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Author(s): Samuel J. Richards

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A FORGOTTEN MUHLENBERG SCHOOL

TRINITY HALL IN WASHINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel J. Richards
Shanghai American School

ABSTRACT: Trinity High School is an unusual name for a public school. Located in Washington County, Pennsylvania, it is a lasting reminder of Trinity Hall, a largely forgotten Episcopalian boys' school that operated between 1879 and 1906. Today Trinity Hall tends to be overlooked by scholars studying Philadelphia-born priest educator William Augustus Muhlenberg. Instead, examinations of Muhlenberg's influence tend to focus on the five New England schools known collectively as St. Grottlesex. Rediscovering Trinity Hall offers historians an opportunity to correct errors in local tradition, examine ways Muhlenberg's approach was adapted over time, and evaluate ways Trinity Hall helped southwestern Pennsylvanians, like Carnegie and Heinz, move from regional to cosmopolitan elite. Finally, it provides a second church school example from the Allegheny Mountains to complement studies of St. James School near Hagerstown, Maryland.

KEYWORDS: William Augustus Muhlenberg, John Barrett Kerfoot, church school movement, Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, Muscular Christianity

Trinity High School is an unusual name for a public school. It is a lasting reminder of the prominent role Christian denominations once played in educational development for citizens in Washington County, Pennsylvania.¹ From 1879 until 1906 Trinity Hall, which overlooks the city of Washington, Pennsylvania (sometimes called "Little Washington" to distinguish it from the federal capital), operated as a boys' school in line with the church school movement. It followed the pedagogy developed by the widely influential William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877) at his Flushing Institute on Long Island in New York. Today residents of Washington County who do know of Trinity Hall typically refer to it as a former military academy, know that

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US president Ulysses S. Grant slept there, or ask about the ghost cadet that haunts the historic building. Few know it was affiliated with the Episcopal Church. The legacies of Muhlenberg and his protégé, John Barrett Kerfoot (1816–81), are forgotten.²

This study seeks to better understand the development and work of Trinity Hall between 1879 and 1906 by drawing together resources from multiple collections to illuminate the rich pedagogical legacies of Muhlenberg and Kerfoot as they were adapted on forty rolling acres along Catfish Creek in Washington County. In so doing, this study enriches our understanding of Muhlenberg's influence and the culture of social elites in southwestern Pennsylvania, and challenges some historical accounts, both written and oral. This study will correct views that have developed in local oral tradition that view Trinity Hall solely as a military academy. Reality was more complex. One can see that Trinity Hall was a decidedly Episcopalian school in line with Muhlenberg's vision for American education developed at Flushing Institute. It will also examine the pedagogical model at Trinity Hall to investigate ways that Muhlenberg's approach was adapted over time. Additionally, we can document Trinity Hall's role in educating scions of southwestern Pennsylvania's leading families. Finally, this study provides a second church school example from the Allegheny Mountains to complement studies of the College of St. James' (now St. James School) near Hagerstown, Maryland. These goals will be interwoven in the study that follows. Undoubtedly, questions will remain. This study is not meant to be the final word. Instead, it aims to open new lines of inquiry. Given the dearth of scholarship regarding the school, this article strives to introduce Trinity Hall to a wider audience.

FOUNDING TRINITY HALL

When John Barrett Kerfoot was consecrated first Episcopal Bishop of Pittsburgh in January 1866, he began ministering to just twenty-eight parishes in the vast area of twenty-four counties west of the Allegheny Mountains, the Appalachian chain in Pennsylvania.³ The new diocese had few institutions. By 1868 a diocesan Committee on Education recommended each parish establish a low-fee school supervised by the rector "with the avowed purpose of combining Christian nurture and training with secular instruction." The report reflected fears of the time, especially concerns regarding increasing "Romanist" influences and nonsectarian schools that would "lead the

soul astray.” In addition to low-fee parish-run schools offering basic education, the report also relied on *noblesse oblige* to encourage patronage from the “wealthy class” to create Episcopalian secondary schools for boys and girls. Trinity Hall followed the suggested secondary school model.⁴

Before fully considering Trinity Hall, it is important to acknowledge the committee did not reflect views among all Episcopalians in southwestern Pennsylvania. Nor was the Episcopal Church a “church . . . only for the rich” as is often believed.⁵ This was especially evident in eastern Washington County where one local historian pointedly wrote, “St. Paul’s has never been a Church of the wealthy.”⁶ Additionally, Bishop Kerfoot wrote privately that the number of working-class parishioners grew “more by 2/3” by the seventh anniversary of his episcopacy.⁷ Tireless priest-physician and Union Army veteran John P. Norman (1836–1923) was active in civic affairs in the mid-Monongahela Valley. In contrast to the diocesan committee, Norman promoted a combination of effective Sunday Schools and public education. Norman, a High Churchman, ministered to growing blue-collar communities by offering medicine for body and soul. He served St. Paul’s Church in Monongahela City and nearby Old St. Thomas’ Church (also known as Old West) as rector. He also started missions in nearby river towns of West Brownsville and Charleroi Borough. Norman’s advocacy for public education motivated his long-time service on the Monongahela School Board.⁸

At the diocesan level, Bishop Kerfoot unsurprisingly supported founding a boys’ school. This was in keeping with his earlier ministries as Muhlenberg’s assistant at Flushing and as founding rector at St. James’ College in western Maryland. The earliest surviving hint of Trinity Hall appears to be an 1878 letter, part of an ongoing exchange between William S. Smith (1800–1887) and his son William Wrenshall Smith (1830–1904). The younger Smith’s patronage was crucial to the success of Kerfoot’s envisioned boys’ school.

The Smiths were dry goods merchants and bankers in the county seat. They headquartered their business in an impressive three-story “Iron Hall” completed by William S. Smith in 1862 at the prominent uptown intersection of Main and Beau streets in Washington Borough.⁹ Soon after the iron-clad structure opened, the widowed William S. Smith retired to Philadelphia and remarried while his son, William Wrenshall Smith, took over the family business. Nevertheless, surviving correspondence shows that William S. Smith remained active in business affairs, advising his son on expenditures and investments while also influencing family affairs from afar.¹⁰

The elder Smith frequently worked to safeguard against potential debt, especially those associated with luxury expenses like the family mansion. In one letter, dated November 13, 1878, he instructed his son regarding cost-cutting measures designed to ensure an annual financial surplus. Smith seemed to work using the same motto made famous by steel magnate Andrew Carnegie: "Watch the costs and the profits will take care of themselves." In one terse sentence, William Smith included approval to rent the family's twenty-five-room Italianate-style mansion known as Spring Hill. He wrote, "As you say, if possible, get the Bishop to take the Hill for a School."¹¹ This letter points to Bishop Kerfoot's important role in establishing Trinity Hall. Just six days later, the elder Smith reinforced his recommendation, noting that leasing the mansion would reduce Wrenshall Smith's expenses by half. His father then blended a gospel allusion with budgetary convictions reminding him that "we must make our arrangements so as to reduce our expenses below our income. All the other ground is Sinking Sand."¹²

Even so, the thought of the Smith family decamping from Spring Hill and returning to their previous family home would have disrupted the local social scene. Spring Hill overlooked the borough from a citadel-like vista to the south and frequently hosted US president Ulysses S. Grant and his wife, Julia Dent Grant.¹³ The Smith family had spent a great deal of money renovating the mansion and had hired Boston-based landscape artist Robert Morris Copeland (1830–74) to design its grounds. The abrupt way in which the elder Smith included his support for converting the mansion suggests it was previously discussed.

For the elder Smith, a Presbyterian, leasing the mansion to create an Episcopalian boarding school was a business decision. The ever-pragmatic family patriarch also pondered having his daughter, Fanny B. Smith Varro, move into the mansion with her three sons. Varro had expressed the need for more living space and relied upon her father and brother as she raised three sons while her adventure-seeking husband went west to Colorado and died in 1868.¹⁴ Varro was given cheaper quarters in the original Smith family residence that remained part of her father's real estate portfolio. Spring Hill was then converted into a school. This was not a mere business decision for William Wrenshall Smith.

His religious convictions motivated William Wrenshall Smith (hereafter W. W. Smith) to start a school. He was an active member and regular worshipper at Trinity Episcopal Church, then located along Beau Street in Washington Borough. He was a vestryman who served as parish treasurer

from 1853 to 1892 and regularly a deputy to diocesan conventions. Smith would have been familiar with the work of an 1868 diocesan committee encouraging every parish to establish a school.¹⁵ He was also a deputy to the Protestant Episcopal Church's General Conventions of 1877 in Boston, 1880 in New York City, and 1883 in Philadelphia.¹⁶ One hopes W. W. Smith found solace at Trinity Church. In the year preceding Trinity Hall's opening, he frequently supported his sister as she navigated widowhood. This included arranging schooling for his three nephews. Additionally, on August 31, 1879, Emma McKennan Smith died, leaving him a widower and single father of two sons aged eleven and nine. By then, the family move must have already occurred. Advertisements for the new school appeared regularly in the June, July, and August issues of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*.

