same intellectual qualities characterized his sermons. Those who remember Prof. Dod as a lecturer and preacher are frequently reminded of him when listening to the President of our University. Had Prof. Dod's life been spared, as the lives of his eminent colleagues were, to bring forth fruit even to old age, among the many Princeton men who have attained high distinction, his name would have been conspicuous."—*MS. of Prof. J. T. Duffield.*

In his letter of resignation Dr. Carnahan paid a high tribute to his colleague, Vice-President Maclean. After the remark that Dr. Maclean was the only officer living of those connected with the college when his presidency began, Dr. Carnahan said, "to his activity, energy, zeal and devotion to the interests of the institution, I must be permitted to give my unqualified testimony. We have passed through many trying times together. In time of need he was always at his post without shrinking; he was always ready to meet opposition in the discharge of what he thought to be his duty." Dr. Carnahan lived six years after his resignation. He was chosen a trustee of the college, and his successor says of him, "In every respect he was a helper to his successor and gave him his cordial support both in the board and without." He died on the 3d of March, 1859, and was buried at Princeton by the side of his immediate predecessor, Dr. Ashbel Green.

It was ordered that in December, 1853, at the stated semi-annual meeting, the Board should elect a president of the college. Three gentlemen were named for the position, two of them without their consent. One was Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who positively declined to be a candidate. Another was the Rev. Dr. David Magie, of Elizabeth, N. J., a graduate of the college, an eminent preacher and pastor and one of the trustees, who, notwithstanding his earnest advocacy of Dr. Maclean's election, received several votes. The third was Dr. Maclean, vice-president of the college. Dr. Maclean was elected. He took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address at the commencement of 1854. His address was partly historical and partly an exposition of the policy to be pursued during his administration. The new president was a native of Princeton, and was born on March 3, 1800. He was the son of the college's first professor of chemistry. He was graduated in the class of 1816, and was its youngest member. For a year after graduation he taught in the classical school at Lawrenceville. In 1818 he became a tutor, and from that date until his resignation as president in 1868 he was a member of the faculty. His whole active life was thus given to the college. He interested himself only in such objects as were in harmony with the interests of the college. He taught at various times mathematics, natural philosophy, Latin, Greek, and the evidences of Christianity. He acquired knowledge with great ease, and his wide intellectual sympathies are shown in the chairs he filled. In his younger life he was an able and stimulating teacher, but the burden of administration was laid upon him soon after he became a teacher; and the exceptional executive ability shown by him led his colleagues to believe

that it was his duty to subordinate his scholarly ambition to the welfare of the college. Dr. Maclean acquiesced, and in this way he was prevented from becoming eminent in any branch of study. It is not too much to say that up to his presidency Princeton had enjoyed the services of no chief executive officer who so completely sank his own personality in the institution he served. As has already been said, his untiring energies, his sagacious judgment of men and measures contributed largely to the success of the administration of Dr. Carnahan; and it was confidently expected that his own administration would at its close show an advance as great as that made between the death of Dr. Green and his own accession. In one important respect this expectation was not disappointed. It must be remembered to the lasting honor of most of the institutions of higher education in America that up to the close of the Civil War they accomplished their great work for the Church and State with almost no endowments. This is true of both Princeton and Yale. Speaking only of Princeton, after having been in existence one hundred and seven years, and after having made the noble record shown by the General Catalogue and the statistics which have been given in this sketch, the treasury contained only fifteen thousand dollars of endowments. It is almost incredible that all except this amount which had been received by the treasury was of necessity expended for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings and the maintenance, year after year, of the work of the college. Besides maintaining the college and largely increasing the number of its students, Dr. Maclean, aided by his colleagues, and especially by Dr. Matthew B. Hope* and Dr.

* Dr. Hope's death, in 1859, was a great loss to the college. He was engaged just before his death in concerting measures for an increase in its endowment. Fortunately, so far as the duties of his chair went, the college secured an able successor in Prof. J. H. McIlvaine. "Joshua Hall McIlvaine was born in Lewes, Delaware, March 4, 1815. Graduating from Princeton College in 1837 and from Princeton Seminary in 1840, he entered upon his ministerial work at Little Falls, N. Y. Subsequently he held pastorates at Utica and Rochester, N. Y., in which last city his ministry was highly successful. In 1860 he accepted the chair of belles-lettres and elocution in Princeton College, his department in 1869 embracing also the subject of English language and literature. Called to the city of Newark, N. J., in 1870, he resigned his professorship to reassume the pastorate; here he labored until 1887, when, once again, he returned to educational work as President of Evelyn College for Women at Princeton, of which institution he was himself the founder and which at the time of his death, January 29, 1897, was completing the first decade of its history. Dr. McIlvaine was in his day a versatile scholar of high attainment. His special studies in Sanskrit and comparative philology, on which topics he lectured at the Smithsonian Institution, were carried on at a time when but few American scholars were working with Whitney along those lines of linguistic investigation. His studious devotion to the subject of "The Arrowhead Inscriptions" was worthy of a specialist in

Lyman H. Atwater,* endeavored successfully during his administration to provide the college with some permanent funds. All efforts up to this time to secure an endowment had failed; and that department. To this distinctively philological and archaeological work he added a wide rhetorical and literary culture, especially as applied within the sphere of English studies, and published at the close of his college professorship a work on *Elocution: The Sources and Elements of its Power*, which evinces a high order of ability from the fact that it vitally connects, and almost for the first time, all real training and expression with the profoundest processes of the human mind. Dr. McIlvaine was still further a pronounced political economist of the school of Carey and sought with unabated zeal to connect in vital union the highest interests of human society with the highest demands of ethical law. Teaching this subject when a professor at Princeton, he gave to it much of his best thought, awakened in its study a genuine enthusiasm, and lifted the whole department from the lower level of the merely economic to that of the moral and Christian. It was in connection with this line of work that he became such an ardent advocate of the pronounced acknowledgment of God in the Constitution of the United States. Still again, Dr. McIlvaine was a theologian of no inferior order; broad-minded and yet analytic and acute; thoroughly versed in the content of Scripture and the high truths of Christian theology, he thought and wrote and spoke on these topics with manifest ability and convincing urgency. His published works in these directions, *The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil* and *The Wisdom of the Holy Scripture*, especially the latter treatise, are a sufficient evidence of the depth and range of his theology. It was here that much of his power as a preacher lay—in the strong and vital hold that he had on the great cardinal truths of the gospel, so that he presented them in vital manner. Dr. McIlvaine was a notable example in his preaching of the union of marked intellectuality with fervent spiritual power. His thought and experience were inseparably fused, and it is not at all strange that his sermons in the college chapel were often eloquently and spiritually impressive, and had under God a moulding influence over hundreds of young men. Not a few of his sermons were made doubly potent by the sharp trials through which he was called to pass and which he bore with quiet and heroic fortitude. As a professor in the classroom, Dr. McIlvaine had exceptional gifts, being in many respects a great teacher. His conceptions of truth were clear and vivid; his personal judgments strong and deep-rooted; his discriminating logic keen and searching; and he had, withal, a gift of statement and expression which enabled him to enforce and impress his teachings. His great power as a teacher lay in his suggestiveness. He never attempted to exhaust a subject, but simply to unfold it to the view and examination of the student. He had a rare faculty of detecting the salient ideas and principles of a subject; of throwing out germinal suggestions so as to make thinkers of students and cast them largely upon their own mental resources. Such an order of instruction is more than mere instruction; it is construction and promotion, and with all the advances of higher education far too seldom seen among us. In a word, Dr. McIlvaine was a thinker and scholar and writer and teacher and preacher of unquestioned ability and possessed an individuality of mind and character as unique as it was impressive. More than this, he was in his place and way and up to the full measure of his opportunity, a distinctive moral and educational force, and has left an impress upon his generation which is not more visible than it is only because it is so deeply hidden within the lives of his pupils and parishioners."—*MS. of Prof. T. W. Hunt.*

