

8-1944

Kentucky Education in Newspapers 1787-1837

Mrs. C. P. McNally
Western Kentucky University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses>



Part of the [Education Commons](#), [Public History Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McNally, Mrs. C. P., "Kentucky Education in Newspapers 1787-1837" (1944). *Masters Theses & Specialist Projects*. Paper 2607.
<https://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/2607>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by TopSCHOLAR®. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses & Specialist Projects by an authorized administrator of TopSCHOLAR®. For more information, please contact topscholar@wku.edu.

McNally,

Mrs. C. P.

1944

KENTUCKY EDUCATION IN NEWSPAPERS, 1787-1837

BY

MRS. C. P. McNALLY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

WESTERN KENTUCKY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

AUGUST, 1944

Approved:-

Major Professor
and
Department of Education

Thesis Committee

Graduate Committee

Lee Francis Jones
Gordon Wilson
McGee

60808

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I desire to express my thanks to Dr. Lee F. Jones for suggesting a subject which I have found to be so enjoyable; to Dr. Gordon Wilson for helpful criticism; to Mrs. S. C. Hutcheson and Miss Sarah Tyler of the College Library, and Mrs. Frank P. Moore and Miss Elizabeth Coombs of the Kentucky Library, for their courtesy and assistance in securing materials.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	BACKGROUND	4
III	SCHOOLS AND SUBJECTS	11
IV	TUITION AND TEACHERS	35
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	43

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this investigation was to make a study of the beginnings of education in Kentucky, using as the main source of material the old newspapers in our Kentucky Library; and covering the period extending from early pioneer days, through early statehood, to the time when public education for the masses was established. At no time in the history of the state has education been more closely associated with the people themselves than during this period under study. Then education was really of the people, for the people, and by the people. The few settlements in existence at that time were isolated, practically independent, almost entirely self-sufficient; and those things which were done for the people had to be done by themselves, and as the result of a feeling of urgent need. It is to the everlasting glory of our pioneers that among these necessities was that of educating the children, teaching them the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the development of a cultural side even among the most severe privations of pioneer life. Therefore there is included in this study an attempt to show how a sturdy and purposeful people recognized education as one of the fundamental necessities of living; how the reciprocal influences of education and the advancing establishments of a permanent society were developed; the character of the people as shown by their expressions of public opinion concerning education; the effect of education on public opinion; and the final crystallization of these opinions in the establishing of a state public school system.

Most of my information has been obtained from a careful study of the file of The Kentucky Gazette, our very first newspaper, which gave me a peep, at least, into the thoughts and opinions of this period. This paper is quite different from the newspapers of today. Local news was hardly ever published, because in the small, compact communities of that time it was easy for every one to know what every one else was doing anyhow. These early papers were truly media for the expression of public opinion, and their pages are full of so-called essays on many timely and important subjects, written usually in a scholarly manner and with very definite objectives. It seems that the advent of a newspaper in pioneer days suddenly provided a channel for expressing before the public all the pent-up enthusiasm about affairs in general that had been so far spread only by word of mouth and rumor. Even the advertisements were of the essay type and are valuable sources of information about the life of those times.

From time to time, however, it was found necessary to wander from the beaten path to gather some additional information from incidental references in histories, stories of pioneer life, and old letters. From this source came the information about the earliest schools, and especially the history of the founding of The Kentucke Gazette itself, without which the full import of this study could not be obtained.

The Kentucke Gazette was organized in order to foster public opinion in favor of the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, when certain leaders determined to co-operate in the establishment of a western mouthpiece. At a meeting of the second convention in Danville in 1787 it was voted to establish an official Kentucky newspaper. There

was considerable difficulty in finding a printer, or any one who was bold enough to undertake the venture.¹ The newspaper was organized as The Kentucke Gazette, the first issue of which was published in Lexington August 11, 1787. The editor was John Bradford, assisted by his brother, Fielding Bradford. It was continued under this title until March 14, 1789, when the name was changed to The Kentucky Gazette, in consequence of the legislature of Virginia requiring that certain advertisements be inserted in The Kentucky Gazette. Fielding Bradford remained a partner in the enterprise until May 31, 1788. John Bradford continued the newspaper until April 1, 1802, when he turned the establishment over to his son, Daniel. The first issue was published on a sheet of demi paper, the second on a half sheet of the same size; but owing to the difficulty of procuring paper, it was soon reduced to a half sheet foolscap and thus published for several months.²

John Bradford, first editor and publisher of The Kentucke Gazette, was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, in 1749. He married Eliza James, daughter of Captain Benjamin James, of the same county, in 1771. They had five sons and four daughters. He served for a short time in the Revolutionary army, and came to Kentucky for the first time in 1779. He was in the battle with the Indians at Chillicothe. He moved his family to Kentucky in 1786, settling about four miles north of Lexington on Cane Run.²

¹ Thos. D. Clark, A History of Kentucky (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937), p. 334.

² Richard H. Collins, History of Kentucky (Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1874), II, 195.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

The early settlers in Kentucky were, for the most part, a very substantial class of people. They had come from various communities in Virginia and North Carolina, where many of them had occupied positions of influence and respect. They were willing to give up the security and comparative ease of their life in the eastern colonies and to accept the rigors and privations of frontier life in Kentucky. But they were also determined that their high standards should not suffer as a result of their new life, and brought along with them an intense desire to live as educated and cultured people. Of necessity, any attempts at educating the children of the forts were crude, but these attempts were made. Although "they were slow in transferring to the western country the institutions of the eastern colonies, they brought with them the idea that to allow a man to reach maturity without being able to read was abomination in the sight of God."¹ In a description of the log houses in the fort at Boonesborough, we learn that each house had a fireplace and mantel shelf, and that on this shelf was always found the Bible, the almanac, and very often such classics as Pilgrim's Progress, Shakespeare, and others.²

¹ Thos. D. Clark, A History of Kentucky (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937), p. 303.

² Geo. W. Ranck, Boonesborough (Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1901), p. 63

The earliest of the fort schools was established at Fort Harrod where, in 1775, a Mrs. William Coomes was conducting a school for the children of the families enclosed in the fort.³ "She had no text books. Smooth boards of wood were used for paper, and the juice of oak balls for ink. The children learned to write and to work examples from copies set them by the teacher. When they could read, they had Bibles and hymn books to study."⁴

In 1779 John May was teaching the three R's from memory in McAfee's Fort, and Joseph Doniphan was conducting a school in Boonesborough Fort.³ "Education was not forgotten even in these perilous days, and while the pioneers were fighting the Shawanese, pioneer children were at their lessons in a log cabin of Boonesborough Fort, where one of the earliest schools of the troubled wilderness was conducted by Joseph Doniphan." Joseph Doniphan came from Stafford County, Virginia, from whence many others in the fort had migrated, so he felt at home. The average attendance in this school during the summer of 1779 was seventeen. One of the McAfee brothers taught here before the establishment of their permanent station in November 1779.⁵ Joseph Doniphan had come out from Virginia in 1778, at the age of twenty-two. He returned to Virginia in 1780 and came back to settle in Mason County in 1792. While justice of the peace in Virginia in 1787, General George Washington was a litigant before him on several occasions.⁶

³ Thos. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 303.

⁴ Eliz. S. Kinkead, A History of Kentucky (New York: American Book Co., 1916), p. 38.

⁵ Geo. W. Ranch, op. cit., p. 109.

⁶ Richard H. Collins, History of Kentucky (Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1874), II, 523.

"The history of education in Lexington dates from the commencement of the city itself; and the germ of that which afterward made her the literary and intellectual center of the state was laid with her foundation."⁷ Frontier life did not prevent many of them from being what they certainly were, men of culture, education, and refinement. The fort had its little school as early as 1780, taught by John McKinney, who had settled in Lexington the year before at the solicitation of Colonel Patterson. As soon as hostilities with the English and the Indians ceased, McKinney moved out of the fort and erected a log school house. The famous fight between McKinney and the wildcat took place in this log school building in June, 1783.⁸ In 1784 John Filson succeeded McKinney as teacher of this school.⁹

Truly the education of children must have been considered as one of the necessities of existence for attempts such as these to be made under such trying circumstances. It is significant that in making up the groups who were to live in these forts, a school teacher was always included along with the blacksmith, the powder maker, the carpenter, and others whose skills were indispensable.

