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HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE OLD SOUTH

Its Contribution to the Nation

by

Ellen G. Wilson.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of
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PREFACE

The problem of this thesis is threefold, namely:

- (1) To discover what efforts were made in the Old South toward higher education.
- (2) To discover what was actually accomplished in behalf of higher education.
- (3) To discover in at least a limited way the results of higher education and its contribution to the nation's life.

I have chosen this problem because of the prevalent erroneous conceptions of the state of education in the Old South; because the field of education is one of the most neglected fields of southern history, and because I believe the Old South is entitled to a large place in the history of American education and that she has a contribution to make to the educational thinking of today.

I have proceeded with the problem by studying the historical documents of various colonies and states bearing on the question, the historical catalogues and records of individual colleges, histories of education for each state, and the biography and writings of certain outstanding leaders. This I have supplemented with the widest practicable reading of biography, history, and other associated material.

The work has been profitable to me, and I trust it will not be entirely valueless to those who read.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	Page
I. Introduction.....	2-5
1. Popular opinion	
2. First Legislation in Virginia	
3. First Legacy in Virginia	
II. Colonial Period.....	5-18
1. Period of endeavor Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia	
2. Academies and Private Schools	7-11
Virginia: Symmes, Eaton, Franklin and the Southern Academies, Liberty Hall, Presby- terian Academy in Prince Edward County	
Maryland: Finley, Hunt.	
North Carolina: Immigration, Presbyterians, Dr. Caldwell's School, Tate Academy, Moravians, Lutherans	
South Carolina: Winyaw Indigo Society	
3. Colonial Colleges.....	12-16
William and Mary - founding and history	
Queens - founding and history	
CONCLUSION OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD.....	17-18
Privileges of Higher Education and Social Classes in the Colonial South	
III. Washington and Jefferson and National Education.	19-25
Their Motives. Washington's Will. Jefferson's Plea before the Virginia Legislature. His Educational work. Final service of the two patriots.	
IV. From the Last of the Eighteenth Century to the War Between the States.....	26-45
1. Academies.....	26-33
North Carolina. Virginia. South Carolina. Georgia. Louisiana and Mississippi. Cur- riculum and Scholarship. Private Schools and Tutors	
2. Colleges.....	34-41
List of colleges and dates. Student bodies compared with those of the north- east. Scholarship and Curriculum. Virginia Military Institute - leading military school.	
3. Universities.....	42-45
Development. Names and dates. Special mention of University of North Carolina and Transylvania University.	

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V.	Education for Women.....	46-56
	1. Colonial Period.	
	2. Awakening in 1830. Priority of the South in establishing academies for girls.	
	3. Wesleyan College. History. Sidney Lanier and Wesleyan.	
	4. Development from 1845 to 1860.	
VI.	Social Intercourse.....	57-58
	Old South and Ancient Greece.	
VII.	Conclusion.....	59-62
	1. An Accusation Answered.	
	2. Findings.	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Popular Opinⁱon

Between popular opinion and the facts in the case there is very, very often a great gulf fixed. If any one doubt this, let him compare what is with what is said to be, what was with what is said to have been, and let him find what he will find. Almost any subject will serve for such experimentation, but the older the better, for Time is a great embroiderer, and facts, sifting through a haze of years, are easily lost in fancy. As a case in point, consider the question of higher education in the South before the Civil War. I¹ have but lately made a short pilgrimage down the musty aisles of actual fact in this particular case, and the width of the gap between the ideals and actualities of the situation as it existed prior to the sixties, and the popular conception today in regard to education in the Old South will astonish the most calloused.

Popular opinion in regard to the matter is easily disposed of. Such remarks as, "There were no colleges in the south before the war except William and Mary and the University of Virginia" from the stranger, and "Higher education in the south before the war was like snakes in Ireland", from one of her own sons, and "Southern education

1. & 2. Both these remarks were heard by the writer.

before the war was aristocratic and of the laissez faire type,^{1.} "from the historian indicate fairly well the general and popular conception of education in the South before the war. It is perhaps one of history's strangest ironies that this should have come to be the world's attitude toward that section of our country where the first foundation for a new civilization was laid, and whose first settlers brought with them the love of learning and prepared the altar whereon the light of knowledge has never died, but burns ever stronger and brighter. Look for a while at a few of the facts in the case, and see how wide the mark is popular opinion.

2. First Legislation

Not only is Virginia the mother of the second oldest college in America, but on her soil was enacted the first legislation for education on the continent. On July, 30, 1619, the first legislative and representative body in America was convened in the church of ^{the} Jamestown settlement. During the sessions of this body which continued until August 4th, was presented a petition relative to the erection of a university and a college. Sir Edwin Sandys a prominent leader in the ^{interests of the} colony was appointed by the Virginia Company ~~chair~~man of a committee of the gentlemen of the Company and others of his Majesty's council for Virginia to attend to the business of a college. The business was considered of great importance and the proceedings ^{were} to be reported to the state.

1. This is the attitude taken by F.P. Graves in A Student's History of Education. It is likewise the attitude of educational leaders in the Virginia 1.1. pp. 220, 263, 231, 421, 234.

2. Records of the Virginia Co.

The committee immediately made careful and detailed plans concerning the choosing and sending of men to Virginia to establish the college when the next shipload of one hundred men should go. A minister, a captain, tradesmen, smiths, carpenters, brickmakers, turners, potters, husbandmen, and a committee of seven to establish the college were sent. The location was chosen in Henrico County. Gifts were made to the enterprise, among them three hundred pounds by Sir Nicholas Farrar, and four books for the library by an anonymous donor. The books were the "City of God", and the works of one Mr. Perkins, a Calvinist and Puritan. In 1620, Mr. George Thorpe, a "gentleman of sterling character and of his Majesty's privy chamber and one of his council for Virginia, sailed for Virginia, having been appointed by the Company deputy to take charge of the college lands."¹ These excellent plans, however, were broken off by the fearful Indian massacre of 1622, Mr. Thorpe himself being killed. Had not this calamity befallen the colony there is every reason to believe that in Virginia instead of at Harvard would have been established America's first college.

3. First Legacy

Benjamin Symmes of Virginia had the distinction of being the first resident of America to leave a legacy for the founding of a school. In 1632 he willed two hundred acres on the Poquoson, which enters the Chesapeake Bay below

1. Records of the Virginia Co. vol. 1, pp. 247-8, 268, 421, 268, 129.

Yorktown, with the milk and increase of eight cows, for the maintenance of learned and honest men to keep upon the said ground a free school for the education and instruction of the children of adjoining parishes, Elizabeth City and Kiquotan from Mary's Mountain downward to the Poquosan River".¹

This is but one example of the interest in the establishment of both elementary and high schools, as testified to by wills and deeds made by Virginia's early citizens between 1619 and 1671.

I L. Colonial Period

1. Period of Endeavor

And the same interest found in the mother colony is manifested in the whole colonial South to a greater or lesser degree. In each of the colonies there was a period of endeavor before any real educational enterprise was realized. Two such instances in Maryland are of sufficient interest to be mentioned here. The Assembly in 1671 passed an act for the establishment of a college,² this putting Maryland fourth in the list of colonies attempting to establish colonial colleges, Virginia, Massachusetts, and New Haven having preceded her. In 1732³ a remarkable paper by an unknown author was presented to the Assembly setting forth excellent reasons why there should be a college in Maryland, giving the plan for such an institution and outlining in great detail an excellent course

1. Quoted in E. D. Neill's History of Education in Virginia, Taken from Virginia Colonial Records.

2. B. C. Steiner, His. of Education in Maryland, U. S. Bureau of Educ. circ. no. 2, 1894 pp. 13-32.

3. Ibid. p. 29.

in liberal arts to be offered there. Had this plan been carried out another chapter like that telling of the establishment of William and Mary College would have been written in the history of American colonial education. Unfortunately, this was a pedagogical dream which unlike most dreams, has come down to us through more than a century and a half, but the presence of such a dreamer could not have failed to have some influence among those for whom he dreamed dreams of such breadth of view and liberality of sentiment."¹

In North Carolina apparently little was done for education under the Proprietary Government which ended in 1719. But this is not strange in the light of the fact that there was very little of anything except oppression for the colonists under this government.² It must be remembered that in 1729, Edenton, the metropolis of the colony, had only from fifty to sixty houses. Indeed it has been truly said that the birth of the colony of North Carolina was nearer 1753 than 1653, and that the real life of the colony began with the coming of the Scotch Irish and Germans.

"From the earliest colonial times there was no³ lack of wholesome and vigorous interest in education," in South Carolina, although both out of necessity and preference for many years the sons of wealthy planters were sent to England for their higher education. Georgia, being settled

1. Steiner - History of Education in Maryland, Page 29.

2. *North Carolina Colonial Records* vol. 1, pp. 716, 717, 684, 714, 859.

