SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMEN: CHAPTERS IN TEXAS
EDUCATION, 1870-1900

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This study examines neglected aspects of the educational history of Texas. Although much emphasis has been placed on the western, frontier aspects of the state in the years after Appomattox, this study assumes that Texas remained primarily a southern state until 1900, and its economic, political, social, and educational development followed the patterns of the other ex-Confederate states as outlined by C. Vann Woodward in his *Origins of the New South*. This study of the educational history of Texas should aid in understanding such developments for the South as a whole.

For the purposes of this study, "education" is defined in terms of institutions specifically created for the formal education of the young. Additionally, the terms "public education" and "private education" are used extensively. It is a contention of this study that the obvious differences between public and private schools in the last half of the twentieth century were not so obvious in the last half of the nineteenth, at least in Texas. Finally, an attempt has been made to confine
the study to those areas of formal schooling which are today commonly called primary and secondary, although this was difficult because of the lack of definition used in naming schools, and because many of the academies, institutes, colleges, and universities of the period enrolled students from the primary level to the collegiate level.

The first chapter attempts an overview of the institutional history of Texas education during the period, concentrating on the provisions for public schools. It also attempts to point out the weaknesses of those who have written the educational history of the state, especially Frederick Eby in his *The Development of Education in Texas*. This chapter contends that Eby overemphasized public education, failed to place education in a broad social or cultural context, and overstressed the differences between public and private schoolmen.

The second chapter delineates representative educational attitudes. Based primarily upon contemporary newspapers, it traces the debates which raged over the benefits of formal education in general and public schooling in particular. Many conservative Texans evinced the traditional southern hostility to public education and to formal schooling for the masses of the populace. Those favoring expanded popular education, public or private, although they advanced arguments of a
philosophical nature, often stressed a material, practical argument.

The third chapter attempts to develop a profile of the Texas "schoolman" of the late nineteenth century. Based upon newspapers and manuscript sources, it contends that most schoolmen were educational entrepreneurs, that the difference between public and private educators was often blurred, and that public schools often operated in a manner almost identical with the private schools of the era.

The fourth and fifth chapters illustrate the contentions of chapters two and three by taking as examples the lives of two schoolmen of the period. Based on newspapers and manuscript materials, these chapters study the lives of David S. Switzer, a Methodist educator, and Alexander Hogg, one of the pioneer public schoolmen in Texas.

A summary chapter draws together a picture of the Texas schoolman and relates this to the educational attitudes of Texans. The blending of rudimentary public schools with the older traditional private schools was apparently what most Texans desired. The methods and philosophy of public and private schoolmen seem to have carried this out. The educational system of late nineteenth century Texas brought together some of the educational ideals of the "Old South" with the philosophy and necessity of the "New South."
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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY
TEXAS: AN OVERVIEW

The dual images of great cattle ranches and forests of oil wells—and the wealth they produce—tend to dominate the view of Texas in the minds of most contemporary Americans. Although no one would deny the importance of these two factors in the historical development of the state, their influence on Texas in the four decades after the end of the Civil War was limited in one case and nonexistent in the other. Oil production was of no significance before the Spindletop "gusher" of 1901, while the "Cattle Empire" of west and south Texas has received more attention than its actual economic importance merited. In the forty years after 1865, Texas followed a pattern in its economic, political, and social life not dissimilar from that of the other ex-Confederate states of the older South. The same is equally true of educational development.  

1 For the purpose of this study, "education" will be narrowly defined to include only those institutions specifically created to teach the young. It is obvious that, in a broader
Texas during this era reveals attitudes, methods, and institutions similar to those of other southern states. Although public education in the state appeared to be munificently funded from the proceeds of public land sales, various factors combined to produce a system of public schools little more well developed than those in other southern states. Granting the obvious differences resulting from the existence of the western frontier, Texas was, educationally, politically, economically, and culturally primarily a *southern* state.

The economy of the state at the turn of the century, although vastly different from what it had been in 1865, was still essentially southern. The changes which had occurred had been gradual and roughly paralleled those taking place in the other southern states. Indeed, Texas became more "southern" as subsistence farming, which had been dictated by the lack of adequate water or railroad transportation, was replaced by commercial agriculture. The rapid growth of a railroad network was linked directly to the spread of cotton cultivation and other types of commercial farming. The various problems plaguing most southern farmers, such as low prices and the context, most institutions in any society (such as the family, the church, or the political apparatus) are "educational" and play a role in acculturation.
growth of tenancy, also troubled Texas farmers.\(^2\) The West Texas-cattle-frontier aspects of life in the state were more glamorous, but the East Texas-cotton-southern aspects dominated economically. In the words of John S. Spratt, "In romantic appeal, the Cattle Kingdom surpasses the Cotton Kingdom as far as the Cotton Kingdom, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, surpasses the Cattle Kingdom in economic importance."\(^3\) As in the states of the older South, manufacturing was of relatively limited importance, and, as a consequence, most urban centers were small, scattered, and rural oriented. Texas population, concentrated in the eastern half of the state, reflected this rural, agricultural orientation. The vast economic shifts which moved Texas partially away from its "southernism" occurred after 1900, especially after the discovery of vast oil reserves.

The political life of Texas, like the economic system, during these final decades of the nineteenth century revealed patterns quite similar to other southern states.\(^4\) The

\(^2\)This discussion is based on the definitive work concerning the economic life of late nineteenth century Texas by John Stricklin Spratt, *The Road to Spindletop: Economic Change in Texas, 1875-1901* (Dallas, 1955).

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 85.

\(^4\)The following discussion of Texas political life in the
overthrow, in 1874, of the Republican regime of Edmund J. Davis placed political control of the state in the hands of the Democratic Party, where it was to remain throughout the rest of the century. The Republicans quickly became a hopeless minority faction representing primarily the blacks and their political leaders, most of whom were white. From the late 1890's, the party vacillated between attempts to challenge the dominant Democrats alone or in combination with factions of dissident Democrats, Independents, or Greenbackers. Black support of the Republicans was gradually eroded by extra-legal and then by legal methods aimed at the prevention of Negro voting or political participation. By 1900, the party was largely controlled by "lily-white" elements who were essentially interested only in the distribution of federal patronage. 5

The dominant Democrats followed a path in their administration of Texas similar to that of their fellow party members in the other southern states. The so-called Republican Constitution of 1869, tainted in the eyes of conservative

"Gilded Age" is primarily based on Alwyn Barr, Reconstruction to Reform: Texas Politics, 1876-1906 (Austin, 1971).

5 For the history of Texas Republicans in the decades after 1865, in addition to Barr, see, Paul Casdorph, A History of the Republican Party in Texas (Austin, 1965) and Maud Cuney Hare, Norris Wright Cuney: A Tribune of the Black People (New York, 1913).
whites with the stigma of "radical misrule," was replaced by one written in reaction to the centralized control, heavy taxation (by Texas standards), and free spending of the Davis administration. Significant also was the influence of the Granger movement, composed mainly of small independent farmers who voiced hostility to most types of government spending, taxation, or centralized power. The framework of government thus created made the expansion of any type of state service, such as public education, very difficult, generally requiring amendment of the organic document. It seems evident, however, that this was the type of system a majority of white Texans wanted in the 1870's and for several decades thereafter.

If a substantial majority of white Texans supported the Democratic Party and the restrictive constitution, it did not follow that the same majority accepted without question the conservative leadership which emerged to dominate that party. Conservative "Redeemers," tied to business interests, especially railroads, along with substantial land owning farmers afraid of increases in governmental power or taxation, dominated the party throughout the 1870's and 1880's.6 Issues, however, such as the method of sale or leasing of public

6 For a discussion of the Redeemers, their methods, and their ideology see C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, 1951), esp. chap. 4.
lands, railroad charters and regulation, and methods of taxation were constantly divisive factors within the white majority. Opposition to the conservative leadership took the form of factional division within the Democratic Party and ultimately of opposition outside the party. Greenbackers, Independents, and finally the Populists unsuccessfully challenged Democratic control of the state. The 1890's in Texas, as in the rest of the South, was a decade of political upheaval. The Populists, although not successful at the state level, reflected the discontent which enabled James S. Hogg and a younger, more "progressive" faction of the Democratic Party to gain control of the party machinery and elect Hogg governor. The first decade of the twentieth century saw increasingly effective political action by lower class whites and the increased influence of a growing urban population. At the same time, these years marked the effective end of black political participation in Texas as in the rest of the South.  

7Fred Gantt, Jr., *The Chief Executive in Texas: A Study in Gubernatorial Leadership* (Austin, 1964), pp. 49-70 and 336-341, gives a thorough picture of the governors of this era which enforces the contention that Texas was primarily a southern state. Of the eight men who served as governor between 1874 and 1903, all but two were Confederate veterans, and those two were the sons of veterans. All were born in the South except one who was brought to Texas as a child. All
The presence of a large percentage of blacks in Texas contributed to the southern aspect of the social system in the same way it was reflected in the economic and political life of the state. A recent study of Negroes in Texas, from 1874 to 1900, found that, although the state was something of an "anomaly" in the South and "a transition state between the Old South and the New West," the bulk of the black population followed patterns found in the states of the older South. Most Negroes lived in the eastern half of the state and worked in some form of agriculture. In the forty years after emancipation, the freedmen experienced the hopes of at least political equality during Reconstruction, the smashing of these hopes in the decades that followed, the development lived in eastern or central Texas at the time of their election. Tyler, especially, was the political center of the state. All but one of these men were lawyers or lawyer-farmers. Although this was a common trait of American political leaders in the nineteenth century, it was especially true of southern politicians.

8Lawrence D. Rice, The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900 (Baton Rouge, 1971), p. 11. The following discussion is based primarily upon Rice's work. The Negro in Texas is patterned on older state studies of southern blacks, such as those by George Tindall and Vernon Wharton, and shows that the history of Texas blacks was quite similar to that of the older South. Rice, in picking 1900 as the terminal date for his study, notes that it is "an arbitrary but probable terminal point because many social, political, and economic trends reached fruition about the same time." Ibid., p. v. The same could be said of education for both the blacks and whites of the state.
of the sharecrop system, the informal and then formal development of Jim Crow practices, the use of the law to protect newly won freedoms and then the use of it to destroy them, and finally the virtually complete establishment of second class citizenship by 1900. Blacks in Texas, as in the rest of the South, placed great faith in education, especially public schools, as a means of achieving equal status in the white man's world, but they increasingly found this promise, too, evaporated in white indifference or open hostility. The growing disparity between white and black schools of all types simply reflected the fact that white Texans adhered to attitudes which were virtually indistinguishable from those of their fellow ex-Confederates of the older South.

Even considering the relative youth of the state and the influence of the frontier, these southern attitudes dictated patterns of education similar to those of the other ex-Confederate states. The same would be generally true of schools in ante-bellum Texas, where almost all formal educational efforts were in the hands of private academies or seminaries, often under the control or oversight of the various Protestant denominations. Although paper provisions for public schools existed, public education as a reality did not. The overwhelmingly rural nature of southern population patterns and
the tradition of education as a strictly personal and private concern, except for paupers, left the South, and Texas, with an educational system markedly unlike that developing in the northern states during the decades before 1860. The vast majority of southerners viewed public education with suspicion because it might not supply the needed religious and moral training, because it required one man to pay for the education of another man's children, and because formal education was essential only for an aristocratic corps of leaders and not for the masses. Education of blacks was expressly forbidden, and the slave or free black who was even literate was a rare exception. Perhaps these ante-bellum southern schools provided excellent educational opportunities within certain limits, but they did so only for those who could afford to pay and who felt the necessity of formal schooling.

The collapse of the Confederacy left Texas and the rest of the South without any system of schools, public or private.

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The dislocations of the war disrupted the private schools by scattering both students and faculties. Because few of these schools had any type of endowment and consequently had to depend almost entirely upon the tuition paid by the students, these schools were virtually destroyed, and those which remained after the war often had little continuity with their prewar existence. The almost non-existent public schools of the ante-bellum period shared the fate of their private counterparts. The meager funds for the actual running of public schools in Texas, which came from income from the sale of certain public lands, had been diverted during the war to military purposes.