The fort schools were necessary only as long as the forts were necessary. When the revolutionary war was over, and troubles with the Indians had subsided, the people who had lived in the forts immediately moved out to begin to carry through their plans of taking over this

⁷ Geo. W. Ranck, History of Lexington (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & CO., 1872), p. 39.

⁸ Ibid., p. 97.

⁹ Richard H. Collins, op. cit., p. 183.

new country. Villages grew up where forts had been, and at other suitable locations. Many others, who had not dared brave the life of the earliest pioneers, began to move in. Life began to be more like that which the settlers had left in the eastern colonies. Education advanced at the same time, and we find a period when seminaries and academies, as well as private one-teacher schools, began to spring up. The district was rapidly organized as a western county of the state of Virginia, and as such turned to the parent state for more and more aid. That Virginia was looking after the Kentuckians was attested by the fact that in 1780 the legislature passed an act to establish a school in the west. An endowment of 8000 acres was given, and thirteen trustees were appointed. In 1783 the number of trustees was increased to twenty-five and the endowment to 20000 acres. But financial support was lacking until, in December, 1787, an act was passed granting to Transylvania Seminary one sixth of the surveyors' fees collected in the western counties. These fees had formerly been given to William and Mary College, in Williamsburg.¹⁰

The public interest in the welfare of the new Transylvania Seminary is shown in two essays appearing in the fall of 1787 in The Kentucke Gazette. These were the first references to education found in the files of this newspaper. An article written to the editor of The Kentucke Gazette and signed "Catholicus"⁽¹⁾ said in part the "many good citizens express surprise that the Trustees of Transylvania Seminary should delay taking steps to forward the design of that well-devised institution. Dearth of cash may prevent Splendid

¹⁰ Geo. W. Ranck, History of Lexington (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1872), pp. 40, 41.

Edifices; but lamentation for the promising youth among us who are advancing to manhood in ignorance of Political and Scientific Knowledge; renders it certain that contributions in land and country produce might easily be obtained ... The requisites essential to a place of education are not beyond our reach. Even if some other conveniences or necessities may be still lacking we must bear with such wants until a supply can be had for nothing is more absurd than to neglect to seek what we may enjoy because we cannot obtain all we desire." It would be interesting to know who Catholicus was and what school he had attended.

This essay writer not only could see the problems but could offer solutions as well. He saw that the conflict among religious denominations was the main cause hindering the erection of the buildings at Transylvania Seminary, and made three proposals for handling the difficult situation: "1. To keep up a balance between the Sects, the Board may elect an equal number from each to be Teachers....2. It may be ordained that the attention of the students shall be solely confined to moral precepts and the knowledge of things temporal without permitting Theological Tenets to be taught or Religious Exercises to be performed." But his real philosophy of education, which may still be regarded as fundamental in educational philosophy, is the third proposal: "3. A Seminary of Learning can neither be considered a Political or Ecclesiastical Institution, but like a private family, ought to be conducted as to be subservient to the true interest of both civil and religious life. An education that only qualifies man for the mortal or the immortal (one or the other) is materially defective. One who is anxious for one cannot be regardless of the other.... Without regards to Denominations, let matters of enlarged

minds and virtuous deportment be encouraged; the moral Sentiments being the same in all."

Catholicus also considered "what forms of worship may be kept up in a Place of Public Education that is conducted on principles of equality? Nothing can be more proper than that those who are combined for the purpose of studying the Perfections of God and his wonderful works should also frequently join together in his worship. This has been done by meeting daily in an Oratory or Chapel allotted for the purpose.... If ministers of every Denomination, who are well reputed by the Church to which they belong, have permission to preach occasionally in our Seminary, and such of the teachers as may be clergymen are encouraged to perform this service in rotation, the students will be edified and in this way be taught Catholicism by finding that the diversity of Doctrines is not so great as is commonly imagined." Both figuratively and literally we have here a voice crying out in the wilderness for the release of education from religious bigotry, and for religious tolerance.

Two months later, in another essay addressed to the editor of The Kentucky Gazette, and signed "A Transylvanian," we find an even more vehement protest against those influences which seemed to be wrecking the educational progress of the Seminary.⁽²⁾ In this we learn that "the education of youth is of first importance." The following excerpt from this rather lengthy essay reveals the trend in the development of educational policies, and the fact that this trend was recognized as dangerous to the fundamental purpose of education.

Perhaps nothing can reflect a greater disgrace upon human nature than the general neglect of those easy and natural methods by which the tender minds may be enlightened and the heart impressed with the principles of virtue and honour.

The sad misfortune is that superstition and party spirit have generally snatched the business out of the hands of the liberal and disinterested and our youth are from their cradle enlisted for the service of some sect or interest in church or state. Every neighborhood encourages schools under different teachers according to different doctrines which are prevailing among the people; and in the paltry contention for a trifling salary, the masters degenerate into traders of knowledge and consult more what will be felt best, than what will be of most advantage to their pupils in future life. Either the state must take up the management of this important business, as is proposed by one of the laws or bills in the revised code of Virginia; or a number of select and honourable gentlemen must be entrusted with it and enabled to undertake considerable designs for the benefit of the rising generation.... It is incumbent upon the Trustees of Transylvania Seminary to be faithful guardians of Wisdom and Virtue.... I am not for banishing religion from seminaries of learning, but I think there is a difference between schools and churches. There are only two ways that I can see to prevent a seminary of learning from being subservient to the views of a particular sect. Either the teachers must be chosen in some equal manner from the different denominations of Christians; or the board should take effectual measures to make the Teachers sensible that they are employed to enlarge the mind and not to hamper it with prejudices that they are to promote virtue and the love of truth by their conversation and example; not to train up their pupils for the controversies of particular sects.

These two essays, quoted somewhat at length because they are typical of so many appearing in the pages of The Kentucke Gazette, show clearly that the advent of the Seminary and other schools was important in the early life of the state. They show a vital interest in the way educational affairs were shaping up, and definite opinion as to what form of education was desired. We do not know what influence these particular essays had on shaping the events to come; but as we follow through with our study of the newspapers, we find a continuous expression of opinion, as well as a good insight into the actual operation of educational institutions of all kinds, and thus get a good picture of the development of this important period in the history of our state.

CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS AND SUBJECTS

For the sake of organization, this study has been divided into several chapters. However, any strict division of the material among these chapter headings is impossible. Many of the articles appearing in the newspapers covered many topics, and in attempting to divide them among the various divisions chosen as chapter headings, the charm and unity of the articles themselves would be destroyed. It is better to regard these chapter headings as main points of emphasis, rather than strict divisions, and in so doing not destroy the continuity. The emphasis in this chapter will be placed on the various types of schools, and the subjects taught in them.

The fact that the people wanted no religious dominance or dictatorship has already been shown in the essays of "Catholicus" and "A Transylvanian" and was further evidenced by the numerous schools which sprang up in the immediate and surrounding territory. "Agricola," another anonymous writer to The Kentucke Gazette, said in 1788 through the pages of this newspaper that he was "embarrassed" to know which seminary to prefer for his sons, whereas "only a few months ago I was puzzled to find a proper school for my sons."⁽⁷⁾ These schools which sprang up so quickly were of various kinds and bore a variety of names. There were seminaries, academies, grammar schools, and often just schools. The subject matter in the advertisements of these schools ranged all the way from reading, writing,

and arithmetic (numerical and specious), to include composition, geography, book keeping (also called merchant's accounts), geometry, trigonometry, algebra, Latin, Greek, English grammar, surveying, navigation, natural and moral philosophy, natural and moral criticism, belles letters, orthography, French, astronomy, eloquence, Bible, law, politics, anatomy, chemistry, surgery, mid-wifery, the theory and practice of Physics, and German.