3. The South in the Building of a Nation, vol. 6, page 201.

later and in a unique manner, has a briefer and less varied educational history during her colonial days than the other colonies.

In the laying out of her first towns provision was made for education, but it was of the elementary type.² However, it is interesting to note that Georgia is the only case on record where Parliament supported schools in the colonies.³

Much of the labor of these early builders for future generations might be called futile endeavor but for the attested fact that it was not futile, for the dreams and efforts of these early pioneers for education kept alive an ideal, and made possible its later realization. Many might have seen the fruits of their labors multiplied manifold as early as the colonial period, for even then, aside from the two colonial colleges, William and Mary and Queens,¹ every colony had its private schools or academies whose curriculum and standard of scholarship entitle them to a place in a discussion of higher education. Symmes⁴ established on the Poquoson river near Yorktown in 1633 and Eaton⁵ established in Elizabeth City about the same time afford excellent examples in Virginia of endowed schools which taught the learned languages as well as elementary subjects and religion.

² Academies and Private Schools.

It is difficult to decide just which is the oldest academy in the United States and the difficulty lies in the

1. see pp. 10 & 16

2. Bul Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, vol. 7, p. 54.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 54-55.

4. *William & Mary College Quarterly Historical Mag.* edited by L.G. Tyler vol. 6, 1897, p. 77.

5. *Ibid.*

definition of the term. While it is generally thought that Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Academy founded in 1751¹ was the first, certain it is that the first school so named was the Liberty Hall Academy established in Virginia in 1749. Franklin's school was perhaps more strictly speaking an academy, since his curriculum was broader and laid greater emphasis upon vocational training, while the curriculum of the southern academy remained much the same as that of the Classical Schools, and except for the preparation offered for the learned professions, ~~was~~ cultural in aim.

Liberty Hall and the Presbyterian Academy in Prince Edward County, Virginia, established in 1774⁴, afterwards known as Hampden Sydney College, were established by Scotch Irish Presbyterians, to whose labors the academy movement in the south was largely due.

The State of Virginia gave to George Washington a number of shares in a canal company in recognition of his services in the Revolutionary War. Washington refused to accept this gift for himself, but turned it over to Augusta Academy, then known as Liberty Hall Academy.² Upon the receipt of this gift the name of the academy was changed to Washington Academy, and it later became Washington College. After the Civil War, when General Robert E. Lee became president of Washington College the name was changed to Washington and Lee University. Both

1. *Monroe's Encyclopedia of Educ.* vol. 1 p. 22 + vol. 2 p. 687
2. *Washington & Lee Uni. Historical Records*. 1837, v. 1, p. 571-72
3. *Washington's Last Will and Testament*. in *Washington's Writings* edited by David Sparks
4. *Monroe's Encyclopedia* -

Washington and Lee University and Hampden Sydney College have played a worthy part in American history and have given to the United States many of her most distinguished statesmen. In the case of Hampden Sydney, she is particularly honored by the great number of ministers of the Gospel among her alumni.

In Maryland by an act of 1696 the King William School was built at Annapolis in 1701 for the purpose of training citizens, statesmen and churchmen.² Its purpose and its liberal arts curricula entitled it to rank as a high grade academy. The Reverend Samuel Finley taught a school in Nottingham County from 1747 to 1761, his primary aim being preparation for the ministry, but his students followed various lines of occupation with distinction. The Rev. James Hunt was the successful teacher of the famous Hunt School at Bladenburg, where William Wirt was a pupil from 1783 to 1787. His curriculum consisted of Latin, Greek, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, geography, mathematics, and other arts and sciences.

It is to the Presbyterian church that North Carolina owes the establishment of her first academies which were for the most part classical schools. Following 1745 there is a period of marked educational growth, for this is the time of Presbyterian immigration and wherever a community was settled a church was immediately built and the pastor was always a teacher, not merely of an elementary but of a classical school.³ Dr. David Caldwell about 1767 established a classical school in Guilford County,

- three miles from the present site of Greensboro. " Five of his
1. *Hampden Sydney Historical Magazine - Hampden Sydney College as an Educational Force from the Revolution to War Between the States.*
 2. *Carl Zoller, Colonial Education in Maryland Before the Protestant Revolution 1689.*
 3. *E. R. Smith, History of Education in North Carolina - p. 23.*

scholars became governors of different states, many more congressmen, and a much greater number became lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers of the Gospel. It is a credit to any man to have been the instructor of such men as Judge Murphy, Judge McCoy, and many others who in the same road to honor and fame, fell very little, if any behind them."

Some of the finest contributions of the Presbyterians to higher education in North Carolina were to be found in the development of the academies, ~~which were for the most part~~ ¹ classical schools. The first was the famous old Tate's Academy, ² established at Wilmington in 1760. ³ Crowfield, ⁴ Caldwell, ⁵ Poplar Tent, ⁶ Clio's Nursery and Academy of Sciences, ⁷ Queen's College (Liberty Hall), ⁸ Newbern, the first incorporated school in the state, and ⁹ Edenton under the Anglican church were all established before the Revolution.

Of the German element in the immigration movement ~~from 18,000 to~~ ⁴ 301,000 Moravians are said to have eventually settled in North Carolina. In 1731 the Unitas Fratrum, a Moravian organization, purchased 100,000 acres of land in Western Carolina and began a settlement on it in 1735. This was one of the most prosperous and intelligent communities in the state. Where Moravians settled, before homes were built for all, a church was built and then a school house. John Jacob Fries, a noted early Moravian, was an accomplished scholar, especially in Hebrew, and was one of North Carolina's pioneer teachers. ⁹

The Lutherans, too, were a highly intelligent class of people, and being substantially supported by the mother

1. E. W. Caruthers, Life of David Caldwell, page 31.
2. Smith's Hist. of Educ. in N.C. p. 26.
3. Ibid. p. 26. 6. Ibid. 37. 9. Ibid. pp. 46-47.
4. Ibid. p. 27. 7. Ibid. 40.
5. Ibid. p. 27. 8. Ibid. 42.

country, were allways supplied with pastors and teachers who were men of ability and scholarship.

Dr. Ramsey in his History of South Carolina says, "The knowledge of grammar and of Latin and Greek languages and of mathematics could be obtained in Carolina at any time after 1712, or the 42nd year subsequent to its settlement."¹

Perhaps the most outstanding of the classical schools of South Carolina was the Winyaw Indigo Society, which was endowed out of the dues and surplus funds of the Indigo Society and was intended for a charity school. However, it soon went beyond charity and for a hundred years was the chief school for all the eastern part of the country from Charleston to the North Carolina line. From 1756 to 1861 its annual average of children educated there was twenty-five. "In its infancy it supplied the place of the primary school, grammar school, and collegiate institute. The rich and the poor alike drank from this fountain of knowledge, and the farmer, the mechanic, the planter, the artisan, the general of arms, the lawyer, the doctor, priests, senators, and governors of states have each looked back to the Winyaw Indigo Society as the grand source of their success or their distinction. To many it was the only source of education."²

But by far the greatest educational achievement of the colonial South was ^{establishment and} ~~in the~~ work of its two colleges, William and Mary and Queens, both of which played a vital part in the building of this nation.

1. David Ramsey - History of South Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 358
2. Olyer Meinwether - History of Education in South Carolina, pp. 20-21.

3. Colonial Colleges

The early dreams of founding a college in Virginia were realized in 1692, when as the result of the immortal work of Dr. James Blair and others who labored with him, William and Mary College was established. And while we give all praise to these, the leaders of the enterprise, we must not forget that the people, too, played their part. But for the fact that the people of the colony, from the Governor and the Burgesses to the humblest citizen, gave their loyal support to the leaders, their efforts would never have culminated in success. Governor Nicholson and his council, as well as the Convention of Clergy in Jamestown, received and supportee enthusiastically propasals for the establishment of a college. The General Assembly in 1691 gave its approval to and appointed Dr. Blair agent to England to solicit a charter from King William and Queen Mary. It was not to be like Harvard, but in theory, at least, was to take rank with Oxford and Cambridge as Their Majesties' Royal College of William and Mary in Virginia. The corporation was to consist not of "President and Tutors", but of a President and Masters or Professors". In 1693 the charter of public education was issued by the home government under the sanction of the seal of the privy council. It was the privilege of this college to receive the first of two special honors granted by the mother country to the colonies. It was the first corporation

in America to be recognized by the Royal will and the first to receive from the college of Heralds a coat of arms. This was granted to William and Mary College in 1694 when she was only two years old. The plan of the college comprised three schools, the Grammar School, the School of Philosophy and the School of Divinity. At first only the Grammar School operated, but in 1729 there were six professors in the College. After passing an examination before the president, the masters, and ministers in the learned languages, the student was promoted to the School of Philosophy and donned the cap and gown. There were two masters in this School, one teaching moral philosophy, which comprised rhetoric, logic, and ethics, and the other mathematics and natural philosophy, which meant physics and metaphysics. In the School of Divinity were likewise two professors, one teaching Hebrew and the Old Testament, while the other explained the "commonplaces of divinity and the controversies with the heretics". Like the institutions of England, four years were required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts and seven years for the degree of Master of Arts. In addition to these schools the college included a common school for Indian boys, of which more will be said in another section.