* "My acquaintance with Prof. Lyman H. Atwater began in my freshman

efforts had repeatedly been made,—three times during the previous administration, in 1825, 1830 and 1835. “The aggregate of gifts to the college,” says Dr. Duffield, “during Dr. Maclean’s administration was about \$450,000.” This aggregate is probably a larger amount than the college had received in gifts from its foundation to the beginning of Dr. Maclean’s administration. The accessions to the college were greatly increased. The last year of Dr. Carnahan’s administration the number catalogued was two hundred and forty-seven; seven years later, in 1861, just before the beginning of the civil war, three hundred and fourteen students were in residence. But for the beginning of hostilities and the exodus of all the students from the south, the graduating class of that year would probably have numbered nearly one hundred. The life of the college during this period was in no respect different from its life during the previous administrations. The same modes of teaching were pursued and the same policy in discipline was executed. The aim of Dr. Maclean and his colleagues was to perfect the institution as a college. They had tried the experiment of a university and as they supposed had failed. The summer school of medicine and the law school had been abandoned, and the whole influence of the faculty was exerted to develop the institution along the lines of the course of study leading to the first degree in the arts. In this

year when, on the occasion of some discipline which the faculty had imposed on some members of our class, a committee of which I was a member waited on several members of the faculty in order, if possible, to secure some mitigation of the penalty. Dr. Atwater was one of the professors we called on, and I shall not soon forget the dignified courtesy with which we were received or the wholesome and judicious advice which he gave us. I was very much impressed at the time with his kindly but commanding presence, and conceived on the spot an admiration for the old man which with further acquaintance ripened into genuine regard. It was in my junior year that I first came to know Prof. Atwater as a teacher. That was the relation in which I knew him best. He conducted classes in logic, metaphysics, economics and political science. He was somewhat old-fashioned in his methods, but was one of the most effective teachers I have ever known. Physically he was a very large man, with a somewhat elephantine gait and his English would have delighted the soul of Dr. Johnson. But he had the faculty of making himself intelligible, and his subjects were among those that were most intelligently appreciated and understood by the large body of students. Dr. Atwater was very conscientious in his work and spared no pains to make his subjects clear to the average intelligence of his pupils. He had an unusual faculty for logical division and definition and a power of statement which, on looking back over the lapse of years, I still think to have been extraordinary. But more than his qualities as a teacher, what endeared Prof. Atwater to us students was the perfect fairness and just considerateness with which he treated us. However we might fare at the hands of other professors, we were perfectly sure that “Dad,” as we affectionately called him, would give us fair play, and in this we were never disappointed. Dr. Atwater combined a considerate disposition with an eminently judicial temper. I used to think that

Dr. Maclean and the faculty were eminently successful. The curriculum was enriched and the faculty was enlarged. How popular the college was and how really national it was in the support given to it will be seen from the fact that of the three hundred and more students in attendance during the college year of 1859-60, more than one-third came from the Southern States, and that twenty-six of the thirty-one States of the Union were represented in the classes.

The success of Dr. Maclean's administration, as thus indicated, was achieved in spite of great obstacles. He had not been a year in the presidency when the college suffered a second time from the burning of Nassau Hall. It was destroyed by fire in 1855, and was rebuilt at great expense; the old chapel being enlarged and made the library. This expenditure had scarcely been made, when the college was compelled by the financial panic which seized the country in 1857 to abandon for a time the project of increasing its endowment. A period of business depression followed, from which the country had not recovered when, in 1861, the southern States seceded and the civil war began. No college in the north was so popular in the south as Princeton. As has already been said, at the beginning of the civil strife one-third of its students were living south of Mason and Dixon's line. When to this blow is

in his case a great jurist had been spoiled in order to make a great professor. But none of the students of his time would have been willing to enrich the judiciary of the country at the expense of the Princeton faculty. I well remember going to Dr. Atwater on a number of occasions for advice. This was never refused. With what at the time seemed to me unnecessary minuteness the learned professor would indicate by a process of logical exclusion a number of alternatives that were not to be chosen. He would then say, "but if I were in your case I think I should take the following course, to wit," and then he would outline a policy so eminently sensible as to carry instant conviction with it and leave nothing further to be said. Dr. Atwater was wise and conservative in counsel and seldom made a mistake. He was a man upon whose judgment not only the students but also his colleagues in the faculty leaned. He was a pillar in the Church, being recognized as an authority in ecclesiastical law and a citizen who was profoundly interested in the welfare of his community and the nation. His ripe judgment came to be respected by our public men and legislators, who in times of perplexity came to him for counsel and guidance. Dr. Atwater's was a great, simple and kindly nature. He was honest, open and straightforward in all his dealings with his fellow-men. Anything like sharp practice or Machiavellian politics was wholly foreign to his nature. There was a simple dignity about the man that was truly Roman, and with it all he was animated by a child-like Christian spirit. His religion was as straight and as genuine as his life. Seeing his homely goodness from day to day, we students could not doubt the reality of the Christianity he professed. On that February day in 1883, when the dear old man died, the world lost a large and royal soul, but he left behind him the record of a noble life which is still a power in the hearts of all who knew and loved him."

—*MS. of Prof. Alexander T. Ormoud.*

added the enlistment of not a few of its students in the Union army and the diminution of the entering classes on account of the call of the country on its young men to defend the Union on the field of battle, the only cause for wonder is that during the four years of active hostilities the college maintained itself so well. With the close of the war the numbers of the students slowly increased. Three years after peace was declared, that is to say, in 1868, the entering students numbered one hundred and seventeen—"the largest number," says Dr. Duffield, "up to that period in the history of the college." But just as the college was recovering the popularity which it enjoyed immediately before the war began, Dr. Maclean began to feel the burdens of age. His energy was not what it once was, and, what was more important, the war among its other revolutions had changed the views of many, interested in higher education, concerning the college curriculum and college management. The Presbyterian Church of the north, which had been divided since 1838, was preparing the way for a reunion. The country was entering upon a new life. Dr. Maclean felt that he should yield to another the position which for fourteen years he had occupied with such conspicuous success. He resigned at the close of fifty years of official life, his resignation taking place at the commencement of 1868. After he retired he employed his leisure in writing the history of the college. One of his students has admirably said: "Of the intellectual character of Dr. Maclean it is not easy to form an estimate. The circumstances of the college forced him to give instruction in so many departments that it would have been a marvel if he had found additional time to prove his genius in any. But so strong and facile was his mental energy that it developed a notable degree of talent for almost every subject that interested him. He was able to hold the different chairs in Princeton, not through mere partiality; for, it is now known—what his modesty at the time concealed—that he received overtures from other colleges to fill similar professorships with them. Dr. Matthew B. Hope,* than whom Princeton never had a

*Matthew B. Hope, D.D., was born in Central Pennsylvania, June 31, 1812, and died at Princeton, December 17, 1859. He was a graduate of Jefferson College, of Princeton Theological Seminary and of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He was licensed and ordained as an evangelist in 1835; went as a missionary to Singapore, India, in 1836; returned home after two years because of failing health; was appointed financial secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education in 1839 and corresponding secretary in 1842. In 1846 he resigned the secretaryship of the Board for the professorship of belles-lettres and political economy in the College of New Jersey. He was a man of excellent judgment, of clear insight, of strong convictions, of high and solemn purpose, of strong individuality, direct,

shrewder judge of men, used to say that had Maclean given himself to any particular study in science, philosophy or language, he would easily have attained celebrity in it. If we doubt this, we may find a reason for the failure of Dr. Maclean to become a master in specialty, not in the lack of special ability, but rather in the possession of certain other intellectual impulses, which made his thoughts overflow any single channel."*

But if he failed to attain eminence in any single direction, Dr. Maclean was eminently gifted as a counselor. He grasped seriously the elements of any situation in which the college was placed, and was as able as most men to discern the policy which it demanded. He knew men well. Quickly and with a large degree of accuracy, he inferred character from conduct. He not only seldom made mistakes, but was extraordinarily successful in the selection or nomination of colleagues. His accurate estimate of

kindly, without pride and without show. As a teacher of rhetoric he analyzed 'the process and the laws underlying the process by which the convictions of the intellect are not only conveyed from the speaker to the hearers, but transferred, in the act of conveyance, from the sphere of the intellect to that of the active powers.' In other words, he taught rhetoric both as a science and as an art. He had a subtle, analytic mind, and, above all the other members of the faculty, he sought to make the students *think*. His classroom exercises were mental gymnastics. If the students in their answers repeated the precise language of his book or lectures, it worried him. For, as style is the expression of the individuality of the man, such answers were no decisive evidence to him that the students had mastered the subject and assimilated the thought, and when he plied them with questions to test them, and brought their ignorance of the subject to light, it was with utter self-oblivion and an ardent desire to make them think and to bring them to see the truth. His lectures on political economy were based on the principle involved in the precept, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' When he criticised an author, it was not with an air of superior wisdom, nor as one who was seeking to exalt himself at the expense of the author, but with a genuine love of truth and desire that the student might see and get the truth. He was honest through and through, a preëminently good man, and intensely interested in the spiritual welfare of the students. One of his ablest and most distinguished pupils, Dr. D. S. Gregory, says: 'Dr. Hope was one of the most remarkable men whom I ever met. His was one of the most delicately organized natures I ever knew. In it there was naturally the greatest delicacy of the senses accompanied by remarkable keenness and breadth of intellect, depth of emotion, firmness of will and sensitiveness of taste and conscience and all dominated by absolute loyalty to Jesus Christ. As a teacher, educator, instructor, he was by far the ablest with whom I ever came in contact. . . . During the years of my connection with Princeton College, he was preëminently the spiritual power in the institution, so far as that power was embodied in any one personality. I doubt if any man in any institution ever exerted greater transforming influence over his pupils than did Dr. Hope over those who came into closest relations with him.'—*MS. of Prof. S. Stanhope Orris.*