The core curriculum in these schools was reading, writing, and arithmetic. These were the essentials that every one must have. The other subjects were added as the demand for them arose. Often a teacher would advertise in the newspaper that he could teach other subjects if a class could be made up, or if the demand for other subjects was sufficient. The various branches of mathematics, such as surveying, navigation, dialing, gauging, and trigonometry, were most popular. The practicability of mathematics was so paramount that a subscriber in 1794 inserted the following advertisement:

A SCHOOL

Is now commenced in the Rev. Adam Rankin's session house in the vicinity of Lexington, where will be taught agreeable to the best and newest methods, the following branches of the mathematicks, viz: Trigonometry, both plain and spherical, Surveying, Navigation, Conick Sections, Gauging, Algebra, and Dialing; also Book keeping and Arithmetic; The Subscriber hopes that the attention he will pay to the perfecting his pupils in the various branches above mentioned, will entitle him to the public favor; and engage the influence of gentlemen in his behalf, who are lovers of ingenuity and liberal education.

Alexander Woodrow

Near Lexington March 4, 1794

(33-A)

This is an example of many of the schools attempting to meet the practical needs of the people. Surveying was absolutely necessary and probably the most important profession at a time when

land claims were being made and land disputes had to be settled. Many teachers advertised that they were also surveyors. This was also the time of increasing river traffic, when merchant establishments were growing rapidly because of brisk trade up the Ohio river to the east, and down the Mississippi river to New Orleans. Thus the need of navigation and merchants' accounts and book-keeping. The ever predominating idea of "liberal education" is also evident in the above advertisement.

The ideal of the time was a "practical gentlemen," and so the cultural side must be developed as well as the practical. But naturally, in times when the primary purpose was to get ahead in a flourishing new country, the ideal must remain as an ideal while the practical is developed. The first real plea for the classics, and classical education, appeared in the pages of The Kentucky Gazette in 1800 in the form of a series of front page essays written by "Philologus." But that the ideal was not entirely forgotten before that time is shown in some of the advertisements appearing prior to 1800.

There appeared in the issue of The Kentucky Gazette of April 19, 1794, the following advertisement.

The subscriber designs shortly to open a

SCHOOL

in Georgetown, Scott County, to teach the following branches of Literature: the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages: likewise Geography, and the Mathematicks in their various branches. Proper attendance will be given, and due care taken of the pupils, not only for instruction, but also their moral character. The whole to be under the direction of certain Trustees chosen by the promoter of said school. Convenient lodging and boarding may be had on reasonable terms.

James McConnell, V.D.M.

April 8, 1794

(35)

Here there seems to be equal emphasis on the practical and the cultural. It has been suggested, however, that the first teachings of Latin and Greek were for the practical purpose of giving politicians a wider range of phrases with which to sway the public and convince them of their own erudition. But even this reflects the demand for cultural attainments.

A few years later, in 1798, we find a newspaper advertisement giving a little more emphasis on cultural education or, rather, a little emphasis on the practical.

The Kentucky Academy

Is now opened for the reception of students; where, under the direction of Mr. Andrew Steele, they may be taught the English, Latin, and Greek languages, and the useful branches of scientific learning. The tuition is fixed at Five Pounds the year, and convenient boarding may be had on the most reasonable terms.

January 1, 1798.

(73)

During this period from 1794 to 1798 there appeared three advertisements for evening schools, two of them offering practical subjects and one referred to as "An Evening French School." Several day schools for teaching the French language were also advertised. The first of these evening school advertisements is typical, and is as follows:

An Evening School

Will commence on the evening of the first of December ensuing where will be taught agreeable to the best and newest methods, the following branches of the mathematicks, viz. Geometry, plain and spherical Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Gauging and Algebra; also merchants accounts and Arithmetic.

A. Woodrow

College lower room, Lexington, Nov. 27.

The subscriber will attend on Saturdays for the purpose of teaching young gentlemen the use of surveying instruments.

A.W.

(40)

This is probably the same Alexander Woodrow whose advertisement for a school in March of the same year was quoted on p. 12. Either he was an indefatigable teacher or found his day school not progressing satisfactorily. There is evidence that this evening school was slow in getting under way, as the same advertisement quoted above appeared three more times during the month of December. The other evening school offering practical subjects was announced in 1799 by Jacob E. Lehre, with a list of offerings similar to that of A. Woodrow.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The advertisement of the "Evening French School" announced that it was "for the accomodation of those whose business may detain them in the day time - Terms easy."⁽⁸⁴⁾ The teacher of this school was W.D. Mentelle, whom we shall quote again later on. Jacob E. Lehre was formerly clerk of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania Seminary.⁽⁵⁵⁾

In the Fall of 1796 the attitude of a subscriber to the methods used in teaching English grammar was emphatically shown in a newspaper article addressed "To the Patrons of Literature," from which the following is taken.

Having with infinite concern observed the little attention that is paid to the instruction of youth in the grammatical principles of the English language, in most of our schools both in town and country: I find after the most accurate enquiry into the state of the case, and deliberate investigation of the subject, that this enormous neglect must be principally attributed to the manner in which this fundamental and indispensibly necessary science has hitherto been treated.

There are indeed a few systems extant which merit a considerable degree of esteem, but these being originally designed for young men who have been initiated in classical studies are consequently unfit for the information, and entirely above the capacities of children.

The majority of treatises which have been heretofore published on this subject, are written in such a latinized, prolix and circumlocutory style, that they are almost (if not altogether) unintelligible, not only to pupils, but also to teachers who have never been favored with a liberal education. (54)

That this may be somewhat biased can be gathered from the fact that the rest of the article is a plea for aid in the proposed publishing of a set of English study books designed to overcome the objections outlined above. But ventures of this sort are entered into only when there is a need, and the article may be taken as a fair representation of fact. Just three months later another newspaper article stated that "the most obvious trait in the national character of Kentucky is a neglect of literature." This writer has no books for sale. (57)

Beginning June 5, 1800, there appeared in four successive issues of The Kentucky Gazette a series of four essays entitled "On Classical Literature." Each was given front page prominence, and all were signed "Philologus." Just as the essays of "Catholicus" and "A Transylvanian" were concerned with the educational problems of the fall of 1787, this series is an expression of the need of certain educational reforms at the beginning of the 19th century. These essays are unusually well written, show considerable thought, and have as their central theme the inclusion of cultural training as a necessary part of general education. The fundamental philosophy of education of the whole series is the first sentence: "The principal object of Education is to make youth wise and virtuous citizens; and thereby qualify them for being useful members of society." After extolling the particular contributions of ancient historians, orators, and poets, the author points out "That example is more influential than precept, is a truth incontestibly proved by the experience of all ages. The republican plainness of manner,

firmness of mind, and incorruptible integrity which in so eminent a degree distinguished the ancient worthies, were never more needful to be recommended to youth than at this time when luxury and avarice with all their baneful consequences seem advancing with rapid stride and young minds are daily allured to taste the wine of error, and quaff the deceitful draughts of foul destroying pleasures. By classical reading they may be enabled to overcome the foolish prejudices which fetter the unthinking multitude." The teacher should endeavor to make his students "sound critics on life and manners," and to guard them from anything that might "bias their judgments, contaminate their principles, or corrupt their morals."

Not to show any bias himself, the author states "In poetry, eloquence, and history the ancients have greatly the superiority. But in natural philosophy and all sciences the knowledge of which is progressive, we have undoubtedly gained some advantages." He states further that we must turn to the ancients for real originality, for "like the sun, they shine with native and unborrowed rays; the moderns, like the moon, shine only by reflexion." To leave out the early teaching of the classics has the result that "the first knowledge he acquires is of the vices and follies of the world - he is a man before 12 and a boy all his life after." A gentleman is not produced by "polish" only. "Solid marble will admit a better polish and a more lasting gloss than a stone of less firm texture." (101)

The real significance of this series of essays is much deeper than the evident eloquent plea for the inclusion of the study of the classics in the program of education. Fundamentally this is an attack on the haphazard way in which educational programs were developing, and a guide to the more extensive academies and colleges that

were beginning to develop at this time. We have already seen that most of the schools so far were one-teacher schools, started by persons qualified in certain subjects and limited in most respects to the qualifications of the individual teacher in charge. There was no coordination among them, and no two were alike. Practically all phases of education were represented among the group as a whole, but individually the schools were inadequate to meet all the demands of an education. No person could attend all the schools, and therefore no person could receive a complete education. The new academies, however, with more extensive facilities, could more nearly meet the demands of a complete education, if properly directed. Philologus saw both the evil of the diversification and a possible remedy in the growing academies. Although education was developing according to the demands of the people, the system was in need of drastic overhauling. His was a program of consolidation for better efficiency.