Perhaps no one institution in history has had so great an influence on a mighty nation as this college in colonial Virginia. She exercised her greatest influence in the days when a nation was being born, and from her doors went the

great majority of the leaders of that nation who were to mold national thought and write for it its constitution and laws. Three of the names signed to the Declaration of Independence are found among the lists of her alumni, George Wythe, Braxton Carter, and Benjamin Harrison. Others prominent in those days who should receive special mention are Peyton Harrison, first president of the Continental Congress, Edmund Randolph, first draftsman of the Federal Constitution, John Marshall, our great Chief Justice, and in her early days the college gave to the United States three presidents, Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler. A glance down the lists of her alumni will show how easily this roll of distinguished ^{names} might be lengthened.

There was a twofold cause for this far-reaching influence. In the first place, William and Mary was the only institution in the Southern Colonies where young men might receive a broad intellectual training. In the second place, law and the natural sciences absorbed the interests of the American Commonwealth, and William and Mary clearly took the lead in those things over any other college in the colonies. A comparison of the numbers of remarkable men among her graduates with the size of her student body would lead one to believe that a large percentage of those who attained to the position of student must have been men of marked ability and genius. In 1704 William and Mary enrolled only twenty-nine students, but in 1737, 1760 and up to about the time of the Revolution she boasted an enrollment of one hundred young men. Volume VII of the William and Mary Quarterly gives an analysis of the memberships of the representative bodies which in the formation and development of Virginia and the Union made history, calling

attention to the number of William and Mary graduates serving on the various commissions. On the Committee of Correspondence we find that seven of the eleven members attended William and Mary College. On the Committee of Safety six out of eleven were William and Mary men. Of the Committee who framed the Declaration of Independence, eleven out of thirty-one are known to have attended William and Mary. Of the Continental Congress fifteen out of thirty-three called William and Mary Alma Mater. Of the Annapolis Convention, John Tyler, of William and Mary proposed the Convention in the Virginia Legislature, and three other William and Mary men attended, a total of four out of seven delegates. Of the Federal Convention held in 1787 four delegates were William and Mary men, two were from private schools, and one from Princeton. Of the governors of Virginia up to the time of the Civil War, fifteen out of thirty-three were William and Mary alumni. Of the Admiralty Court of Virginia, judges appointed to enforce the Continental Association, five out of six attended William and Mary. Twenty-two out of the first forty-three judges on the Supreme Court of Virginia were William and Mary men, and on the Supreme Court of the United States, besides the great Marshall mentioned before, John Blair, Bushrod Washington and Philip P. Barbour represented William and Mary up to 1841.¹ Truly a remarkable showing, and one of which any institution might be justly proud.²

Queen's College of Charlotte, North Carolina, must be mentioned along with William and Mary as possibly the second

1. William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. VII, pages 1-7.

2. All the facts given concerning William and Mary were taken from the above Quarterly (Historical Mag.) vols. 8 + 9.

most influential center of learning in the southern colonies during early days, not so much for its scholastic as for its historic influence. It had its beginnings in a classical school established in 1767 by Rev. Joseph Alexander and Mr. Benedict at Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church near Charlotte, a community noted for its intelligence. The Assembly passed an act in 1770 for the founding, establishing, and endowing of Queen's College. It was twice chartered by legislation and its charter was twice repealed by royal proclamation, but the King's efforts "to arrest the progress of such a people in progress and education were futile", "The King's fears that the college would become a fountain of republicanism were perhaps quickened into reality by his repeated rejection of the charter, for the Queen's Museum (early name) became the rallying point for literary societies and political clubs preceding the Revolution, and in its halls were held significant and decisive debates preceding the adoption of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"¹ In 1775 the name of the college was changed to Liberty Hall, probably because they no longer wished to pay homage to Her Majesty, since they had received such ill treatment at royal hands.

The preamble of the act of incorporation of Liberty Hall states that a number of youths taught there had made great advancement in a knowledge of the rudiments of the learned languages and in the rudiments of the arts and sciences.

1. L. C. Vass, History of the Pres. Church New Bern N. C. p. 46.

1. Quoted in Smith's History of Education in North Carolina from Vass's Eastern North Carolina, page 46.

And so in those early days did men of wisdom and vision weave in the foundations of colonial education a goodly portion of those elements which constitute true education.

It is true that in the colonial South ~~at least~~, higher education ^{at least} was a privilege enjoyed by the few, and those naturally were mostly of the aristocracy, but it was not forbidden to any. Never anywhere in the world has the white man more freedom than on southern soil where the rights of the individual have always been respected.¹ Patrick Henry was not of the aristocracy, but he rose from the people, and before he was fifteen he could read Latin and Greek, and was a student of history. He was a genius, it is true, but what a genius attained others might have approached. Moreover, it must not be forgotten, "that this idea that the school is for the well to do and the poor and for them all has been slow to develop. And this is due not less to the varying social, political and economic condition than to the fact that education is marked by a conservatism equalled only by that in religion."² Settlers in the southern colonies brought with them ~~the~~ clearly defined class distinctions and class consciousness of England, traces of which are even yet easily discerned in the southern states. There was the aristocracy, and then a class below, not subservient, but independent and clear cut in character. There was a mutual respect and confidence between the two which was admirably revealed in the absolute trust expressed by the second class in their leaders

1. The institution of slavery and the presence of the negro has prevented the rise of a servant class among the white people, and has enhanced the white man's freedom, at the expense of even the freed negro.

2. E.W.Knight - Fallacies Concerning the History of Public Education in the south.

in the great national crisis and in the magnificent way in which these leaders served the whole people. But the real reason for the slow development of a liberal education is neither class distinction nor economic inequality. It is a social necessity, a philosophical truth that is repeated in the story of every people. Never in the history of the world has a whole people been educated at once. Into the building of every nation must go the work of brain and brawn. The streams that water a land must flow from some source of supply. And so it was in the colonial South, and from her fountain of education for the few there flowed, in time, the streams of educational privilege for the many.

III. Washington and Jefferson and National Education

When the travail of war had passed and dangers far more menacing and subtle than the British army threatened the new born nation, Southern statesmen raised the first cry for universal education. It is significant that an ideal so similar should have been expressed by the leaders of the two opposing political parties. Jefferson, the father of the Party of States Rights, was content with the founding of a state university, The University of Virginia. Washington, the leader of the Federalist Party, clamored for a national university. The motive of these two statesmen differed only in scope. Jefferson's plan was to unify the mind of the individual state; Washington wished to unify the nation by educating the youth as a whole in one outstanding national university. The intensity of this desire on Washington's part led him to found a fund with which he hoped to bring about the realization of his dream. He willed to the government fifty shares in the Potomac River Navigation Company for the purpose of founding a national university. His reasons for the conviction that the nation needed such a university are set forth in his last Will and Testament, and they are as follows:

"It has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only

habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government; and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and state prejudices, so far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this, my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a UNIVERSITY in the central part of the United States to which the youths of fortune and talent from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education in all branches of polite knowledge, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment by associating with each other and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which when carried to excess, are never failing sources of disquietude to the public mind and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country.¹"

Equally as searching in wisdom are the arguments for higher education as set forth by Jefferson in his plea

1. Washington's Last Will and Testament as found in Washington's writings, edited by Jared Sparks, 1837, Vol. 1. pp 571-572 of the Appendix.

before the Virginia Legislature for the establishment of the University of Virginia.

"Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think they do not better the condition of men; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private, individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, is far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage or not at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require ----. Nor must we omit to mention the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power,¹ and the happiness of a nation."

William P. Trent says of Jefferson, "It can hardly be denied that he has impressed his personality and his doctrines more strongly upon posterity than has any other American."²

One wonders whether this statement would be any the less true of his influence had all flowed through the single

1. O. Adams, *Thomas Jefferson + the Uni. of Virginia* - p. 18.

2. W.P. Trent: *English Culture in Virginia*; Johns Hopkins University Studies, Volume 7. 1889, p. 12

channel of his educational work. It was to this work, in a large measure, that he gave the last thirty years of his life, the best years, in which he was able to think, to plan, and to execute in the light of a far more rich, and varied, experience than is given to most men. Not only did he put much of this time into this enterprise, but into none other did he put so much of himself. For this reason, and because of the number of avenues offered by an educational enterprise, through this monumental work most of his ideals, whether of government, religion, philosophy, or of art, have been widely disseminated. There is more of permanence, too, in a great educational foundation than in most institutions, and the ideals of Thomas Jefferson are so woven into the very fiber of the University of Virginia that even the ruthless scythe of Time can never cut them entirely out.