* Memorial Address by James M. Ludlow, D.D.

men was shown clearly in his estimate of himself. Probably no man ever connected with Princeton College took his own measure more exactly. This knowledge of himself was due not more to his ability than to the sincerity of his character. This sincerity, with the magnanimity and charity that were blended with it, was recognized not only by those associated with him in the board of trustees and faculty of instruction, but also by his students and the people of the town in which he passed his life. "My immediate predecessor," says Dr. McCosh, "was John Maclean, the well-beloved, who watched over young men so carefully and never rebuked a student without making him a friend." * Dr. Charles Hodge called him the most loved man in America; and Dr. Ludlow gave apt expression to the feeling of all his students touching his personal interest in them in the remark: "St. Hildegarde used to say, 'I put my soul within your soul.' Dr. Maclean put his soul within the soul of the young man if ever a man did; he felt for us, he felt as he felt himself in us." It was the conviction of Dr. Maclean's sympathy with the life of each of his students, his readiness to sacrifice himself for their interests, that gave him in his old age and retirement the love and honor and troops of friends that blessed his latest years. In the narrower and retired life he lived after his resignation, he was as active as a philanthropist, though within a restricted field, as he ever had been. As he had lived beloved by all, he died lamented by all, August 10, 1886.

The resignation of Dr. Maclean having been accepted to take effect at the commencement of 1868, the trustees elected, as his successor, the Rev. Dr. William Henry Green, professor of Oriental and Old Testament literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. Though himself a graduate of Lafayette College, Prof. Green's family had been associated with Princeton College from its foundation. Jonathan Dickinson, the first president of the college, and Caleb Smith, its first tutor, were among his ancestors; and among its distinguished graduates and benefactors have been some of his near relatives. For many years he had given himself exclusively to Oriental and Old Testament studies, but in his younger life he had shown fine gifts as a teacher in other departments, and had been the pastor of a prominent church in Philadelphia. It was felt not only that his acceptance would strengthen the hold of the college on the church which had in the main supported it, and bring to it new friends and enlarged endowment, but that Dr. Green's scholarship and character would greatly benefit the scholarship, the discipline and the general life of the institution. The trustees received his declination with great regret, but the news of it was heard at the theological seminary with the greatest pleasure.

* *Life of James McCosh*, p. 192.

Except that of Dr. Green, no name united the trustees until it was proposed that the Rev. Dr. James McCosh, professor of logic and philosophy in Queen's College, Belfast, Ireland, be invited to take the vacant chair. Dr. McCosh visited America in 1866, and his addresses deepened the favorable impression which his apologetic and philosophical writings had made. He was received and heard everywhere as a thinker and writer of deserved eminence. The writer of this sketch well remembers the large audience which gathered in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, one evening during this visit, to listen to his defense of the Gospels against the attack made upon them in Renan's *Life of Jesus*, and how fully he sustained the reputation which had preceded him. His views in philosophy were those which had been taught and defended at Princeton College, and his Scottish nationality and his residence in Ulster were an additional recommendation to the college of John Witherspoon and to the Church of Francis Makemie. Moreover, the fact that he had taken the side of the Free Church at the disruption, led the friends of the college to believe that he would be at home in a republic. The divided Presbyterian Church was about to reunite, and it was fortunate that Dr. McCosh had no memories of the theological and ecclesiastical battles which culminated in the division. For these reasons, his acceptance was received with great pleasure, and with confidence that the college would prosper and be enlarged during his administration. The Rev. Dr. Stearns, of Newark, a trustee of the college, was moderator of the New School Presbyterian General Assembly in 1868. While the Assembly was sitting he learned of Dr. McCosh's acceptance. The writer happened to be standing by, when he told the news to the late Dr. Henry Boynton Smith. Dr. Smith said: "It was a wise choice. He is a man of great ability. He may easily prove as great a gift to the church and state as John Witherspoon." While his acceptance awakened high hopes, no one anticipated his great and brilliant administration. Looking back upon it, now that it has been closed, it must be regarded as the most successful, and in important respects the greatest administration the college has enjoyed. Undoubtedly Dr. McCosh was fortunate in the time of his presidency and in his colleagues. But greatness consists largely in seizing the opportunities which time offers: and not a few of his colleagues were his own students who owed their inspiration to his teachings and example.

His administration is too recent to make appropriate an estimate of it like that which has been given of each of the earlier administrations. He is the last of the presidents who have completed their work. Such an estimate can be made only of a presidency

which stands not at the close of but well within a series. Concerning one thing, however, there is no peril in making a positive statement. Whatever shall be the development of the institution hereafter, it must always be said of James McCosh that, while loyal to the foundation and the history of the college, he, more than any other man, made it a university. Though it was not until after his death that the name was given, it should never be forgotten that the university life began in and because of his administration.*

* The following minute of the faculty adopted November 17, 1894, recognizes this fact:

"In recording the death of President McCosh, the faculty are not able to give adequate expression to their feeling. For many years their relations with him were closer than those of any other portion of the academic body; and their continued friendship with him since his retirement from office has only deepened the sense of bereavement and increased the veneration and love with which they have followed him to his grave.

"While presiding in the faculty, Dr. McCosh always commanded respect by his conscientious devotion to the college; by his fidelity in the routine of official duties; by his watchful supervision of the details of the whole administration; by his kindly interest in the labors of his colleagues; by his hospitable welcome to every new study and new teacher; by the wisdom and liberality of his plans for expanding the courses of instruction; and the wonderful efficiency and success with which he carried these plans toward completion.

"The results of his presidency have made a new epoch in our history. *The college has virtually become a university.* Its faculty has been trebled in numbers. Its alumni and friends have rallied around it with new loyalty. Munificent gifts have been poured into its treasury. Schools of science, of philosophy, of art, of civil and electrical engineering have been founded, with endowed professorships, fellowships and prizes, and an ample equipment of libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories, chapels, dormitories, academic halls and athletic grounds and buildings. We live amid architectural monuments of his energy, which other college generations after us will continue to admire.

"In his own department of instruction, Dr. McCosh has raised the college to its proper eminence as a seat of philosophical culture. He did this primarily as a thinker, by original contributions to logic, to metaphysics, to psychology, to ethics and to the intuitional school of philosophy; also as a writer, by the numerous works, written in a strong and clear style, with which he has enriched the philosophical literature of his time; and especially as an inspiring teacher, by training enthusiastic disciples, who are now perpetuating his influence in various institutions of learning. From this faculty alone a band of such disciples has borne him reverently to his burial.

"In the sphere of college discipline, Dr. McCosh aimed at the moral training of the whole undergraduate community. The students were brought into more normal relations with the faculty. Vicious traditions and customs among them were uprooted. Their self-government was guarded and promoted; and their religious life found fuller expression in the new Marquand Chapel, Murray Hall and the St. Paul's Society.

"In the cause of the higher education Dr. McCosh became a leader at once conservative and progressive. On the one hand he sought to retain the

The story of the life and work of this great president, it has seemed to the writer, ought to be told here by those who knew him intimately and were associated with him in the work he did. Happily, the literature is abundant and throws light from various sides on his striking personality, his gifts as a thinker, writer and teacher, and his career as a president. For a biography detailed enough for our purpose, we are indebted to his student, colleague and intimate friend, Prof. Andrew F. West. This biography, illustrated by extracts from his autobiography and estimates of his ability and attainments by others who knew him well, will for this article be the best history of his administration.

"Rarely," writes Prof. West, "has academic history repeated itself with such precision and emphasis as in the person of James McCosh, who, though unique in his own generation, had a real prototype in the person of one, though only one, of his predecessors, President John Witherspoon, the ruler of Princeton a century ago. Each of them was in point of ancestry a Covenanter, by birth a Lowland Scotchman, in his youth a student at the University of Edinburgh, in his manhood a minister of the Church of Scotland at a crisis in its history, and in that crisis an important figure, Witherspoon heading the opposition to moderateism and

classics for their disciplinary value and as fundamental to the learned professions and all true scholarship; and, for like reasons, the mathematics as essential to the sciences, whether pursued as bodies of pure knowledge or applied in the arts. But, on the other hand, he found due place for the host of new special studies—literary, historical, political, artistic, technical—demanded by modern life and culture. His inaugural address 'On Academic Teaching in Europe' may be said to have struck the keynote of true academic teaching in America.