We have seen that most of the schools up to this time were of a practical type. In many, however, some study of the classics had been included. Another type of school advertised quite extensively was of a social nature, including such types as the dancing school, the fencing school, and others. This was the "polish" mentioned by Philologus. These were established in response to a demand, but of themselves were quite inadequate as educational institutions. Several of these had been advertised in the newspapers prior to 1800, were probably still in operation at this time, and others continued to be advertised beyond that date. It seemed necessary that to the intellectual development of classical literature must be added the superior accomplishment of social graces.

Kentuckians have always been noted for their courtliness and their attention to fine manners. Dancing schools were advertised as

early as 1788. These schools were for both ladies and gentlemen, and they sometimes included the teaching of French or the use of the globes. Jeremiah Moriarty was one of the chief dancing school advertisers who also proposed to teach "geography and the use of the Globes, having a pair on a new construction, with Captain Cook's discoveries."⁽¹¹⁾ One of the most pretentious of the dancing school advertisements appeared in 1804 in The Guardian of Freedom.

Dancing School

Dancing being that which gives graceful motion all through life and above all things manliness and a becoming confidence to young children, I think it cannot be learned too early. But you must take care to employ a proper Dancing Master, one who knows and can teach what is graceful and becoming. He who teaches not this is worse than none at all.- Locke on Education. Mr. Nugent, heretofore a principle dancer at the Theatre at Philadelphia and Charleston, being respectfully recommended to Lexington from the City of Washington where he taught last winter proposes to commence a Dancing School at Maj. Love's Tavern in Frankfort on Tuesday the 11th of December.

Understanding that it is a general complaint that the public are often imposed upon by persons professing themselves Dancing Masters who are wholly unqualified, Mr. Nugent thinks it proper to lay before the public the following certificate from the Rev. Dr. Buist of Charleston:

Charleston, S.C. Oct. 29, 1803

Mr. H.P. Nugent was an assistant teacher in my academy nearly 12 months in the year 1801, during which time he behaved with strict propriety and attention. From personal observation and experience I believe him to be a critical scholar in the English and Latin Language and I have been informed by competent judges that Mr. Nugent is intimately acquainted with the French Language and is an accomplished teacher of dancing. This certificate is a debt due to his merit.

George Buist. (104-A)

A dancing teacher with the recommendation of a preacher was probably assured of success. But we notice that the dancing ability of Mr. Nugent was carefully excluded from the "personal observation and experience" of the Rev. Dr. Buist.

Since Philologus was evidently looking toward the larger schools as the remedy for too much diversification in education, it is necessary

at this time to bring in something more about them. Transylvania Seminary had just become Transylvania University, and as such was the leading educational institution in the West, as it had been since its establishment in 1780. The first references to it in The Kentucke Gazette have already been discussed in the early essays of "Catholicus" and "A Transylvanian." Since then the school had been continually before the public in the pages of the newspapers. Other schools were also mentioned during this period. Many of these newspaper articles were notices of board meetings and other incidental reports which are not of interest in this study. But many of them were significant, and will be used to give a chronological account of the development of Transylvania, as well as short accounts of the other academies and seminaries mentioned.

On May 23, 1789, there was an announcement to the effect that a "Public School" under the direction of the trustees of Transylvania Seminary would commence on May 1, ⁽¹⁷⁾ and on June 6 it was announced that the school was open. ⁽¹⁸⁾ In a description of the public examination of the students of Transylvania Seminary, held April 10, 1790, the following is of interest.

In the presence of a very respectable audience several elegant speeches were delivered by the boys, and in the evening a tragedy was enacted and the whole concluded with a farce. The several masterly strokes of eloquence throughout the performance obtained the general applause, and were acknowledged by an universal clap from all present. The good order and decorum observed throughout the whole together with the rapid progress of the school in literature, reflects very great honor on the president. (20)

Another public examination was announced for the Friday following September 28, 1793. ⁽³¹⁾

On December 7, 1793 appeared the first of several progress reports from Transylvania Seminary. From it we learn that the institution was "well supplied with teachers of natural and moral philosophy,

of the Mathematics, and of the learned languages." Also that an English teacher had been added to the faculty to teach "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the English Grammar." Emphasis was placed on reading courses offered "not confined to prose authors only, but to the poets." And in conclusion "This Seminary is the best seat of education on the Western waters; and it is to be hoped, the time is not far distant when even prejudice itself will not think it necessary to transport our youths to the Atlantic States, to complete their educations."⁽³²⁾

By July 5, 1794, the curriculum had been expanded to include "the Latin and Greek Classics, Mathematics, Natural and Moral Philosophy, History, and some of the fine Arts as Oratory and Criticism." At this time there was "introduced into the Seminary and its Faculty an English teacher of a superior kind." It was also announced that "The Presidency of the Colledge is committed to Mr. Harry Toulmin, whose qualifications for, and experience in such business, induce the most flattering expectations."⁽³⁸⁾

That these flattering expectations were not realized is revealed in an article which appeared in the newspaper April 9, 1796, in which President Toulmin announced his intention of resigning. One of his reasons was: "I regard the salary connected with the office as an inadequate recompense for the service rendered." Tenure problems were offered: "The present plan of filling it (the presidency) from year to year, an office too precarious for a man to direct his views towards it as a permanent object." Another objection: "To require that every vacancy in the board shall be supplied by the unanimous vote of 13 trustees, to require that no president nor professor shall be elected or paid except by the same unanimous vote of 13

trustees:- when whole days have often been spent in collecting together seven members of discordant sentiments, is to forbid the approach of every man of spirit and independence." The rest of the letter expresses the realization that "certain circumstances attending my first nomination" have kept the affairs of the institution in turmoil, and the hope that under a new president all discord may disappear.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The discord had arisen mainly from religious prejudice among the various groups trying to run the Seminary. It was an institution authorized by legislative action, organized largely by Presbyterians of the Transylvania Presbytery, and trying to operate under the leadership of a Baptist president. Evidently no heed had yet been paid to the warnings of "Catholicus" and "A Transylvanian."

The election of a new president, the Reverend James Moore, was held September 24, 1796.⁽⁵³⁾ The announcement of this election in the newspaper also promised that "every exertion will be made to forward young gentlemen in the pursuit of liberal science" and announced the acquisition of a "Library and Philosophical Apparatus."

On January 17, 1798, Transylvania Seminary felt able to announce in the newspaper that "education was available... on as extensive a plan, and as moderate terms as at any school in the Union." The curriculum offered in this advertisement included "The Greek and Latin languages together with Mathematics, Geography, the Belle Letters, and every other branch of Learning that makes part of the usual course of Academic Education." A French teacher was offered if there was sufficient demand for courses in this subject.⁽⁷²⁾

The culmination of this part of the history of higher education

was the legislative action uniting Transylvania Seminary and the Kentucky Academy into Transylvania University, an account of which was published in The Kentucky Gazette December 26, 1798. (85) The Kentucky Academy was organized by the Transylvania Presbytery as a Grammar School at Pisgah Meeting House in Woodford County in June, 1794. (37) This was done in protest against interference with their control of Transylvania Seminary. By 1796 it had become the Kentucky Academy, with a board of trustees, (48) and plans had already been laid for its union with the Seminary. (55) There are no articles in the newspapers concerning the actual operations of the Kentucky Academy. The union with Transylvania Seminary came about as the result of a joint petition to the legislature from the two boards. (85) The action reflects a growing spirit of tolerance among the various contending religious sects and a more substantial attitude toward education.

The result of the union is immediately shown in a triumphant announcement which was published in The Kentucky Gazette on May 2, 1799. (90) In addition to the regular curriculum, "those who wish to study Law and Politics, may do it to advantage, under a professor appointed for the purpose." An "extensive law library" was provided. Those who wished to study medicine "may be instructed in Anatomy, Chemistry, Surgery, Midwifery, and the Theory and Practice of Physics, there being two professors appointed to lecture on these different branches."