The far reaching influence of Jefferson and his institution throughout the entire south is pretty generally recognized, but few people realize how great is the debt of the whole nation to him for this service alone. Even before the buildings of the University were completed, his educational ideals were spreading through the colleges of New England by means of his wide correspondence and friendships. Dr. Everett of Harvard, in writing of Harvard's review on the report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia in 1818 differs with the plan in a few minor details, but for the most part approves it. For example, he writes: "We highly approve of the professorship of the modern languages and could wish to see this example followed by such of our ~~university as have not already made provision for them~~---. ~~We respectfully, at the kindly remembrance in~~

universities as have not already made provision for them
----- We rejoice, too, at the kindly remembrance
in which our almost forgotten ancestor, the Anglo-Saxon,
is borne. An acquaintance with it unquestionably belongs
to a thorough education in the English tongue."¹

Dr. Adams observes that, "In 1820 the only men in the
Harvard faculty who had been educated abroad were Edward
Everett and George Ticknor. Both these men were friends and
correspondents of Jefferson. The broad minds of these two
able professors, liberalized like Jefferson's by European
travel and study, were moved by his suggestions to thoughts that
will widen in future generations."²

The nation is indebted to Jefferson for six fundamen-
tal principles inherent in our university system today. They
are:

1. The determination and establishment of true university standards of instruction and scholarship.
2. The awarding of degrees according to merit instead of by seniority.
3. The establishment of the elective system.
4. The establishment of courses in English, especially in Anglo-Saxon.
5. The establishment of distinct departments called "schools", such as the School of Ancient Languages, the School of Modern Languages, etc.

1. Review of Reviews. Jan. 1920. p. 121. Dr. Everett:
Review of the Harvard Report of the Commission
for the University of Virginia.
2. H.B. Adams - Thomas Jefferson and the University
of Virginia, p. 134.

6. The establishment of student government, the honor system, and constitutional government.

But far greater even than these, he left to his University a rich legacy of beauty, and he built into her very walls a love of Truth and a spirit of determination that those who entered there should be untrammelled in the pursuit thereof. The full weight of his powerful, tolerant intelligence was thrown into the struggle to keep out of his University any influences, such as sectarianism and provincialism, that would impede the way to truth. In the choice of his professors, he would have nothing but the best, and in the face of mountains of opposition, he strove to secure only men of the profoundest learning and greatest breadth of mind, whether they came from England, from the Continent, or from America. And not content with building mere walls to house the mechanism of a university, he must make this home of learning beautiful, for to him beauty and knowledge were both essential to education. So drawing, the plans himself to the minutest detail, he modeled his buildings after those of ancient Athens, thus transplanting to the heart of Virginia's blue ridges and green fields a portion of the most exquisite art of the old world. From ^{the} twin fountains of Truth and Beauty the University of Virginia sends out her ennobling influence to all America.

These two patriots, it would seem, had earned their "well done", when after having spent themselves in the fight against tyranny and in making secure the rights and liberties

of the individual, each in turn had borne the burdens of the country's first servant. But not so. In the last years of his allotted time each must strike his telling blow on the shackles of ignorance and prepare the way for freedom of mind to generations yet unborn. There is something sublime in the magnitude of service like that - something before which the paltry mind or soul must stand condemned.

IV. From the Last of the 18th Century to the War Between the States

In the period from the latter part of the 18th century to the war between the states education in the south followed three lines of development, namely, the continuation of the academy movement, the development of colleges and the rise of universities. A section of this paper will be given to each of these movements, with special attention to typical cases.

1. The Academies, or the Academy Movement.

The oldest academies were found in the Carolinas, and it was there that the movement developed most and from there that it spread into the other states. Between the years of 1782 and 1799 there were some twenty-four incorporated schools with the rank of academy in North Carolina alone. The most important of these were the Innis Academy at Wilmington, founded by James Innis and incorporated by the legislature in 1783; Martin Academy of Washington County, later Tennessee; Morgan Academy of Burke County, founded in 1783; Smith's in Edentown; Davidson, Franklin, and Warrenton.² Perhaps the most important of these institutions was Martin's Academy, of which Dr. Foote writes as follows:¹

Rev. Samuel Doak of Virginia, two years a student, then a tutor and a student of Divinity at Hampden Sidney College moved finally to the settlement on the Little Limes-

1. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p 310-311

2. Smith's Hist. of Educ. in N.C. pp. 42 - 44.

tone in Washington County;' purchased a small farm, and on his own land built a small church, a log college, and founded Salem Congregation. His institution was incorporated by the legislature of North Carolina in 1788 under the name of Martin Academy, and this is the first literary institution established in the great valley of the Mississippi. In 1795 it was changed into a college and received the name of Washington. From the incorporation of Martin Academy until 1818 Mr. Doak continued the president of the institution, and his elders of the Salem congregation formed a part of the Board of Trustees. He procured for his institution a small library from Philadelphia, transporting it in sacks on pack horses, thus forming the Nucleus of the library of Washington college. But it will be a long, long while before the enlarged institution will overshadow the influence and usefulness of the log cabin college and academy that for a time supplied the opportunities for the education of ministers, lawyers, and doctors in the early days of Tennessee, and is still sending on its stream."

While Liberty Hall and Prince Edward were the only academies of importance in Virginia before 1780 the movement was soon to spread and grow there with a rapidity equal to that of other states. At least six more academies were established before 1800, and between 1800 and 1860 the General Assembly incorporated about two hundred and fifty

1. See *ib.* on previous page.

such institutions. Although these schools were primarily intended for boys, girls were not excluded from them all, for twenty of the two hundred and eighteen academies incorporated between 1820 and 1860 were co-educational, and seventy-one were for girls only. Mr. Slosson makes the statement that at the beginning of the Civil War there were thirteen thousand pupils enrolled in the academies of the state of Virginia alone.¹

In South Carolina there were no colleges in name until 1785, and none in fact until after 1804, so that in this state the academies were not so much used in preparation for college as in substitution for college, and as a result of this situation academies of a high order were established all over the state.² Typical of such schools were the Edgefield Village Academy, the Saint David's Society, Zion, Mount Bethel Academy, the schools of J. L. Lesley and M. J. Williams in Abbeville County, Wesley Leverette in Anderson County, but by far the most distinguished were the Classical Schools of Mr. Christopher Cotes in Charleston (1820-50) and that of Mr. Moses Waddel at Willington.³ Mr. Cotes, an Englishman educated in England, naturally modelled his school as nearly as possible after the English schools of his day. It was natural that a school of this type should be popular in the City of Charleston, and this fact plus the unusual ability of Mr. Cotes secured for his school immediate success. However, the excellent institution founded by

1. E.B.Slosson - The American Spirit in Education (Chronicles of America) p 113.

2. Meriwether's Hist. of Educ. in South Car. p 52.

3. Ibid. pp. 28-30.

Dr. Moses Waddel soon surpassed in popularity even the Classical Schools of Charleston. For years this school, located at Willington, held highest rank among the institutions of learning in the state. In his History of Education in South Carolina Meriwether says of this school: "There went forth from this school one vice-president, and many foreign and cabinet ninisters; senators, congressmen, governors, Justices, college presidents and professors, eminent divines, barristers, jurists, legislators, and physicians, 'as well as military and naval officers and innumerable scholars.'"¹

Before 1800 the leading academies of Georgia were the Academy of Richmond County and Sunbury Academy. In 1802 the movement received an impetus from legislation, and from then on its progress was phenomenal. In 1840 one hundred and six academies had been built in the sate with an aggregate attendance of eight thousand pupils.³

Louisiana and Mississippi have each an educational history under foreign contral that makes a fascinating story in itself, but which cannot be told here.⁴ Louisiana between 1811 and 1847 enacted a system of subsidized academies under which twenty-five were established, while Missisippi dealt largely in private schools and seems to have had only four or five incorporated adacemies.⁴ Missouri and Texas² likewise had apparently almost no schools of the academy type.

1. Meriwether: A History of Education in South Carolina. p.29

2. I have been able to find only very limited material on these states, and may be mistaken in this conclusion.

3. E.C. Jones - Education in Georgia

4. E.W. Foster - History of Educ. in Louisiana

The academies of the old south, as was also the case in other sections, served often as a substitute for college, and since their curricula offered courses far in advance of the elementary courses, they served this purpose adequately.