"As the representative head of the college, President McCosh was always and everywhere faithful to its Christian traditions. By his writings, lectures and addresses he defended 'Fundamental Truths' in religion no less than in philosophy; he vindicated the 'Method of the Divine Government' physical as well as moral; he set forth the 'Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation' as consistent with evolution; he showed the analogy of 'The Natural and the Supernatural'; and he maintained a logical 'Realism' and 'Theism' against the growing scepticism of the day. At the same time his discriminating conservatism was ever held in hearty sympathy with the modern scientific spirit and his steadfast adherence to the principles of evangelical religion never narrowed his Christian sympathies. A leader in great international alliances and councils of the churches, he also consistently welcomed students of every religious denomination to their chartered privileges within our walls. The representatives of all creeds mingled in his funeral.

"While a commanding figure has passed from public view, there remains among us, who were his nearer associates, the charm of a unique personality and rare Christian character, to be henceforth enshrined in our memories with reverence and affection.

"To his bereaved family we can only tender our deepest sympathy, praying that they may receive those divine consolations which he himself taught during his life and illustrated in peaceful death."

Dr. McCosh helping to form the Free Church. When already past the meridian of life each of them came to America to do his greatest work as president of Princeton, the one arriving in 1768 and the other in 1868. Though of different degrees of eminence in different particulars, they were nevertheless of fundamentally the same character, being philosophers of reality, ministers of evangelical and yet catholic spirit, constructive and aggressive in temper, stimulating as teachers, stout upholders of disciplinary education, men of marked personal independence, of wide interest in public affairs and thoroughly patriotic as Americans. The principles of college government on which Witherspoon acted Dr. McCosh expressly avowed. 'These principles,' he wrote, 'were full of wisdom, tact and kindness. I, without knowing them till afterward, have endeavored to act on the same principles, but more imperfectly. Govern, said he, govern always, but beware of governing too much.'* Their presidencies were long and successful. Each lived the last twenty-six years of his life in Princeton, and it may be noticed as a striking final coincidence that they passed away a century apart, almost to the day—Witherspoon dying November 15, 1794, and Dr. McCosh on November 16, 1894.

"James McCosh was born April 1, 1811, at Carskeoch Farm, on the left bank of the 'bonnie Doon,' just above the village of Patna, some twelve miles from Ayr, the county town of Ayrshire. In this region, so full of inspiring Scottish memories, his boyhood was spent, and in common with so many of his countrymen who have risen to fame he received his first education in the parochial school. In 1824, when but thirteen years old, he entered the University of Glasgow, an institution already famous in the annals of the Scottish philosophy for the teaching of Reid and Hutcheson—a fit place for the young student to begin, who was later to write the history of the Scottish School. Here he remained five years. In 1829 he entered the University of Edinburgh, coming under the influence of Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh in theology and of Sir William Hamilton in philosophy. He had also some strong intellectual compeers among the students of that time. Such, for example, was Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Incidents of Dr. McCosh's youth and student days formed the basis of many an interesting anecdote in his later years. Of such were his remembrances as a boy of the recurring anniversaries when his elders used to pledge with enthusiasm 'the memory of Bobbie Burns.' At other times he would dwell with fondness on one or another loved feature of the home scenery of Ayrshire or the talk of its people. The competition for intellectual honors at

* *John Witherspoon and His Times*, Philadelphia, 1890.

the university formed another theme. Then, too, the strong impress of Sir William Hamilton's personality as well as of his teaching was one of those things that delighted his Princeton pupils to notice, especially as seen in the way he treasured some remark of his great teacher. 'Do you know the greatest thing he ever said to me?' Dr. McCosh asked one day of the writer. 'It was this: So reason as to have but one step between your premise and its conclusion.' The syllogism unified and turned into a rule of conduct! Well might such a vigorous maxim take the imperative form. And how vividly real it made the act of reasoning seem! It was toward the close of his student days at Edinburgh that Dr. McCosh wrote his essay entitled 'The Stoic Philosophy,' in recognition of which the university, upon motion of Sir William Hamilton, conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts.

"In 1835 he was licensed as a minister of the Established Church of Scotland. Toward the close of the same year he was elected by the members of the congregation minister of the Abbey church of Arbroath, the 'Fairport' of Sir Walter Scott's Antiquary, a flourishing town in Forfarshire, on the eastern coast, sixteen miles north of Dundee. While in this parish he made the acquaintance of the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, eight years his senior, the minister of the neighboring parish of Arbilot, and afterwards so celebrated in the Old Greyfriars pulpit in Edinburgh. They were helpful to each other in their pastoral work and counsel, and formed the nucleus of a group of ministers who met to discuss with earnestness the impending dangers to the Church, consequent upon 'intrusion' of ministers upon congregations by the Crown irrespective of the preference of the people. They promptly identified themselves with the view that this subjection of the Church to the Crown was to be brought to an end, advocating, as Dr. McCosh had already done in his Edinburgh student days, what was known as Non-Intrusion. In 1838, on the suggestion of Dr. Welsh, his former teacher, Dr. McCosh was appointed by the Crown to the charge of the church at Brechin, a short distance from Arbroath. Brechin was an attractive old cathedral town with a large outlying country parish. In this arduous charge he labored most assiduously in company with his colleague, the Rev. A. L. R. Foote. Besides attending to his stated church ministrations and the regular visiting of its congregation, he went abroad everywhere, preaching the Gospel in barns, kitchens and taverns, or in the open fields and wherever else he could do good.* His com-

* *Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843.* Edinburgh and London, 1881. The sketch of Dr. McCosh, written by Prof. George Macloskie, is found on pp. 343-348.

munion roll gradually swelled until it included fourteen hundred persons. Meanwhile the ecclesiastical sky was darkening. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland was impending, and when in 1843 it had become inevitable, Dr. McCosh, in common with hundreds of other ministers, surrendered his living. He at once proceeded to organize in his old parish a congregation of the Free Church, into which over eight hundred of his former parishioners followed him. He also rendered great service at this crisis by organizing new congregations, providing them with preachers, raising money and getting sites for the erection of new churches. 'A good horseman,' says one of his best newspaper biographies,* 'he rode long distances from place to place and preached in barns, ballrooms or fields, as was found necessary.' In 1843 and the following year he was a member of one of the deputations appointed by the General Assembly to visit various parts of England and arouse Nonconformist interest in the position of the Free Church. In 1845 he was married at Brechin to Miss Isabella Guthrie, daughter of the physician, James Guthrie, and niece of Thomas Guthrie, his friend in his early ministry at Arbroath.

"In this round of active life, with all its details and distractions, he kept alive his philosophical thinking, and in 1850 published at Edinburgh his *Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*.† It was most favorably reviewed by Hugh Miller and commended by Sir William Hamilton. It brought him at once into prominence as a philosophic writer of thought and clearness.‡

* *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, November 19, 1894.

† "No sooner did McCosh's heavy though pleasant labor in founding congregations of the Free Church relax a little, than he began the composition of *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*. During the period of writing the author received much encouragement from his intimate college friend, William Hanna. It was he, likewise, who aided in the work incidental to publication. The author showed his book in manuscript to Dr. Cunningham and Dr. James Buchanan. Both approved, and the latter suggested some changes which were adopted. The volume was published in 1850, and through Dr. Guthrie copies were sent to the two Scotchmen then most eminent in the world of abstract thought, Sir William Hamilton and Hugh Miller. The former announced his decision at once: 'It is refreshing to read a work so distinguished for originality and soundness of thinking, especially as coming from an author of our own country.' Hugh Miller said in the *Witness* that the work was of the compact and thought-eliciting complexion which men do not willingly let die. The first edition was exhausted in six months. An American edition was published very soon afterward, and that, too, sold rapidly. The book passed through twenty editions in less than forty years and still has a sale in both Great Britain and in America. Time, therefore, may be said to have passed its judgment upon the *Divine Government*."—*Prof. W. M. Stoupe's Life of McCosh*.