On January 2, 1800, the full and glowing account of Transylvania as a real University was given in a newspaper article which probably had much to do with inspiring the "Philologus" essays. (95) No longer was it necessary to regret "that there was no college west of

the Appalachian Mountains sufficiently organized to preclude the necessity of our youth resorting to the Atlantic States, in order to complete their education." The University promised the "No measures that could tend to preserve the morals, enlarge the understanding, or polish the manners of the youth committed to their charge have been disregarded.... They pledge themselves that no influence shall be used to inculcate those principles of religion which are characteristic of the different sects." They "considered classical learning as forming an essential part of a liberal course." Qualifications of a faculty to teach classics, mathematics, geography, natural philosophy, law, materia medica, midwifery, astronomy, belles lettres, "Logick", metaphysics, moral philosophy, "the practice of Physics," chemistry, anatomy, and surgery, were given. Extensive law and medical libraries were advertised, as well as law and medical societies where "the professors attend, and placing themselves on a level with the students, encourage them to that free exercise of reason, which is so well calculated to elicit the dormant powers of the human mind." Large appropriations for chemical and medical equipment were enumerated. This was the beginning of a twenty-year period when Transylvania was in its prime.

On May 15, 1800, The Kentucky Gazette published, "at the request of the Students," and address delivered by the president of Transylvania University, the Reverend James Moore, "to the students of the same, at the opening of the Summer Session, May 5, 1800."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ It is largely an intimate talk to the students, and has for its main theme an earnest plea for complete and liberal education. It reflects a deep interest on the part of the president in the proper education of his students, and a determination that they get such an education.

Excerpts and quotations from it would fail to give its real charm and strength, and it is too lengthy to be given here. It should be an inspiration to any one who reads it.

Several other academies of learning were developing during this period and should be mentioned at this time. Notice of the opening of a school, giving the courses of study usually found in these seminaries, "at the Royal Spring in Lebanon town" (Lebanontown later became Gerogetown) appeared in The Kentucky Gazette in 1788.⁽³⁾ This was one of the many new schools that had "embarrassed" "Agricola" in choosing a school for his sons,⁽⁷⁾ for in this same article "At one time I had concluded to suffer my boys to drink at the Royal Spring, and try the efficacy of that wondrous font; but, being a very stanch Whig, I hate even the name royal." Also in 1788 a proposed Lexington Seminary was announced.⁽⁶⁾ Among its advertised advantages was to be "the discipline of Northern teachers to suppress every species of vice and immorality." This also raised the ire of "Agricola", who was evidently as stanch a southerner as he was a whig, and in his newspaper article already referred to which, by the way, was addressed to Mr. Filson, the proposer of the Lexington Seminary, we find the question "What peculiar charm have northern teachers to inspire virtue etc. that southern teachers do not possess?" Another avowed purpose of the proposed Seminary was to "instruct in the general system of Christianity only," and there were lengthy arguments given tending to prove that a school located in a city exposed the students to less temptations than would be the case in the country. This argument is not dead yet.

Salem Seminary, in "Bairdstown," was advertised with a full curriculum of the usual courses, in 1788,⁽¹⁶⁾ and again in 1791.⁽²²⁾ In 1798 notice of an act of the legislature to establish Bethel Academy

and to incorporate its trustees was published⁽⁷⁴⁾ and soon afterwards an advertisement for a teacher for this school appeared.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In 1799 the trustees of Madison Academy were ready to "receive proposals for locating six thousand acres of land, granted by the general assembly for the use of an Academy to be established in said county."⁽⁹²⁾

The picture so far, in 1800, is composed of one university, many diversified single teacher schools, a few intermediate academies and seminaries, and several kinds of special schools. Land was plentiful, cash was scarce, and the educational key-word was liberality.

Following the year 1800, there was a marked increase in the number of newspaper articles and advertisements concerning education for women, or "female education," as it was so often called. Prior to this time very few references to this type of education are found, as the main emphasis had been on the education of the men and youth. But now that the trail was blazed across the Alleghanies, more of the gentle born were entering the new country. They felt the necessity of keeping their women-folk "ornamental," and schools for this purpose were the first type organized for the education of women. This need was first felt as early as 1794 when a Mrs. Walsh advertised the opening of a school for the "introduction" of young ladies.⁽³⁴⁾ By 1797 Mrs. Walsh was "instructing" young ladies in the knowledge of of reading and needlework.⁽⁷⁰⁾ But it remained for a Mrs. Gray to add the first real subject, arithmetic, to her curriculum as the following advertisement from the pages of The Kentucky Gazette shows.

Lucy Gray

Having some time since been solicited by many of her friends to open a school for the instruction of young ladies in the knowledge of Reading, Writing, and the various branches of Needlework, also the art of Drawing Sprigs, Flowers, etc. for

the use of the needle, takes the liberty of informing the public through the channel of the Kentucky Gazette, that if she can get between six and 12 scholars, she will open school on the first day of May next, at the house of James Gray about four miles from Lexington, where she will provide good board, washing and lodging. Her price for tuition, board, etc., will be four pounds per quarter for such ladies as please to favor her with their custom.

Stowe, March 24, 1797

Mrs. Gray would also inform the ladies of Kentucky that she writes the Italian hand in the neatest manner, and if required, will teach the most useful rules of Arithmetic. (62)

By this time there may have been head-shaking and brow-raising among the aristocratic ladies of the Bluegrass when they discussed Mrs. Gray's advertisement. Reading, of course, and writing in the fine Italian hand were necessary accomplishments of young ladies, and the "drawing of sprigs" was a legitimate outlet for artistic talents; but the reluctant promise to teach a few rules of arithmetic - one wonders if the ladies liked that. These schools proved to be popular among all, and Mrs. Gray advertised in 1800 that "no age would be objected to." (97)

That education of the "little misses" was not being neglected entirely during this period is evidenced by the appearance of three advertisements of Mrs. Walsh for the "instruction of little misses in reading and needle-work." (60, 89, 98)

But only one school before 1800 pretended to offer anything like a real education for women. "Solicitations from the public" caused James W. Stevens to establish a "Young Ladies Academy" in Lexington "for the purpose of conferring degrees of a classical education wherein will be accurately taught Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Composition, and other branches of useful and ornamental literature." (75) Astronomy and Eloquence were added in another advertisement a month later. (77) The Academy "intended as well to inculcate the important precepts of virtue and science as to prevent

an indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes so injurious to the morals and incompatible with the delicacy of the fair."

After 1800 schools for women grew steadily in importance, if the increasing newspaper advertisements of "female academies" and "female seminaries" may be used as a criterion. Some of these were The Lancaster Female Academy, The Danville Female Academy, The Bowling Green Female Seminary, The Russellville Female Academy, and The New Castle Female Academy. All seem to have been of the same type, although there was some progress in the curricular offerings. By 1825 the Lancaster Female Academy was departmentalized under a faculty of four and had added such subjects as logic, rhetoric, mythology, ancient and modern history.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ By this time also the sheltered inmates of these refined institutions were being exposed to the public view in "public Examinations."⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Evidently students of that period could be made to study, as public examinations were advertised quite often, and certainly were not designed to display to the public a lack of knowledge or a laxity in scholastic requirements.

By 1833 the courses offered by The Bowling Green Female Seminary had been grouped according to tuition cost, and natural philosophy and chemistry were among the offerings. A brand new subject offered by this school was "calisthenics," explained in a footnote of the advertisement as "a species of exercise calculated to promote health, muscular strength, symmetry of form, and elegance of manners."⁽¹²⁵⁾ But in the very same issue of the Green River Gazette there appeared a series of lectures still attempting to justify education for women, under the general topic "Why should females have a good Education?"⁽¹²⁶⁾ The gist of the lecture is in the sentence "Prepare yourselves the teachers of others, and then if destined to live in ease and independence, you will find that state much more productive of solid and useful

comforts in consequence of having received a good education." Certainly education of females had ceased to be for ornamentation only.

Except for this increasing interest in education for women following 1800, there is a noticeable decrease in newspaper articles and advertisements regarding general education. A large number of articles appeared during the next few decades, but a majority of them were connected with the internal problems that seemed to beset the affairs of Transylvania University almost continuously. All religious sects, factions, and the public in general aired their grievances and arguments through the pages of the newspapers. Although these struggles centering around the policies of the University had a definite effect, and probably were finally instrumental to some extent in the establishment of general public education in Kentucky, a review of these newspaper reports will not be included here. Several histories of Transylvania and of Kentucky, and especially Sonne's Liberal Kentucky, give the details of these struggles and the newspaper bibliography involved.