A glance at the average curriculum of the academies will show that while more limited than the modern high school, the subjects offered were much more advanced. Every real academy not only offered but required advanced courses in Latin and Greek, higher mathematics, and the sciences. Almost without exception the academy graduate was thoroughly trained in logic and in the art of oratory, and was generally well grounded in the doctrines of the Christian faith. The standard of scholarship was high and the discipline severe, leaving no opportunity for "cinch" courses or short cuts. In Dr. Waddel's school the drones prepared from one hundred to one hundred and fifty lines of Virgil to a lesson, and the bright pupils sometimes as many as one thousand lines. The president of Nassau Hall, Princeton, said that Dr. Waddel's pupils were as well prepared as those from any other school in the Union.¹

The work of many of the academies was of such a high order that they prepared students for entrance to advanced classes at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, as well as southern colleges and universities.

1. Meriwether: History of Education in South Carolina, pp. 39-41.

John Filson had established a seminary at Lexington, Kentucky by 1784; the Rev. Elijah Craig had established one in Georgetown by 1788, and Dr. Shackelford one in Bairdstown in 1786.¹ The latter was taken over by Dr. James Priestly in 1788 and under his management had a profound influence on the leadership of the state.² The establishment of such private schools of high grade spread rapidly through the various states and early led to the patronage by the state of secondary and higher education. Transylvania, endowed and chartered in 1780 and 1788 by Virginia was soon followed by similar endowments by Kentucky herself. By far the most interesting feature of educational history in Kentucky up to about 1820 was the development of at least one subsidiary academy in each county, as a part of a system of higher education which culminated in a state University.³ This plan was put into operation and the academies reached their zenith by 1820, but after that point steadily declined. The period following their decline was marked by the rise of colleges.⁴

During Alabama's territorial period there were at least four academies within her borders, namely John Berke's Academy, Washington, Georgia, and Stephen, and probably others whose names are forgotten. These institutions continued their usefulness after the admission of the state to the Union. Green Academy, founded at Huntsville in 1822,

flourished for fifty years.⁵ In 1847 Henry Tutwiler of

1. A. F. Lewis - History of Higher Education in Kentucky pp. 12-13.

2. Ibid. p. 21.

3. Ibid. p. 13-14.

4. W. G. Clark - History of Education in Alabama 1702-1889.

5. W. G. Clark - History of Education in Alabama 1702-1889.

opened a "classical scientific, and practical high school for boys at Greene Springs. The purpose of the school is to prepare young men for the business of life, or for the higher classes in our colleges and universities." This was a remarkably successful school from the very beginning, requiring application a year in advance after the first session. Its success is attributed largely to the rare genius of its founder, who was a Virginian and a classmate of Edgar Allen Poe.

Almost invariably the teachers of these academies in the south were gentlemen of marked attainments in scholarship and of the highest moral character. The great majority of them were Christian ministers. Their ability to train boys is witnessed to by the number of prominent men whom they educated, for it was from these academies that most of the influential and successful men of the south received their education.

The same type of education as that offered by the academies was fostered by the private schools, which were unchartered, and by tutors in private homes. These schools for the most part are unrecorded, and any estimate of their number is impossible, but that they were many and that they wielded a far-reaching influence is attested by the frequent references to them in all kinds of southern literature, and by recollections and tributes of those living today who received instruction from such institutions.

The work of the private tutor in the south was by no means as extensive as is generally supposed, but it was not unusual for the wealthier people of the colonies to bring tutors trained in the English universities to teach their children, and a great many sons of the planters never received any other instruction. But as the private schools, academies and colleges came to the foreground, private tutors became less frequent, and when employed at all, they were usually graduates of Princeton or a southern college.

2. Colleges

So much is said about the difficulties with which our fathers pursued the pathway to knowledge and the youth of today are so frequently exhorted to gratitude for the priceless privilege of a "college education" that the following list of colleges which actually existed in that little known land south of the Mason and Dixon line before 1860 will doubtless be both surprising and illuminating to many. The colleges listed are those which attained the rank of college and they are listed according to the date of their founding. The universities are treated later.

16352

State	College	Date of Founding
Virginia	William and Mary	1693
	Hampden Sidney	1783
	Washington College	1796
	Randolph Macon	1830
	Richmond	1830
	Emory and Henry	1838
	Roanoke	1842
	Virginia Military Institute	1839

State	College	Date of Founding
North Carolina	Wake Forest	1833
	Davidson	1838
	Trinity	1842
South Carolina	South Carolina College	1801
	College of Charleston	1827
	Ersine College	1839
	Furman	1850
	Wofford	1851
Georgia	Franklin	1785
	Emory	1836
	Georgia Military Inst.	1851
	College Temple	1853
	Bowden	1856
Alabama	La Grange	1830
	Judson	1839
	Howard	1841
	Athens	1843
Maryland	Washington	1783
	Cokesbury	1784 (?)
	Asbury	1818
	Mount of St. Mary's	1830
	Frederick	1830
	Loyola	1852
	Mt. Hope	1833
	St. James	1842
	Newton	1845

State	College	Date of Founding
Mississippi	Jefferson	1802
	Oakland	1830
	Mississippi	1832
	Centenary	1841
	Brandon	1849
	Madison	1851
Louisiana	Orleans	1806
	Louisiana	1825
	St. Charles	1837
	Centenary	1839
	College of the Immaculate Conception	1847
Tennessee	Blount	1794
	East Tennessee	before 1809
Texas	Manhattan	1838
	Rutersville	1840
	Austin	1849
	Larissa	1850
	St. Pauls	1851
	Seguin	1858
	McKenzie	1861
	Centre	1819
Kentucky	St. Mary's	1821
	Georgetown	1829
	Augusta	1831
	Kentucky Military Institute	1837
	Bacon	1837
	Bethel	1849
	Louisville	1830

A mere glance at these dates is sufficient to see that the great majority of these colleges were chartered after 1830, only ten having attained the rank of college before that time, but it must be remembered that many of them were established schools of high academic standing ~~standing before~~ receiving their charters. This period from 1830-1850 is marked by a great educational revival when colleges, denominational largely, but non-sectarian as well, sprang up all over the south. The movement began in Kentucky partly in opposition to Transylvania and partly to supply needs the university could not meet, and grew so rapidly that it is said that there were more colleges in Kentucky in 1847 than in any other state in the Union.¹ Louisville about this time was one of the largest centers of professional education in the country, having six medical schools besides law schools, two theological seminaries and other professional schools.² This is probably not a complete list, but it is sufficient to give an idea of the number of colleges in the South. However, when we look at the size of the student bodies of these old colleges the picture darkens, for a pitifully small per cent of the population enjoyed the privileges they offered. According to the United States census of 1850 there were in the eleven southern states listed above ninety-two colleges but with an average attendance of only a hundred and sixteen, the total number of students in college from all over the south being ten thousand five hundred forty four (10,544). However, small student bodies were not peculiar to the south but on the contrary according to the same census her

1. Lewis, A. F. History of Higher Education in Kentucky. p. 16

2. *Ibid.* pp. 260-271

figures compare very favorably with those of New England. In eight New England States there were thirty-seven colleges with an average student body of one hundred and thirty-seven, the total number of students being five thousand thirty-two. R. T. Dillard, superintendent of public instruction of Kentucky, in his report to the legislature on January 7, 1846, makes the following statement: "It is worthy of note that in the southern states that of the whole number of scholars, those ^{in attendance at the higher seminaries (Academies & colleges)} form a much greater proportion than at the north, the number being in the former case as one to three and in New England as one to twelve." ¹ This fact is most significant, since one would naturally expect to find the largest attendance on institutions of higher learning in the most thickly settled section of the country and where such educational centers as Harvard, Yale and Princeton had long been established. Moreover, it is the generally accepted opinion that a greater premium was put upon higher education in the northeast than in the southern part of the country. These figures seem to disprove that opinion.

When we turn to the quality of training received by the privileged few the picture brightens again. The entrance requirements of South Carolina ^{College} may be taken as typical: "For admission to the freshman class of the College of South Carolina a candidate shall be able to render from Latin into English Cornelius Nepos, Sallust, Caesar's Commentaries and Virgil's Aeneid; to make grammatical Latin of the exercises in Mair's Introduction; to translate into English any passage from St. John in the Greek New Testament; to give a grammatical analysis of the words and have a general knowledge of the English grammar; write a

good legible hand; spell correctly (achievements that are indeed rare in college youths today) and be well acquainted with arithmetic as far as includes the rule of proportion." In 1836 her requirements were raised and in 1862 of the four colleges, South Carolina, Harvard, Yale and Columbia, South Carolina's entrance requirements were the highest. (By 1830 she had added to her curriculum a chair of Hebrew, Arabic and Modern Language, and a chair of Science including mineralogy and geology.)² In like manner the following curriculum of Washington College may be taken as typical of the course of study pursued by the candidate after admittance.