‡ "The real importance of Dr. McCosh's work in philosophy was to a great extent obscured during his life by a certain lack of appreciation of which he occa-

The story goes that Earl Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, sitting down to read a copy one Sunday morning, became so absorbed in the book that he missed going to church, and read on till evening without stopping, and soon after offered Dr. McCosh the chair of logic and metaphysics in the newly founded Queen's

sionally complained. 'They won't give me a hearing,' he would say somewhat mournfully. And then he would cheer up under the assuring conviction that realism, as it was the first, would also be the final, philosophy. Dr. McCosh's position in philosophy suffered during his life from a kind of reaction against the Scottish school, which had set in with Mill's destructive criticism of Hamilton. It was also materially affected by the strong movement in the direction of evolutionary empiricism, of which Herbert Spencer was the exponent and leader. The dogmatic and positive tone of Dr. McCosh himself had doubtless something to do with the tendency to undervalue his work. There are other circumstances which must not be overlooked in estimating the value of Dr. McCosh's philosophy. It scarcely ever happens that a man is the best judge of his own work or that the things on which he puts the greatest stress possess the most permanent value. Much of Dr. McCosh's work is of a transitional character. His whole attitude toward evolution, for example, is that of a transitional thinker, and although hospitable to the new, maintains, on the whole, the old points of view. Dr. McCosh, it may be said, accepted evolution provisionally, but he could scarcely be called an evolutionary thinker. Again, it is true of Dr. McCosh, as of most other men, that the principle and content of his work must be distinguished from the form in which he embodied it. Generally it is a failure to distinguish the principle from the accidental form that constitutes one of the greatest limitations of any thinker. This is certainly true of Dr. McCosh. The essence of all his doctrines was so associated in his mind with a certain mode of conceiving and stating them as to make the form seem essential to the doctrine. An example of this is his theory of natural realism in the sphere of perception, in which a certain mode of apprehending the object was deemed essential to the assertion of reality itself. Leaving out of view, however, accidental features and elements of a merely transitional character, it seems to me that Dr. McCosh has contributed several elements of distinct value to the thinking of his time. One of these is to be found in his treatment of the intuitions. At the time Dr. McCosh first became interested in the problems of speculation, intuitionism had suffered a kind of eclipse in the writings of Sir William Hamilton, whose attempt to combine Scottish epistemology with Kantian metaphysics had resulted in a purely negative theory of such intuitive principles, for example, as causality. Dr. McCosh harked back to Reid and reasserted the pure Scottish position against the unnatural hybrid of the Hamiltonian metaphysics. But he is not to be regarded as simply a reassertor of Reid. His wide acquaintance with the history of philosophy, as well as his keener faculty of criticism, led to a more careful and discriminating analysis of the intuitive principles of the mind as well as to a more philosophical statement of them. He also connected them with the three epistemological functions of cognition, judgment and belief, in such a way as to bring them into closer relation with experience, and by recognizing a distinction between their cognitive and rational forms to admit the agency of an empirical process in their passage from the singular to the more general stage of their apprehension. Of course, where the reality of intuitive principles is denied, Dr. McCosh's interpretation of them will not be appreciated. But inasmuch as the affirmation of native elements in some form is likely to continue, the contribution of Dr. McCosh to intuitional thinking is likely to be

College, in Belfast. Dr. McCosh accepted the offer, removing to Belfast in 1852, and continuing there until he came to Princeton. His class-room was notable in many ways—for his brilliant lecturing, his interesting method of questioning, his solicitude for his students and their enthusiasm for him. Besides fulfilling his regu-

one of permanent value. The one point on which Dr. McCosh was most strenuous was that of realism. He had a kind of phobia of all idealistic or phenomenal theories. This rendered him somewhat unduly impatient of these theories, and they sometimes received scant justice at his hands. But whatever his failings as a critic there was no ambiguity about his own point of view. He was the doughtiest kind of a realist, ready at all times to break a lance in defense of his belief. Here as elsewhere, in estimating the value of Dr. McCosh's work, it is necessary to observe the distinction between the principle and the form of his doctrine. Perhaps few thinkers at present would accept the unmodified form of his realism. But the positions he had most at heart, namely, that philosophy must start with reality if it would end with it, and that philosophy misses its aim if it misses reality and stops in the negations of positivism or Kantism:—these are positions which a very wide school of thinkers have very much at heart. Dr. McCosh's realism is a tonic which invigorates the spirit that comes into contact with it and indisposes it to any sort of indolent acquiescence in a negative creed. In harking back to Reid, Dr. McCosh was recognizing intellectual kinship in more ways than one. The spirit of Reid, while pretty positive and dogmatic, was also inductive and observational. Reid hated speculation, and would not employ it except at the behest of practical needs. Dr. McCosh was a man of kindred spirit. His distrust of speculation amounted at times, I think, to a positive weakness. But his shrewd common sense, combined with a genius for observation and an intense love of fact, constituted perhaps the most marked quality of his mind. It has kept his work fresh and interesting, packed his books with new and interesting facts and shrewd observations and has made them rich treasure-houses for those who come after him. This is especially true in his psychological work. Here, where on account of the rapid advance of psychology in both method and content, the results of his generation of workers are fast becoming inadequate to the new demands, it ought not be forgotten that Dr. McCosh was almost the pioneer of a new departure in psychology in this country; that his was the most potent in the advocacy of that marriage of the old science of introspection with physiology, out of which the new physiological psychology arose; that his example was potent in advocating the substitution of an observational for a closet psychology; and that while he contributed little to experimental results, the influence of his spirit and teaching was strongly favorable to them. Perhaps in the end it will be seen that Dr. McCosh rendered his most lasting service in the sphere of religious thought. In view of the tendency in many quarters to divorce philosophy from religion and insist that philosophy has no legitimate interest in the problems of religion, the attitude of Dr. McCosh is reassuring. That the problems of religion are the supreme and final questions in philosophy, and that no philosophy is adequate that is unable to find some rational justification, at least, for a theistic view of the world:—these were points on which he insisted as cardinal. Dr. McCosh was a profound thinker who saw clearly the necessity of a metaphysical groundwork of both morals and religion. His own theistic conviction was at all times firm and unclouded. But aside from the form of his individual beliefs his insistence on the questions of God's existence and man's relation to Him as the vital issues of philosophy, contains an important lesson for the time.

lar duties, he served as an examiner for the Queen's University of Ireland, as a member of the distinguished Board of Examiners who organized the first competitive examinations for the Civil Service of India, and as an examiner for the Fergusson Scholarships, open to graduates of Scottish universities.* In 1858 he visited the principal schools and universities of Prussia, carefully acquainting himself with their organization and methods and publishing his opinions regarding them in 1859. It was at Belfast he brought out his *Examination of Mr. J. S. Mill's Philosophy, Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation* (in conjunction with Prof. George Dickie), *The Intuitions of the Mind*, †

In this connection, also, his relation to the evolution theory is noteworthy. It was in the religious aspect of this theory, and especially its bearing on theism, that he was most vitally interested. He early saw that a theistic conception of development was possible, and this prevented him from adopting the view of its extreme opponents and condemning it as necessarily atheistic and irreligious. He maintained the possibility of conceiving evolution from a theistic basis as a feature of the method of Divine government, and this led him to take a hospitable attitude towards the evolution idea, while at the same time it enabled him to become the most formidable critic of evolution in its really atheistic and irreligious forms. This treatment of the problem of evolution by a religious thinker possesses more than a transitional value. It correctly embodies, I think, the wisest and most philosophical attitude which a religious mind can take towards the advances of science during that period of uncertainty which ordinarily precedes the final adjustment of the new into the framework of established truth. On the question of Dr. McCosh's originality, I think this may be said: While it is true that he has added no distinctively new idea to philosophy, yet his work possesses originality in that it not only responded to the demands of the time, but also bears the stamp of the author's striking and powerful individuality. The form of Dr. McCosh's discussions is always fresh, characteristic and original. He was an original worker in that his work bore the stamp of his time and personality and constituted part and parcel of the living energy of his generation."—*Prof. A. T. Ormond.*

* *The Northern Whig*, Belfast, November 19, 1894.