The purpose of the rest of this chapter will be to present the further development of schools, and especially of public opinion concerning schools and education, as found in the newspapers and leading up to the establishment of the state public system of education.

From the newspapers of the first third of the nineteenth century there is reflected a definite trend in the educational structure of the state. The whole structure was dominated by Transylvania University. Other institutions of collegiate rank, such as Centre College and Georgetown College, came into existence during this period. In a message of Governor Desha, published in the Danville Advertiser

November 17, 1825, Transylvania University is referred to as "the only literary establishment directly under the supervision of the legislature of Kentucky," and as such was logically the center of education in the state. (123)

The University, however, had grown to be more than a local institution of higher learning. In the spring of 1825, "when thirteen young gentlemen, from a class of thirty, took the degree of Bachelor of Laws," only seven were listed as Kentuckians, and of the entire class of thirty, twelve were from outside the state. (115)

In the same year Centre College advertised a faculty of four consisting of the president and professors of language, chemistry, and mathematics. (121)

Summer sessions were also being conducted at Centre College "under the superintendence of the same faculty." (128)

By 1831 Georgetown College was in full operation with the announcement that "The faculty is now full, and in the regular discharge of the duties of their respective departments." This faculty was made up of the president, professors of language, mathematics, and chemistry, and a tutor. (130)

Facilities for all branches of college training were described as "adequate." Each class was to have public examinations at the end of each session, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts would be granted to those who successfully completed the course of the "Classical Department."

This increased emphasis on higher education brought about changes in the lower academies that were still in existence at this time. Originally developed mainly through land grants to the various counties, and then left to struggle on their own, many had disappeared; but those remaining fell in line with the new trend. Although originally organized to bring a general and practical education within reach of the

general public, their main emphasis gradually changed to the preparation of students for college. The terms "collegiate preparation" and "college preparatory" began to appear in their advertisements. Typical of this is below.

Versailles Academy

This institution will be ready for the reception of young gentlemen on Monday the 9th of October, 1820, under the superintendence of Mr. John B. Jesse, whose experience and qualifications as a teacher entitle him to our entire confidence and support.

The course of education in the Seminary will embrace those branches of classical and scientific literature which will give a respectable introduction to a collegiate. The tuition fee will be fifteen dollars for the session of five months.

Trustees. (111)

Centre College had a preparatory department (121) and Georgetown College listed among its faculty a principal of the preparatory department. (130)

That some of these preparatory academies and seminaries were serving their purpose well may be gathered from an article written by "A Patron," which began "I witnessed with great pleasure the exhibition on Wednesday last, by the Freshman class of Centre College - indeed I was not only delighted but surprised to hear original speeches from young gentlemen, just, as it were, entering college, that in chastity of language and good delivery, would have done honors to seniors." (122)

But during this period there was reflected in the newspapers the fact that there was a growing conviction among the public that this trend in education was taking it away from the masses and giving it to the select. They had every reason to know that education was a state function, and that the state was providing for it, because of the numerous newspaper articles which informed them of the setting aside of public lands for schools, of the authorization of the

formation of boards of trustees for these schools, and of the granting to these schools the right to control their lands. As early as 1792 a prophet who signed himself "Philanthropos" had foreseen some of the problems that this tendency would bring, and had proposed "A plan for the diffusion of knowledge" in the pages of The Kentucky Gazette.⁽²⁷⁾ He proposed divisions of four or five square miles and the public support of a school in each division. Three years of free schooling should be offered every child in the district, "and as much longer as they please paying for it." Each year the best boy "of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education" would be sent at public expense to a Grammar School for a period of one or two years. The best of each group at the Grammar School would be allowed six years of free education. Half of these would then become teachers, and the other half allowed to attend the University. Thus all the children of the state would be taught "reading, writing, and common arithmetic, and they will likewise derive a peculiar advantage from the liberal education of their tutors." By sending the best of the poor to grammar schools "the commonwealth will avail herself of those geniuses which nature hath planted as diffusely among the poor as among the rich." He pointed out that in this manner "almost every individual in the community will be in a manner compelled to pursue that business or occupation which may appear the best adapted to his genius and capacity."

In 1797 a writer to The Kentucky Gazette complained of the lack of evidence of interest of the legislature in providing educational opportunities to the masses. The article closes with the admission that "It is painful to think that Kentucky is devoted to be in this respect, one of the most insignificant of the union. It were heartily

to be wished, that our legislature would take up this subject agreeably to its importance, and do themselves honor and their country the most lasting benefit."⁽⁵⁷⁾

Joseph Bushanan, an eminent scientist, philosopher, and school teacher of this period, found it necessary to write two articles to The Kentucky Gazette in answer to criticism of the inaccessibility of his school to the general public.^(109,110) His was supposed to be a new type school, concerning which the "philosophical investigations of human nature have developed many principles to guide us in education, and Pestalozzi has shown us, with distinguished success, in what manner they can be reduced to practice."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

With regard to the general decadence of the academies and seminaries as institutions of public instruction, an "Address to the Citizens of Kentucky" contains the following admonition: "Consider and reflect, Ye Citizens of Kentucky, that education is a matter of too serious a nature to be sported with. It is the pillar upon which the preservation of your civil, political, and religious liberties must depend. The right of education of the rising generation is the only means by which the blessings of liberty can be rendered permanent."⁽¹⁰²⁾

In the newspaper report of a governor's message, Governor Desha put himself definitely with the growing demand for state public education. Some of the more pertinent statements in this address are as follows: "In no manner can the public means be more beneficially employed, than in diffusing among the people that degree of intelligence which will enable them to understand and appreciate the principles and benefits of free institutions." Conditions tend to "effectually shut the door of the University to a large majority of the young men of

Kentucky.... We must afford opportunity and encouragement for the education of all." He was for carrying the school "home to the people" by establishing them in small districts (so was Philanthropos, the prophet of thirty-three years before) and arranging the school terms so as not to interfere with the agricultural pursuits of the communities. "Put into operation a general system of Common Schools," with the University to become a part of a "great system of public education." It was still over ten years before this was enacted, and many, many years before the plan was really operating, and public education became a reality. But we see from the newspapers, those media of expression closest to the people, that the will, and finally the demand for public education was continually growing; and they finally accomplished that which seemed so dear to the heart of a free and independent people. (123)

CHAPTER IV

TUITION AND TEACHERS

Many of the first schools in Kentucky were subscription schools, and the price of tuition ranged from eight shillings per quarter to five pounds per annum during the 1788-1800 period. Since the people of that day were richer in lands and in the products of the land than in money, provision was always made for part of the tuition costs to be paid in produce. The most plentiful domestic animal then was the hog. Families often "fed" from 150 to 200 hogs by throwing Indian corn once or twice a week to induce them from the woods, where they found plenty of food. By the design cut in the ears each family was able to distinguish its hogs from those of the others. Often pork could be substituted for money in the payment of tuition or other school expenses. In 1788, at Georgetown, tuition was "one half to be paid in cash, the other in produce at cash prices," and for "diet, washing and houseroom, for a year, each scholar pays three pounds in cash or five hundred weight of pork."⁽³⁾

It seems that every effort was made to accomodate the students in meeting cash terms. Sometimes one half and sometimes one fourth of the tuition was required in cash - usually part of it in advance. In other cases the cash part could be paid at the end of the term or year. An interesting sidelight was the mixture of English and American monetary systems. In some advertisements yearly charges were given in one system and quarterly charges in the other. In one the expense was listed as "Five pounds per scholar, five dollars of which is required in advance."⁽⁷⁰⁾

Many of these early schools were boarding schools, in the sense that the teacher, who usually used his home as the school, would also board and lodge a few students. Some were more pretentious. Some offered convenient boarding and lodging in the vicinity. In one "students will be dieted, and their cloathes washed and mended - they furnishing their own bedding, firewood, and candles."⁽⁷²⁾ In another "Their accomodation will be better than used to be had to the Northward for fifteen pounds. This I can say from experience."⁽⁹⁾ In a footnote to the Georgetown advertisement mentioned above was the admonition "It would be proper for each boy to have his sheets, shirts, stockings, etc., marked to prevent mistakes."⁽³⁾