Washington College - 1842 - Curriculum.³

Languages for the first two years:

Latin - Tacitus, Historia, Germania and Agricola;
Pliny - select epistles; Livy, Cicero, De Officiis, De Senectute and De Amicitia.

Greek - Xenophon's Cyropedia and Memorabilia; Adam's Roman Antiquities; Butler's Ancient Geography;
Herodotus; Demosthenes' Select Orations; Cleavland's Antiquities of Greece; Greek Testament Weekly.

For the third and fourth years.

Latin- Select Satires of Horace, Juvenal and Persius;
Odes and epistles of Horace; Select Plays of Terence.

Mathematics department for the first and second years.

Algebra, Plane Geometry, and Trigonometry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances; Surveying and Navigation; second year Algebra and Geometry completed; Logarithms; Spherical Trigonometry; Spherical Projections; Dialling; Nautical Astronomy; Analytical Geometry and Conic Sections.

Department of Physical Sciences -third year of regular course.

Chemistry, Electricity, Magnetism, Heat, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, Astronomy, Lectures on Botany, Mineralogy and Geology.

- 1+2. Merivaller - History of Educ. in S.C.
3. Historical Documents of Washington and Lee
Uni. Washington College Catalogue for 1842.

Rhetorical Course - fourth year of regular course.

Philosophical Grammar Logic, Rhetoric and Criticism,
History, Weekly exercises in Composition and Elocution.

Ethical Course -

Mental Philosophy, Moral and Political Philosophy, Constitution of the United States, Laws of Nations, Political Economy.

Modern languages offered from 1852 on. In 1849 the catalogue declares that the college has a "very respectable Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus which cost about \$5000, and is kept in good order," and a library of 3500 volumes.

So far removed is this curriculum from that of the modern college that it reads almost like a foreign tongue and it is a slight strain on one's imagination to picture the young collegiate of today pursuing such a line of study, but well may he pause and consider his debt to the men who were blessed with the discipline and culture of such a course. Certainly, of the cardinal sin of modern education his fathers were not guilty, for in those schools superficiality was not tolerated. Scholastic standards were high, stringent examinations twice a year for four years, usually taken in the presence of a committee, being required for a degree. The student bodies being small, the individual received constant attention, so that, limited as was his field of study, he was thoroughly trained in that which was offered and there was molded under the influence of these colleges a manhood such as has never been surpassed.

The most influential military school both of the old and of the new south is the Virginia Military Institute founded in Lexington, Virginia, in 1839. Here labored Stonewall Jackson

1. Washington College Catalogue - 1849.

one of the world's greatest generals. Scores of its alumni have rendered valuable service military and otherwise to the state, the south, and the nation. It has been a state institution from its early history, was modeled largely after West Point, and since its distinguished service in the Civil War, has been called the "West Point of the South".

3. Universities

More than a century and a half after the Jamestown fathers adopted their resolution for the founding of a seminary of higher learning, it was the privilege of another southern legislative body to charter the first state university in America. On February 20, 1784 the State of Georgia chartered her university, granting with the charter an endowment of 40,000 acres of land thus securing for herself the honor of being the first state in the Union to charter a university,¹ the University of the State of New York being chartered in May of the same year. ^{of the Georgia University} Her doors were not open to students, however, until 1800. Before 1865 seven of the the southern states had chartered and were operating state universities and two others had schools receiving state support that took the place of state universities. In addition to the state universities there were at least six other institutions with the rank and name of university. While Georgia was the first to be chartered, the University of North Carolina was the first to open her doors to students, being chartered in 1789 and opened in 1795.² The others are given in order of their founding.

State Universities

<u>University</u>	<u>Founded</u>	<u>Opened</u>
Virginia	1819	1825
Alabama	1819	1831
Mississippi	1844	1848
Louisiana	1860	1860
Kentucky	1865	1865

1. Jones - Education in Georgia
2. Smith - History of Education in N.C. p. 62.

In Tennessee Blount and East Tennessee colleges were combined by state legislation in 1807 and called East Tennessee College.¹ In 1840 it was made East Tennessee University and in 1879 the name was finally changed to the University of Tennessee.² South Carolina College, although not made the state university until 1888, had served in that capacity for many years before 1860.

Other Universities

<u>State</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Date</u>
Kentucky	Transylvania Kentucky University	1785 (these combined 1858 in 1865 to form the Uni- ³ versity of Ky.)
Alabama	Southern University	1856
Tennessee	Nashville	1820?
Georgia	Oglethorpe Mercer	1837 1836
Louisiana	New Orleans	1847
Texas	Baylor	1851

Each of these institutions has a long and varied history of its own, full of interest for the student of educational history, but here only a few of the most significant facts concerning those most influential in the antebellum days must suffice.

That the darkest hour is just before the dawn was strangely true in the history of North Carolina, for it is to one of the darkest hours of the Revolution that she traces the
<sup>1+2. Moses White - Early History of the Uni. of Tennessee an
address 1879.</sup>
^{3. Lewis - History of Education in Kentucky - p. 79.}

origin of her university, that beacon of light to generations to come. It was on November 12, 1776, just after the recent defeat of the Continental Army at Long Island and the capture of New York that the Constitutional Convention met in Halifax and on December 18 adopted a constitution containing a clause providing for a state university. In 1783 the people by separate vote indorsed the university, and entrusted its management to the General Assembly, and the Cinvention of 1785 re-enacted the university provisions which the people ratified in 1786. Finally in 1789 her charter was granted and immediate steps were taken for her construction. Honorable John Manning says of the university when speaking in 1884, "Embracing all her children in her great Catholic heart she has always striven to allay sectional feeling, to moderate sectarian heat, to cultivate and encourage a broad ardent love for the state, a veneration for her early history and traditions, and appreciation of ~~the~~ domestic virtues of her citizens and a love of liberal learning."¹

At the time of the opening in 1796 the curriculum of the university itself consisted of five professorships: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, Moral and Political Philosophy and History, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and Languages.² Radical changes were made in both the arrangement and content of the curriculum in 1818.³ In 1846 a separate school of Law was added offering a course of two years.⁴ In 1854⁵ a

1. Quoted by Smith in his History of Education in North Carolina, p. 53.

2. Smith - History of Education in N.C. p. 66.

3. Ibid. p. 71.

4. Ibid. p. 78.

5. Ibid. a. 78-9.

"School for the Application of Science to the Arts," with four professors was established, its object being to prepare men for professional life as engineers, physicians, artisans, farmers and miners, giving them both practical and theoretical instruction.

Among her executives were men of rare ability and of prominence throughout the country, probably the greatest of these being her first president, Dr. Joseph Caldwell, but it was under the administration of Dr. David Lowry Swain, who was president from 1835-1868, that the university attained to its greatest usefulness before the war.² At one time during these years the student body numbered five hundred and Dr. Swain himself writes in a circular letter September 4, 1860, "Half the states of the Union are represented in our catalogue. We have students from about thirty colleges in various parts of the country from Vermont to Texas."¹ Thus had she attained to national recognition.

The Kentucky Gazette of December 6, 1793 writes of Transylvania University as follows, "This Seminary is the best seat of education on the Western Waters; and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when even prejudice will not think it necessary to transport our youths to the Atlantic States to complete their education."³

1. Quoted by Smith in his History of Education in North Carolina - p. 93.

2. Smith's History of Educ. in N.C. pp. 76-77.

3. A. F. Lewis - History of Higher Educ. in Kentucky p. 45.

V. Education for Women

1. Colonial Period

It was almost impossible for a woman to obtain formal schooling of any kind during the colonial period. Classical schools were not open to women, and there was no provision whatever for the higher education of the women and girls of the early days. Education was not only deemed unnecessary for women, it was considered improper and detrimental for a young lady to be highly educated. Girls were taught to read and write, to dance and to sing and play, if a teacher for these arts could be had, and occasionally the aristocratic young ladies were taught to speak French, but for the most part their education was restricted to household arts.

Following are excerpts collected from county records of Virginia by L.G. Tyler, Editor of the William and Mary Historical Magazine:

Frances and Mary Cathorpe, orphans of Ebimilech Cathorpe, paid Rev. Theodosius Staige of Charles Parish three pounds for three years schooling from 1736 to 1739. Miss Elizabeth Reade, daughter of John Reade, deceased, went to school over ten years, 1757-67.¹

Quoting from the Norfolk Antiquary, we find that "There was a fashionable boarding school for girls at Williamsburg about 1760."²

1 & 2. William and Mary Quarterly vol. 6.