The Reconstruction era, in Texas and throughout the South, witnessed the first significant attempts to create centralized state-controlled systems of public education. Patterned on systems developed in the North, especially in New England, these Reconstruction systems met with almost universal hostility from native whites. The failure of these "Radical" public school systems, stigmatized as they were by the taint of Reconstruction, left the southern states, in the decades before 1900, with public schools which were grossly

inadequate by any standard. This lack of adequate public schools enhanced the importance of private educational efforts, especially in schooling about the primary or common school level. For Texas, and the rest of the South, the ambitious efforts of the Reconstruction regime represented the high point of such efforts before the educational crusades of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The basic assumption of those who led these educational crusades in the years after the turn of the century was that southern public school systems were grossly inadequate, and that, through the building up of public education, the various social, economic, and political ills of the South could be cured. The method to remedy the educational shortcomings of the region was to be a campaign of "education" for the voters of the various states. These educational reformers believed that, once the public realized the needs of the South educationally, they would be willing to vote heavier taxation to pay for the improvements. The inference seemed to be that one of the basic causes for the lack of public schools in the South, compared with those in the northern states, was the "ignorance" of the public concerning the benefits of public education. Public ignorance of the need for public education must have, if these assumptions were correct, dominated the
southern states throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is a questionable assumption, however, that public schools in Texas, or the rest of the South, were retarded by a lack of information as to their benefits. The rudimentary nature of the public systems very likely reflected the type of schools the majority of whites wanted. The state of public education also reflected what the majority of whites felt they could pay for through taxation. The propaganda efforts of the educational crusade were aimed not so much at dispelling ignorance as they were at changing deep-seated attitudes held by the majority of the white population.

Historical writing on the educational history of the South has been almost entirely dominated by men who had a vested, personal interest in public education. These

10 Every southern state has one or more surveys of its educational history, most of which were written during the first three decades of this century by men who had taken part in or were deeply concerned with the educational crusade which began about 1900. Educators such as Charles Dabney, E. W. Knight, and, for Texas, Frederick Eby, saw public education as the answer to the problems of the South and heaped uncritical praise upon those who had fought for it. Beyond the structural and conceptual weaknesses of these works, they reflected a rather awkward position on questions of race and social change. Possibly because of their desire to establish themselves in the minds of whites as "loyal sons of the South," these writers, reflecting a theme strong among the educational leaders of the "universal education movement," accepted and even applauded the dual system of schools and the racial "settlement" of the years around the turn of the century. They
historians tend to laud anything which advanced the growth of public schools, while neglecting or attacking private efforts or anything (or anyone) which stood opposed to the expansion of public school systems. Often these works have a marked didactic tone as if written to instill zeal in southern public school teachers and administrators. These works generally were heavily institutional, presenting merely detailed restatements of constitutional and legislative provisions for public education, and usually equated education with public schools and often with something vaguely termed "culture."

There has been no dearth of writing on the educational history of Texas. Three full length works have been published since the turn of the century. They purport to study the history of "education" in the state, although all three make an were also faced with the problem of advocating a system which many southerners viewed as "Yankee" in origin and which was supported by northern philanthropic money. In much the same way that the "New South" advocates of industrialism earlier had pushed for economic change without social alterations, these educational writers and crusaders supported educational change while upholding the existing social structure. This attempt to take education out of its social context and to ignore the social impact of a massive increase in public schooling marked the chief weakness of these works. This is most clearly seen in their coverage of the attempts by the Reconstruction governments to create public school systems roughly based upon those of the New England states. These efforts are damned, in the manner of the Dunning School of Reconstruction historiography, as foreign to the South and oppressive. Yet it was almost exactly the same type of system that the crusaders themselves were trying to create some three decades later.
equation of education and schools and are really the study of the institutional development of public schools. Their concentration on public education and its evolution lead them to slight private educational efforts beyond the listing of a few of the more important private schools. They make no attempt to study the connection between private and public efforts and neglect the lack of definition in the late nineteenth century which made the two types less distinct than was often thought. Perhaps more significantly, they fail to make any attempt to place schools, public or private, within the context of the society in which both existed in a blurred juxtaposition. Those who opposed for a variety of reasons the development of public schools are dismissed as victims of ignorance, sectarian bigotry, or hostility to the evolution of the "spirit of the age." Given these weaknesses, however, these three works do offer acceptable compilations of the constitutional and statutory provisions for public schools.

John J. Lane's *History of Education in Texas*, published in 1903 by the United States Bureau of Education, is a confused *potpourri* of facts and unabashed personal opinion which concentrates on what might be termed "higher education" in the state.\(^{11}\) His brief coverage of public schools is essentially

\(^{11}\) John J. Lane, *History of Education in Texas* (Washington,
a recapitulation of various constitutional provisions and legislative enactments with almost no analysis. A chapter on "Church and Private Enterprises" makes no attempt to show the connection between these and the public schools and is composed mainly of what appears to be material submitted by the schools themselves. This gives the section a decidedly self-congratulatory tone and makes it read like the advertising copy so commonly used by both public and private schools of the period. The bulk of the work is devoted to the creation and operation of the University of Texas. While much of that lengthy portion is an undigested listing of teachers, courses, and administrators, it does clearly indicate the antagonism in the state during the late nineteenth century to the state university, even by persons supposedly friendly to the expansion of public education. Lane was a strong partisan of

1903). According to the letter of transmittal from Herbert Baxter Adams, the editor of the series of which Lane's book was a part, to William T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education, the author died before his manuscript could be edited. This probably explains partially the gross structural weaknesses of the book. Lane taught at the University of Texas in the 1890's, which helps explain his over-concern with that institution.

12Lane's use of the word "Enterprises" to describe the many private educational efforts is extremely accurate. One of the most important, and neglected, aspects of such schools is their role as a type of business enterprise for the "schoolman" of the Gilded Age.
the university, and throughout the book he refers to the great work done by the university and notes with hostility anyone or anything opposed to it.

The standard work on the history of Texas schools is Frederick Eby's *The Development of Education in Texas*, which, along with his collection, *Education in Texas: Source Materials*, gives the most "scholarly" coverage.¹³ Eby follows the path pioneered by men like Elwood P. Cubberley and Edgar W. Knight in his approach to educational history. Eby equates "schools" with "education" and with "culture." He writes almost exclusively of the evolution of public schools and, in a presentistic fashion, sees the development of such schools as an unequaled good. He says remarkably little about private efforts, and when he does, it is often in less than laudatory tones. In simplest terms, the book is a study of the institutional development of public education, a movement, Eby implies, which led the state out of darkness into the light. The strengths of Eby's work, and of this type of educational history, are the excellent, and accurate, factual compilations of constitutional provisions, statutes,

¹³Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York, 1925); Frederick Eby, compiler, *Education in Texas: Source Materials* (Austin, 1918).
organizations, and individuals which contributed to the expansion of the public school system of Texas.\textsuperscript{14}

The most recent account of the history of Texas education is C. E. Evans' accurately titled \textit{The Story of Texas Schools}.\textsuperscript{15} A labor of love by a man who had given his life to the development of public education in Texas, most of it as President of Southwest Texas Teachers' College at San Marcos, the book is a poorly organized compilation of various aspects of Texas educational history. It duplicates Eby's work in its coverage of the constitutional and statutory provisions for public schools. Unlike Eby, however, Evans gives extended treatment to private educational institutions, although he makes little attempt to analyze their role in the educational system of Texas in the Gilded Age. He also makes no significant attempt to define which of these institutions were "colleges" in the modern sense of the term. In reality, Evans presents little more than annotated lists. He, like Eby and Lane,

\footnotesize{\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14}Eby spent much of his life teaching at the University of Texas. He supervised numerous master's theses and doctoral dissertations, most of which were "educational histories" of various counties in the state. Although they share some of the weaknesses of Eby's own work, these studies offer much detailed information and serve almost as primary sources for the educational history of Texas.
\end{flushright}}

\footnotesize{\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{15}C. E. Evans, \textit{The Story of Texas Schools} (Austin, 1955).
\end{flushright}}
covers black education separately and in a rather cursory manner. Like them, he seems to endorse the concept of segregation, although he does acknowledge the inadequacy of Negro schools.

The coverage by Lane, Eby, and Evans of constitutional and statutory provisions for public education offers a needed background for the understanding of education in its broader aspects. Given the limited scope of these works, they do a more than adequate job of outlining the legal structure of the public schools. Even these bare constitutional and legislative enactments offer evidence of the type of educational system which appealed to the dominant political forces in Texas during the Gilded Age.

The "Johnson" constitution of 1866 and the "Radical" constitution of 1869, which dealt at length with public education must have reflected the ideas dominant among those who wrote them. The 1866 document created a system similar to that which had existed before the war; however, it never went into operation because of the intervention of Congressional Reconstruction. It is doubtful if any meaningful public system would have evolved under the 1866 provisions, since such a system would have been entirely voluntary on the part of local or county authorities, with the state having no coercive
powers. Specifically, the 1866 document provided for the creation of a permanent school fund from the sale of assigned public lands, a feature which had been included in Texas constitutions since the days of the Republic. In addition, it empowered the legislature to levy a tax for educational purposes, provided only money collected from the freedmen be allotted to their education, while counties could impose special taxes for the education of paupers. Private schools could be designated as public schools for the purpose of receiving public money on a per capita basis, but all control over these strictly voluntary public schools was placed in the hands of local authorities.¹⁶

The Constitution of 1869, written under the mandate of the Congressional Reconstruction Acts, created a highly centralized system of public schools. The Superintendent of Public Instruction was vested with great power to control the system through the appointment of lesser school officials and through the administrative apparatus. Counties were to be grouped into districts with local school directors selected by the Austin government. Attendance was compulsory for at least four months a year. As previously, a permanent school

fund was set up based on the income from public land sales. Available school funds were to come from various sources, including the income from the permanent fund, one-fourth of the annual general tax revenues, a one dollar poll tax on every voter from twenty to sixty. Local taxation was to provide enough funds to secure or build school houses, and was to be enough to keep these facilities open for at least ten months a year. 17

The School Laws of 1870 and 1871, passed by the Republican dominated legislature, fulfilled the constitutional mandate and attempted to put the system into operation. The enactments created a State Board of Education (composed of the Governor, Attorney-General, and Superintendent of Public Instruction), which was charged with running the system. Among its duties were the setting of rules and regulations, the examination and appointment of all teachers, the setting of salaries, the defining of the course of study, and the selecting of textbooks. The Superintendent was charged specifically with gathering information and statistics, investing and allocating income from the permanent fund, selecting "district supervisors" for each of the thirty-five judicial

17 Evans, Story of Texas Schools, pp. 80-82; Eby, Development of Education, pp. 158-159; Lane, History of Education, pp. 30-32.
districts, approving all spending by and selection of members of school boards, and with controlling the building or renting of school buildings. The district supervisors were to divide up the counties into school districts and appoint five members to a board of directors for each. District supervisors were also to do the actual examining of teachers. The school district board of directors were empowered to decide the question of separation of the races in the schools, to levy a one percent tax for the construction or renting of school houses, and to actually enforce the regulations laid down by higher authorities. Throughout the years of Republican control, this highly centralized public system was administered by the state superintendent, Jacob C. DeGress, a former officer in the Union army from Missouri. DeGress received the brunt of the hostility from native whites who bitterly opposed the radical system.

Lane, Evans, and Eby take the hostile view of the Reconstructionists and their school systems followed by other educational historians of the South. Eby describes them as "political adventurers" who gained control of the state "by allying with themselves the newly enfranchised colored population." Moreover, the "leaders were northern sympathizers who looked upon the Southern people as benighted by ignorance and believed strongly in free public schools offering equal opportunities for blacks and whites." Eby, Development of Education, p. 157.
As in all of the ex-Confederate states, this "radical" system of public schools in Texas essentially failed in operation and was destroyed when the conservatives regained power by the mid-1870's. The key to this failure was undoubtedly the hostility of native whites. The reasons for this hostility in Texas are accurately discussed by Eby, who obviously agreed for the most part with the native white opposition. According to Eby, the Republicans created a school system which was "forcibly imposed upon the people" by a "tyrannical" and "foreign" government whose "teachers and officers were strangers to the Texas people."19 The attempts to tax for free public education were alien to the traditions of the people of Texas, and compulsory attendance was seen as a "ruthless violation of parental rights." Centralized control of the system created too much bureaucracy and gave "the people" too little say in school affairs, especially where officials were often "autocratic" and high-handed. Most damning of all, whites feared and hated the equality given to blacks, and they feared the system would "coerce the white children to attend the same schools as the colored," a fear which was never realized. Although not specifically stated

19This and the following quotes are taken from Ibid., pp. 162-166, passim.
by Eby, the greatest weakness of the system was its association with the hated political control of the Republicans. As one of the focal points of conservative attacks, the school system was greatly altered when the Democrats gained control of the state government in 1874. Native hostility to Republican control was again expressed in the educational sections of the new constitutions drafted by the Redeemers in 1875.