OPENING AND OPERATING TRINITY HALL

Summer 1879 advertisements in the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* reveal Trinity Hall's connections to the Pittsburgh elite. Documents show Trinity Hall was not designed as the low-fee parish school promoted by the 1868 diocesan Committee on Education but rather as the elite secondary school funded by patronage and *noblesse oblige*. Newspaper advertisements featured prominent Pittsburghers as references for the new school. Bishop Kerfoot was named first, followed by Malcolm Hay, a lawyer and rare Democrat among the Pittsburgh elite; lawyer Hill Burgwin; iron industrialist and banker Reuben Miller; and newspaperman Josiah King. All were Episcopalian.

The time lapse between the leasing and opening was short. Initially the mansion was largely used with limited alterations. Faculty recruiting and hiring also occurred within a limited time frame. Kerfoot's educational network must have proved invaluable and essential to finding suitable faculty and a capable founding headmaster familiar with the Muhlenberg church school model.

Local citizens and church dignitaries assembled on the second Wednesday of September 1879 for grand opening ceremonies. Newspaper descriptions provide hints of an outdoor event on the rolling, landscaped grounds of the mansion.¹⁷ According to the *Washington Observer*, Bishop Kerfoot presided at the opening ceremony of the "new classical boarding school for boys." High-profile attendees included King; Peter Baldy, a merchant, industrialist, and bank president from Danville, Pennsylvania; and a "Mr. Brown" of

Cambridge, Ohio.¹⁸ Presumably its unnamed chief patron, W. W. Smith, was also in attendance. Smith family lore also places President Grant at the event.¹⁹ However, this seems unlikely as neither the local nor Pittsburgh newspapers mentioned his presence. The *Washington Observer* reported, "The school was opened in the interests of christian [*sic*] education." One newspaper in Presbyterian-dominated Washington County was supportive of the venture, writing, "We wish the completest success to the new Institution, and we congratulate our townsman, Mr. W. W. Smith upon the accomplishment of his long cherished design of devoting this beautiful property to the interest of sound education."²⁰ Bishop Kerfoot delivered the keynote address entitled "The Pastorship of Boys."²¹ The text has been lost. However, the title was a clear nod to ideas of the bishop's long-time mentor and father figure Muhlenberg.²² Trinity Hall was part of the church school movement.

Decades earlier, in 1842, Muhlenberg gave a farewell chapel address at Flushing, New York, that served as a commissioning of Kerfoot. After thirteen years as Muhlenberg's understudy, Kerfoot left with what W. L. Prehn III describes as "Muhlenberg's coveted recipe for superlative schooling."²³ Part of that recipe included having a priest as rector. Muhlenberg's speech commissioned Kerfoot for his educational mission near Hagerstown, Maryland, while also outlining pedagogical principles. He described Christian education as an essential duty of the church to be carried out by "committed missionaries appointed to the work, just as religion itself is propagated." He also argued that "the true way of establishing such schools is by employing her ministers for the purpose, who make it their business to educate the young in the Christian religion, as much as to proclaim that religion to the adult congregation."²⁴

Thirty-seven years later, Kerfoot still made it his business to educate the young. The title "The Pastorship of Boys" reinforced the message that the work of priest-educators was as important as preaching to adults. While that text has disappeared, Kerfoot's first baccalaureate address in Maryland reveals his philosophy. He made clear this was not a blasé approach of self-discovery for boys, but instead designed "to aim at a decided influence over the young conscience, and to stamp deeply, and, *if we can*, indelibly upon the heart and mind the definite lineaments of religious doctrine and principle."²⁵ To ensure this occurred at Trinity Hall, Kerfoot recruited Samuel Earp (1844–1906) as rector.

Earp's background made him a wise choice for founding rector of Trinity Hall. He met the Muhlenberg-Kerfoot expectation that a priest-educator be headmaster. He also bridged the religious identities among southwestern

Pennsylvania's elite families who could afford to pay the advertised \$400 per annum tuition plus sundry fees required to enroll their sons.²⁶ Earp completed his bachelor's degree at Kerfoot's Episcopalian St. James' College before obtaining a Ph.D. from Presbyterian-affiliated Washington and Jefferson College in Little Washington. His connections to Kerfoot and southwestern Pennsylvania likely made him not only ideal to recruit, but easier to recruit given the fast-paced timeline used to transform Spring Hill mansion from a family home into Trinity Hall School for Boys.

Founding families in the region tended to be Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.²⁷ John N. Ingham, among others, argued that this gave Pittsburgh "its earlier moral fibre of strict no-nonsense Calvinism" setting the cultural tone in the early years.²⁸ South of Pittsburgh, in Washington County, Presbyterian missionary John McMillan (1752–1833) left an indelible stamp on the culture and remains the namesake of one of the county's largest school districts.²⁹ In his thorough analysis of twenty elite Pittsburgh families, Joseph F. Rishel concluded that the Episcopal Church "had managed to attract more than a fourth of the founding [Pittsburgh] family members by 1900" despite strong Presbyterian resistance. In Rishel's words, "The Episcopalians, accustomed to social dominance in many other parts of the United States, were not dismayed, threatened, and certainly not converted by the Presbyterians."³⁰ Though significantly smaller in number, Episcopalians made concerted efforts to match Presbyterian accomplishments by establishing church-related institutions.³¹ Trinity Hall was one such institution.

Church institutions could have a precarious existence. Muhlenberg's original institutions of Flushing Institute and St. Paul's College eventually failed. Historian and long-time editor of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (now *Anglican and Episcopal History*), John Frederick Woolverton attributed their closure to two factors. One was an inability to weather the 1837 financial crisis in the United States due to their lacking of endowments complemented by Muhlenberg's avoidance of diocesan and national church control of his schools.³² Additionally, though decidedly Episcopalian, Trinity Hall was never officially a school under the control of the Pittsburgh diocesan convention or its bishop. Nevertheless, the outline of its governance remains sketchy. It did have a board of visitors composed of prominent Episcopalians, but their role is unclear. Surviving school catalogues identify varying numbers of visitors. In 1897–98 there were just two. However, by 1903–4 there were seven, three of whom lived further afield in the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, and California. This suggests their



FIGURE 1. An undated postcard image of Trinity Hall, ca. 1900. The original Spring Hall mansion at left with the 1883 purpose-built wing to the right. Courtesy of the Trinity Hall Museum.

role was to cultivate the school's reputation rather than govern it. It did not hurt that the Californian was Ulysses S. Grant Jr., the son of a former US president who enrolled his own son, Chaffee, at Trinity Hall. Adding to the mystery of school governance, a news article in 1883 reports that Trinity Hall's "Board of Directors" approved an \$8,887 construction contract for a purpose-built classroom building (see fig. 1).³³ Whatever the role of these visitors or directors may have been, it was the ongoing patronage of W. W. Smith that ensured the school's survival during his lifetime. He remained a powerful figure at Trinity Hall even as various priests served as rector.

PUZZLE PIECES OF CHURCHMANSHIP

Muhlenberg's pedagogy made no space for what Woolverton termed "vague, spiritualized Christianity."³⁴ Trinity Hall was decidedly Episcopalian. A copy of *The Hymnal* (1892) officially adopted by the General Convention remains on display at the Trinity Hall Museum. Inside the front and back covers a prominent red-inked stamp proclaims in large letters, "Trinity

Hall, Washington, Pa.” However, churchmanship was divisive in that era. At Trinity Hall, “sacred studies” was a required subject in keeping with Muhlenberg’s original Flushing Institute model. However, religious practices appear to have diverged from some practices at other church schools of its era. For instance, while chapel services and “the Chapel” are referenced in surviving literature, Trinity Hall never constructed a purpose-built chapel like “St. Grottlesex.”³⁵ Boyd Crumrine, in his 1882 history of Washington County, mentions a 27×16-foot room that served as a chapel, located in the Spring Hill mansion section of the school.³⁶ However, Crumrine did not elaborate further. Additionally, no photographs of the chapel appear in surviving Trinity Hall literature. Occasionally school events were held at Trinity Episcopal Church where school founder W. W. Smith worshipped.

Smith’s parish church was constructed in 1862 using English country gothic style. High and Low Church congregations in southwestern Pennsylvania and Philadelphia donated furniture, and the rector was a graduate of Virginia Theological Seminary.³⁷ This constellation hints at Broad Churchmanship. Additionally, parish historian Mrs. William K. Jones commented that the Reverend J. Holwell Geare “surrendered his charge” as rector after just six months’ service in 1894–95. Jones specifically noted Geare’s affiliation with Oxford University and that he was “rather more advanced in churchmanship than some of his predecessors.”³⁸ Little Washington proved hostile to Anglo-Catholicism of the Oxford Movement. However, the vestry was receptive to adding a choir room in 1895, hinting at a willingness to accept High Churchmanship. Nevertheless, Trinity Church’s location on Beau Street was too far away for daily services that formed part of the tightly packed weekdays at Trinity Hall.