Mary Ball, the mother of Washington, wrote from her home when fifteen years of age, "We now have a young minister living with us who was educated at Oxford, took orders and came over to assist Rev. Kemp. The parish is too poor to keep both, and he teaches for his board. He teaches Sister Susie and me and Madam Carter's boy and two girls. I am now learning pretty fast."

The following advertisement was quoted by Steiner in his History of Education in Maryland from a paper of 1754. "Mary Salisbury proposes keeping school in Annapolis at the house where Mr. Sparrow lived, near the church, to teach young ladies French and all sorts of fine needlework, tapestry, embroidery, with gold and silver, and every other curious work which can be performed with a needle, and all other education fit for young ladies, except dancing."

Daughters of wealthy planters were frequently sent to England for their education as their brothers were, or if they were not so fortunate, they might receive some instruction from their brothers' tutor, and they always had access to the private libraries in the plantation homes. One of these lovely plantation flowers transplanted to England for cultural education was the beautiful Evelyn Byrd. The story of her brilliant reception in England and her tragic love affair is one of history's best known romances.

1. Alice M. Carter Child Life in Colonial Maryland, p. 95.

Such were the meagre opportunities for education open to women in those early days, but ~~that~~ the idea that the colonial lady in the south was uncultured or in any sense of the word illiterate cannot for a moment be harbored. "The colonies of America, so famed for their brave men in the 17th and 18th centuries were equally rich in their beautiful women, who exhibited so marvelously well the power of the highest feminine influence during the most historic and trying age the country has known."¹ And not a few of these women were of the southern colonies. Certainly on such an honor roll are written the names of Mary Ball, Martha Washington, Dolly Madison, and a score of others a little less famous, but not less admirable. Some one in an effort to describe Dolly Madison to a friend said, "Tis not her form, tis not her face, it is the woman altogether whom I wish you to see." She was the only woman ever voted ^{honorary} a seat in Congress and "even as an old lady her girlish laugh and gentle voice swayed some political destinies."² A fitting close to a chapter on the women of the colonial period is found in the words of the Frenchman's tribute to Mary Washington as she was presented at a ball given her illustrious son in Fredericksburg, "Ah!, If such are the matrons of America, well may she boast of her illustrious sons."

2. Awakening in 1830

Little progress was made in education for women anywhere in America until about 1830 when the educational revival

1. E. T. Sells, *Old Time Belles and Cavaliers*, introduction.

2. *Ibid* - p. 199.

of 1839 to 1850 brought with it an active interest in the establishment of schools for girls.¹ Even then the movement for higher education for women was slow and the first schools established were mere seminaries whose curricula did not include the weightier subjects. The typical course of the earlier seminaries or female institutes, offered reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, history geography, sometimes German or French, plain needlework, music, drawing, and ornamental needlework.² Gradually the institutes of higher grade added the English branches and other subjects till the following course of study for the advanced department of Oxford Female Academy may be taken as typical: Comstock's Natural Philosophy; Comstock's Chemistry; Lincoln's Botany, Playfair's Euclid; Day's Algebra; Newman's Rhetoric; Alexander's Evidences of Christianity; Goodrich's Ecclesiastical History; History of England and France; Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers; Abercrombie's Moral Feelings; Walters on the Mind; Burrett's Geography of the Heavens; Logic; Roman and Grecian antiquities; Political Economy; Composition. This is a far cry from the three R's and ornamental needle work, but it is not nearly so formidable as it sounds and the classics, real science, and mathematics are conspicuous by their absence.

Governor Metcalfe's address before the Kentucky Legislature in 1828 in behalf of education in its plea for the higher education of women is so characteristic of the spirit of the time and reveals so much of the struggle with prejudice

1+2. - See note on page 56.

against the education of women that it bears quoting here:

"Anxious as every friend to the perpetuation of our republican institutions must be for the education of our sons as the solid foundation of our civil, political and religious rights, I submit to your wisdom and justice to say, whether the public bounty ought to be confined to the education of our sons exclusively? Are our daughters less entitled to the parental care and the beneficence of the government?..... It is true that she acts her part in the shade of domestic retirement. She is not often an active agent in the perils of war. Her voice is not heard in our senates. But this detracts nothing from the importance of her station. Her place is one of high if not awful responsibility" -- (and here he discourses in true southern style on woman's influence)---. "Surely her mind should be cultivated and adorned by the instructions and grace of a systematic education. Will not the Legislature of Kentucky confer upon their state the honor of having taken the first step for the promotion of this desirable object? The act I am persuaded will be hailed with delight by the present and succeeding generations; and monuments dedicated to its authors may rise by the side of those which are intended to commemorate the deeds of our heroes and sages of the revolution." But even to such an eloquent plea Kentucky did not for a time respond, and to another state fell this honor.

However both in the establishment of female academies and of colleges for women the south claims priority over the other sections of the country. The coming of the ten Ursuline

"Soeurs" in 1727 from far away France to the Colony of Orleans
1. Governor Thomas Metcalfe Address to House of Representatives, Journal of the House
of Representatives 1828 pp. 12 - 22.

is one of the most beautiful of all the stories of the pioneer days of the French colony so rich in romance. For a while the sisters abode at the home of Bienville himself, and from there went to establish the Ursuline convent schools that are still open in Louisiana. No one disputes this claim, but Wesleyan's precedence in Georgia as the first chartered woman's college in the world has been challenged a number of times. However, it is now a well established fact that Wesleyan was the first chartered woman's college in the world and the first as such to issue diplomas to women. The most serious contestant for this honor was Oberlin. This is a coeducational institution chartered in 1834 which, being coeducational, admitted women but her right to confer degrees upon them according to her charter was disputed. Wesleyan, exclusively a woman's college, was chartered with the right of conferring degrees in 1836. Its first degree was conferred in 1840. In the following year Oberlin conferred degrees on her first three graduates.

3. Wesleyan College

The movement to establish Wesleyan College began as early as 1825 with the expressed desire of a group of Macon's citizens for the founding of a school for the education of their daughters. Later it was taken up by the Methodist church, and then the state, being a frequent and stormy subject of debate in the legislature from 1830 until the fight was won. The difficulties of the task are suggested in the prologue of an Historical Pageant given at the College in recent years, which begins as follows:

"The first of all the colleges
For woman kind," we say,
And speak the words sometimes in such
A very casual way
That we forget the years of toil,
The years of brave intent
The trials and the struggles
That the founding of it meant!
Oh! let's forget that Wesleyan
Is near a century old,
And live again its past, and see
Its yesterday unfold.
And watch the spirits, Macon small,
And learning, Church, and State
Bring forth a little trembling dream
From out their castle gate.
And then with naught to go with her
Except their faith and will
To start the little dream upon
Her journey up the hill."

The the poet goes on to describe how the little dream encountered and overcame first "Grey Prejudice", then poverty, then war, (with the Indians and the Texas War), and finally financial panic and the failure of the cotton. But still enduring, she at last triumphed and the first woman's college in the world was set upon Macon heights, and " Wesleyan towers were raised to meet the sky and point the way to a higher mental and spiritual life for women".

The following report from the visiting committee in 1856 gives an idea of the condition of the college after two decades of service."The collegiate year just closed has been one of mingled prosperity and trial. The patronage of the institution has been the largest ever in attendance - the total for the year amounting to 177. The catalogue reports the corps of instruction complete, consisting of eleven professors and teachers, including the president. The facilities of

instruction are amply sufficient, while the uniform decorum of the students, the familiarity of intercourse between themselves and the faculty, their highly creditable examination and exhibition attest their own proficiency and the faithfulness of their instructors."¹ For the character of the women first trained here from the college's earliest days, sons and daughters not only of Georgia but from all over the South, give thanks. We may fairly judge the daughters of Wesleyan by three graduates of antebellum days of which recent copies of the *Alumnae* tell us. Mrs Mary Culler White in her book, "The Portals of Wonderland", tells of how Mrs. Alice Culler Cobb, a graduate in 1858 became an invaluable member of her Alma Mater's faculty and even while a wife and mother, "splendidly led the Wesleyan students in the class room, on the campus, and in their dramatic activities in the chapel."² Mrs. Helen Jamison Plane who conceived the idea of the Stone Mountain Monument was a Wesleyan graduate of 1843. She died a little over two years ago after giving the signal for the unveiling of the head of Lee, the first of the colossal group to be carved, and just five weeks after her ninety-sixth birthday. Verne Dyson gives the following charming description of meeting Mrs. Young J. Allen, of the class of '58, and a missionary in China since '59. "Here in China in a Chinese house, seated in a carved redwood chair, I found myself talking with a Southern gentlewoman, possessed of the antebellum charms of manner which have now become rare even in the South itself

1. The Wesleyan Alumnae, April 1927, p.87

2. Wesleyan Alumnae, April 1925, p.8

and which have come down to us, of the new generation, as fondly nourished tradition. She talked first of Georgia, the sunny lanes, the magnolias, and white dogwood blossoms, the steamboats, the singing darkies, and the cotton and the corn. Her memory of life in the South before the war is like a dream that is too hopelessly lovely to be true, but that life was reality, and Mrs Allen left it to come to China and she is not now nor ever has been sorry."