The Constitution of 1876 reflected the hostility of a majority of white Texans to the centralized control, relatively heavy taxation, and tone of compulsion which they believed had characterized the previous constitution. The educational provisions especially reflected the hostility directed toward the Reconstruction regime, as indicated by viewpoints expressed during the convention on the question of free public schools: a few favored a centralized system like that in existence; some were opposed to public schools

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20"No southern institution had been more thoroughly disrupted by war or stigmatized by reconstruction." Kirwan and Clark, South Since Appomattox, p. 164. The surveys of southern history previously cited tend to take an unfavorable view of Reconstruction efforts in public education, although not to the extent found in the educational state studies of Texas or of the other southern states. In addition, see the extremely harsh view in William K. Boyd, "Some Phases of Educational History in the South since 1865," Studies in Southern History and Politics Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning. . . (New York, 1914), pp. 259-287.
on principle as a violation of personal rights and as the cause of excessive taxation; others advocated a system similar to that of the antebellum period which had been mainly for paupers, while advocates of sectarian private education saw public schools as ungodly and wanted a system of public support for private educational enterprises. Eventually the convention wrote provisions calling for "an efficient system of free public schools," but which abolished the office of state superintendent, any form of local taxation except in towns meeting certain requirements, as well as any type of compulsory attendance. The permanent school fund was again created from income from certain public lands. Available funds were to come from the income from the permanent fund and from one-fourth or less of the general state revenue.21

Under the new constitution the legislature passed the School Law of 1876 to put the new system into operation. It created a state Board of Education to have general oversight over the system but without any type of centralized supervision or control. The board was allowed to hire a clerk or secretary whose job was to dispense information and to collect

statistics, but who had no coercive powers. Public schools themselves were organized under what was called the "community system," which was totally voluntary. Because the new constitution gave the legislature no power to allow counties to divide themselves into educational districts, parents could voluntarily join together into school communities of any size for the purpose of obtaining state funds. Parents would then submit to the county judge names of pupils recruited for the school, and he, in turn, would appoint three trustees for one year to manage the school. These trustees were charged with hiring the teachers and with the general administration of the school. With no power to tax, these community schools had to rely upon the small state per capita funds and upon assessments.

Advocates of public schools at the time and later were generally critical of the community system for many reasons. The most glaring weakness was the inability of counties to divide themselves into districts for the purpose of taxation. Although towns could incorporate for educational purposes and hence tax, counties could not, and, because most of the state's

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22 Eby, Development of Education, pp. 171-172; Evans, Story of Texas Schools, pp. 96-99; Lane, History of Education, pp. 33-35.
population was rural, this meant the vast majority of Texans could not add local funds to the small state allocations.  

Another shortcoming of the community system was the lack of permanence of the schools themselves. The school communities had to be reorganized every year and thus continually changed in size and location, making it impossible to erect any type of adequate school buildings. Absolute local control left the schools subject to petty sectarian, personal, and geographical disputes. Both advocates of expanded public education and conservatives who opposed such expansion quickly attacked the system for its lack of stability and seeming waste of the meager funds allotted to public education by an economy-minded government.

In 1879 growing dissatisfaction with the system came to a head when, in the name of retrenchment and economy, Governor

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23 Ever since the period of the Republic, towns had been allowed to incorporate for school purposes and to vote taxes, which allowed those towns to assume control of their own school affairs. Under the new system, this method was continued, but it was difficult to implement because of the provision that required two-thirds of the property owners to vote in favor of both incorporation and taxation in separate elections.

24 Lane, Evans, and Eby present an adverse picture of the "community system, although Eby does note that it gave "rather satisfactory results for several years." Eby, Development of Education, p. 173. None of the authors note what possibly could be a highly significant factor: the system reflected what the majority of Texans wanted even though it might not have been satisfactory to the "schoolmen."
O. M. Roberts vetoed the annual school appropriation, claiming the money was being wasted and was needed to meet the state's financial obligations. Roberts advocated using only one-sixth of the state's revenues for public schools, while the constitution called for the allocation of one-fourth or less for such purposes. Eventually a special session of the legislature accepted Roberts' recommendations. Roberts' veto initiated a period of five years of debate and controversy which eventually led to vast changes in the organization of Texas public schools. By the middle of the 1880's, Texas public education had achieved the configuration which it would keep for the rest of the century, and which would be altered only as a result of the educational crusade of the early twentieth century.

From this "crisis" period of the early 1880's, Frederick Eby sees the coming of an educational "revolution" in the passage of a constitutional amendment in 1883, and of a new public school, under it, in 1884. The reasons for the "educational progress" which followed the "revolution" of the early 1880's are discussed at some length by Eby. He mentions the influence of the newly established United States Bureau of

25 Because Eby writes educational history in the Cubberley fashion, he equates "progress" uncritically with the growth of public schools. Eby's characterization of the early 1880's in these terms can be found in Ibid., pp. 175 and 193.
Education; the work of individuals such as Roberts (whom Eby credits with being a convert to the faith), O. N. Hollingsworth (who served as Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1874-1876, and as secretary to the state Board of Education, 1876-1883), Baptist educational leaders William Carey Crane (President of Baylor University at Independence) and Rufus C. Burleson (President of Waco University and state agent of the Peabody Fund); and teachers who favored public schools over private because of their stability and greater "professional freedom."

Some of the weaknesses of Eby's work are most apparent here. Either because of his desire to make public education appear desirable from a conservative, southern point of view or because of his unwillingness to speak ill of any man, he oversimplifies his discussions or glosses over aspects which do not fit his conceptual framework. To picture Roberts as a champion of public education is an exaggeration at best. Roberts fits C. Vann Woodward's Redeemer politician as much as any man in late nineteenth century Texas. His "conversion" to public education seems more political than ideological.

He was an advocate of the creation of institutions of higher

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26 Ibid., pp. 181-192, passim.
education such as the Sam Houston Normal Institute at Huntsville (in part, at least, because of the offer of Peabody money for its creation) and the University of Texas, where Roberts would later teach in the law school during the final years of his life. Eby fails to mention that there was strong sentiment against the university among persons who were, or claimed to be, champions of the "common man." Such politicians and others generally charged the university with being a haven for the sons of the rich and advocated spending more educational money on the "common schools" for every man.27

Eby's discussion of the activities of the Peabody Fund and its state agent during the 1870's, Rufus Burleson, also reveals the weaknesses of his evaluations. The Fund appealed to Eby, as it did to educators and southerners in general at the time, because it made no attempt to alter the existing social or racial mores. In the 1870's its money was awarded to towns which would take control of their public schools and upgrade them along lines acceptable to the Fund. Although this helped establish model systems, it also accentuated the

27 The hostility toward the University of Texas can be traced through the columns of any of the leading newspapers of the state, especially just before its founding in 1883. Lane, in his lengthy discussion of the university, notes the hostility and gives examples of it. Lane, History of Education, pp. 127-131, 145-153.
gulf between urban and rural schools in the state. In the 1880's, the Fund awarded money to the state for the furthering of teacher training, such as the founding and operation of Sam Houston Normal Institute and the holding of county teachers' institutes and summer normals. There were few strings attached and no real attempt to insure that blacks received a fair proportion. Rufus Burleson, a most unpleasant and controversial figure, was not an advocate of the type of public school system which Eby clearly feels is best. Burleson was a leader of those who wanted public aid to private institutions like his own Waco University. If anything, Burleson represented the older type of schoolman who opposed the very type of public system most public school advocates wanted.  

28 On the Peabody Fund in Texas, see Eby, Development of Education, pp. 181-187 and Evans, Story of Texas Schools, pp. 105-108. For a more generalized discussion of the Fund in the South as a whole, see Simkins, History of the South, pp. 364-365; Woodward, Origins of the New South, pp. 62-63; Ezell, South since 1865, pp. 247-250; and Kirwan and Clark, South Since Appomattox, pp. 171-173. Even Eby, who was a leading Baptist layman, acknowledged that Rufus Burleson was the "stormy petrel of Baptist education in Texas for fifty years" and was "a man of consuming ambition." Burleson was mainly responsible for the bitter controversies which afflicted Baptist educational efforts from the 1850's to the 1890's. See Frederick Eby, "Education and Educators," Centennial Story of Texas Baptists (Dallas, 1936), pp. 125-172, esp. 140-142. Burleson's educational philosophy can be traced through his public pronouncements as reported in the Waco Daily Examiner. When, in the summer of 1877, Waco voters turned down a proposal to levy a tax for public school
Finally, Eby's statement that teachers preferred public to private schools would be difficult to prove. Many "schoolmen," both those who administered or taught in public and private institutions, saw the two in much the same way and ran them in much the same way. Some felt that private schools were better for personal reasons, such as independence from outside control or oversight, and attempted to "get" such schools when possible.  

The amendment and subsequent school law which Eby describes as revolutionary did materially alter the structure of public education in Texas. The amendment, which apparently had the support of most of the educational and political leaders of the state, altered the method of financing public schools. It earmarked one-fourth of the general revenue for education, empowered the legislature to levy a poll tax of one dollar on all persons twenty-one to sixty, and gave that body the purposes, the Examiner, which had strongly supported the measure, noted, "We were surprised that Dr. Burleson, State agent of the Peabody Fund, whose home is here, was not present to lend his influence. . . ." Waco Daily Examiner, July 11, 1877, p. 4. A strong public school system would, or course, have competed with Burleson's Waco University for local scholastic patronage.

Eby correctly notes that there was an ever-increasing shift of teachers from private to public schools as the public developed. Whether or not schoolmen favored this necessary shift is another matter.
power to levy an ad valorem tax of not more than twenty cents per one hundred dollars valuation for educational purposes. It also granted power to the legislature to allow counties to divide themselves into districts for taxing purposes. The School Law of 1884 essentially reorganized the entire public system, at least financially, following the constitutional mandate. It created the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction which was to have overall supervisory powers. All counties, except fifty-three in East Texas and the Rio Grande Valley, were to be divided into school districts. In addition to the state tax for educational purposes, these school districts could, if they chose to do so, tax at a rate of not more than twenty cents per one hundred dollars valuation.  

The fifty-three counties exempted from the requirement of division into school districts kept the older community system of organization. These counties, some of which retained the community system until after 1900, had large Negro or Mexican populations, and the community method allowed whites to organize school communities and hence gain state money without organizing the children of the minority groups.

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The minority groups could, of course, organize school communities, but the legislators obviously thought they would not.

In operation, the revised public system revealed several weaknesses which limited its effectiveness. It placed responsibility and control in the hands of local authorities who often prevented the new system from working as its advocates had hoped since they often failed to take the initiative in calling elections necessary for levying the new local tax. Because the law required a two-thirds majority of the property owners to vote in favor of levying the tax, such propositions often failed when put to a vote. The seeming lack of interest in rural areas and the continued development of independent school districts in urban areas perpetuated the gulf between public schools in the towns and in the country. By 1900 that gap was as great as it had been in the 1870's.

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31 Lane, Evans, and Eby make no comment on the exemption of the fifty-three counties. Rice, Negro in Texas, p. 216, mentions the exemption but fails to explain why it was done. The failure of Lane, Evans, and Eby to mention this point is probably an example of their attitudes toward blacks and black education.

Evans and Eby, in their discussion of the years before 1900, place special emphasis on the lack of proper "school spirit" among rural whites. They saw the awakening of rural people to the advantages of public schools as the greatest challenge facing the educational leaders of the late nineteenth century.33 This theme was also dominant among the leaders of the universal education movement throughout the South in the early twentieth century. It is but another example of how these educational historians reflected the ideals of the movement of which they were a part.

Equally, these historians fail to mention what seems to have been a most important factor in the weakness of the Texas public system: almost total local control. Although they note with disapprobation the lack of professional supervision and political control of public schools, especially in rural areas, they do not condemn its root cause, localism.34 The southern, and American, fear of a distant power has been

33Eby, Development of Education, p. 198.

34In rural areas until 1887, supervision was in the hands of the county commissioners and county judge. From 1887 to 1907, county commissioners could appoint a county school superintendent, and after 1907 they had to appoint one in counties with more than two thousand pupils. Often these positions were awarded for political rather than educational reasons. See Eby, Development of Education, pp. 201-202. This was a common complaint of educational reformers throughout the South.
especially strong in public education. One of the cardinal sins of the "radical" system in Texas had been its centralization, which supposedly took control of the schools from the hands of the "people." Although the reforms of the early twentieth century, reforms which men like Eby and Evans strongly advocated, reversed the localism of the final decades of the nineteenth, the system in Texas during those years was in the hands of men who were often indifferent or even hostile to public education, especially when it involved raising taxes.

From the mid-1880's to the turn of the century, public education in Texas grew quantitatively but did not undergo spectacular changes. The professionalization of teaching gradually gained popularity, although again more so in urban than in rural areas. The curriculum was gradually expanded and tended to become more utilitarian, a movement which was taking place all over the United States in the final years of the century. Especially in the towns and cities, advances were made toward the grading of schools, the lengthening of school terms, the growth of professional supervision, and the development of the high school as an integral part of the system.  