† "The positive characterization of modern Princeton must begin with a description of its dominant mode of thinking, which is the philosophical. This is one of our many inheritances from Dr. McCosh. So habituated to this habit of mind is the Princeton teacher, that he hardly realizes the strength of this prevailing tendency. A Harvard man is apt to measure things by literary standards, and a Harvard graduate who comes as an instructor to Princeton is apt to be surprised to find how pervasive and all but universal is this philosophical temper here. It is this cast or mode of thinking, rather than strict uniformity in philosophical beliefs, which is the most striking feature of the University's intellectual life. Traditionally, Princeton is committed to a realistic metaphysics as opposed to agnosticism, materialism or idealism. The far-reaching importance of the last is, indeed, admitted, but the maturer judgment of Princeton's philosophers inclines to the acknowledgment of 'a refractory element' in experience, which, while 'without form and void,' unless enmeshed in the categories of Reason, refuses 'wholly to merge its being in a network of relations.' They prefer, therefore, to admit the existence of an impasse to a complete intellectual unification of the universe, than to pur

and *The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural*. In his church relations he was both an active promoter of evangelical piety and an efficient helper in ecclesiastical counsels. He helped to organize the Ministerial Support Fund of the Irish Presbyterian Church, seeking to evoke liberality and self-support in view of the coming disendowment. In the face of much opposition he advocated giving up the *Regium Donum*. Arguments he used in this discussion were afterwards influential with Mr. Gladstone in connection with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.* He advocated a system of intermediate schools to prepare for higher institutions of learning, and particularly labored for the great cause of a general system of national elementary schools. His own pupils attained marked success in the examinations for the Civil Service and some of them became very eminent, one of them being Sir Robert Hart, the present chief of the Chinese Customs Service. He was not a man who could be hid, and so there is little to wonder at in the distinction he earned, whether evidenced by the respect of men like Chalmers, Guthrie, Hugh Miller, Sir William Hamilton, Dean Mansel, the present Duke of Argyll, and Mr. Gladstone, the kindly humor of Thackeray or the flings of Ruskin and sharp rejoinders of John Stuart Mill.

“Dr. McCosh paid his first visit to America in 1866, receiving a hearty welcome. In June, 1868, he was called to the presidency of Princeton. He accepted the call after due deliberation, and arrived at Princeton, October 22, of the same year. The story of the low condition of Princeton at that time, consequent upon the Civil War, does not need to be told here. So far as equipment and numbers can speak the tale is soon told. Excepting a few professors’ houses, there are now on the campus only six buildings which were owned by the college when Dr. McCosh arrived. They are Nassau Hall, the old president’s (now the dean’s) house, the old chapel, the College Offices, East College and West College. There were but sixteen instructors in the faculty, and about 250 students.

chase metaphysical unity at the cost of surrendering the judgments of common sense, and at the risk of discovering that the hoped-for treasure is but dross at the last.”—*Prof. W. M. Daniels, The Critic, October 24, 1896.*

* “The ecclesiastical condition of Ireland was at that time anomalous; the rich Episcopalian minority being sustained as an Established Church, a sop thrown to the Presbyterian middle-class minority in the shape of a *regium donum*, or partial endowment, which helped them to acquiesce in the wrong done to the Roman Catholic majority, who were poor and left out in the cold. When the right time arrived, Dr. McCosh lectured and wrote in favor of Disestablishment and Disendowment, and argued from his experience in Scotland for the inauguration of a Sustentation Fund by the Irish Presbyterians. This was the opening of a struggle which ended in the carrying out of all his views greatly to the furtherance of religion, as the people of Ireland now confess.”—*Prof. George Macloskie in Sloan’s Life of McCosh*, pp. 120, 121.

"The institution was depleted, salaries were low and academic standards had suffered, both in the way of scholarship and discipline. It had been a discouraging time in Princeton's history, and the self-denial of President Maclean and the band of professors who went with the college through the war, has been only too slightly appreciated. The writer entered Princeton as a Freshman in January, 1870, when the beginnings of Dr. McCosh's power were being manifested. His influence was like an electric shock, instantaneous, paralyzing to opposition and stimulating to all who were not paralyzed. Old student disorders were taken in hand and throttled after a hard struggle, outdoor sports and gymnastics were developed as aids to academic order, strong professors were added, the course of study was both deepened and widened, the ever-present energy of Dr. McCosh was daily in evidence, and great gifts were coming in. Every one felt the new life. When the Bonner-Marquand Gymnasium was opened in 1870, the students' cheering was enough to rend the roof. It was more than cheering for the new gymnasium—it was for the new era.

"It is not possible in this sketch to tell the story of the twenty years from 1868 to 1888, but the results may be indicated.* The campus was enlarged and converted into a splendid park, every detail of convenience and beauty being consulted in the transformation.† The old walks were replaced with something substan-

* "A member of the first class that entered Princeton under the presidency of Dr. McCosh, I am called here to speak not for myself alone, but in the name of two thousand old pupils who would pay the tribute of honor and love to the memory of our grand old man. We loved him because he loved Princeton. He was born in Scotland, but he was born an American and Princetonian. If you could have opened his heart you would have found Princeton written there. He was firmly convinced that his college, with its history, its traditions and its Christian faith, was predestined to become one of the great American universities. 'It is the will of God,' he said, 'and I will do it.' A noble man, with a noble purpose, makes noble friends. Enthusiasm is contagious. Dr. McCosh laid the foundation of Princeton University broad and deep and strong; and he left behind him a heritage of enthusiasm, a Princetonian spirit which will complete his work and never fail. We love him because he loved truth, and welcomed it from whatever quarter of the wide heaven it might come. He had great confidence in God as the source of truth and the eternal defender of His true Word. He did not conceive that anything would be discovered which God had not made. He did not suppose that anything would be evolved which God had not intended from the beginning. The value of his philosophy of common sense was very great. But he taught his students something far more precious—to love reality in religion as in science, to respect all honest work and to reverence every fact of nature and consciousness as a veritable revelation from Almighty God."—*The Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke's address at Dr. McCosh's burial.*

† "I remember," said Dr. McCosh, "the first view which I got of the pleasant height on which the college stands, the highest ground between the two great cities of the Union, looking down on a rich country, covered with

tial, grading and planting were carried out on an extensive scale, the drainage was remodeled, and many other such things, which seem small separately, but mean so much collectively, were attended to. The following buildings were added: The Halsted Observatory in 1869, the Gymnasium in 1869-70, Reunion Hall and Dickinson Hall in 1870, the Chancellor Green Library and the John C. Green School of Science in 1873, University Hall in 1876, Witherspoon Hall in 1877, the Observatory of Instruction in 1878, Murray Hall in 1879, Edwards Hall in 1880, the Marquand Chapel in 1881, the Biological Laboratory in 1887, and the Art Museum about the same time. The administrative side of the college was invigorated in many ways, a dean being added to the executive officering in 1883. The faculty was gradually built up by importation of professors from other institutions, and afterwards by training Princeton men as well. Twenty-four of Dr. McCosh's pupils are now in the faculty. The course of study was revised and made modern, without giving up the historical essentials of liberal education. Elective studies were introduced and developed, and the relating of the elective to the prescribed studies in one harmonious system was always kept in view. To the old academic course of four years, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science and Civil Engineer were added, and graduate courses leading to the university degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Science were organized.* The entrance requirements were improved in quality and were exacted with more firmness. The interior relations of the various departments of study to each

wheat and corn, with apples and peaches, resembling the south of England as much as one country can be like another. Now we see that height covered with buildings, not inferior to those of any other college in America. I have had great pleasure in my hours of relaxation in laying out—always assisted by the late Rev. William Harris, the treasurer of the college—the grounds and walks, and locating the buildings. I have laid them out somewhat on the model of the demesnes of English noblemen. I have always been healthiest when so employed. I remember the days, sunshiny or cloudy, in April and November, on which I cut down dozens of deformed trees and shrubs and planted large numbers of new ones which will live when I am dead. I do not believe that I will be allowed to come back from the other world to this; but if this were permitted I might be allured to visit these scenes so dear to me, and to see the tribes on a morning go up to the house of God in companies.”—*Life of Dr. McCosh*, pp. 195, 196.

* “Indeed the traditional university constitution—a semi-monastic life, fixed terms of college residence, adherence to old academic custom, and a hierarchy of degrees—is found nowhere in more vigor than at Princeton. The true future of Princeton lies not in the development of professional schools, nor in the pursuit of utilitarian studies, but in both the college and the graduate department is inseparably bound up with the cause of pure academic culture and learning.”—*Prof. W. M. Daniels, The Critic, October 24, 1896.*

other and to the general culture of the student were gradually better adjusted, and beginnings of specialized study founded on general culture were instituted. The use of the library was made of importance as a help to the students' regular class work. The two literary societies, Whig and Clio, were relieved of the distress under which they had suffered from secret societies by exterminating these societies, and helped in their friendly rivalry by the establishment of additional college honors open to their competition. Old class-room and chapel disorders slowly gave way before better buildings and improved instruction. Useful auxiliaries to the curriculum were encouraged, and, in particular, the president's "Library Meeting" was started. Here, month after month, the upper classmen met in large numbers to hear some paper by Dr. McCosh, some professor from Princeton or elsewhere, some bright alumnus or scholar attached to a university. Distinguished strangers got into the habit of coming to see the college, and such visits as those of General Grant and other American dignitaries, and of the German professors Dorner and Christlieb, of the Duke of Argyll, of Froude and of Matthew Arnold were greatly enjoyed. And so by slowly working agencies a change in the way of growth, now rapid and now apparently checked, was taking place. The impoverished small college was being renovated, uplifted and expanded. It was put on its way toward a university life.* Its faculty and students increased, until in 1888 the sixteen instructors had become a body of forty-three and the students were over six hundred. Yet this gratifying increase is not the great thing. It might have come and amounted to little more than a diffusion of weakness. But it was qualitative as well as quantitative, for the college was steadily producing men, and a body of men having an intense *esprit du corps* of great value for the future solidarity of Princeton.