Fortune keeps within her bounty a store of rare gifts to bestow at times as tokens of her special favor. Such was her gift to Wesleyan in the privilege of intimate association with the poet-musician, Sidney Lanier. His home was in Macon, and he was a frequent visitor at the college from his early youth. On more than one occasion an eager Macon audience gathered there to hear the exquisite notes of his flute. Here it was that he met and wooed the beautiful Mary Day, whom he afterwards immortalized in his poem, "My Springs". "Wesleyan's old towers are now peering dimly through a large arched-top window into the northeast corner of the new Washington Memorial Library upon a beloved brown head. It is the likeness in bronze of the poet and musician whose romance and literary hopes she sheltered and whose flute notes often rewarded her kindness."

4. Development from 1845-1860

Following the founding of this first college, higher education for women grew slowly but surely in favor, gaining in momentum after about 1845 so that by 1860 there were at

1. Wesleyan Alumnae, January 1926, pp 4-5
2. Wesleyan Alumnae, January 1925, p.6

least twenty odd "female institutions" of collegiate rank in the south. Some of the most important of these were Science Hill of Kentucky, Elizabeth of Mississippi, Greensboro Female College, North Carolina, Judson in Alabama, and Hollins and Mary Baldwin in Virginia. And for the most part these colleges were in the years before the war well attended, being generally filled to capacity. But even so, a very small per cent of the women in the south enjoyed the privilege of an academic education, and it must not be supposed that culture and superior education were limited to college graduates. Every southern gentleman's daughters if not sent to college were sent to private schools or taught by a governess. The object of a woman's education was not utilitarian except in the domestic arts, but was strictly cultural and the subjects chosen served that purpose admirably. She was taught music and dancing, the English classics, history, a little of philosophy, astronomy, botany and frequently the Romance languages. It was not an unusual thing for a woman to read French fluently; for instance, Miss Selma Nelson of Albemarle County, Virginia, read several languages for pleasure and when reading aloud was wont to choose a story in Italian or French and translate as she read.¹ James Mercer Garnett taught a private school at his home, Elmwood, and his daughters taught the languages.² One of the most erroneous conceptions of life in the old south is that the women of those days led lives of idleness and ease.

The burden that a plantation of dependent slaves brought to

1. Received by word of mouth from one who knew Miss Nelson.

2. From the Garnett family records in private possession only.

the mistress was not a light load, and to supply their needs and care for her own household required real executive ability. And when this was done, she was called to fill a position as hostess which demanded not only beauty and graciousness, but that quality of mind and poise which are the accomplishments of true culture alone. Such were the women who made possible that unparalleled home life of the old south, and who have left to the daughters of America a heritage of beauty and grace, of charm and brilliance, of character and heroism which are justly a source of pride.

note - General statements on the education of woman, pp. 49 & 55 are based on a survey and comparative study of the records given in the state histories of education. See Bibliography.

VI. Social Intercourse

But when all is said and done, if the story of the intellectual life of any people or age could be told in terms of formal schools, of teachers and pupils, the task would be a simple one and the result for the most learned of nations but a frugal tale. One of the most subtle and at the same time most potent of all educational forces is the unconscious social intercourse of every day life. Never has that power flourished under more auspicious circumstances than in the life of the old south. The southern planter was a student of the classics, a profound philosopher, a keen observer of men and nature, an interested and conscientious student of public questions, a wide and prodigious reader, and a deep and original thinker. Highly gifted in the art of conversation, whether on verandah or in the banquet hall, out of a fund of knowledge and with a patrician grace and courtliness of manner, he would discuss with understanding and unstudied brilliance philosophy, religion, history and current events. Young men sitting at the feet of their sires got wisdom and understanding; were schooled in the sciences; versed in the art of living, and imbued with chivalry's noblest ideals. Education in the old south was not merely a matter of book learning.^{1.}

In the influence of its social life, as well as in other things, historians are wont to compare the civilization of the old south with that of Greece. "There are fewer persons

1. Thomas Jefferson himself after his return to Monticello was accustomed to spend a part of each day teaching young me.

at the north than at the south who cannot read, but does it follow that there is less education here? We think not. The Athenians were a highly educated people. The Athenian masses constituted the critical audiences for whom and by whom their still unrivalled orators and poets were trained. They could comprehend and feel the sublimity of Aeschylus, the pathos of Euripides and the most delicate irony equally with the coarsest satire of Aristophanes. They appreciated the stately oratory of Pericles and the vehement eloquence of Demosthenes. Yet there were no common schools in Athens. We have no reason to believe that the people could read or write. Aristides, we know, was asked to write the note that banished him.¹ And so it was in the old south. In the county courts, in the state capitals, and in many other meeting places the southern populace, in a school of oratory likened unto that of Greece in its beauty and eloquence, received the impress of giant intellects and caught the vision of great souls.

1. Elmwood Fisher - Southern Quarterly Review, Vol.16, p.292.

VII. Conclusion

1. An Accusation Answered

The accusation is repeatedly brought against the old South that she made no contribution to art or literature, or science. It is not within the scope of this paper to disprove such an indictment, but it is not only fitting but obligatory to state that the facts in the field of higher education alone reveal its absolute falsity. It is fitting here, too, to make an earnest plea for a more scholarly and intensive study of the intellectual life of that people of America who have given to literature a Poe, a Joel Chandler Harris, a Mark Twain and a Sidney Lanier; to art a Moses Ezekiel; to music a Lanier and America's purest folk songs; to medicine a Crawford W. Long; to the physical sciences a Joseph Le Conte and a Matthew Fontaine Maury. He who so studies will find that these are but a few of the names of those who have attained in each of these fields.

And yet it must be remembered that the great part played by the Old South in the nation's history was not in the field of art, or literature or science, but in the field of statesmanship. It was not by chance that she was called to play this part but in what G. Campbell Morgan calls the economy of God in history. Philip Schaff says of Augustine and Pelagius, "Such giants in theology could only arise in

an age when this queen of all the sciences drew into her service the whole mental activity of the time." ¹ It is equally true that such statesmen as those of the Old South could only arise in an age when necessity and the supreme tasks of the time drew into the development of political leadership the whole mental activity of the time. In the building of this great nation there was need for men of moral courage, of vision, of integrity, of learning in history, philosophy, law, and of skill in the forum and in the art of government. To the South was given the privilege, at least in large measure, of making this contribution. It is here that she stands in unreflected glory and it was in the molding of such statesmanship that her system of higher education rendered its finest service and its most far-reaching influence. A glance through alumni records, and the pages of the nation's history is sufficient to reveal this fact. For not only have those alumni served their own states nobly in every possible capacity, but from the days of the nation's birth till 1861 there was not a single national post of honor and responsibility which was not held not once but repeatedly by men trained in the schools of the Old South.

2. Findings

The chief findings of this study especially as they relate to the erroneous popular conceptions of higher education in the South before 1861 may be stated as follows:

1. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, Vol. 3 p. 789.

1. The southern colonies were the scene of the first legislation for education on the continent.
2. The south is the home of the second oldest college in America.
3. She is the mother of State Universities.
4. She is the pioneer of higher education for women and the mother of the first college for women in the world.
5. There were actually in existence in the South before 1865 certainly as many as three hundred academies, at least fifty-eight colleges, seven state universities and six other universities.
6. College entrance requirements were stringent, the standard of scholarship high, and the curricula difficult.
7. The professors for the most part were men of broad culture of profound scholarship, and high moral character.
8. Higher education in the Old South compared favorably with that of New England in the number of colleges, in the scholarship of students and faculty, the south being superior in the classics; and in attendance, the size of the student bodies being about equal in proportion to the population and economic conditions of the respective sections.
9. The educational work of Thomas Jefferson perhaps contributed more to the progress and development of the nation than did his political career. (see chapter on Jefferson's contribution to education earlier in this paper.)

Higher Education in the Old South and the Educational Movements of Today.

What has the higher education of the Old South to contribute to the great educational movements of today? The answer comes almost as an indictment striking at at least three great weaknesses in modern educational systems. Her contribution may be suggested in the following contrasts: first, the principle of culture for culture's sake and the desire for richness of life and service against the utilitarian

motives of today; second, broad and thorough scholarship in contrast with modern superficiality; and finally, emphasis on moral and spiritual training against the paucity and need of such training today. Let educational leaders in America today take cognizance of their heritage and "proving all things, hold fast to that which is good."

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