Throughout these final years of the century, Texas public schools were blessed, and in some ways cursed, by what appeared to be a magnificent endowment in public lands. Although the constitutional and statutory provisions were altered from time to time, basically this land was to be sold, the money invested in certain types of bonds, and the interest used as part of the available school fund for the actual financing of the schools. Actually the amount available for spending on public education was small, especially with the financial depression of the 1890's and the ever expanding demands for funds. For many Texans, this seemingly richly endowed public school system was a source of pride, but it was also an argument to be used in opposition to increased taxation for educational purposes. Those who opposed increased taxation, at the state or local level, always found a ready argument by pointing out that Texas could have a magnificent system of public schools without the payment of taxes. There seems little doubt that such arguments helped retard the effective support of public education.

36 Eby estimates that 45,000,000 acres were eventually set aside for the Permanent School Fund. Ibid., p. 205.

37 Eby, Development of Education, pp. 205-206. The Austin Statesman, the leading conservative newspaper in the state, was generally hostile to the expansion of taxation for public
In summary, the institutional history of public education in Texas during the latter decades of the nineteenth century roughly paralleled that of the other southern states. The overthrow of the Reconstruction regimes placed control of public education in the hands of conservative Redeemer elements who treated it in the same way they handled all social welfare functions of the state. Claiming debt, depression, and poverty as reasons, they dismantled the centralized systems of Reconstruction and replaced them with public schools that were rudimentary at best. The race question complicated and undoubtedly retarded the growth of public education in Texas and the rest of the South. The evolution of the dual system made for worse problems, arising as it did in a region with little tradition of public education and one with limited financial resources. Many southerners claimed the region was

education and often used the permanent fund in its arguments. At the same time, it never failed to cite the existence of the fund as an example of how Texas was a "progressive" state.

Although all the general surveys of southern history after Reconstruction note the role of the "race question" in retarding the development of public education, the most extreme statement of this problem can be found in Edgar W. Knight, "Education in the South," Twenty-Five Years of American Education: Collected Essays Written by a Group of his Former Students as a Tribute to Paul Monroe, ..., edited by I. L. Kandel (New York, 1924), pp. 369-402, esp. 378-380, 384. Knight notes that it was not until after the "racial settlement" around the turn of the century that southern public education began to rapidly develop.
too poor to support the taxation needed for public systems similar to those in the North. True or not, this argument was powerful, especially in view of the widespread belief that public schools were a "Yankee" innovation.

The specific problems facing the leaders of public educational efforts in Texas during the years preceding the development of the public school crusade at the beginning of the twentieth century were generally similar to those facing their counterparts in the other southern states. The lack of professionalism in teaching and supervision was difficult to remedy given the conditions in the South and the attitudes of many southerners. It was in this area that the Peabody Fund expended its greatest efforts. Because it accepted southern racial and social mores, the Fund was popular, although its actual accomplishments, in Texas and the rest of the South, are difficult to measure. The lack of adequate financing created many specific problems such as inadequate physical facilities, poor salaries, short school terms, lack of grading, and limited curriculum. In rural areas these specific problems were far worse than in urban centers, although even urban public schools in the South failed to compare favorably with those in most of the northern states.
The general and the more specific problems in the institutional development of southern public education have been chronicled both in studies of specific states and in larger treatments of the South as a region. These historians of the Cubberley school have studied southern public schools and their development from the viewpoint of men deeply involved in the expansion of these schools. While narrow and confined, these studies have presented an adequate picture of the institutional development of public schools filtered through the vision of men who saw such schools as an answer to the problems of their native region. 39

Private educational efforts in the post-Civil War era have not received the same attention. Possibly because historians tend to ignore movements and institutions which fail

39 Typical of state studies similar to those on Texas by Evans and Eby are Dorothy Orr, A History of Education in Georgia (Chapel Hill, 1950); Frank L. McVey, The Gates Open Slowly: A History of Education in Kentucky (Lexington, 1949); Edgar W. Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina (Boston, 1916); and Cornelius J. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia (New York, 1916). In each of these cases the author was deeply involved in southern public education. The same is true of the surveys by Knight and Dabney. In Dabney's work, the chapters on Texas are taken almost entirely from Eby's two books, as Dabney himself acknowledges. Louis R. Harlan's Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915 (Chapel Hill, 1958) is possibly the only example of a study of southern education which treats its subject in a broad social and political context.
or which are relegated to secondary roles, the place of private schools in postwar Texas has been largely ignored. Those which were able to maintain their existence in the face of growing public education and which gradually evolved into institutions of collegiate rank have often been the subject of "histories" that are more antiquarian than historical. Most are little more than compilations of names, dates, and minutiae of little interest except to graduates or partisans of the institutions themselves. They are also often strongly colored by the religious ideas of the Protestant denominations which sponsored or controlled them. These studies usually make no attempt to place the school into a larger social or cultural context much in the same way that the educational historians of the public schools failed to place public education in such a perspective.

In reality, the line of demarcation between "public" and "private" schools in late nineteenth century Texas was not clearly drawn, especially before the mid-1880's. Even after

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40 Private schools, for the purpose of this thesis, are defined simply as institutions which received the bulk of their funds from tuition or other private sources and which were controlled by individuals not directly responsible to any type of governmental body.

41 For a recent example of this type of work see Lois Smith Murray, *Baylor at Independence* (Waco, 1972).
that date many of the schoolmen who administered public schools did so in a manner similar to the methods used by strictly private educators. A superintendent, for example, might well be awarded the state per capita funds for a district or community, and from this lump sum he would hire his teachers, maintain his schoolhouse or schoolhouses, and pay all other expenses. Although he might be guaranteed an annual salary, his income was really dependent upon how much was left after all expenses had been met. This was, of course, exactly the method used by most private schoolmen in running their institutions. Whatever was left from tuition money after expenses was profit. Although the general trend was for teachers and administrators to move from private to public institutions, there was often movement in the other direction. In their attempts to "get" schools, most schoolmen were apparently willing to take either type and often moved back and forth many times.

In Texas, there has been little attempt to study in depth the private institutions which failed to remain in existence or the men who ran them. These numerous private schools of all types, many of which were sponsored by the same Protestant denominations as those which continued to exist, were far more numerous than those which did not fail. Equally, the schoolmen who moved from place to place "getting" a school where
they could without formal sponsorship have not received the attention they deserve considering their major role in the educational history of Texas before 1900. These men, and their schools, played a vital role in a state where public schools remained rudimentary for so long.

The educational historians of Texas—Lane, Evans, and Eby—badly underplay the importance of such private efforts. As partisans of public education, they are somewhat hostile to private educational efforts and tend to see them, at least after the Civil War, as not really important to "educational progress" as they define it. They acknowledge that one of the glaring weaknesses in Texas public schools before the turn of the century was the rudimentary nature of or complete lack of high schools, as was true throughout the southern states, especially in rural areas. As late as 1900, many of the high schools in Texas existed in name only, and in rural areas often did not exist at all. Hence many rural Texans who desired secondary education for their children patronized the many private academies which were a way of life in small towns.42

Public schools gradually pushed private academies from the educational mainstream, beginning first with elementary

education. The slow development of secondary education, however, except in larger urban areas, dictated that private efforts would still flourish. The existence of "preparatory schools" attached to almost all institutions with collegiate pretensions until well after the turn of the century offers ample evidence of the weakness of public high schools in Texas. The weakness of even primary public education in rural areas is revealed by the fact that all private academies offered instruction beginning with what might be called the first grade. Although impossible to measure, such private institutions must have had a certain amount of "snob appeal," especially in a state where public education was not backed by strong tradition and where it often faced open hostility on philosophical grounds. The failure of Texas educational historians to discuss the significance of private schools in Texas educational development reduces them, in reality, to historians of public education, and, even in that respect, their work is narrow and institutional.

Given then the sharp institutional focus on public schools in the standard accounts and the filiopietistic nature of works on specific private institutions, along with the total lack of

study of important aspects of the educational history of post-
Civil War Texas, there seems a need for studies which will
attempt to place schools, public and private, in a broader
social and cultural context. Specifically, what role did
"the school" play in the life of late nineteenth century
Texans? What were considered to be the benefits of education
in general and schools in particular? What benefits could a
community expect to gain from the establishment of schools,
public or private or both? What types of instruction did
"the people" want? Should education be classical or practical?
Should schools inculcate morals or religion, sectarian or other-
wise? The answers to questions such as these should reveal
much about education, but also much about the society as a
whole. The values and ideals which adults want taught to their
children should be an indication of the values and ideals of
the society at large.

Another neglected aspect of the educational history of
Texas, which should shed light on the society at large, is the
study of the educators themselves and their methods. Who were
the men, and women, charged with the education of the children
of Texas? Why were they teachers? Where did they come from?
Were they professionals or merely amateurs using teaching as
a stepping stone to something else? Were they selfless public
servants as often pictured or were they a type of educational entrepreneur or some of both? When Texans of the period used the term "schoolman" did it mean something not synonymous with teacher? What were the differences, if any, between those in private and those in public education? Was there really a sharp line between public and private schools in the minds of the educators or of the people they served? Hopefully this study will supply enough answers to the above questions to offer some insight into the educational, and social-cultural, history of Texas and the South.
CHAPTER II

TEXANS AND EDUCATION: REPRESENTATIVE ATTITUDES

Most Texans, like most Americans, during the last decades of the nineteenth century saw popular education as one of the keys to personal success as well as to the continued development of the American political and economic system. Broadly conceived, education had traditionally been viewed as a vital factor in the ultimate perfection of the democratic system. Although there were many in Texas, and throughout the South, who questioned the role of formal schooling, especially public free schools, few denied that education in the abstract was of tremendous importance in American society. In the northern and midwestern sections of the nation, following the lead of educators such as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the large majority of citizens had come to the conclusion that public schools were the answer to the ever growing needs of the nation for popular education. Although such sentiments were dominant in the North by the decade of the Civil War, in Texas and the South it was perhaps the turn of the century before these concepts were generally accepted. It was this
lag, both in public educational philosophy and in the concrete, physical manifestations of the public schools themselves, that so greatly concerned the many Texans who had already accepted "the great idea of the Nineteenth century."¹

During those decades before 1900, while Texans were gradually coming to accept the concept of public education as the answer to basic educational needs, a growing debate raged among American professional educators and, to a lesser extent, among the public at large. This debate, which was to lead to revolutionary changes in American education at all levels during the first decades of the twentieth century, was centered upon questions concerning the proper role of the school in the broader educational process of life. More than this, it reflected the growing dissatisfaction of many Americans, educators and laymen, with the traditional classical curriculum and its heavy emphasis upon subjects such as ancient languages

which seemed to have limited relevance for the practical world of most men. Many Americans—conservatives and reformers, capitalists and workers, city dwellers and countrymen—were beginning to demand changes in the schools corresponding to the vast changes sweeping American society in the train of industrialization. Although, as Lawrence A Cremin has noted, these demands for educational change and reorganization had the bulk of their impact after the turn of the century, their roots extend as far back as the 1870's if not earlier.²

For Texans during those years two debates occurred at the same time. One concerned the role and scope of public schools and their relationship to the traditional southern patterns of private educational efforts. This question, settled in the North by the time of the Civil War, had been largely settled in Texas by 1900, although public school facilities were often still rudimentary, especially at the secondary level and in rural areas. Even as late as 1900, substantial numbers of Texas children attended private institutions, and a precise distinction between public and private education probably escaped many Texans. The second controversy reflected the nationwide debate concerning the proper role of the school, the types

²Cremin, Transformation of the School, pp. 23-126 and vii-x.
of subjects to be taught, and the methods used to teach them. Both debates were complicated in Texas, as in the rest of the South, by problems of race, poverty, a rural population, and the sectional paranoia which affected any social or political topic with even a vague sectional connotation, and, clearly, public education was often seen as a "Yankee innovation."

Public schools were so identified in the minds of most Texans because of the association of such schools with the "radical" Republican regime of Reconstruction. ³

The public school systems of the reconstruction governments throughout the South reflected the opinion of many northerners that the causes of the Civil War were mainly educational. Many "Yankee schoolmasters" and "schoolmarms" came south with a determined sense of mission. They saw the errors of the South in terms of its lack of commitment to the principle of public education. Their zealous advocacy of public schools, accompanied by the complex racial questions raised by such schools, obviously contributed to the native white belief that public education was a northern institution to be resisted in the same way as other "radical" innovations. This does not mean,

³Although beyond the scope of this study, some notice must be taken of native white reaction to the reconstruction public school system because it formed the background of educational debates in the years after 1876.
of course, that most southerners rejected the general conception of the necessity of popular education as an abstract ideal. It does mean that debates concerning education, public and private, both during and long after Reconstruction were carried on with decided political and sectional overtones.  

Basically the attacks upon the radical public school system took two forms. The first, and in the long range least significant, accused those who administered the public system of doing so for partisan advantage and personal gain. The second was a much broader attack upon the principle of public education and even, at times, upon the necessity of education for the masses of the populace in any form. Together, these attacks on the public free schools and upon the men who administered them and taught in them colored the thinking of many Texans on educational questions for a generation.  