Kentucky has always been a fighting ground and cluttered with upheavals. Some historians argue that teachers came in and set up schools of various kinds for profit. Other writers insist that the masters received trifling salaries in order to spread certain religious doctrines.⁽²⁾ But, from the advent of The Kentucke Gazette, when the "squire" would read from the paper to the people gathered around him, through the golden "Holley" era of Transylvania University, and on to the time of the establishment of our public school system, we have had masters or teachers of the highest repute who have added much charm and culture, as well as knowledge, to our state. The portraits of two of them may be seen today in Nashville, Tennessee. A mural portrait of James Priestly is in the state library there. He went to Nashville in 1809, after being head of Salem Academy in Kentucky, to become the second president of Cumberland College, which

was the direct ancestor of Peabody College .¹ (16) A fine picture of Dr. Horace Holley, painted by Earl, General Andrew Jackson's personal artist, hangs in the rooms of the Tennessee Historical Society in Nashville, where he visited in 1823.²

Many of the early teachers were preachers, and some were refugees from the French revolution. Of the group of ministers, we had in 1800 at Transylvania University the Reverend James Welch, the Reverend James Moore, and the Reverend James Blythe.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The Reverend Mr. Blythe was one of the strong and shining lights of the Kentucky Academy before it was merged with Transylvania Seminary to form the University.⁽⁴⁸⁾ He was offered the presidency of South Hanover College in Indiana around 1827, when Transylvania University was on the decline. He is buried in Hanover. The Reverend James Moore came to Kentucky from Virginia in 1792 and became the first rector of the Episcopal Church in Lexington. He was a candidate for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church but considered himself too rigorously treated by the Transylvania Presbytery, so became connected with the Episcopal Church. He was a man of great learning, great piety, and beautiful manners. He died at the age of forty-nine. The Reverend Harry Toulmin, son of the Reverend Joshua Toulmin, was born in England in 1766 into a prominent family of Dissenters. He received his early education in his mother's bookstore, where he had access to the writings of his father and other Dissenters. He migrated to Kentucky in

¹ Alfred L. Crabb, "Some of Kentucky's Most Notable Educational Pioneers," Kentucky School Journal, IX, No. 4 (1930), 24.

² Alfred L. Crabb, "James Blythe, Pioneer," Kentucky School Journal, XII, No. 1 (1933), 37.

1793 to obtain the religious freedom which was denied him in England and became successively president of Transylvania University and Secretary of State for Kentucky. He possessed a well developed personality and an excellent mind. He was classed as a liberal.³

Of the other group, the French refugees, Mr. and Mrs. Waldemar de Mentelle were among the most noted. They fled from France and settled in Lexington, where they lived the remainder of their lives. Mrs. Mentelle was a very accomplished lady, and Mr. Mentelle was a polite, cultivated gentleman of the old school.⁴ (82) The presence of these French refugees had some influence on the life of that period in Kentucky, and was probably responsible for many of the "French Language" schools and dancing schools whose advertisements appeared in the newspapers so often.

Teachers were held in highest esteem, and they conducted themselves in the strictest propriety. The advertisements of teachers seeking positions always included such statements as "you may rely on attention and assiduity."⁽⁸²⁾ Or, if a school were advertising for a teacher, a statement similar to "come well recommended for sobriety - none other need apply" was always included.⁽²³⁾ Teachers even then were concerned about methods and results. Terms such as these were frequently found throughout the advertisements: "most approved methods," "best and newest methods," "Teaching the English Language grammatically," "teaching mathematics scientifically," "concise and expeditious methods," or "late and improved plan agreeable to the most accurate

³ Niels Henry Sonne, Liberal Kentucky (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 33, 34, 53.

⁴ Geo. W. Ranck, History of Lexington (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1872), p. 354.

established rules."

In addition to the morals and methods of teachers, discipline was a topic of concern, as is indicated in the following essay which appeared on January 3, 1798 in The Kentucky Gazette. (71)

Custom is a kind of pendulum, vibrating first one way and then the other; it seldom rests on the plumb. If a school were formerly restrained by a curb bridle, it is no reason that the reins of government should be taken out of the masters' hands at present. Liberty and Independence have abridged the tyranny of kings and school masters. Liberty and order is the motto of this essayist and he verily believes that authority may be supported without tyranny; but that order can never exist without authority. He would be heartily glad to see whips, ferules, cudgels, and cow-skins entirely banished from the schools, if indolence and impudence could be kept out without these scare crows. Experience has taught our politicians that there must be an arm to enforce as well as a head to recommend in government. Why not in schools? Encouragement may flatter, shame drive, and reason draw children to their duty, some say. Now schools are made up of all sorts of children, well bred and ill bred. If all were well bred, the instructor would have little to do but teach them their lessons, but instead he has the children of the whole district with all their vices and follies, both to govern and instruct, and what is of greater consequence, their vices must be reformed and their morals improved. All this, I should wish might be done by lenient means. Let reason, flattery, and shame exert their force, but not destroy it, by overacting. But say those, the heat of whose humanity consumes their judgment, I can govern my children at home without blows; what need then of correction at school? Suppose you had fifty children; and suppose you again had none of those benefits to bestow, that children daily receive from their parents; then your situation would be something like the schoolmaster's. You might be loved, and you must be feared, or not obeyed. If you wish a school to become a nursery of social virtues and useful knowledge, employ an instructor who is master of his business; - one that you would not be ashamed to invite into your pew on Sunday, or to your table with your best friend on a week day. Be convinced that he is entitled to your confidence before you employ him. Speak well of him on all occasions, especially before your children. Consider him as a parent pro tempore, and your children, while under his immediate care, as belonging to his family; and remember, if you take away one half of his authority, your children will take the other. After you have done all on your part; if he acts the tyrant, deal with him as with an inhuman parent. Enter a complaint before a justice of peace. Would not this be better, than to make a refractory child, a petulant parent, and an ignorant aunt, who are all parties concerned, both accusers, witnesses, judges, jurors, and executioners, in the ridiculous cases of schools against master?

40

The problems of finance were always present with the early institutions of learning and are reflected in the advertisements, articles, and other newspaper reports of the time. The institutions of higher learning, where the students were often asked to "furnish their own bedding, firewood, and candles," and whose tuition charges went to teachers' salaries, were established by acts of the legislature of Virginia and of Kentucky in 1791 and 1794 respectively. No means of public support was provided, however. Since we were a people who had grown up in the wilderness, we had known more about fighting than about dealing with financial problems. Even Transylvania, endowed with land worth from thirty to forty thousand pounds, at one time did not have an annual cash revenue of more than 200 pounds. (57) As a result, surveyors' fees, already mentioned in this study, and a scheme of lottery, as outlined below, were resorted to for support.

Scheme of a Lottery

For raising the sum of five hundred pounds, for the purpose of erecting an Academy to the Transylvania Seminary, pursuant to an act of the General Assembly.

The sum of five percent to be deducted from all prizes of 30 dollars and upwards, to defray the necessary expence attending the drawing of said lottery.

All prizes not demanded within 6 months after drawing, shall be deemed generously given, and applied to the use of said Seminary.

Since the public good is the great and only object of the undertaking - since the cultivation of the moral values of the heart, as well as the advancement of the knowledge of the rising generation, is an object equally interesting to every good citizen; it is earnestly hoped that this scheme will attract the attention and Patronage of the public. Notice of the time and place will be published in The Kentucky Gazette. Tickets may be had of the subscribers or at Mr. Bradford's Printing Office. (25)

Seven names were signed to this notice, as managers. That the scheme did not have the success hoped for may be gathered from the fact that almost a year later the notice of the drawing of the first class of the Lottery was announced in The Kentucky Gazette still "provided

that a sufficient number of tickets are sold by that time." (28)

This same advertisement appeared every week for five more weeks.