More circumstantial evidence regarding churchmanship at Trinity Hall comes from advertisements that named early patrons. In one example, Hill Burgwin appears as a founding supporter alongside Bishop Kerfoot. Burgwin served on the diocesan standing committee and once privately wrote to Bishop William Whittingham of Maryland in order to block the possible appointment of a clergyman popular among “radical Low Churchmen” at St. Mark’s Church, Birmingham (now the South Side of Pittsburgh). Burgwin wrote, “I am anxious that no clergyman shall be brought out from [other dioceses], who will not co-operate harmoniously and efficiently with our Bishop.”³⁹ Burgwin’s words suggest he would have privately opposed Trinity Hall if it was not “harmonious” with Kerfoot’s High Church views. Instead, Burgwin publicly backed the venture. His support along with other

circumstantial evidence provides clues about life at Trinity Hall. It seems likely that the school mediated a Broad to High Churchmanship. Low Church and Anglo-Catholic approaches would have been soundly rejected.⁴⁰

ADAPTING MUHLENBERG'S METHODS IN THE ALLEGHENIES

Muhlenberg expected students enrolled in church schools to learn principles of the Episcopal Church and believed it was the church's duty to provide schools as part of its ministry. Personifying the church, Muhlenberg wrote, "She may well regard it as the field which Providence point out as her peculiar province."⁴¹ He believed the church was uniquely positioned to teach moral character to citizens of the republic. The inclusion of Greek and Latin alongside world languages like German and French in a boarding school setting might lead one to assume Muhlenberg's schools were simply American versions of elite "public schools" in England. This view is further reinforced by the vocabulary of "rector" and "forms" instead of "principal" and "grades." However, Muhlenberg's schools were not mere English adaptations.

James McLachlan's 1970 study of American boarding schools viewed Muhlenberg's approach as a uniquely American development. Muhlenberg found inspiration in the work of educational reformer Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg's efforts at Hofwil Institut in Canton Berne, Switzerland.⁴² Fellenberg's model was designed so that tuition received from sons of the wealthy subsidized the education of poorer pupils. Muhlenberg similarly envisioned one-tenth of pupils being free scholars whose education was funded by the other nine-tenths paying full tuition, a sort of institutional tithe. According to Muhlenberg biographer Ann Ayres, this was his vision for a "Cadet's Hall" for "training of young soldiers of the church militant." This language invites easy linkages between "church militant" and the idea of Trinity Hall as a military academy. This connection would be sloppy thinking. For Muhlenberg, this phrase reflected the two states of the Church: the Church Militant (those living and fighting sin on Earth, *Ecclesia militans*) and the Church Triumphant (those in heaven, *Ecclesia triumphans*). Additionally, instead of instilling general Christian principles, Muhlenberg's Flushing Institute and its successors—like Trinity Hall initially—embraced a view that nonsectarian Christian education was not feasible. Muhlenberg also recognized that an education narrowly focused on intellectual and physical aspects was a failure. He advocated for what modern educators might call

“whole child” education long before it became a popular talking point for school administrators. For Muhlenberg, “moral education” was an essential part of learning.⁴³

Naming desired character traits for students and providing mentorship are crucial to moral development. Educators continue to debate and experiment with these issues more than a century after Muhlenberg’s death. At Trinity Hall, a surviving ledger reveals that students received marks between 1 and 10 in algebra, arithmetic, bookkeeping, declamation, drawing, English composition, French, geography, geometry, German, grammar, Greek, history, Latin, music, penmanship, reading, sacred studies (Christianity), and spelling. In addition, the final two columns were reserved for attendance and conduct.⁴⁴ Grading attendance and conduct as aspects of developing good character remain controversial among educators even today. Some argue it is not the place for schools to evaluate students’ character.⁴⁵ For Muhlenbergian schools this is not debatable. Muhlenberg blended together three institutions—the home, the school, and the church—according to priest-scholar Clifton H. Brewer (1876–1947), a lecturer at Yale Divinity School and Bexley Hall whose studies focused heavily on Christian education.⁴⁶ Muhlenberg considered his secondary school distinctive in addressing literature, the sciences, and moral education on equal plains.

The essential study of Muhlenberg’s urban ministry by Alvin W. Skardon (1912–2002) began as a 1960 doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago that was later refined during his time as professor of history at Youngstown State University in Ohio. Skardon found that Muhlenberg wrestled with how to best develop moral education amid changes wrought by industrialization “in schools which derive their support from a pluralistic society.” In Skardon’s view, Muhlenberg found that American schools neglected moral and spiritual aspects as a favored way to navigate conflicting religious creeds. Muhlenberg resolved this neglect by creating a Christian school that was decidedly Episcopalian.⁴⁷ The school was to be like a large family with a priest as rector serving as father-figure *in loco parentis*. This was a signature feature of Muhlenbergian church schools; a point of pride at St. James School even now.⁴⁸

The thirty-one boys who became the rector’s “sons” at Trinity Hall that first year encountered an academic curriculum inspired by the one Muhlenberg established at Flushing fifty-one years earlier. It served to educate boys from first through sixth form, ages twelve to eighteen. In comparing Muhlenberg’s curriculum published in 1831 to the surviving outlines

from Trinity Hall dated 1897–98 and 1903–4 this connection is obvious. One can see an emphasis on classical texts in Greek and Latin along with studies of grammar, rhetoric, penmanship, arithmetic, geometry, and Christianity. However, Trinity Hall's curriculum also included French, German, and geography as specific subjects. This last is a change from Muhlenberg's outline that grouped chemistry, mineralogy, and geology under senior philosophy and suggests, "as far as time allows, other branches of Natural Science."⁴⁹ The documents, though sixty-six years apart, feature other similarities.

Both schools included similar student codes of conduct in publications. For example, both schools monitored reading materials that the boys obtained and also assumed pupils would bring money to school. They required that money be deposited with school leaders. At Flushing Institute, procuring money in any other way was "a sufficient reason for dismissal."⁵⁰ At Trinity Hall, the requirement was the same but expulsion was not explicitly identified as a consequence. Instead, the text appealed to the moral compass of the reader noting, "We do not believe in an abundance of pocket money for boys at school, it is not only injurious to the boy, but to his companions as well." This injury may have related to disparities among students' wealth. Trinity Hall boasted that "the uniform of the school is of dark blue cloth, the same as that of the Cadets of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Besides other advantages, this places every student upon an equal footing as regards dress."⁵¹ This raises questions as to whether Trinity Hall was able to realize Muhlenberg's Cadet's Hall vision to have one-tenth of boys enrolled from poorer families whose sons could attend for free. The idea that a uniform can mask socioeconomic differences remains a key claim of school uniform advocates today. The emphasis on developing good character was a crucial learning goal at both Flushing Institute and Trinity Hall.

Emphasis on moral direction did not assume Trinity Hall students were angelic. In fact, one expensive act of vandalism drew attention from a Pittsburgh newspaper in early March 1885. A bookcase and books valued at \$600 fell prey to arson inside the school.⁵² Despite Trinity Hall's reputation as a strict school, discipline was measured and aimed at correction, not punishment. For example, Muhlenberg frowned upon corporal punishment. His approaches were unusually progressive for the nineteenth century. A 2016 study found that paddling remained a legal form of school discipline in nineteen US states—one that disproportionately targets black children. The Pennsylvania School Code permitted paddling until 2005, a century after Trinity Hall closed.⁵³ While there is no record in surviving ledgers regarding corporal punishment at

Trinity Hall, suspension was meted out in rare instances. The sole suspension in a ledger examined for this study was for William C. Carnegie, a nephew of powerful steel magnate Andrew Carnegie. The entry is marked with the words “Suspended, May 23, 1881” and “Restored, June 10, 1881.”⁵⁴ The use of “restored” in the school ledger echoes the language of Galatians 6:1. It was also language used for the clerical disciplinary process. As McLachlan pointed out, “for Muhlenberg the ultimate aim of education was the religious one of salvation.”⁵⁵ The importance of teaching and developing moral character superseded punishment, a philosophy US public schools have embraced only recently with the use of Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) and more recent experiments with restorative justice. In the Muhlenberg approach, modeling and teaching positive behaviors was an especially important duty of the rector as father figure. Trinity Hall featured other elements in line with the criteria MacLachlan identified as a signature of Muhlenberg-style schools. This included moral instruction based on Christianity with systematic study of the Bible. However, the Christian instruction at Trinity Hall proved more muscular than both Flushing Institute and St. James School.

EMBRACING “MUSCULAR CHRISTIANITY”

In 2018 Trinity High School included Jesse William Lazear (1866–1900) among three distinguished alumni award winners. This exemplifies ways Trinity High School now incorporates elements of the Trinity Hall legacy. Public school officials identified Lazear as a graduate of “Trinity Hall Military Academy.”⁵⁶ While the boarding school never operated under this name, it did appear in local press reports following the 1904 death of founder W. W. Smith and has continued regularly ever since. It is not surprising that Trinity Hall earned this moniker. Various documents refer to students as cadets and school officials were proud to have uniform colors matching the US Naval Academy. Trinity Hall’s 1904–5 catalog addresses this issue.

The school stated,

Trinity Hall is not a strict military school, but it has been found that the military form of exercise, in which the ‘Setting Up’ exercises and the dumb-bell drill are given the chief places, supplies in the most pleasant way possible the necessary compulsory exercise to keep a boy healthy and active.