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5Charles W. Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas (New York, 1910), contains little on education beyond constitutional and statutory provisions presented in a derogatory manner. W. C. Nunn, Texas under the Carpetbaggers (Austin, 1962), pp. 240-244, presents a general discussion of education. Written from a decidedly "Dunning" approach and based mainly on the works of Lane and Eby, the section on education reveals the highly political nature of public education during Reconstruction and basically agrees with the sentiments expressed by conservative whites at the time.
In launching political attacks on the radical system as an "engine of suppression," conservatives concentrated on the centralized control which placed the administrative apparatus mainly in the hands of state officials, especially the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jacob DeGress. This centralization, along with the compulsory attendance and taxation of the system, was designed "to tyrannize over the people, to subjugate them soul, body, and State, and to rob them of their property for the enrichment of a worthless horde of strolling mendicants. . . ."\(^6\) It was constantly charged that DeGress and other lesser school officials used their positions for personal gain and that their public school system was "a most cunningly contrived machine for public plunder."\(^7\)

In addition to plundering the public treasury corruptly or otherwise, those who controlled the public system were charged with using the schools "for base political purposes."\(^8\)

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\(^6\)Austin Democratic Statesman, August 3, 1871. For similar sentiments, see Ibid., June 29, 1873. The Statesman is valuable for expression of conservative white, anti-Republican, and hence anti-public education views during this period. Almost every issue contained material hostile to the radical public schools.

\(^7\)Ibid., August 12, 1871. See also, Ibid., August 15, 1871; August 17, 1871; August 19, 1871; and August 22, 1871.

\(^8\)Ibid., September 19, 1871. See also, Ibid., August 26, 1871, and September 23, 1871.
Administrators and teachers were hired, it was charged, on the basis of their loyalty to the Republican Party and to the Davis administration. Besides using the public schools to provide lucrative positions for political allies, DeGress used his position to hire persons whose racial ideas were suspect. The Austin Statesman reported that a leading Democratic politician had attacked the radical system with its swarm of useless middlemen. . . whose duties in most cases consisted in living on the people's money, organizing the poor, deluded negroes into loyal leagues, and fanning the flames of discord between the white and black people.\(^9\)

Public school teachers were often charged with using their position to foment hostility between blacks and whites. Thus, the Republican Party, graft and corruption, intolerable racial theories, and public schools were linked in the minds of many conservative whites.

Of much more significance than these political attacks, although generally linked with them, were the conservative assaults upon public education in principle. Often this became an attack on formal education itself, although it was

\(^9\)Ibid., June 29, 1873. It is interesting to speculate how many outspoken Republicans were employed as public school teachers when the Democrats gained control of the public schools after Reconstruction.
rare for even the bitterest foe of public schools to acknowledge such hostility to "education" in general. Typically, in answering charges of "the hostility of democracy to the general enlightenment of the people," conservatives maintained that the "democracy of Texas are in favor of a judicious practical system of common free schools..." The radical system, however, was too expensive, contained the element of compulsion, and was, at least organizationally, a violation of sound political doctrine. The latter was especially true because of the centralization of power in Austin removed it from the hands of the people, argued the conservatives.11

The direct association of public education with northern or "foreign" ideas had its beginning during the Reconstruction years. Proposals for federal aid to education made in Congress during the early 1870's, as well as the centralized system in Texas, led conservatives to charge the Republicans with adhering to educational theories which would destroy the "rights" of the states or of the people.12 In attacking the view that the state systems of New York or Massachusetts should serve

10 Ibid., June 20, 1873.
11 Ibid., April 18, 1873.
12 Ibid., August 22, 1871, and February 3, 1872.
as a model for Texas, Democrats often noted that Texas was too sparsely settled to support a thoroughgoing public system; moreover, Texas had the potential for a public system without equal, virtually without cost to the taxpayer, if people would only wait for the proceeds from the sale of the vast lands set aside for public institutions. Each of these arguments was widely used by conservatives hostile to public education both during and long after Reconstruction. Occasionally, conservatives would deny that the schools of Texas were worse than those in the North and were actually superior, the superiority of northern public schools being sometimes written off as Republican propaganda.  

When marshalling arguments against the radical public system, conservatives developed points which would be used for a generation after in opposition to those who favored expanded public schooling. Ironically, opponents charged that public education grew out of the "despotic radicalism" of the "Communists of France" and thus "would elevate the lowest classes and...degrade the elevated."  

At the same time opponents also claimed that such schools were aimed at...  

\[13\] Ibid., October 10, 1871; September 26, 1871; May 24, 1873; June 1, 1873.  

\[14\] Clarksville Standard, April 6, 1872.
"destroying the family and investing the government, as in Prussia today, with incidents of centralized despotism." Critics denounced public schools as "class legislation," constituting a form of robbery because they forced one man to pay for the education of the children of another. This led to "encouraging idleness and indolence by paying for the feeding, clothing or educating of the children of the drones of the hive." According to the conservatives, the radical public system also destroyed private schools which required parents to support their children and pay for their education as was only right and proper.

Foreshadowing later arguments both for and against public schools, and education in general, conservatives assailed the importance of formal schooling and those persons involved in it. Schools were not the bastion of public and private morals. Children learned morality at home, and parents should be

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15 Austin Daily Statesman, December 12, 1874. The Statesman continued by noting that "education, like temperance, is eminently desirable, but people need not go mad about it."

16 Ibid., December 17, 1874. "The man that provides not for his own household is worse than an infidel."

17 Ibid., August 26, 1871; May 24, 1873; June 1, 1873. The radical system was often charged with a "systematic effort to break up all the private schools. . . ." Ibid., August 26, 1871.
allowed to keep their children there if they desired. They argued also that in a state as poor as Texas, and in one so near the frontier, formal education was a luxury. Formal schooling was simply not necessary for many people, especially blacks. To its opponents public education, especially when compulsory, indicated a belief that

John must know grammar whether he has any grub or not, and that Susan cannot possibly live without music and drawing, whether or not there is soap to cleanse the linen or indeed whether there is any linen to cleanse. Pompey must know Greek and Astronomy and spend his time star-gazing, utterly regardless of the neglected corn-field, and Topey must. . .learn to delicately manipulate globes and spheres while brindle goes unmilked, the house unswept, and while the meat. . .lies forgotten and uncooked.19

Foreshadowing the later claim that formal schooling was generally impractical or worse, conservatives during Reconstruction claimed that

. . .boys, white and black, ought to work. . .when their parents are not rich enough to support them in idleness. We doubt very much whether continued, uninterrupted schooling is advantageous. . . .Certain it is, that the white property owners of this State are not bound to keep the lazy children of the negroes at school all the year round, when, for their own good, they should be kept at work a greater portion of the time. . . .They must be taught morals and manners, and to earn their

18 Ibid., March 19, 1872, and Clarksville Standard, April 6, 1872.

19 Austin Democratic Statesman, August 22, 1871.
daily bread as Southern white men have to do and are now not above doing. 20

Again foreshadowing the form which debates on educational questions would later take, conservatives often bitterly ridiculed those who defended the radical public system, or even education generally, as "pedagogues." They claimed that such persons—it was assumed they were teachers—were seeking easy positions to avoid work; that professional teachers were shiftless and lazy; and that schools were better placed in the hands of persons who only taught for a short time and then moved on to better things. Professional educators were never practical men; instead, they had "a great deal of book learning and a very little practical common sense." 21 Public schools hence were of little benefit except to enable "pedagogues" to earn an easy living. This attitude often carried over to teachers who were not public, but private, educators, although it tended to be directed most often at public school teachers both during and after Reconstruction.

20 Ibid., June 20, 1873. Similarly, the Clarksville Standard, April 6, 1872, noted that the freedmen could benefit from education "though they will never attain the intelligent culture of the White." Blacks should have educational opportunities "provided the white man is not enslaved by endless labor to give it to them. Let them bear their own burdens, as the poor whites do."

21 Austin Daily Statesman, July 17, 1873.
In summary, it seems clear that the attitudes of many Texans toward public schools, private schools, and education in general were affected by the highly charged partisan debates of the Reconstruction era. Many of the arguments later used against the expansion of public education especially were clearly enunciated during the early 1870's. As one observer noted when attacking the radical system, "Has it not produced an odium that will make the name of this school system stink to the people for the next twenty years?" Clearly this "odium" affected public sentiments on all educational questions for at least a generation after the end of Reconstruction in Texas.

The public debates on educational questions during these decades before the turn of the century undoubtedly reflected the attitudes and desires of Texans on social, political, economic, and moral questions much broader than specific differences over schools and their role in the social system. The many arguments marshalled in favor of expanded educational opportunities by educators and laymen must have been intended to appeal to those aspects of life which were most important to the common man. Assuming that educators, public and private,

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22 Ibid., April 18, 1872. This sentiment was contained in an unsigned letter to the editor.
were convinced of the necessity of schools in increasing number and scope, the arguments used by these educators, and by laymen who pushed for similar goals, must have been intended to influence their audience at points which were most sensitive. In other words, the appeals in favor of increased formal schooling were intended, like all propaganda, to influence through striking the most responsive chord in the minds of the public. The same would, of course, be true of those who were hostile to such expanded facilities, especially public schools.

It was a material appeal linked to state and local "boosterism" that seems to have been most often used in appealing to public opinion in favor of expanded formal schooling. It is impossible to say if persons advocating such expansion of both public and private schools used a material appeal because they sincerely believed it was true or because they knew it would have the greatest impact upon those whom they were attempting to influence. Regardless of motivation, however, this type of appeal was most prominent in the efforts to convince Texans of the benefits of popular, especially public, education.

In appealing to the material interests of Texans two approaches were used. The first stressed the necessity of popular education, especially public schools, for the expansion
of Texas as a whole. Even during the bitter debates of Reconstruction, those favoring public education feared that the reaction of conservatives to the "excesses" of the Republican regime would taint public schools with the stigma of "radicalism." Typically, the Waco Daily Examiner noted, "It has been charged by our Radical friends that the public sentiment of Texas was inimical to the public school system." The Examiner cautioned Texans, "Let it not be said of Texas, that people from the North and West are deterred from settling among us, because of a lack of educational facilities. . . ." 23

Later, during the debates surrounding the writing of the new constitution in 1875, the Examiner again warned that "Texas dare not lag behind the other States" in education because the state would lose "the help of the intelligent and skilled labor of the North" needed "in building up her great material interests." 24

23 Waco Daily Examiner, February 12, 1874.

24 Ibid., October 8, 1875. Similar sentiments were expressed in the Examiner, September 3, 1875, and November 5, 1875. A year later, when the legislature was debating the implementation of the constitutional provisions for public schools, the Dallas Weekly Herald noted that these provisions would stop sentiment ". . . not only in the State, but outside of it that the Democratic party only sought an opportunity to destroy and uproot a system of free schools in Texas." Dallas Weekly Herald, June 17, 1876.
Throughout the remainder of the century, especially during the debates on the question of public education of the latter 1870's and the 1880's, this fear that the lack of educational facilities would deter immigration was a constant theme of those favoring educational expansion of any type. Immigrants from the North, ran the argument, would not come to a state where the principle of popular education was wanting, and those from the South would generally be too poor to educate their children without substantial free schools.\textsuperscript{25} Even when denouncing Republican attacks, both from within and without the state, that Texas had no public schools of significance, educational apologists were forced to admit that such charges "deter many useful men, republicans and democrats, from coming to Texas. . . ."\textsuperscript{26} Even on the frontier, "a want of proper educational facilities. . . has kept more immigrants. . . .\textsuperscript{[away]}

\textsuperscript{25}Dallas Weekly Herald, April 14, 1877; Waco Daily Examiner, September 19, 1876, and July 1, 1877.

\textsuperscript{26}Waco Daily Examiner, March 31, 1877. The Examiner, as the state voice of the Grange, took an active interest in education, especially of a "practical" type. As was typical, it also took an active role in favor of expanding public schools by supporting incorporation and bond elections. The columns of the Examiner and most, but not all, late nineteenth century Texas newspapers were generally filled with vocal support of education during periods before such elections. Such support seems often to have been primarily based on local "boosterism" rather than upon any deep commitment to public education in principle.
than all the reported acts of lawlessness, . . . the presence of hostile tribes and desperadoes, and . . . the general in-
security of life and property."27

A more common material appeal in favor of expanded educational facilities stressed the importance of schools to the development of local communities. This was probably true because of the normally local support of private ventures and because the public system throughout the period depended upon local support, especially taxation, for expansion beyond a rudimentary level. Hence public and private educators, as well as persons who stood to benefit from local economic development stressed this type of local "boosterism" of schools on strictly material grounds.