* "I think it proper to state," wrote Dr. McCosh, "that I meant all along that these new and varied studies with their groupings and combinations should lead to the formation of a *Studium Generale*, which was supposed in the Middle Ages to constitute a university. At one time I cherished a hope that I might be honored to introduce such a measure. From my intimate acquaintance with the system of Princeton and other colleges I was so vain as to think that out of our available materials I could have constructed a university of a high order. I would have embraced in it all that is good in our college; in particular I would have seen that it was pervaded with religion, as the college is. I was sure that such a step would have been followed by a large outflow of liberality on the part of the public, such as we enjoyed in the early days of my presidency. We had had the former rain and I hoped we might have the latter rain, and we could have given the institution a wider range of usefulness in the introduction of new branches and the extension of post-graduate studies. But this privilege has been denied me."—*Life of McCosh*, pp. 213, 214.

For Dr. McCosh not only left his indelible mark upon them singly, but fused their youthful enthusiasms into one mastering passion for Princeton as a coming university, democratic in its student life, moved by the ideas of discipline and duty, unified in its intellectual culture, open to the core. His relations with the students were intimate and based on his fixed conviction that upon them ultimately rested the fate of Princeton. This conviction meant more than that he saw in young men the coming men. 'A college depends,' he once said, 'not on its president or trustees or professors, but on the character of the students and the homes they come from. If these change, nothing can stop the college changing.' To his eyes the movement that determined everything was the movement from below upward and outward, and the business of president, trustees and professors was to make this mass of raw material into the best product possible—but, first of all, the material must be sound if there is to be success in the product. The philosopher of elemental reality * was never more true to his principles than just here. Given, however, a body of students of sound stock, he felt sure the desired results in their discipline and culture were obtainable by intelligent and patient treatment. First of all, as the negative condition of success, he insisted that idleness be done away with, otherwise nothing could be done to counteract the positive vices to which idleness gives occasion, and nothing to develop the mind by wholesome exercise. Next on his programme came an orderly and regular course of study to be pursued by the student without faltering. Then, in order to bind all the student's life into one and place him in the right direction, he depended upon the sense of moral responsibility, quickened and energized by Christian truth.†

* "The last remark by Dr. McCosh in this chapel was a memorable one. It was given several years ago on a Sunday evening in the simple religious service held here in the close of the day. He had been asked repeatedly once more to preach in the pulpit from which he had so often spoken, but had declined from a fear that he might not be able to endure the strain. This simple and less exhausting service he readily undertook. On the occasion to which I refer he read with a touching emphasis St. Paul's 13th chapter of First Corinthians, that wonderful chapter in which the apostle discourses on charity. Having ended the reading, he gave a brief analysis of its points, remarking on the great climax of the last verse, 'And now abideth faith, hope and charity, but the greatest of these is charity.' Then he announced his purpose of saying a few words on the first clause of the 9th verse, and read it slowly, and those who heard it will not forget the scene as he said, 'For we know in part,' instantly adding with an almost triumphant tone, 'But we know.'"—*Dr. James O. Murray.*

† "I should sadly fail in doing any justice to the memory of Dr. McCosh did I not lay a special emphasis on the Christian element in his administration. Amid all his high ambitions and large plans and unsparing labors for the col-

"It was a simple programme, and great as it was simple.* His capacity for detail was marvelous, and hence he could meet special individual needs as well as plan on the general scale. It seems as though his sanity of judgment and constant endeavor to develop normal character was the very thing that enabled him to recognize the kind and extent of departure from the normal standard in any student at any stage of development. Once he met a rather pompous undergraduate, who announced with some impressiveness that he could no longer stay in the Church of his fathers, as he needed something more satisfying, and that he felt it proper to acquaint Dr. McCosh with the great fact. The sole reply was, 'You'll do no such thing.' And so it turned out. In answer to a cautiously worded long question put by a member of the faculty, in order to discover whether some one charged with a certain duty had actually performed it, the answer came like a shot, 'He did.' No more! How short he could be! To an instructor in philosophy whom he wished to impress with the reality of the

lege, he never forgot, and his faculty was never allowed to forget, that it should maintain the character and do the work of a Christian college. He believed profoundly that education must have a Christian basis. He was loyal to all the traditions of the past, and he sought to administer the office he held in the spirit of its noble charter. It was under his guidance that the practice of administering the Holy Communion at the beginning and close of the college year was instituted. It was to him a source of the truest joy when this beautiful chapel was reared by the generosity of its donor. He wrote the graceful inscription on yonder tablet. In private and in public, in active coöperation with the Christian Society of the college, and in many a confidential talk with his students on the great themes of religion, he sought always to develop the Christian element in college life. I do not think he favored the idea of a college church. In fact, though a Presbyterian by deep conviction, he avoided anything which would divert attention from his own aim to make the college Christian rather than denominational. The catholicity of his spirit here was full and large. The legacy of devotion to the Christian element in college life he has left us is indeed a sacred and abiding one."—*Dr. James O. Murray.*

* "What a figure he has been in Princeton history! I need not describe him. You can never forget him. You see him tall and majestic; his fine head resting on stooping shoulders; his classic face, with a voice like a trumpet; magisterial; with no mock humility—expecting the full deference that was due his office, his years and his work. Here is the fruit of his life: the books he has written; the college that he has built; the alumni all over the land who are his greatest pupils. Through a quarter of a century and more he lived among us—a stalwart man, with an iron will; no mimosa he, sensitive, shrinking and shriveling at the touch of criticism; but a sturdy oak that storms might wrestle with but only heaven's lightning could hurt; loyal to conscience; deep in conviction; tender of heart; living in communion with God, and loving the Word of God as he loved no other book; he was the president who woke the admiration, and touched the hearts, and kindled the enthusiasm of Princeton men. No wonder they were fond of him."—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

external world as against the teachings of idealism, he said with a sweep of his hand toward the horizon, 'It is there, it is there! You know it! Teach it!' Then, too, he was shrewd. In the case of a student, who pleaded innocence though his delinquency was apparent to the doctor, who nevertheless wanted to be easy with him, the verdict was: 'I accept your statement. You'll not do so again.' On one occasion a visiting clergyman, conducting evening chapel service, made an elaborate prayer, including in his petitions all the officers of the college, arranged in order from the president to trustees, professors and tutors. There was great applause at the last item. At the faculty meeting immediately after the service the doctor, in commenting upon the disorder, aptly remarked, 'He should have had more sense than to pray for the tutors.' His consciousness of mastery was so naïve that he cared little for surface disorder in the class-room, so far as his confidence in being able to meet it was involved, but cared a great deal if he found himself at a dead point in the course over which he felt he must carry the class.* Here the dullards, the apathetic, the drones, the light-witted and especially the provokers of disorder came in for a castigation of the most interesting kind. 'Sit down, sir,' sometimes served both to suppress a tumult and at the same time waken a mind that had never been awake before. He could talk to men with a severity and a tone of command few would dare employ. Though the most indifferent could not fail to see he was terribly in earnest at times, they also saw his hearty and deep affection for them. 'A man of granite with the heart of a child,' is an undergraduate's estimate of the old doctor.†

* "Dr. McCosh was preëminently a teacher. His place with Wayland and Mark Hopkins and Woolsey among the great college presidents of America is due in no small degree to the fact that like them he was a teacher. I know that I speak the sentiments of some who hold a position similar to mine in other institutions when I say that the increase of executive duties that draws the president from the classroom is a misfortune. It would have been an irreparable loss, to be made up by no amount of efficiency and success in other directions, for Dr. McCosh to have withdrawn from the position of teacher while he was able to teach. For he was a superb teacher. He knew what he believed and why he believed it, and he taught it with a moral earnestness that enforced attention. . . . There are teachers who handle a great subject in a great way, with no lack of sympathy or humor and a large knowledge of human nature; who win your confidence and stimulate your ambition; who make you eager to read, and who send you out of the lecture room with your heart divided between your admiration of the man and your interest in his theme. Dr. McCosh was a teacher of this kind. No mere closet-philosopher was he; no cold-blooded overseer; but a teaching member of the faculty in which he sat; a man of heart as well as brain, who could feel as well as think, and who could be both hot and tender."—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