While the coursework and emphasis on Episcopalian ways remained, Trinity Hall developed programs in tandem with the growing influence of Muscular Christianity in Europe and North America. For most Americans, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was the most visible representation of this movement. School leaders incorporated signature values of Muscular Christianity such as manliness, discipline, and Christian morality as part of the Trinity Hall curriculum. After all, talented educators and effective Christian apologists do not mindlessly intone inherited ways disregarding present realities.⁵⁷

Introducing military drill was a pedagogical shift under the leadership of founding rector Samuel Earp. According to a surviving copy of the school's newspaper, the *Trinity Record*, 1883 was the year during which Trinity Hall began developing a "military department in the school." While the academic program continued to follow the Muhlenberg-Kerfoot model, the grafting of military elements began two years after Bishop Kerfoot's death. The timing of Kerfoot's passing combined with the educational demands of Pittsburgh business elites encouraged change at Trinity Hall. In his analysis of elite Pittsburgh businessmen, Harold L. Twiss found that the Pennsylvania Military Academy at Chester (now Widener University) near Philadelphia was the most popular educational choice for elite Pittsburgh sons in 1890. It remained among the top three choices in 1929. However, by then it was overtaken by a nonsectarian day school, Shady Side Academy located in Pittsburgh's East End, favored by the Frick and Mellon families, while the boarding school of choice was Episcopalian St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire.⁵⁸

In 1883 Trinity Hall leaders cleverly synthesized the defining pedagogical elements of the two boarding schools most popular with prominent families in Pittsburgh and other Allegheny County communities. As Twiss argued, education did not determine elite status in Pittsburgh, but it did remain "one of the basic factors involved in the rise to success."⁵⁹ Trinity Hall offered a Muhlenberg-style curriculum accompanied by flashy uniforms of a residential military academy like the one in Chester while making them easily accessible from Pittsburgh.

The transition to military appearance occurred over a three-year period. A surviving *Trinity Record* article explains that boys were initially "uniformed in half citizen, half military dress, and drilled two or three times a week without arms or equipments on the lawn" with cadets required to wear military uniforms "only during drill and at church."⁶⁰ There are no indications

that the rector and faculty adopted uniforms. As part of the transition, the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* announced in December 1884 that “the cadets at Trinity Hall, Washington, have received their rifles and are now fully equipped, presenting a fine appearance when on drill.”⁶¹ The rifles were for show. A “drill under arms” formed part of annual culminating events on the school grounds closing the academic year.⁶² The military appearance became all-encompassing in 1886 when “citizen’s clothing was consigned in the trunk room.” Drill continued as a daily event but was “still in a crude and lax state.” However, the unnamed writers credit the Reverend Dr. Thomas D. Pitts for “the vast improvement in the appearance and discipline of cadets” after he became rector in 1888 following Earp’s sudden departure.⁶³ By 1899 an article in the *Pittsburg Bulletin* referred to the Trinity Hall boy as “a biped battleship.”⁶⁴

Discipline and athleticism were valued at Trinity Hall. The choice of Harvard graduate Charles A. Morrill as third rector in August 1888 reinforced this. Selecting Morrill was also a shrewd move to reassure Pittsburgh elites eager to cultivate East Coast connections. Advertisements for Trinity Hall in 1888 trumpeted Morrill’s previous employment at St. Paul’s School in New Hampshire.⁶⁵ The *Washington Observer* bragged that “Mr. Morrill has the entire confidence of Dr. [Henry A.] Coit, who recommended him for the place, and has the love and esteem of the boys who were prepared under him at St. Paul’s.”⁶⁶ The endorsement of Coit connected Trinity Hall to the school Francis G. Couvares identified as “a particular favorite” among Pittsburgh elites aspiring to cosmopolitanism. Morrill’s responsibilities in New Hampshire also focused heavily on physical education. Ten years after he left St. Paul’s School, *New England Magazine* still mentioned Morrill by name noting that “from 1868 to 1888 the Rev. Charles A. Morrill was a most efficient helper in the gymnasium and out-door sports. The tradition of his gymnastic feats will last a long time.”⁶⁷ This made Morrill an excellent fit with the philosophy of Muscular Christianity then being embraced at Trinity Hall.

During Trinity Hall’s operation between 1879 and 1906 competitive sport and athletic branding gained increasing attention.⁶⁸ Newspapers in Little Washington and Pittsburgh expanded the number of column inches dedicated to sports reporting. Trinity Hall’s addition of a tennis court in 1886 was overlooked. However, Trinity Hall’s baseball team was the focus of frequent reporting. One fragile student notebook that survives testifies to the importance of baseball culture. In the notebook for a photography course, there are

as many notes on baseball as there are about photography. James Gearing's notebook includes an April 15, 1888, entry about the "Reorganized Ball Club" near pages where he listed books he had read. His reading list was dominated by adventure stories with Walter Scott as a heavy favorite along with Gustave Aimard's *The Pirates of the Prairies: Adventures in the American Desert* and *The Pearl of the Andes: A Tale of Love and Adventure*. His notes also include the team's record, presumably for 1888. Competitors mentioned include Washington and Jefferson Prep, Shady Side Academy, Bethany Seminary, and the Curry Institute. According to Gearing's records, Trinity Hall won five of the seven games, though he commented that Shady Side Academy's 12–9 victory was "faulty."⁶⁹ Sport and the outdoors were clearly important.

Rugged outdoor adventures were also important to Trinity Hall and the southwestern Pennsylvania families the school served. Trinity Hall cadet John H. B. Phillips was twelve or thirteen when he wrote to his papa in Allegheny City (now the North Side of Pittsburgh) requesting permission to join a weekend camping trip led by one of the Trinity Hall instructors.⁷⁰ The idea of camping in March or April shows school leaders embraced what Theodore Roosevelt termed the "strenuous life." While these two surviving accounts do not provide a comprehensive account of student life, they do give helpful clues. The activities mentioned were important components of Muscular Christianity that became popular among middle- and upper-class white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants (WASPs) who feared city living was, in part, sapping elite males and threatening their dominance.⁷¹ Support for Muscular Christianity was an easy sell among elite southwestern Pennsylvanians. Unlike their East Coast counterparts, Pittsburgh's elite families were slow to embrace patronage of high-culture institutions such as museums, theaters, and symphonies. In Couvares's view, "The Presbyterian elite was ill-suited to the role of patriciate." Instead, the names Carnegie, Mellon, Frick, Pitcairn, Horne, and Scaife were long-associated with hunting and fishing clubs.⁷² Thomas M. Carnegie, however, did enroll his sons Frank, William, and Andrew at the Episcopalian Trinity Hall, helping them gain entry into high culture while he continued to use Cresson Springs and the infamous South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club, both in Cambria County, to maintain connections to rural sportsmanship.⁷³ Other well-known names associated with Trinity Hall included Grant and Heinz, along with Washington County elites from the LeMoyné, Smith, Kammerer, and Best families.

In addition to sport and camping, Trinity Hall promoted physical rigor through calisthenics and military-style marching. This was not meant as

military preparation per se, but rather as preparation for life in line with the ideas popularized by Roosevelt and Rudyard Kipling among others. The elements of military culture at Trinity Hall aimed to instill discipline and *esprit de corps* through drill. It was not a bootcamp or proving ground for mortal combat. In fact, boys were forbidden from bringing firearms to campus.⁷⁴ A more appropriate modern comparison might be the camaraderie and discipline developed during competitions sponsored by Drum Corps International.

Trinity Hall's embrace of Muscular Christianity and the outdoors earned it praise. An 1892 testimonial described Trinity Hall as preparing boys for college, business, home, and the military. In that same advertisement, the Reverend Robert Waddington Grange boasted about Trinity Hall's "excellent" food in a "home-like" environment with "discipline administered with rare good sense and Judgement."⁷⁵ The priest educated at Nashotah House, a seminary in Wisconsin, served the Church of the Ascension in Pittsburgh's affluent East End neighborhood of Shadyside. Ascension's early supporters included at least one former Trinity Hall boy, surgeon Francis J. LeMoyné Jr., whose Presbyterian father had been Washington County's most well-known abolitionist and proponent for racial equality.⁷⁶ One year after Grange's testimonial appeared in the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, the former rector of Trinity Church in Washington Borough, Fred C. Cowper, wrote from Amesbury, Massachusetts, praising Trinity Hall's Edenic qualities for Washington County readers. Cowper emphasized the "wide-spreading maples, elms, lindens, and evergreens, with orchards, gardens and vineyards" and addressed the fears of WASP elites attracted to the ethos of Muscular Christianity when he wrote, "Delicate boys become strong and manly in its pure health giving atmosphere."⁷⁷ This thinking must have appealed to Sharpsburg ketchup magnate H. J. Heinz when he enrolled his son Clarence Noble Heinz who struggled with sickness and stamina.⁷⁸

CLOSING

Trinity Hall's coursework continued to look like Muhlenberg's. The school also introduced elements of high culture to the scions of southwestern Pennsylvania's capitalist class. Money alone did not allow wealthy southwestern Pennsylvanians to enter the national elite. The descendants of rich industrialists increasingly acquired the skills of high culture through education,

helping them to join the national elite. A surviving Trinity Hall catalog offers elective drawing, music, and dance lessons taught by assistant instructors for an additional cost. The school boasted its own library complemented by W. W. Smith's accessible private collection of 3,000 volumes, and a wide array of periodicals including *Harper's*, *Puck*, *Scientific American*, *Fliegende Blätter*, and *Le Monde Illustré*.⁷⁹ These cultural amenities were complemented by artwork displayed in the building.