One of the most straightforward statements of this reason for supporting schools was advanced by the Dallas Weekly Herald in 1877. In that year Dallas was "a growing little city" which needed "mechanics, artisans and manufacturers, classes who create wealth. . . . and enable us to keep the product, the wealth . . . at home." To attract such persons, the city needed, in addition to churches, free public schools. In advocating the levying of a school tax for the city, the Herald noted, "Many

27 Graham Leader, August 18, 1877.
other considerations might be urged, but we have chosen to put the question...upon a single proposition—our material interest."28

Although few public or private schoolmen, or the supporters of education in general, were as blatant as the Herald in pressing a material appeal to foster support, they did continually use this argument in subtler forms. The prosperity of the town was linked to educational advancement in many ways. Good public and private schools would attract persons seeking homes, and these persons would in turn contribute to local prosperity. Typical of such sentiments was the opinion of a private schoolman that "Good schools have never failed to invite population, and the class of people who are induced to settle...is composed of those who add to the moral and material interests of an entire community." Moreover, he added, 'Good schools...fell forests, establish manufactories, supply

28Dallas Weekly Herald, June 16, 1877. Although these sentiments were in favor of public schools, two years previously the speaker at the "closing exercises" of a Dallas private school, the Terrell Institute, noted "the importance of seminaries of learning as auxiliary in building up towns." Ibid., July 3, 1875. See also Graham Leader, November 3, 1883; September 4, 1884; October 4, 1888; Waco Daily Examiner, December 10, 1882, and September 13, 1883. Even the attraction of black schools could be welcomed on economic grounds. See the Examiner, July 18, 1876, for such reaction to a proposed "State Normal School" under the control of the African Methodist Church in Waco.
and sustain printing offices, and build up cities which become emporiums of trade." This concept, that educational facilities would attract immigrants, and hence financial prosperity, was a standard theme of those supporting expanded schooling, and, equally, the lack of good schools was presented as the surest method of destroying local prosperity and even the town itself. As the *Waco Daily Examiner* noted, "No man of wealth and enterprise wants to settle in a town where apparently a premium is offered for the promotion of vice and ignorance. . . ." through the lack of schools.

There were some, however, who questioned not only the accuracy of the contention that schools, especially free public schools, attracted immigrants but also the desirability of immigrants who came only for free schools. Those persons who questioned such pro-education arguments were generally conservatives who were suspicious of public schools on both

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29 *Graham Leader*, August 11, 1877. These views were expressed by the man who headed the private Graham High School. Schoolmen of the era, both public and private, constantly used this method in seeking local financial support and patronage. See Ibid., January 6, 1877, for similar sentiments.

30 *Waco Daily Examiner*, July 25, 1882. The *Examiner* was quoting the *Belton Journal*, which, like the *Examiner*, was bitterly assailing the *Mexia Ledger* for its opposition to local taxation for public schools. See also *Graham Leader*, July 15, 1891, and May 11, 1892.
political and philosophical grounds.\textsuperscript{31} It was argued, for example, that persons who ". . . move into a village or State to get other people to educate their children or to feed or clothe them are not the immigrants wanted in Texas or elsewhere."\textsuperscript{32} Philosophically many conservatives supported the older southern view that individuals should educate their own children, and the best way to accomplish this was to lower taxes so that each person would have the money to do so. Moreover, low taxes would attract far more immigrants of a more desirable type than would free public schools, they argued. Often coupled with such arguments was the vague acknowledgement that Texas might some day need public schools, but only in the future when revenue from public land sales would make such schools possible without taxation. For the present, low taxes, cheap land, and private schools would supply the needs of the state both for attracting immigrants and for educating their children when they came. Conservatives often charged that the immigration argument, like all pro-education sentiments, was the product of schoolmen with a vested interest in public

\textsuperscript{31}Such arguments were especially noticeable in 1879 and 1880, in the turmoil caused by Governor Oran M. Roberts' veto of the public school appropriation bill.

\textsuperscript{32}Austin \textit{Daily Statesman}, June 18, 1879.
education. The Austin *Statesman* summarized all such arguments when it noted,

> Those rabid pedagogues athirst for the juiceness [sic] of...schools say 'immigrants won't come unless free schools invite!' We say immigrants won't come where taxation is two per cent. We don't want immigrants who are too mean to educate their own children, and these are best won to Texas by good private schools and churches. No man was ever roped into Texas by free schools. They frighten civilization from our borders. ... We want neither tramps or beggars as immigrants, but those who propose to educate their own children.\footnote{Ibid., March 26, 1879. See also June 24, 1879; March 24, 1880; April 7, 1880; April 8, 1880; July 10, 1880. The *Statesman* often referred to supporters of expanded public schooling as "pedagogues" or as "two-bit progressives."}

Regardless of their position on the question of public education, most Texans agreed that good schools served as good advertising for both the state and local communities. Some found it reprehensible that Texas should have the reputation of a state without a "thorough" system of public schools.\footnote{Graham Leader, July 8, 1881, quoting the *Dallas Gazette*.} Even those basically opposed to public schools sometimes expressed a belief that a good public system was advisable for Texas if "for no other reason than the distinction it would bring her."\footnote{Austin *Daily Statesman*, March 12, 1884. Even the *Statesman* could note that, at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885, Texas "has nothing more attractive than her splendid system of public free schools..." as revealed in the state's...}
and private, were vital to their reputations. A correspondent of the *Dallas Weekly Herald* noted that, even more than railroads, schoolhouses "will give us more dignity abroad."

In Waco, the *Daily Examiner* opined that both public and private schools reflected "credit" upon the city and added to its "prestige." In commenting on the struggle in Fort Worth for the levying of taxes for the support of local public schools, the *Examiner* saw the issue as a battle between "intelligent, public spirited citizens" and "a non-progressive minority." In a similar vein, the *Graham Leader*, advocating support for local schools, noted, "It is said Graham has a name abroad; but let her not have the name of no school house." Democratic leadership, noted that Texas had the potential for a "great" public school system which would serve to attract many northern immigrants.

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36 *Dallas Weekly Herald*, January 20, 1881.

37 *Waco Daily Examiner*, September 21, 1876; August 27, 1882; August 21, 1883; October 14, 1883. In commenting on the struggle in Fort Worth for the levying of taxes for the support of local public schools, the *Examiner* saw the issue as a battle between "intelligent, public spirited citizens" and "a non-progressive minority." *Ibid.*, August 27, 1882. In a similar vein, the *Graham Leader*, advocating support for local schools, noted, "It is said Graham has a name abroad; but let her not have the name of no school house." *Graham Leader*, October 7, 1876.

38 *Graham Leader*, April 4, 1894. See also April 25, 1894; August 17, 1895; and May 10, 1893.
The strongest opponents of public education in theory changed their attitude when the possibility was raised that some type of state institution would be placed in their locality. Even during Reconstruction, that perennial foe of public education, the Austin Statesman, praised the idea of establishing a state normal school to train teachers, during a debate in the state legislature over a proposal to place such a school in Austin. The Statesman expounded at length on the benefits of the city as an educational center, mentioning the access students would have to state offices and to the legislature. It even suggested that the state take over control of the private Texas Military Institute. Further, the Austin paper felt that the school's president, John G. James, would make an ideal head for the proposed school. Finally, the Statesman expressed the hope that the previous

39 In justice, it should be noted that conservative opponents of public education, such as the editors of the Austin Statesman, were generally not as hostile to institutions of "higher learning" supported by state funds as they were to public common schools. It is probable, however, that this inconsistency was based on the practical grounds of the material benefit such a school would be to the local community. The Statesman vigorously supported the creation of a state university and the location of the school in Austin. Throughout the years from 1879 to 1884, the Statesman, like its favorite political leader, Governor Roberts, expressed continual hostility to public common schools while giving strong support to the creation of the state university.
error of placing the state agricultural school at Bryan when it should have been in Austin would not be repeated. Later, in 1879, when a state normal school was finally established and placed at Huntsville, the Statesman again noted the error of not locating it in the capital city, especially because Huntsville was "the chosen seat of all human vices and crimes and physical and moral diseases."  

More than attracting persons seeking homes or serving as advertising for the community, educational supporters maintained that schools, public or private, would attract persons seeking good schools for their children specifically. Educational facilities "will tempt pupils from other and distant points," and, more importantly, attract families who would

40 Austin Daily Statesman, March 31, 1874. Throughout this period the Statesman expressed strong hostility to the Bryan school, and, although there were some questions of educational philosophy involved, one is struck by what appears to be hostility to the agricultural school simply because it was not in Austin.

41 Ibid., April 30, 1879. Previously, the Statesman had reacted favorably to suggestions that all the various religious denominations "...should have a college in the university to exist on the heights at Austin." Later, noting the gifts of the Vanderbilt family, the paper felt that someone should tell such New York millionaires of the "charms" of Austin as an educational site--a fact which had been recognized by "the founders of the Republic." In both cases, this was before the final legislative decision to place the state university in Austin. Ibid., February 7, 1875, and March 16, 1878.
contribute to the local economy. If suitable schools did not exist, then potential settlers would "have to go to some other county to educate their children." Arguments of this type in favor of expanded schooling and its economic advantages were especially prevalent when, as was often the case, private institutions offered to locate in the community which offered the greatest inducement in the form of cash or land or both. In efforts to gain such support, local boosters would often place the question on a financial basis by emphasizing the return from the money spent by pupils or their families.

Typical of such appeals was the reaction of those interested in attracting the Presbyterian-controlled Austin College after its removal from Huntsville in 1874. In both Austin and Dallas, strong, and unsuccessful, drives were launched to attract the school. In August, the Statesman noted, "Sherman

42 Ibid., September 21, 1873.
43 Waco Daily Examiner, November 5, 1882. See also, Graham Leader, January 7, 1881, and May 29, 1884.
44 Graham Leader, July 15, 1891. See also, Ibid., May 11, 1892; January 25, 1893; and Waco Daily Examiner, December 10, 1882.
45 See the Dallas Weekly Herald, January 31, 1874; February 28,
puts up $25,000 and a ten-acre town lot to secure the location there. . . . and fifty families will move to the town at once to educate their children. Isn't Austin an enterprising, public-spirited town?" Later, in September, it claimed, if Austin attracted the school, "One hundred of the best families of Houston, Galveston, and other towns and cities of Texas would be drawn hither at once. . . ." In November, the Statesman felt that $35,000, would bring the school to Austin, and "it is positively certain that the amount doubled. . . will be returned through the institution annually to our city." Finally, in December, the editors complained of what was often true of such pledges of money and property to attract schools. Sherman was "playing a scurvy trick on the other towns of Texas that are competing for the Austin College" by not actually raising the money claimed and by overvaluing the property offered. 46

1874; and March 28, 1874. On February 28, the Herald expressed great pleasure that the school was to be located in Dallas, noting the material benefits of such "first-class colleges" which were "an ornament to the Southwestern states." A month later it reported glumly that the Presbyterians had decided not to locate the school in Dallas because the pledged money and land were not immediately available.

46Austin Daily Statesman, May 24, 1875; August 28, 1875; September 1, 1875; September 2, 1875; September 11, 1875; October 5, 1875; October 13, 1875; November 3, 1875; November 4, 1875; and December 18, 1875. As early as 1872, when the Presbyterians first began to discuss the relocation of the school, the Statesman opined that such schools ". . . are not only an
As important as establishing schools to attract pupils and their families was the necessity of such educational institutions in keeping students at home for schooling instead of sending them "abroad." Hence educational boosters continually stressed the need for schools of all types to keep the money spent on education in the local community. Such local schools would also allow parents to keep their children closer to the protective environs of the home. Typically, the Clarksville Standard noted, "People should always sustain home institutions of all kinds, if they have merit," while the Waco Daily Examiner lauded the "growing disposition of Texans to patronize home institutions." Some who pushed this argument advantage to the people, mentally and morally, but also as a means of bringing them prosperity. . . . [T]he best class of immigrants always have an eye to educational advantages, and will pay a higher price of [sic] homes where these advantages are to be found." Ibid., November 30, 1872.