In 1799 the trustees of the Lexington Seminary proposed selling 1000 acres of their bounty land in order to enable the institution to finish its house. (87) As late as 1824, the general assembly of Kentucky, act 90, authorized trustees of the Kentucky Seminary to dispose of the interest of said Seminary in certain lands. (113)

This indiscriminate, and many times injudicious, sale of bounty lands led to the downfall of many of these county academies; for when the land was gone, and public support had not come, there was no way to keep going. The state had washed its hands of the support of these schools after giving them the 6000 acres of land each and had left their support entirely in the hands of the boards of trustees.

In this quandary a few tried to keep going by raising tuition rates. This caused an immediate storm in the pages of the newspapers. Claims of "taking education away from the masses and giving it to the select" and similar statements were made. Some of these have already been referred to. (109, 110) A provision was made by law for the tuition of deaf mutes who were unable to pay (117) but the only notice of free tuition found was the following advertisement.

A Sunday School

Is now open at Col. Patterson's old house on High Street for the use of people of color. Those who wish to have their servants taught, will please to send a line, as none will be received without.

N.B. There is no expences attending those who send. (83)

Even with this maneuvering for maintenance and operation, it was easier to establish and to keep going schools of higher learning than to establish schools for the masses where children could attend

in "home-manufactured clothes." Controversies between the liberals and the Church continued to exist, and the agitation of public opinion grew stronger for the state to take over completely the control of the popular education. In 1825 Governor Desha felt this agitation enough to declare that "we must afford opportunity and encouragement for the education of all. We must carry the schools home to the people, establish them in districts of such dimension that all parents may furnish boarding for their own children and save the expense that they may have the benefit of their labor in the most busy season of Agricultural employment, and send them to school in the leisure months. On this plan, and this only, can the patronage of the government be extended equally to all. Put into full operation a general system of Common Schools."⁽¹²³⁾

In this clear and emphatic statement of the head of the state government is indicated the approaching fruition of the germ of public education so firmly planted by the Kentucky pioneers and so carefully nurtured and advanced through the intervening years. The facts of the development of an educational system through this period may be learned in detail from various histories. But the spirit of this movement, as of all great developments in a democratic society, is found in the people. In no other way could the spirit of the people have been more truly and emphatically revealed than through the pages of the early press. The end was inevitable, and the results of this investigation show clearly how the people themselves, through the medium of public expression, obtained for their own good a satisfactory form of education, and emphasize once more that the real foundation of democratic liberty and progress lies in a carefully protected medium of free public expression.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Clark, Thos. D. A History of Kentucky. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937.
- Collins, Richard H. History of Kentucky. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1874.
- Crabb, Alfred L. "Some of Kentucky's Most Notable Educational Pioneers," Kentucky School Journal, IX, No. 4 (1930), 24.
- Crabb, Alfred L. "James Blythe, Pioneer," Kentucky School Journal, XII, No. 1 (1933), 37.
- Kinkead, Eliz. Shelby. A History of Kentucky. New York: American Book Co., 1916.
- Ranck, Geo. W. Boonesborough. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co., 1901.
- Ranck, Geo. W. History of Lexington. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1872.
- Sonne, Neils Henry. Liberal Kentucky. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

The remainder of this bibliography is a chronological list of the newspaper articles used in the preparation of this thesis. All references, unless detailed, are to the Kentucky Gazette. The numbers in parentheses preceding the references correspond to the reference numbers given in the same manner in the body of the text.

- (1) September 1, 1787.
- (2) November 10, 1787.
- (3) January 5, 1788.
- (4) January 10, 1788.
- (5) January 19, 1788.
- (6) January 19, 1788.
- (7) March 8, 1788.
- (8) March 15, 1788.

- (9) March 15, 1788.
- (10) March 22, 1788.
- (11) May 16, 1788.
- (12) May 24, 1788.
- (13) September 27, 1788.
- (14) October 4, 1788.
- (15) October 11, 1788.
- (16) November 22, 1788.
- (17) May 23, 1789.
- (18) June 6, 1789.
- (19) January 16, 1790.
- (20) April 26, 1790.
- (21) January 15, 1791.
- (22) March 5, 1791.
- (23) May 21, 1791.
- (24) June 4, 1791.
- (25) July 23, 1791.
- (26) November 12, 1791.
- (27) January 14, 1792.
- (28) May 5, 1792.
- (29) May 5, 1792.
- (30) March 16, 1793.
- (31) September 28, 1793.
- (32) December 7, 1793.
- (33) February 1, 1794.
- (33-A) March 8, 1794.
- (34) March 29, 1794.

- (35) April 19, 1794.
- (36) May 17, 1794.
- (37) June 14, 1794.
- (38) July 5, 1794.
- (39) July 12, 1794.
- (40) November 29, 1794.
- (41) January 31, 1795.
- (42) January 24, 1795.
- (43) March 14, 1795.
- (44) June 13, 1795.
- (45) August 15, 1795.
- (46) December 26, 1795.
- (47) March 19, 1796.
- (48) March 26, 1796.
- (49) April 9, 1796.
- (50) April 16, 1796.
- (51) May 14, 1796.
- (52) May 21, 1796.
- (53) October 8, 1796.
- (54) October 8, 1796.
- (55) October 8, 1796.
- (56) October 29, 1796.
- (57) January 7, 1797.
- (58) March 11, 1797.
- (59) March 18, 1797.
- (60) March 18, 1797.
- (61) March 25, 1797.
- (62) March 29, 1797.

- (63) April 8, 1797.
- (64) April 12, 1797.
- (65) June 3, 1797.
- (66) August 24, 1797.
- (67) September 13, 1797.
- (68) September 23, 1797.
- (69) October 7, 1797.
- (70) October 11, 1797.
- (71) January 3, 1798.
- (72) January 17, 1798.
- (73) January 24, 1798.
- (74) February 14, 1798.
- (74-A) February 21, 1798.
- (75) February 28, 1798.
- (76) March 14, 1798.
- (77) March 28, 1798.
- (78) May 9, 1798.
- (79) June 6, 1798.
- (80) July 11, 1798.
- (81) July 18, 1798.
- (82) July 25, 1798.
- (82-A) September 12, 1798.
- (83) October 17, 1798.
- (84) November 7, 1798.
- (85) December 26, 1798.
- (86) February 14, 1799.
- (87) March 7, 1799.
- (88) March 28, 1799.

- (89) April 18, 1799.
- (90) May 2, 1799.
- (91) August 15, 1799.
- (92) September 19, 1799.
- (93) September 26, 1799.
- (94) October 3, 1799.
- (95) January 2, 1800.
- (96) January 30, 1800.
- (97) March 13, 1800.
- (98) March 20, 1800.
- (99) March 27, 1800.
- (100) May 15, 1800.
- (101) June 5, 1800.
- (102) June 26, 1800.
- (103) July 3, 1800.
- (104) Guardian of Freedom, October 29, 1804.
- (104A) ibid., December 5, 1804.
- (105) American Republic, October 19, 1810.
- (106) ibid. September 7, 1810.
- (107) ibid. February 22, 1811.
- (108) ibid. March 15, 1811.
- (109) Western Eagle, February 12, 1813.
- (110) Argus of Western America, May 8, 1813.
- (111) ibid. March 29, 1821.
- (112) Richmond Republican, December 24, 1824.
- (113) ibid. January 28, 1825.
- (114) ibid.
- (115) ibid. March 4, 1825.

- (116) Richmond Republican, April 15, 1825.
- (117) ibid. May 13, 1825.
- (118) ibid.
- (119) Danville Advertiser, September 22, 1825.
- (120) ibid. October 6, 1825.
- (121) ibid. October 13, 1825.
- (122) ibid.
- (123) ibid. November 17, 1825.
- (124) ibid.
- (125) Green River Gazette, March 9, 1833.
- (126) ibid.
- (126A) Danville Advertiser, April 20, 1826.
- (127) ibid.
- (128) ibid.
- (129) Spirit of the Times, January 26, 1827.
- (130) Louisville Public Advertiser, April 16, 1831.
- (131) ibid.
- (132) Green River Gazette, March 9, 1833.
- (133) Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer, May 23, 1839.
- (134) Green River Gazette, August 24, 1842.

In many instances the same article may have appeared in several successive issues of the newspaper. Only the date of the first appearance is given.