A romanticized image of Little Washington prevailed. In one newspaper advertisement the school announced special train services to return students to the "Smoky City" of Pittsburgh.⁸⁰ This failed to acknowledge industrialization in and around Trinity Hall where coal mines, oil derricks, and glassworks employed blue-collar workers and an increasing number of immigrants frequently described as "Hunkies" in the local newspaper.⁸¹ The prevalence of industry surrounding Trinity Hall is evident in an 1897 map of Washington Borough created by Fowler and Moyer (see fig. 2).

Racism also created formidable barriers in the form of de facto segregation in the movie theaters, shops, and restaurants of the county seat until the 1960s. The black community composed about 10 percent of Little Washington's

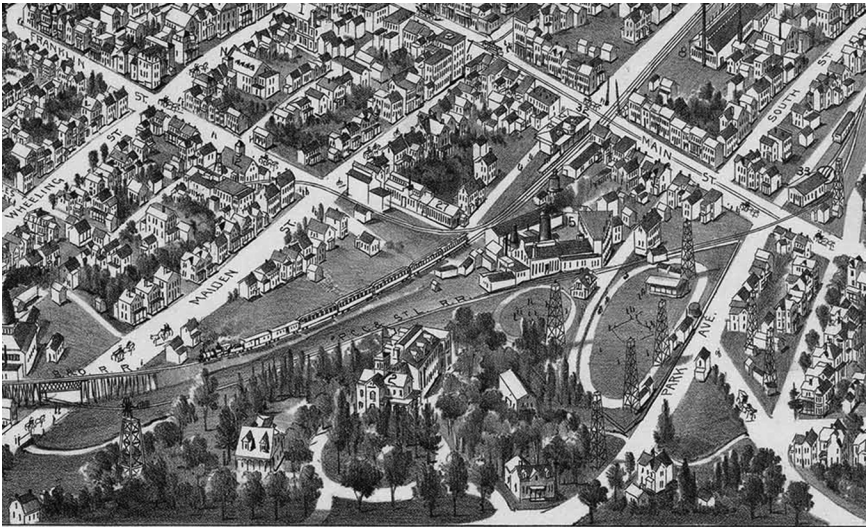


FIGURE 2. Detail of Fowler and Moyer's Bird's-Eye View of Washington, PA, 1897. Trinity Hall is in the center (marked "2"), with oil derricks, factories, and the train station all visible nearby. These signs of industry are omitted from the Edenic descriptions of the school. Courtesy Manuscript Group II, #567, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA.

population and was largely restricted to an area near Linn Avenue known as “The Hill” or “Linn Town,” a place Alicyn Wiedrich described as “a self-contained world.”⁸² Like the carefully curated public images of private and suburban public schools today, Trinity Hall advertisements omitted all of this while emphasizing the beautifully landscaped grounds and physical toughness instilled in students. This responded to fears that elite WASPs were weak in the face of a growing muscular working class.

Over time Trinity Hall’s embrace of Muscular Christianity increased. By 1897 Trinity Hall included the name of Ulysses Grant Smith along with his title “commandant and instructor in military tactics and calisthenics” adjacent to the rector’s name in advertising. Trinity Hall’s approach rejected the perceived feminization of Christianity in that era. Charles Wesley’s eighteenth-century hymn “Gentle Jesus, meek and mild” was probably not sung during chapel at Trinity Hall. An even bigger break with Muhlenberg’s model was the presence of W. W. Smith as school rector in the late 1890s.⁸³ The important role of a male role model as priest-headmaster who served *in loco parentis* of a large school family was abandoned. The rationale for this change is unclear based on available sources. One possibility is declining enrollment and revenue.

An existing study that examines changing college matriculation patterns may provide clues. Southwestern Pennsylvania elites in 1900 were generally descendants of families long resident in the region. Harold L. Twiss found that in 1890 the most popular college for sons of elite Allegheny County families was Western University (now the University of Pittsburgh) with Washington and Jefferson College as second. However, by 1929 southwestern Pennsylvania colleges were supplanted by Yale University as most popular followed by Princeton, Harvard, Cornell, and other Ivy League schools. The elite of southwestern Pennsylvania shed their regional affiliations in order to join the national elite, a predominately cosmopolitan East Coast culture. In his 2016 study *Religion, Art, and Money*, Peter W. Williams recognized boarding schools as the “vehicles that would socialize and credential” children from families wanting to join the national elite.⁸⁴ Undoubtedly, those wishing to climb the highest rungs of the proverbial ladder had a better chance of doing so at “St. Grottlesex” than at Trinity Hall. It seems reasonable to speculate that improved transportation and the attractiveness of St. Paul’s School in New Hampshire contributed to declining enrollment at Trinity Hall. This may have caused Smith to step in as rector to save the school in a prudent cost-cutting move. Without

enrollment and financial records or minutes of the school's governors from this period, it is difficult to know. Nevertheless, having a layman as rector largely forfeited the school's Muhlenbergian identity.

Another break with Muhlenberg's approach related to Episcopalian religious observance. An 1899 advertisement promised that "on Sundays the boys, accompanied by a master, attend the church designated by their parents."⁸⁵ Allowing cadets to attend any church if accompanied by faculty ended Muhlenberg's exclusive Episcopalian approach. This level of religious tolerance among mainline Protestants was antithetical to Muhlenberg's church school ideal. Trinity Hall increasingly abandoned "Muhlenberg's coveted recipe for superlative schooling."⁸⁶ This was likely done in an attempt to survive in a saturated education market. Elite Pittsburghers seeking an Episcopalian boarding school could choose "St. Grottlesex" and many chose St. Paul's School. Additionally, Shady Side Academy (1883) in Pittsburgh and Kiskiminetas Springs School (1888) in Saltsburg opened as secular, all-male, boarding schools serving southwestern Pennsylvania in addition to the pre-existing Sewickley Academy (1838) in Pittsburgh and Linsly Military Institute (1814) in Wheeling, West Virginia. Amid these headwinds, the sheer will and continued patronage of W. W. Smith seemed to keep Trinity Hall operational.

One might ask why Trinity Hall developed so differently than Muhlenberg's Flushing Institute or Kerfoot's St. James' College. A study of another Washington County institution is instructive here. In his 1972 dissertation examining Washington and Jefferson College, Lewis Harold Caton Jr. wrote:

In terms of preserving such an outlook for service and maintenance of a prevailing social order, the precepts of the college were consistently transferred into the hands of men whose background and training had been similar. Hence, the goals of the institution and the means of achieving them, were closely guarded from distortion and error.⁸⁷

A similar pattern did not occur at Trinity Hall. Earp's sudden departure as founding rector under questionable circumstances meant recruiting a new leader on short notice. That second rector, Thomas D. Pitts, was persuaded to leave parish ministry at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Steubenville, Ohio, to become leader of a growing school.⁸⁸ Pitts's successor at Trinity Hall was chosen with more time and care. His reputation connected Trinity Hall with the nationally renowned Henry A. Coit. Eventually, the lay patron

and dedicated Episcopalian W. W. Smith, who had kept the school going throughout his lifetime became rector. Following Smith's death, this duty passed to Charles Garfield Eckles.

Eckles proved ineffective. A news brief in the Pittsburgh-based *Presbyterian Banner* noted that "this school, under its new management, shows great promise."⁸⁹ Later that month, a large advertisement in the same newspaper used the title headmaster instead of rector when describing Eckles. Adjacent to his name was that of Finis Erving Montgomery of Wheeling, West Virginia, serving as commandant. Hiding in two 1905 society page announcements is news that Eckles had leased Trinity Hall and that he and Montgomery were to run the school for the next five years.⁹⁰ W. W. Smith's sons were uninterested in being chief patrons of the school. Ulysses Grant Smith embarked on a successful career in the US diplomatic corps while William McKennan Smith found a lessee for Trinity Hall. Management by Eckles and Montgomery proved less promising than the *Presbyterian Banner* predicted. Unlike the constancy Caton recognized as a key ingredient for success at Washington and Jefferson College, each rector at Trinity Hall filled a need, but their commitments to Muhlenberg's model varied.

While Kerfoot was inspirational in bringing Muhlenberg's church school movement to southwestern Pennsylvania, Trinity Hall became something different. It became Smith's school. When he died at age seventy-one in 1904, the *Washington Observer* headline screamed "WILLIAM W. SMITH DIED AT EARLY HOUR THIS MORNING: Well Known Banker, Soldier, and Educator Passed Away at 2:15, A Close Friend of General Grant." The article claimed Trinity Hall "is the only school of its kind in the middle west." The author took care to ensure readers that the school would continue to be "conducted along the usual lines." However, this was not to be. Trinity Hall died two years after its chief patron. Smith was laid to rest in Washington Cemetery overlooking the county seat. On his headstone are the requisite birth and death dates with one claim to fame. Despite being a highly successful businessman and father of two successful sons, Smith's tombstone memorializes one accomplishment, "in 1879 Founder Trinity Hall School for Boys."⁹¹

The grounds of Trinity Hall remained vacant for two decades. In June 1922 the Smith family property was eyed by newspaperman and philanthropist John Leighton Stewart, president of the Board of Trustees of Washington Female Seminary.⁹² He suggested relocating the women's school to the grounds of old Trinity Hall, a move the General Alumnae Association supported "enthusiastically."⁹³ However, the move fell through.