47Clarksville Standard, February 6, 1881, and Waco Daily Examiner, August 21, 1878. See also, Clarksville Standard, October 7, 1881; Graham Leader, August 21, 1884; Pilot Point Mirror, February 4, 1888; and Waco Daily Examiner, January 6, 1876. On November 21, 1873, after noting "a good school building, built by private enterprise" at Georgetown, the Austin Daily Statesman continued, "Why can't private enterprise in Austin build a large building suitable for a female boarding school, and thereby save the money which we annually send out of the county to have our daughters educated? As a simple matter of dollars and cents, I know of nothing that would pay better. Instead of sending money out of Travis county, a suitable building would insure at least the disbursement of $50,000 per annum."
also noted that local schools were always cheaper than those in other counties or cities—or worse, those located in other states.48

When appealing to material interests in their efforts to gain support for educational expansion, advocates were especially careful to stress the benefits to all economic classes, rich and poor alike. It was apparently assumed that the poor would especially support public education because it was "free" and hence would supply their children with educational opportunities not otherwise available. It was to the rich—at least to property owners—that educational advocates directed their most pointed appeals. This was basically true because incorporation by towns for educational purposes and the voting of local taxes to augment the meager state funds was limited to

48Graham Leader, July 24, 1890. Occasionally local educators and local promoters would clash over the question of patronizing local schools. In 1876, the Waco Daily Examiner upbraided the Reverend Sam P. Wright, president of the Methodist-controlled Waco Female College, for having his catalogues printed in St. Louis instead of Waco. It called attention to the free publicity given by the Examiner to Wright's school—a common practice of both newspapers and schoolmen of the period. Wright in a letter retorted, "This twaddle about patronizing home institutions is all very well until one can do better abroad. . . . The President of Waco Female College expects his school to be patronized. . . . Because he is determined to make it second to none. . . . If he does not do this, he says send abroad." The Examiner cited Wright's letter as a "deliberate dead beat advertisement." Waco Daily Examiner, June 27, 1876.
property owners. After 1885, this was also true of common school districts in counties. Typical were the sentiments that public education was "...not a question of charity, because it benefits the rich as well as the poor," and the "wealthy man will be paid not only in the increased valuation of his property, but in the happy thought that he has contributed his means toward ameliorating the condition of his less fortunate fellow creatures."49

This theme, that schools, public and private, would increase property values and hence benefit property owners, was common. It was the businessman, according to the advocates of educational expansion, who stood to gain from the increased prosperity which schools supposedly brought. This argument was directed at wealthy men who could afford to privately educate their children and who might be more prone to espouse the older southern tradition that no man should be taxed to educate the children of another.50 The most specific appeal of this type endorsed the idea that better schools would raise the value of rental property. Supporting the levying of educational

49 Graham Leader, August 21, 1884. The Leader also noted that good schools "...tend to infuse life and energy into the people of towns that have for many years been afflicted with a painful dullness." See also, Waco Daily Examiner, July 1, 1877.

50 Waco Daily Examiner, June 13, 1877.
taxes, the Waco Daily Examiner noted,

...it is the presence of the non-property holder that makes renting possible...In all towns and cities where there are good schools, there are numbers of families who are there to educate their children who are renters.51

The Examiner estimated that fifty percent of those attracted to Waco by good schools would rent. These working poor would supply the materials for increasing the wealth of the rich and the general prosperity of the town.52 Educational advocates were, however, always at pains to note that "every citizen has an interest," or that "every citizen of the community, of every profession, calling, and craft" should support schools.53

While stressing the material benefits of expanded popular education, those who advocated such measures did not ignore less tangible benefits. Expansion of popular education supposedly would advance the march of civilization, improve both

51Ibid., November 5, 1882. Good schools attracted the poor, and it was "the presence of the poor that makes town property more valuable than country soil, and enables the rich to pile riches on riches." "As a general rule the poor man is the producer of the wealth of the city. It is he who toils and coins, while the rich takes his sweat and kneads it into brick and mortar to put up buildings to rent to the poor." See also, Ibid., July 1, 1877; March 3, 1882; Austin Democratic Statesman, November 30, 1872; and May 24, 1874.

52Ibid.

53Waco Daily Examiner, November 9, 1877, and Graham Leader, August 18, 1877.
public and private morals, create an enlightened electorate, and be in keeping with the "spirit of the age." Even here, however, the focus was often upon the personal benefit Texans would receive from these less concrete results of expanded schooling. Schoolmen, and their supporters, clearly felt that even broad moral and patriotic appeals would have more effect if placed in the context of personal profit. Hence they took the position that support of educational efforts, both private and public, would serve both Texas in general and Texans as individuals.  

In the broadest terms, education was presented by its supporters as the advance agent of "civilization." Texans, by supporting popular education, were striking a blow for "human progress." Schools were "the civilizers of mankind, and have dissipated the mist that surrounded us in barbarism." Further expansion of education would lead "to the dawning of the perfect day, the highest civilization and enlightenment attainable by our race, according to its supporters.  

54 For an excellent analysis of these broader purposes of American education, see Welter, Popular Education, p. 141ff. 

55 Waco Daily Examiner, July 8, 1877. See also, November 11, 1874; October 3, 1883; and Dallas Weekly Herald, June 16, 1877. 

56 Dallas Weekly Herald, September 4, 1884.
This linking of popular education with civilization and progress reflected, intentionally or unintentionally, the combination of traditional American beliefs in the value of education and Hegelian philosophy found in the ideas and writings of William Torrey Harris. Harris, who served as superintendent of the St. Louis public schools, 1868-1880, and later as United States Commissioner of Education, 1889-1906, was probably the most significant American educational philosopher of the late nineteenth century. His educational thought was essentially a conservative attempt to reconcile inevitable change with the maintenance of traditional values. He viewed popular education as one of the methods whereby the destiny of civilization would be achieved. His critics charged that his ideas tended to become an apology for the established classes and the new industrial order. Harris' philosophy was clearly aimed at using education to accommodate the young to the established—and inevitable—social order. It is impossible to gauge the direct impact of Harris' ideas on Texans, educators or laymen, although it is interesting to note that when the state initiated a program of summer normal schools in 1881, several schoolmen from Missouri were imported to head the schools. Supporters of educational expansion in Texas, whether they were aware of Harris' Hegelian educational
theories or not, often stressed the contributions of education to the progress of civilization. 57

For educational advocates it was the special duty of parents to support expanded schooling and to thus insure that their children would play their role in the advancement of civilization. The Graham Leader, always a strong supporter of any type of expanded education, felt that the man who ignored his children's education would, instead of creating "a grace to society" and "a pillar in the temple of civilization," consign them "...only to be fit for the lower walks of life" and to "become a disgrace to his name." 58 A year later the same paper opined that parents were "responsible before God and man for the education of the coming generation. They are clay in your hands. You can mold them into good men and women

57 For discussions of the ideas of W. T. Harris see, Cremin, Transformation of the School, pp. 14-20, and Curti, Social Ideas, pp. 310-347.

58 Graham Leader, September 4, 1890. About the same time, the Pilot Point Post-Mirror noted "a number of boys daily upon our streets with two splendid schools in operation." This was "wrong" and prompted the question, "Why don't you send your children to school... ." The result of this lack of parental guidance and of schooling was boys "lounging around in out of the way places, jumping upon freight trains, ignorance and degredation stamped upon their faces." Pilot Point Post-Mirror, October 20, 1888. Similar sentiments can be found in the Waco Daily Examiner, November 30, 1882.
and fit them for the battles of life, or you can mold them for poverty, ignorance and crime.\textsuperscript{59} Even the lowliest "laboring man" should have been willing to sacrifice so that his children could elevate themselves through education and thus contribute to the advancement of mankind.\textsuperscript{60}

Girls, as well as boys, could contribute to this progress of civilization, according to those who wanted greater formal schooling. In the opinion of the \textit{Dallas Weekly Herald}, girls exerted "a good and salutary influence on the world. . . ."\textsuperscript{61} This influence was especially important because in society . . . woman is mistress of that which decides its hues. Let her, then, be trained to wield this fearful power with skill and principle, and for the salvation of social man. . . . For the love and honor of our homes it then behooves us\textsuperscript{62} bestow the most liberal culture on the female mind.

More than advancing civilization in general, education was the key to the development of American civilization in

\textsuperscript{59}\textit{Graham Leader}, September 16, 1891.

\textsuperscript{60}\textit{Clarksville Standard}, January 7, 1881. These sentiments were contained in an anonymous letter to the editor, the author of which warned against the "mechanic" who, in his "anxiety to get money hurries his boys into the workshop and his girls into the laundries, kitchens, or dress-making shops," and ignored their need for formal education.

\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Dallas Weekly Herald}, September 27, 1873.

\textsuperscript{62}\textit{Ibid.}. 
particular, many schoolmen and their lay supporters believed. This concept was especially favored in a state like Texas which was still close to the frontier and was being rapidly populated by immigrants from many parts of the nation and from foreign countries. Popular education would, its advocates continuously stated, aid in the "Americanization" of these varied peoples. As the Waco Daily Examiner noted,

The common school is the great equalizer—remember, not the great leveler. . . . We gather the population of this vast empire [Texas] from all the states of the Union, and from every nationality in Europe and the civilized world. The moral and political sentiments of their people vary as much as do their faces.

Homogeneity is the grand desideratum and to this end. . . there is no engine half so powerful as the common school systems of the American states. . . . Here the children of the Teuton, the Celt, the Latin, the Greek, the hebrew [sic] and even of the pagan meet and are ground over with a liberal sprinkling of the native element, and the result is a new race, composite, with one set of sympathies, one end and aim in life and with one passionate patriotism and love of one country.63

Possibly even more heavily emphasized than the general civilizing effects of popular schools was the moral impact of education. Advocates were convinced, and certainly tried to convince the average citizen, that schools were the ultimate answer to various moral problems which, in the late nineteenth century as always, seemed to be undermining American society.

63Waco Daily Examiner, January 4, 1884.
It was "an ascertained fact, that when the school house and church flourish the dram shop, and that vilest of all vile nuisances, the 10 pen ally [sic], will languish." Good schools, it was maintained, would improve even the moral climate of railroad towns--often cited as the epitome of immorality--where vice, crime, and the selling of "spiritous liquors" made life difficult.

If good schools would improve the moral tone of railroad towns, educational institutions themselves fared better if located away from the evils of the world. For example, the Waco Daily Examiner described the community of Thorp's Springs in Hood county (the location of several private educational endeavors including Add-Ran College, the forerunner of Texas Christian University) as "an educational village. . .away from the vice and allurements of railroad towns and the world at large." It was "in a healthy mountainous district. Surrounded by earnest, pious families, strict teachers and zealous ministers, the student can progress safely from year to year, with little danger to morals." This type of description was often

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64 Austin Democratic Statesman, February 1, 1872.
65 Graham Leader, September 16, 1881; July 6, 1882; and August 25, 1883.
66 Waco Daily Examiner, October 2, 1878.
used by town "boosters" and schoolmen to advertise local educational institutions to prospective patrons. For example, an advertisement for the "Grapevine Masonic Institute" described it as being "sufficiently remote from railroads to be exempt from their contaminating influences, and near enough to reap all the advantages of travel. . . ."67

The supposed antagonism between good schools on the one hand and "whiskey" and other evils on the other was also an argument used, in reverse, by the growing number of prohibitionists in late nineteenth century Texas. Educational advocates pressed the claim that schools tended to lessen the hold of this social evil because educated men were less prone to indulge. In addition, schools in towns where no liquor was sold protected the morals of the children.68 Those who favored outlawing the sale of liquor noted that schools could not flourish in towns where it was sold: "If we have good schools we must look for them in places where the community

67Dallas Weekly Herald, August 5, 1876.
68The Austin Democratic Statesman, February 3, 1872, noted that the small town of Salado had a "flourishing" college and that "No liquor is allowed to be sold within 5 miles of the place, an excellent arrangement for the morals of the youth of the college."
is opposed to gambling, dram-selling and all other vices which lead to crime."  

This connection between the lack of educational facilities and vice was often used to show how crime was the inevitable result of poor schools. The lack of proper schooling filled the prisons with inmates who would have been useful citizens if they had had the necessary education. Clearly, the school was "the engine with which we must fight the triumphant and ever vigorous school master," so ran the argument.  

The linking of ignorance and crime was often used to commend educational expansion to the wealthier elements in the society. Education was presented as one of the chief bulwarks of private property. An ignorant population was ". . . per

69Graham Leader, August 27, 1885. Again describing Thorp's Springs, the Leader noted, "Parents from all over the State send their children to these schools because they know there is not the slightest danger of their children being drawn into the company of those who indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." These sentiments were contained in an editorial revealingly titled "Whiskey vs. Education."

70Austin Daily Statesman, March 12, 1884. See also, Dallas Weekly Herald, April 14, 1877, and June 12, 1884. A letter to the Waco Daily Examiner, July 2, 1874, from the "Bold Springs Academy," opined, ". . . ignorance is . . . the prolific source of crime; the mythical Pandora box of modern realization, where legions of devils incarnate come forth to curse society and blacken the scroll of our country with deeds of darkest dye. . . . there is but one antidote—it is education, and he who faithfully discharges his duty as an educator is a benefactor. . . . to society at large. . . ."
force vicious population," and "the great laboring class... well educated and employed, make the pride and strength of their country; but ignorant and vicious, they are the ever fit material for mobs and violence." According to their proponents, schools would inculcate proper habits and respect for law and property, while, without education, "the youth grow up idle, ignorant, lawbreaking, law-defying, villainous, and property--your property, Mr. tax-payer--pays the bill."