† "In matters of administration Dr. McCosh, without being in any sense

“ A pleasant picture of the impression he made on another man of simple heart and strong nature is preserved in a letter of President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, written after Dr. McCosh had visited Williamstown. It may well be inserted here. ‘ That visit,’ he writes, ‘ is among my most pleasant recollections. It was during the summer vacation; the weather was fine, and we were quite at leisure to stroll about the grounds and ride over the hills. Riding thus, we reached, I remember, a point which he said reminded him of Scotland. There we alighted. At once he bounded into the fields like a young man, passed up the hillside, and, casting himself at full length under a shade, gave himself up for a time to the associations and inspiration of the scene. I seem to see him now, a man of world-wide reputation, lying thus solitary among the hills. They were draped in a dreamy haze suggestive of poetic inspiration, and, from his quiet but evidently intense enjoyment, he might well, if he had not been a great metaphysician, have been taken for a great poet. And, indeed, though he had revealed himself chiefly on the metaphysical side, it was evident that he shared largely in that happy temperament of which Shakespeare and Tennyson are the best examples, in which metaphysics and poetry seem to be fused into one and become identical.’ *

“ About his personality numberless stories have been gathered, illustrative of his various traits. He was the constant theme of student talk, even to his slightest peculiarities. The ‘ young

autocratic, managed to exercise a good deal of authority. For there is no nice provision of checks and balances in the government of a college. The three estates of trustees, faculty and undergraduates constitute an organism that furnishes a fine opportunity for experiments in political theories. The government may be monarchical or republican or patriarchal. It may do its work after the fashion of the American Congress or the English Parliament. It may be unicameral or bicameral, as the trustees choose or do not choose to put all power in the hands of the faculty. But by the charter of the college the president is invested with a power that belongs to no one else. He ought to be very discreet, very wise, very open to suggestion and very good-natured; but when he is sure that he is right, very resolute. I imagine that Dr. McCosh was as good a man as one could find anywhere to have so much power in his hands. He had the insight to know when the trustees were more important than the faculty, and when the faculty were wiser than the trustees; and he belonged to both bodies. He was shrewd, sagacious, penetrating and masterful. If there had been a weatherwise man among us he would sometimes have hoisted the storm signals over the college offices, for the Doctor was a man of like passions with us all. He carried the *in loco parentis* theory of government further than some are disposed to have it carried to-day. The students loved him and he loved them. He was faithful with them; spoke plainly to them; as a father with his sons he was severe; and also as a father he was tender and kind.”—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

* *New York Observer*, Thursday, May 13, 1869.

barbarians all at play' were fond of these, and yet with reverence for him.* Who can forget some of the doctor's favorite hymns? No one, surely, who heard two of them sung with deep tenderness at his burial. Dr. McCosh gave up the presidency June 20, 1888, passing the remainder of his days at his newly built home on Prospect avenue. His figure was well-known among us these last years, as he took his walks in the village or out into the country or under the elms of the McCosh walk, or sat in his place in the Marquand Chapel. His interest in the college never abated. Yet he did not interfere in it after he left it. As President Patton has observed: 'He was more than a model president. He was a model ex-president.' Nor did he lose sight of 'my boys,' his former pupils. At the annual reunions of classes it became the custom to march in a body to see him at his home. He 'knew them,' even if not always by name. Yet he would astonish many a one by recalling some personal incident that might well be supposed to be forgotten. Nearly one hundred and twenty of his pupils have followed his example in devoting themselves to the cause of the higher learning. Some of them have failed to follow the old doctor's philosophy in all its bearings, some may have diverged otherwise, but no one, I feel sure, has failed to carry away a conviction of the reality of truth and of the nobility of pursuing it, as well as at least a reverence for the Christian religion. On April 1, 1891, his eightieth birthday occurred. It was duly honored. The day was literally given over to the old doctor. The president, the trustees, the faculty as a body, the students, the alumni, the residents of Princeton and distant personal friends were present or represented. His last really public appearance was at the International Congress of Education held in connection

* JAMES McCOSH.

1811-1894.

Young to the end, through sympathy with youth,
 Gray man of learning! champion of truth!
 Direct in rugged speech, alert in mind,
 He felt his kinship with all human kind,
 And never feared to trace development
 Of high from low—assured and full content
 That man paid homage to the Mind above,
 Uplifted by the royal law of Love.

The laws of nature that he loved to trace
 Have worked, at last, to veil from us his face;
 The dear old elms and ivy-colored walls
 Will miss his presence, and the stately halls
 His trumpet-voice. While in their joys
 Sorrow will shadow those he called "my boys."

with the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago, in July, 1893. The popular interest and the interest of education in him was such as to make him the most noted figure there. Other presidents and institutions joined cordially in doing him honor, and his presence at the Princeton section of the university exhibits was the occasion for a demonstration of affection from his old pupils.

"On Sunday, 28th, 1894, he was as usual in his place in the chapel. It was his last appearance there. Within a day or two he gave such evidence of failing strength that his end was seen to be near. Without the stroke of disease, clear-minded to the last, at his own home, and surrounded by all his family, he peacefully passed away at ten o'clock in the night of Friday, November 16, 1894. The students whom he had never taught, but who loved him, rang the bell of Nassau Hall to tell Princeton that Dr. McCosh was dead.

"'Fortis vir sapiensque' is part of the epitaph of one of the Scipios. It describes Dr. McCosh. But he was more than a strong and wise man. He discerned," concludes Professor West, "so far as to distinguish between the transient and the enduring, the illusory and the real, in character, in thought, in education and in religion. He sought and laid hold on 'the things that cannot be shaken.' And they will 'remain.' For as one of his pupils well said when we turned home from his grave, 'He was himself one of the evidences of the Christian religion.'" †

On the resignation of Dr. McCosh, the trustees elected as his successor the Rev. Dr. Francis Landey Patton, professor of ethics in the college, professor also in Princeton Theological Seminary. He was inaugurated on the twentieth of June, 1888. Those who, on that occasion, spoke for the faculty and the alumni, while expressing gratitude for the past career of the college and loyalty to its "distinctly Christian basis," expressed the hope also that the name

* See *Harper's Weekly*, April, 1891.

† "He was a great man and he was a good man. Eager as he was for the material and intellectual advancement of the college, he thought even more of its moral and religious tone. He was an earnest and able preacher, and his trumpet gave no uncertain sound. Alike in speculative philosophy and in practical morals he was always on the Christian side. He never stood in a doubtful attitude toward the Gospel and never spoke a word that would compromise its truths. So that when I think of his long career and what he did and how he lived I am reminded of the apostle who was so consciously devoted to the service of the Gospel that he could not conceive himself as under any circumstances doing anything that would hinder it, and who said in the words that I have placed at the beginning of this discourse: 'We can do nothing against the truth but for the truth.'"—*President Patton's Memorial Sermon.*

“university” would soon be adopted. “We shall be glad,” said Dr. Henry van Dyke, speaking for the alumni, “when the last swaddling band of an outgrown name drops from the infant, and the College of New Jersey stands up straight in the centre of the Middle States as the University of Princeton.” The new president, sharing in the general desire, answered in his inaugural discourse the questions, “What is a university and what kind of a university ought Princeton to be?” Inheriting from the previous administration the ideal of a university and the beginning of its realization, the present president has labored with conspicuous success to make this ideal actual. The faculty of instruction has been largely increased, the departments have been more highly organized, and additional courses for undergraduates and graduate students have been established. The number of students has risen during Dr. Patton’s administration from six hundred to eleven hundred; and more States and countries are represented in the student body to-day than at any previous period. Leaving out of view the gifts and foundations which have been made in connection with the Sesqui-centennial celebration, not only have additional endowments been secured and real property of great value to the college been acquired during the past eight years, but as many as eight new buildings have been erected.

The remarkable development of the institution along the lines just indicated, during the present administration and the administration immediately preceding it, determined the board of trust to apply for a change in its corporate name. It was thought that the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the grant of the first charter would offer a suitable occasion for the change of the name from the College of New Jersey to Princeton University, and the Sesqui-centennial celebration was projected. In this celebration the president of the United States, the governor of New Jersey, representatives of foreign universities and of the universities and learned societies of the United States united with the president, the trustees, the faculty, the patrons, the alumni and the undergraduates of the college, and the citizens of Princeton in commemorating with joy and gratitude the great and beneficent career of the College of New Jersey. The appropriateness of the celebration and the propriety of the new name were cordially and unanimously acknowledged. The addresses during the celebration as well as the responses to the invitations to assist in the academic festival embodied the feeling expressed in the legend inscribed on one of the arches :

Ave Salve Universitas Princetoniensis!