Then, members of the education committees of Amwell, Canton, North Franklin, and South Strabane townships approached William McKennan Smith in 1922 and 1923 to inquire about renting the property with an option to buy. Arrangements did not occur.⁹⁴ Finally, in 1925, the townships moved to purchase the old Trinity Hall property for use as a joint public high school. However, drama ensued as one township secretary, Bardell Clemens of Amwell Township, attempted to block the sale and nullify his board's approval by refusing to sign the agreement. McKennan Smith proved a patient patrician. He left the option to buy open indefinitely. After a court decree ordered Clemens to sign, the property was purchased from McKennan Smith for \$100,000. He returned \$40,000 to the townships.⁹⁵

Trinity Hall became Trinity High School. The iconic bell tower, once a symbol of an Episcopalian boarding school, has now been associated with a public high school for nearly a century. In 1984 Trinity High School social studies teacher Lewis Wentzel wrote *History of Trinity Hall*, which was adopted as an official history by the local board of education. In 1998 Superintendent of Schools Douglas Masciola pushed to restore the original Spring Hill mansion portion of Trinity Hall.⁹⁶ Today it serves as an impressive school district office. The ornate boardroom includes a fireplace and marble mantelpiece with engravings noting President Grant's visits. A painting of Trinity Hall's once-iconic gates by famed Washington County painter Malcolm Parcell (1896–1987) hangs on the wall opposite. The classroom block of Trinity Hall constructed in 1883 remained in use until 2004 (see fig. 1 above), and was demolished in 2006. Trinity Area School District's current director of maintenance, Aaron Scott, recalls finding racks with Trinity Hall uniforms during the demolition. Uniforms were still hanging on the top floor in an area that had been sealed off during an earlier renovation. To him, it seemed as if Trinity Hall had closed and the section was left untouched for a century.⁹⁷

In the 2000s Trinity Area School District took steps to preserve Trinity Hall's history. Historians can now recognize and build on their efforts. The commitment of Aaron Scott and others who have recognized the historical significance of the former boys' school helped assemble a small collection of artifacts to form the Trinity Hall Museum.⁹⁸ While Episcopalian historians have long studied coastal elites and "St. Grottlesex," Trinity Hall offers new lines of inquiry. As promised, this study leaves questions for further investigation. For example, what factors led to the closure of Trinity Hall? What were its chapel practices? What roles did women and girls play at the school?⁹⁹ How did Trinity Hall leaders and cadets interact with the booming extraction

industries in and around Washington Borough? And, how did Trinity Hall interact within the local educational landscape of Little Washington (if at all) as public high schools and a parochial Roman Catholic school grew rapidly? Even so, this study also provides answers.

This article has corrected inaccuracies regarding Trinity Hall's existence as a military academy, recognized the philosophical influence and limits of Muhlenberg and Kerfoot in Little Washington, begun to investigate Trinity Hall's role in educating scions of southwestern Pennsylvania, and provided a second church school example from the Allegheny Mountains to complement scholarship and pose questions regarding uncritical Anglophile and Anglo-Catholic emphases in historical narratives of St. James School in western Maryland.¹⁰⁰ It is the author's hope that this article provokes new questions and opens new lines of inquiry while also providing beacons for subsequent researchers who can now more easily investigate previously unknown primary sources.

SAMUEL J. RICHARDS is a social studies teacher at Shanghai American School in China. He grew up in southwestern Pennsylvania.

NOTES

The author thanks Dr. Charles D. Cashdollar for feedback on an early draft, Aaron Scott of Trinity Area School District for his efforts to collect and preserve Trinity Hall artifacts, and archivist Mary Klein of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland for help locating primary sources.

1. In addition to Trinity Area School District, two school systems in Washington County, PA, reflect the legacy of early Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Canon-McMillan School District honors the Reverend John McMillan (1752–1833), whose frontier ministry included founding a log school and educating early settlers living near Chartiers Creek. His ministry established multiple Presbyterian churches in the region and the forerunners for Washington and Jefferson College and Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. Also, McGuffey School District honors the pedagogical work of favorite son Prof. William Holmes McGuffey (1800–1873), whose *McGuffey Readers* promoted both literacy and Calvinist beliefs while in print between 1836 and 1960.
2. Trinity Hall has been overlooked for several reasons. First, Episcopalians in southwestern Pennsylvania have always been few in number in comparison to early Presbyterians and Methodists and later-arriving Roman Catholics. Second, the most influential Episcopalian historians have traditionally been

more inclined to investigate Muhlenberg's theological and pedagogical influence while focusing on developments in the northeastern United States, especially the five New England schools known collectively as "St. Grottlesex." Much closer to Little Washington, scholars at Trinity (Episcopal) School for Ministry, founded upriver from Pittsburgh in 1975, have done little to advance scholarship of local church history. Historiographical patterns in Pennsylvania also contribute to overlooking Trinity Hall. Historian Tim H. Blessing wrote in 2016, "Much of Pennsylvania is, from a historian's view, invisible. Once past the Pittsburgh area and its hinterlands, the Philadelphia area and its hinterlands, and the coal regions, only an occasional article has appeared on what processes, what events, defined the lives of those who occupied the great majority of the area we call Pennsylvania." Blessing was generous. Trinity Hall in Little Washington was just twenty miles south of Pittsburgh as the crow flies. Finally, Trinity Hall is overlooked because it closed over a century ago. No modern public relations or fundraising office works to "tell its story" in order to raise funds for ongoing education and ministry. Closure means primary sources regarding Trinity Hall are dispersed in multiple public and private collections or lost to time. This makes research challenging. For related historiographical discussion see Samuel J. Richards, "The East-West Divide and Frontier Efforts of the Reverend Dr. Joseph Doddridge," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 85, no. 4 (Autumn 2018): 460–87. Tim H. Blessing, "A Brief Call to a Greater History," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 83, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 131.

3. "Pittsburg, Diocese of," in *The Church Cyclopedia: A Dictionary of Church Doctrine, History, Organization, and Ritual*, 4th ed., ed. A. A. Benton (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly and Co., 1886), 596.
4. J. F. Spaulding, "Report of the Committee on Education," in *Convention Journal*, Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh (hereafter EDP), June 9–11, 1868, 63–69.
5. Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 630.
6. *The Joyous Saints: A History of Mission* (Monongahela, PA: St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 1957), 19.
7. Bishop John Barrett Kerfoot to Bishop William Whittingham, January 25, 1873, in Kerfoot Collection, Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, Baltimore.
8. *The Joyous Saints*, 14–19. Norman's preserved sermons, dating from 1890 through 1910, await researchers. They feature humor and sophistication while exploring topics such as the theory of evolution, brotherhood of all races, and critiques of misreading the Bible. See The Rev. John P. Norman Papers MSS 84, Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA..
9. J. H. Beers and Co, *Commemorative Biographical Record of Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: J. H. Beers and Co., 1893), 114; "Historic Buildings

- Contribute to Downtown's Look," *Observer-Reporter* (Washington, PA), July 22, 2017. The building still stands in uptown Washington across Beau Street from the county courthouse. It no longer evokes the prominence of W. Smith and Son.
10. Letters of William Smith Sr. to William Wrenshall Smith. Transcribed by Emsie McIlvaine Parker (October 2005). Norma K. Grimes Research Library, Washington County Historical Society, Washington, PA (hereafter WCHS).
 11. Wm. Smith to W. W. Smith, November 13, 1878, WCHS.
 12. Wm. Smith to W. W. Smith, November 19, 1878, WCHS.
 13. William Wrenshall Smith was an aide-de-camp to Grant during the Civil War. Julia Dent Grant and W. W. Smith were cousins. Grant used Little Washington to escape Washington, DC, during his presidency. The borough welcomed his presence and they invited him to lay the cornerstone of a new town hall in 1869. He was also once serenaded by a supportive "colored men's marching club." At a Spring Hill entertainment on Black Friday (September 4, 1869), Grant learned of the Gold Ring scandal, causing a gold panic. See *Pittsburgh Telegraph*, October 3, 1876, quoted in Ron Chernow, *Grant* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), 838.
 14. Wm. Smith to W. W. Smith, February 12, 1879, WCHS. Fernando J. P. Varro's abandonment of his wife and children is frequently discussed in the preserved Smith letters.
 15. *Convention Journal*, EDP (June 9–11, 1868), 63–69; Jeremy Bonner, *Called Out of Darkness into Marvelous Light: A History of the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, 1750–2006* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 69.
 16. Beers, *Commemorative Biographical Record*, 117; Earle R. Forest, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 2 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1926), 468.
 17. The local newspaper article suggests ceremonies occurred on September 10 with classes beginning the next day. This conflicts with the Reverend Dr. Samuel Earp's article in Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1882).
 18. Peter Baldy "was a prominent Episcopalian and was known throughout the diocese [of Pennsylvania]." He played a significant role in the construction of Christ Memorial Episcopal Church, Danville. See "Recent Deaths: Peter Baldy," *Columbian* (Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania), February 3, 1910.
 19. Lynda Guydon Taylor, "Mediterranean Mansion Has Ties to American History," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, February 2, 2003. Taylor's article also fails to mention Episcopalian roots of Trinity Hall, describing it only as a military academy.
 20. "Opening of Trinity Hall," *Washington Reporter*, September 17, 1879.
 21. Samuel Earp, "Trinity Hall," in Crumrine, *History of Washington County* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1882), 459.

22. Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School in Rochester, New York, lists the speech among its holdings. However, it is missing. Contacts with librarians and archivists at multiple Episcopalian institutions have not yielded results. The sermon is not included in the Kerfoot Collection at the Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland.
23. W. L. Prehn III, "The 'Soul of the Thing' 175 Years Later: Saint James Maryland Marks an Anniversary," November 2017, 2, <https://www.scribd.com/document/376018493/WL-Prehn-Saint-James-School-at-175> (accessed May 25, 2019).
24. W. A. Muhlenberg, "Farewell to Kerfoot," in Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot*, vol. 1, 1816–1864 (New York: James Pott and Co., 1886), 49–50.
25. "First Baccalaureate, 30 July 1846," in John B. Kerfoot, *Three Addresses Delivered at the Commencements of the College of St. James, Washington County, Maryland, in 1846, 1847, and 1848* (Fountain Rock, MD: College of St. James, 1848).
26. *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, June 6, 1879; John Woolf Jordan, *Genealogical and Personal History of the Allegheny Valley, Pennsylvania*, vol. 2 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1913), 457.
27. Appalachian scholars and linguists sometimes debate whether the term "Scotch-Irish," an Americanism, is a slur in place of the Standard English term "Scots-Irish." This argument is unconvincing. Some Appalachian people self-identify as Scotch-Irish. The declining use of "Scotch-Irish" and rise of the Standard English term "Scots-Irish" might be viewed as one more attempt by outsiders to standardize Appalachian dialect. For discussion see Michael Montgomery, "Scotch-Irish or Scots-Irish: What's in the Name?" *Tennessee Ancestors* 20, no. 3 (2004): 143–50; Michael Montgomery, "Nomenclature for Ulster Emigrants: Scotch-Irish or Scots-Irish?" *Familia* 20 (2004): 16–36.
28. John N. Ingham, "Steel City Aristocrats," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 267. See also Harold L. Twiss, "The Pittsburgh Business Elite: 1850–1890–1929" (1964), and Thomas J. Kelso, "Allegheny Elites: 1850–1907" (1964), University of Pittsburgh Assorted Research Papers, UA.90.22.T, University Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh Library System.
29. See Dwight R. Guthrie, *John McMillan: The Apostle of Presbyterianism in the West, 1752–1833* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952).
30. Joseph F. Rishel, *Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite, 1760–1910* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 63, 166–68. Rishel's impressive study built on the earlier work of Frank W. Powelson, *Founding Families of Allegheny County*, 4 vols. (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, 1963). Similar studies of Washington County await historians' attention.
31. For an extended study of early Scotch-Irish influence see Peter E. Gilmore, *Irish Presbyterians and the Shaping of Western Pennsylvania, 1770–1830*

- (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018). Scotch-Irish prevalence is also evident in local Episcopalian history, see chapter 2, “Canonsburg’s Early Edge: A Presbyterian Legacy,” in Samuel J. Richards, *The Middle Holds: A History of St. Thomas’ Episcopal Church and the Community It Serves* (Apollo, PA: Closson Press, 2016).
32. John Frederick Woolverton, “William Augustus Muhlenberg and the Founding of St. Paul’s College,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 29, no. 3 (September 1960): 193.
 33. Catalogs for 1897–98 and 1903–4 academic years survive. Both documents identify those serving on the Board of Visitors. The earlier pamphlet names US Circuit Court Judge Marcus W. Acheson and US District Judge Joseph Buffington, while the latter document includes five additional names. These were Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead of Pittsburgh; James D. Moffat, a Presbyterian minister and president of Washington and Jefferson College; Henry L. Smith, a professor of metallurgy and mining at Harvard University; Ulysses S. Grant Jr.; and George F. Huff, an industrialist and Republican politician. See *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1897–1898* and *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*, Trinity Hall Museum at Trinity High School, Washington, PA (hereafter THM); “Winter Term Closes—Addition to a Public School Building,” *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* (March 29, 1883).
 34. Woolverton, “William Augustus Muhlenberg,” 203.
 35. “St. Grottlesex” is a portmanteau for five nineteenth-century boys’ boarding schools in New England. The schools are St. Mark’s School in Southborough, Massachusetts; St. Paul’s School in Concord, New Hampshire; St. George’s School in Middletown, Rhode Island; Groton School in Groton, Massachusetts; and Middlesex School in Concord, Massachusetts.
 36. Crumrine, *History of Washington County*, 459.
 37. Anglican Christians, including Episcopalians, consider themselves to be both Reformed and Catholic. This contributed to the development of High and Low Churchmanship. High Church ways emphasize the Catholic traditions of Christianity, including ceremonial worship and clerical vestments, while Low Church practices embrace evangelical theology while deemphasizing the priesthood and shunning elaborate, ceremonial liturgies. Parishes that blend Low and High Church practices are referred to as being Broad Church. Mrs. William K. Jones, *A History of Trinity Parish, Washington, Pennsylvania, 1844–1924* (1924), 7; Thomas M. Glasgow, “Eighteenth Century Anglicans and Episcopalians West of the Alleghenies,” (December 2000), §50-01, Citizens’ Library, Washington, PA.
 38. Jones, *A History of Trinity Parish*, 11.
 39. Hill Burgwin to Bishop William Whittingham, June 27, 1866, Vertical File, Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland.
 40. Events at Trinity Hall offer a helpful contrast to prevailing narratives about churchmanship at St. James School that suggest Kerfoot established it on an

Anglo-Catholic trajectory. Kerfoot's later actions suggest otherwise. He was decidedly High Church and rejected Anglo-Catholic overtures from Maryland bishop William R. Whittingham. Kerfoot disappointed Whittingham by rejecting clerical celibacy. Kerfoot also declined to form a Jesuit-like order of Episcopalian priest-educators. Instead, Kerfoot married and had six children, one of whom was named William Muhlenberg Kerfoot. Kerfoot also rejected the name St. Clement's School in favor of St. James', believing the former was too Roman Catholic. As bishop, Kerfoot also forbade the Anglo-Catholic practice of bowing to the altar because it implied "carnal presence" in the Eucharist. See Prehn, "The 'Soul of the Thing'"; E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 372; Muhlenberg to Whittingham (March 9, 1841), Kerfoot to Whittingham (November 6, 1841), and Whittingham to Kerfoot, December 30, 1841, quoted in Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot*, vol. 1, 1816–1864 (New York: James Pott and Co., 1886), 37–38, 83–84; Bonner, *Called Out of Darkness*, 62–66.

41. Muhlenberg, *The Ceremony and Address at the Laying of the Cornerstone of St. Paul's College* (October 15, 1836), 3.
42. James McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools: A Historical Study* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 105, 255.
43. Ann Ayres, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), 154; McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools*, 112–14.
44. *Ledger of Trinity Hall* (c. 1879 to 1882), THM.
45. For examples see Valerie Strauss, "Why Schools Should Not Grade Character Traits," *Washington Post*, October 20, 2011; Hal Kronsberg, "Should We 'Grade' Character," Clay Center for Young Healthy Minds at Massachusetts General Hospital, May 17, 2016, <https://www.mghclaycenter.org/parenting-concerns/families/should-we-grade-character> (accessed July 3, 2019).
46. Clifton Hartwell Brewer, *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 259.
47. Alvin W. Skardon, *Church Leader in the Cities: William Augustus Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 64–65.
48. In an online biography of its rector, St. James School notes that the Reverend Dr. D. Stuart Dunnan "is one of the few Episcopal priests still serving as the head of a secondary school in the United States." "Headmaster Biography." St. James School, n.d., <https://www.stjames.edu/about/from-the-headmaster> (accessed July 3, 2019).
49. William Augustus Muhlenberg, *Christian Education: Being an Address Delivered After a Public Examination of the Students of the Institute at Flushing, L.I.; the Studies and Discipline of the Institute; and an Essay on the Study of the Classics on Christian Principles* (New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 1831), 14–15; *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1897–1898* and *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*.

50. Muhlenberg, *Christian Education*, 17.
51. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*, 14–15, 19.
52. “Condensed Dispatches from Surrounding Towns,” *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, March 14, 1885.
53. Elizabeth T. Gershoff and Sara A. Font, “Corporal Punishment in U.S. Public Schools: Prevalence, Disparities in Use, and Status in State and Federal Policy,” *Social Policy Report* 30, no. 1 (2016). Jan Murphy, “New regulations Bar Use of Spanking in Schools: State Is 28th to Ban Corporal Punishment,” *Harrisburg Patriot-News*, December 4, 2005.
54. William’s father, Thomas M. Carnegie, oversaw the Edgar Thomson Steel Works and played a crucial role in Andrew Carnegie’s steel empire. Ledger, Trinity Hall, (c. 1879–82), THM.
55. McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools*, 114.
56. “Distinguished Alumni,” Trinity Area School District, <https://www.trinitypride.org/students/alumni> (accessed July 2, 2019).
57. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*. Adaptations at Trinity Hall offer historians a helpful contrast with the model developed at St. James School in Hagerstown that became increasingly Anglo-Catholic during the twentieth century.
58. Twiss, “The Pittsburgh Business Elite: 1850–1890–1929”; and Kelso, “Allegheny Elites: 1850–1907.”
59. Twiss, “The Pittsburgh Business Elite: 1850–1890–1929,” 17.
60. *Trinity Record* 1, no. 2 (May 5, 1887), collection of THM.
61. *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, December 2, 1884.
62. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*.
63. *Trinity Record* 1, no. 2 (May 5, 1887), collection of THM. Earp’s clerical career merits further study. After his unexpected summer departure from Trinity Hall, he served in Detroit and was nearly elected first bishop of Western Michigan. He was deposed in 1892 due to financial improprieties but later restored to ministry soon after his daughter married a prominent Episcopalian and leading industrialist in Oil City, PA, where Earp was serving as principal of a private school. See “Appendix to the Bishop’s Address: Official Acts, 1885–1886,” *Convention Journal*, EDP (Pittsburgh: Stevenson and Foster, 1886), 71; “Deposed from Ministry,” *Ann Arbor Argus*, May 13, 1892; “Report of the Standing Committee for the Conventional Year,” *Convention Journal*, Diocese of Michigan (Detroit: Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, 1906), 38.
64. “At Trinity Hall,” *Pittsburg Bulletin: A Weekly Journal for Home*, May 27, 1899.
65. *The Churchman*, August 18, 1888, 84.
66. “Trinity Hall’s New Rector,” *Washington Observer*, August 9, 1888.
67. Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877–1919* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1984), 100; William D. McCrackan, “St. Paul’s School,” *New England Magazine* 16, no. 4 (June 1897): 431.

68. The actual closing date of Trinity Hall is unclear. Paraphrasing Anglican poet T. S. Eliot's 1925 *The Hollow Men*, one might say the school ended not with a bang but a whimper.
69. Notebook of James Gearing (c. 1888), THM.
70. John H. B. Phillips to John Ormsby Phillips, March 1889. Archives of Trinity Church (Anglican Church in North America), Washington, PA. Ironically, John H. B. Phillips later graduated from Shady Side Academy instead of Trinity Hall. He was also a descendent of early Pittsburgh settler John Ormsby and of John Harris, founder of Harrisburg, PA. Phillips was an active Episcopalian throughout his life, serving as a licensed Lay Reader for fifty years. "Obituary News: John H. B. Phillips, Episcopal Layman," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 23, 1967.
71. Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 4.
72. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh*, 36–37.
73. For more information about the infamous South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club see David McCullough, *Johnstown Flood* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); Neil M. Coleman, *Johnstown's Flood of 1889: Power Over Truth and the Science Behind the Disaster* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2018).
74. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*.
75. *Pittsburg Dispatch*, July 15, 1892.
76. "Death of Rev. R. W. Grange, D. D.," *The Living Church*, January 18, 1919; James D. Van Trump, "The Church of the Ascension, Pittsburgh: A Brief Chronicle of Its Seventy-Five Years," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 48, no. 1 (January 1965), 4. For a full discussion of Francis Julius LeMoyne see W. Thomas Mainwaring, *Abandoned Tracks: The Underground Railroad in Washington County, Pennsylvania* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).
77. Beers, *Commemorative Biographical Record*, 117.
78. Lewis Wentzel, *History of Trinity Hall* (Washington, PA: Trinity Area Board of Education, 1984), 11; Quentin R. Skrabec Jr., *H. J. Heinz: A Biography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2009), 145; "Clarence Noble Heinz Dies at Wisconsin Home," *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*, June 4, 1920.
79. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1903–04*.
80. *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, March 29, 1883.
81. "Serious Shooting Affray at the Arden Mines: Foreigners Engaged in a Quarrel When One Deliberately Pulled Revolver and Wounded Two," *Washington Observer*, June 10, 1907. "'Hunkies' was used to refer to a 'polyglot army of immigrants from southeastern Europe'" (Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh*, 88).
82. Alicyn Wiedrich, "Segregation and Civil Rights in Washington, Pennsylvania: 1945–1975," Honors thesis, (Washington and Jefferson College, 2011), 7–9.

83. *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1897–1898*, THM.
84. See Twiss, “The Pittsburgh Business Elite: 1850–1890–1929.” Peter W. Williams, *Religion, Art, and Money: Episcopalians and American Culture from the Civil War to the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 173.
85. *The Interior: Weekly*, 30:1515. The quarter-page advertisement in this Chicago-based publication included a picture of the Italianate mansion’s porch surmounted by text, “In the ‘Hill Country,’ 30 miles southwest of Pittsburgh.” This advertisement used the term “master” whereas most publications from Trinity Hall used “instructor” for members of faculty.
86. Prehn, “The ‘Soul of the Thing.’”
87. Lewis Harold Caton Jr., “Washington and Jefferson College: In Pursuit of the Uncommon Man” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1972), 615.
88. Joseph B. Doyle, *The Church in Eastern Ohio: A History with Special Reference to the Parishes of St. Paul’s, Steubenville, St. James’s, Cross Creek, and St. Stephen’s, Steubenville* (Steubenville, OH: H. C. Cook Co, 1914), 160–61.
89. “Educational,” *Presbyterian Banner* (Pittsburgh), June 14, 1906.
90. “Washington Couple Will Wed,” *Pittsburg Press*, June 19, 1905; “Washington, Pa.,” *Pittsburg Press*, July 30, 1905. Eckles and Montgomery met at Washington and Jefferson College. Eckles was a baseball star while Montgomery was the assistant physical director.
91. “WILLIAM W. SMITH DIED AT EARLY HOUR THIS MORNING,” *Washington Observer*, August 4, 1904. He is buried in Smith Family Plot, Washington Cemetery, section E.
92. Washington Female Seminary operated as a boarding and day school from 1836 to 1948. Prof. Richard Henry Lee, a longtime vestryman who later became rector of Trinity Church, Washington, was among its founders. For a comprehensive history see Harriet K. Branton, “*Dear Old Sem*”: *The Story of Washington Female Seminary, 1836–1948*, Citizens’ Library, Washington PA.
93. “Girl’s School Plans to Buy Trinity Hall: Washington Seminary Alumnae Back Project to Remove to New Site,” *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, June 7, 1922; “New Home for Washington Seminary,” *Pittsburgh Gazette Times* November 19, 1922.
94. Wentzel, *History of Trinity Hall*, 15.
95. “Amwell School Case Goes to Supreme Court,” *Washington Reporter*, February 6, 1925; “Smith Extends Time of Option, Trinity Hall,” *Washington Reporter*, February 9, 1925; “Trinity Schools—Hiller History,” Trinity Area School District, n.d., <https://www.trinitypride.org/about> (accessed July 3, 2019).
96. “Superintendent Pushes for Trinity Hall Restoration,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 29, 1998.
97. Aaron Scott (director of maintenance, Trinity Area School District), in email to author, July 22, 2019 and discussion with the author, June 28, 2019.
98. “Trinity to Preserve History of Military Academy,” *Observer-Reporter* (Washington, Pennsylvania), May 17, 2015; “Trinity Schools—Trinity Hall

- Museum,” Trinity Area School District, n.d., <https://www.trinitypride.org/about/trinity-hall-museum> (accessed July 3, 2019).
99. Evidence regarding women’s roles at Trinity Hall is limited. Traditionally, the rector’s wife at boarding schools played a motherly role. However, W. W. Smith was a widower by the time he began his long tenure. The school did employ Mrs. Garland Clawson as “matron” in 1897–98. It seems likely that she held this role for multiple years. Available evidence suggests female faculty at Trinity Hall were rare. French immigrant Mlle. Rosse Frechette was an exception as “instructress in French language and literature.” Hints of Trinity Hall boys interacting with local high society girls do survive. The best example is the marriage of Chaffee Grant and Helen Dent Wrenshall. For Little Washington, this was a rare Roman Catholic society wedding in 1907. One local newspaper reported that “Young Mr. Grant met his fiancée while a student at Trinity Hall” while another newspaper described Dent Wrenshall as “one of the best known and most popular girls in [Little] Washington Society.” See *Trinity Hall Catalogue, 1897–98*; “Engagement Announcements,” *Pittsburgh Gazette Times*, April 28, 1907; “Weds Grandson of General Grant,” *Washington Observer*, June 6, 1907.
100. Peter W. Williams gently questioned current historical interpretations published by St. James School. See Williams, *Religion, Art, and Money*, 157, 250 n. 16.