This argument in favor of expanded schooling as the chief bastion of "law and order" was most clearly outlined by a speaker before the Waco Bar Association in 1876. After noting that Texas faced "a carnival of crime," the speaker found the reason in the disruption of schools by the Civil War and Reconstruction. This allowed a generation to grow up "with very little training, moral or intellectual." More than this, the emancipation of the blacks "turned loose a vast additional flood of ignorance," and the chief result of massive "ignorance" was a lack of respect for the "sacredness of property." The answer to the wave of crime and immorality sweeping the state

71Dallas Weekly Herald, June 9, 1877. The summer of 1877 saw widespread labor violence, culminating in the famous Pittsburgh railroad riot in July.

72Graham Leader, February 7, 1880, quoting the American Journal of Education.
was to "scatter schools over the country and let the teachers inculcate the doctrine every day upon the children, that the man or boy that would take the smallest thing not his own... is a felon and a thief..." The speaker made it clear, however, that it was not simply education in general that he was calling for, but rather education that would "implant deeply in the plastic heart of the infant, a profound reverence for law..." 73

Those favoring the expansion of popular education, in addition to stressing the role of schools in insuring better morals and respect for law and private property, maintained that it would serve as the main support of the democratic political system in the United States. Indeed, schools were the "sheet anchor" of American republican principles and the primary method of perfecting the political system. 74

73 Waco Daily Examiner, June 8 and 10, 1876. Similarly, another observer feared that the lack of proper educational facilities doomed the "youth of Texas" to a "career of crime instead of virtue and usefulness..." Austin Daily Statesman, January 16, 1880, citing "the Telegram 73." 74 Waco Daily Examiner, July 29, 1876. The Austin Statesman would occasionally acknowledge that education was important to the maintenance of the American political system. Even during the bitter hostility of the Reconstruction era when the Republican public school system was a prime target of the Statesman, it noted, "The thorough education of every son and daughter of our broad and beautiful country should be the prime object of every American citizen. This is the only safeguard..."
emphasis was usually placed upon the importance of education in maintaining the stability of American political institutions. Persons who were uneducated would not have the proper respect for the rights and property of others, nor would they understand the workings of the political system itself.\textsuperscript{75} Even those opposed to public schools admitted that

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the only plea for education at the public expense is that the safety of our government and the public good rest upon the intelligence of the masses. Any other plea would be a species of agrarianism sic which would feed and clothe, as well as educate, all the children at the public expense.\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

More than simply supporting education in a general sense as a protector of the political system, many supporters demanded specific instruction in subjects, such as "political economy," which would teach correct principles. This meant of our republican government, and of the rights, morals and happiness of our rising offspring." Ten years later it quoted with approval the belief that the "desire of all Texans is to educate the youth. . . .to become better qualified for the discharge of his private obligations as a citizen and of his public duties to the state." \textit{Austin Daily Statesman}, April 18, 1873, and January 19, 1883, quoting the \textit{Dallas Times}.

\textsuperscript{75}Graham Leader, September 7, 1882. Similarly, without education, "it is absurd to expect stability in government, or official purity and honesty, with the right of suffrage. . . ." \textit{Ibid.}, November 11, 1876, quoting the \textit{Jacksboro Echo}. See also, \textit{Austin Democratic Statesman}, December 5, 1871.

\textsuperscript{76}\textit{Waco Daily Examiner}, March 8, 1884, quoting a local political leader opposed to expending local public funds for a new schoolhouse.
that "teachers should give special attention to the elements of morality; the functions of government, . . . the relation of government to the moral law, [and] the constitutions of the State and of the United States." This was especially true because American democracy created the possibility that any man might become a legislator and hence would need to be grounded in the proper political principles.

Those who argued in favor of the expansion of popular education—whether on the basis of its contribution to public and private morals, its relationship to "law and order," or its role in maintaining and perfecting the American political system—generally did so in response to questions arising from debates concerning public schools. Often, however, their arguments were applicable to both public and private education. Certainly such advocates did not normally intend that their support of public schools be construed as an attack on private education. It was probably the early twentieth century before

77 Austin Daily Statesman, September 7, 1879.

78 Ibid., February 21, 1884. The Statesman discussed with approval a New Jersey law requiring the teaching of an understanding of the United States Constitution in public schools. If such laws had existed "years ago, when the present crop of law-makers was in the sprouting state, it is possible our statute books would not be encumbered with so many foolish laws for the supreme courts to declare unconstitutional."
most Texans clearly conceptualized the difference between the two, and, in reality, it was true that many public schools operated as private, tuition-supported institutions at least part of each school year, especially in rural areas.

Those who opposed public education generally did not directly attack education in the abstract and usually explicitly expressed a favorable opinion of private ventures. Their attacks on the principle of public education, however, often tended to be a broad disparagement of the efficacy of formal education generally. Such conservative attacks on public schooling were based partially upon the older southern traditions and partially upon a belief that the masses of the people needed little formal education. Indeed, formal schooling could be positively detrimental to the masses both in a personal and in a social sense, according to their point of view. Hence it appears that the best statements of anti-education sentiment in late nineteenth century Texas can be found in the opinions of those who opposed public schools in principle but who also apparently took a rather dim view of formal education in any form. The lack of a clear definition between public and private education undoubtedly aided generalized condemnations.
The Austin Statesman remained throughout this period a most consistently strident voice for those who opposed public education. This was especially true during the debates of the late 1870's and early 1880's. Its attacks were launched both at public education and at persons who favored it—especially at schoolmen who favored it. This hostility to "pedagogues" seems to have been deeper than simply an antagonism directed against public school teachers. It was clearly an expression of traditional American "anti-intellectualism." 79

The contention that education would serve as the best method of improving public and private morals was clearly not true according to those hostile to public schools. Moral education was not only the duty of parents but also their "right." It was argued that parents were the "best judges of the mental and physical power of the child to respond to intellectual tasks," and that mothers were "better qualified to teach their children in such matters than the hired school teacher." Moreover, such exponents claimed that public education especially infringed "upon family rule and parental prerogative," and "it

79 For a broad discussion of this topic, and its especial relation to educators, see Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life (New York, 1963), part v.
treads on the toes of parental liberty.\textsuperscript{80} If parents allowed others to teach their children morality, then such parents could not protest when their children went wrong because they had abdicated their "rights."\textsuperscript{81} According to the Austin Statesman,

Parents should watch the books and flash literature devoured by boys. We see them making selections. . . with rare discrimination in favor of Wild Bill, Ned Buntline, and 'yeller kivered' literature. Sermons and prayers will avail nothing when the soul is poisoned by foul recitals of crime or of passion and lust half-veiled beneath the suggestive platitudes of a most significant phraseology. The market for this detestable literature is supplied by that gross parental indifference born of the fact that the state is supposed to nurture and guard the intelligence and morals of the young. Parents are absolved from responsibility by the blessed free school system. . . . \textsuperscript{82}

More than simply infringing upon parental rights and possibly ignoring proper moral training, public schools were the positive breeding ground of vice and immorality, its opponents claimed. "There is no depravity, social or personal, to which the universal free school system does not minister," they cried.\textsuperscript{83} This was true because public education mixed "good" children

\textsuperscript{80}Austin Daily Statesman, October 31, 1883, and March 30, 1881, quoting the Dallas Times. See also Ibid., December 20, 1879. Arguments such as these were almost daily fare during this period.

\textsuperscript{81}Ibid., October 5, 1879.

\textsuperscript{82}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., August 6, 1879. See also, September 9, 1879, and September 26, 1879.
with "bad," and the vices of the most "depraved" were absorbed, away from parental oversight, by those who should "be trained for Congress" but who were "really fitted for the penitentiary." Those who objected noted that the public schools forced all children through the same curriculum and thus ill fitted the superior for their proper station in life, while it also prevented parents from overseeing the religious instruction of their children and left them open to the blandishments of infidelity or false teaching.

According to educational opponents crime not only was not made less of an evil through education, it actually became more prevalent and more sophisticated. Typically, opponents of public schools claimed that crime was much more widespread in those states with thorough systems of public education. States like Massachusetts and New York had far higher crime rates than

84 Ibid., June 5, 1879. "Are women as true and virtuous? Are the youths from the free schools as good citizens and honest and true as they who were taught at home or in the subscription academy?" Obviously the answer was no. Ibid., July 3, 1879.

85 Ibid., June 18, 1879, and September 6, 1879. The Statesman not only noted one of the objections of some Texans to public schools but also a major problem facing schoolmen of all types when it observed that "Baptists at once raise up and protest against the instruction of their children by Romanists or Methodists and these and the Presbyterians are resolved that the morals of their boys and girls shall not be perverted by other 'false prophets'. . . ." Ibid., September 6, 1879.
Texas because their public schools had bred a generation of persons who were too educated to work honestly, so they claimed.\textsuperscript{86} Indeed,

the great criminals are educated and not the ignorant, and crime is no longer deemed the child of ignorance. Statistics show that the public schools fill society with defaulters and the penitentiary with forgers and villains of all degrees of moral turpitude, claimed those who basically questioned the role of education in American society and not just public education.\textsuperscript{87} Attacking the "Michigan University," which was advertised as the capstone of a system of free public schools, the \textit{Statesman} noted,

The moral good done by free schools is discovered in the fact that the multitude educated in them are too sharp to toil; too adroit to be convicted of crime, and steal too much at a time to be anything worse than 'defaulters.' But this Michigan university is especially attractive to the products of free schools. It has a great law department, by which forgers, counterfeiters, defaulters, loafers and idlers, kidgloved by free school education are made especially skillful in escaping Jack Ketch and the Penitentiary.\textsuperscript{88}

Further they believed that if public schools tended to increase

\textsuperscript{86}\textit{Ibid.}, August 6, 1879; April 30, 1879; March 28, 1882. According to the \textit{Statesman} it was true in New York, and coming to be true in Texas that "...while the illiterate committed the greater number of petty crimes, the educated, taught enough to evade fields and workshops, are swindlers and defaulters and tramps of this peculiarly idle and vicious age." April 30, 1879.

\textsuperscript{87}\textit{Ibid.}, February 20, 1879.

\textsuperscript{88}\textit{Ibid.}, June 1, 1879.
crime among whites, such institutions were especially pernicious for blacks, since even the rudiments of formal education "will render any negro a loafer and idler. He knows too much to work." 89

Conservative opponents of public schools also discounted the significance of education in maintaining and perfecting the American political system. By definition public schools were a violation of sound political doctrine and hence inculcated wrong-headed political ideas into the children who attended them. Children were thus "trained as beggars and sycophants" who did not revere the true political principles of the republic. Proponents of true "Jeffersonian democracy" could not tolerate public education in principle, nor could they allow their children to be educated in institutions which violated so basic a truth. 90

89 Ibid., March 31, 1879. This attack by the Statesman on public education is noteworthy because it was in the context of one launched at Dr. Barnas Sears, the head of the conservative Peabody Fund, which even the Statesman generally supported.

90 Ibid., March 8, 1879; March 21, 1879; April 30, 1879. "Popular liberty and popular freedom of thought and opinion demand the separation of church and State and for the same reason of schools and the State." Ibid., March 21, 1879. Moreover, public schools were "obstructions to the restoration of that social and civil blessedness of which they still dream who entertain hallowed recollections of the original Southern system of life." Ibid., March 8, 1879.
Public schools helped contribute to the development of "the educated and unparalleled vices of society and government. . . ." their opponents maintained. This was true because the large amount of public funds placed in the hands of schoolmen created a tempting source of fraud and peculation. The more money placed in the public system the more that could, and would, be stolen, they argued, and children educated in such a system would absorb such lessons. More importantly, some feared that public schools fostered a leveling tendency which could be disastrous:

Free schools have given birth to the commune, and the commune lives upon revolution and blood. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and other Northern States we have seen anarchy supreme, with life and property held as naught. These States with their 'enlightened' system of education, are producing more tramps and vagabonds than any other portion of the Union. . . . We are to have these same blessed free schools, in which love of home and father and mother are destroyed and Communists produced.

Significantly, all these arguments used in the late 1870's and early 1880's had been offered during Reconstruction in the debates over public schools. Such arguments reflect the continuing stigma of "radicalism" attached to public schools, and possibly education in general. A typical attack during

\[91\text{Ibid., June 1, 1879.} \quad 92\text{Ibid., July 20, 1879.} \quad 93\text{Ibid., April 17, 1879.}\]
Reconstruction noted that "book learning is an excellent thing," but that it would not make a good citizen. Formal schooling, it was claimed, offered no bar to crime or immorality, and, in fact, "literary proficiency...only enables them to perpetrate criminal acts with more ease and facility." Children of "the masses...must work the greater part of their time, or disorder, crime, and ruin will ensue," educational opponents warned. Finally, the education of blacks was presented as a mistake because, obviously, "the old negro men and women" trained under slavery were "the very best of this race," while younger educated blacks were "about the worst."  

This continuing association of expanded popular education, especially public schools, with "radicalism" was linked to a most important facet of the educational debates in late nineteenth century Texas. Regardless of the position taken, the entire question of expanded educational opportunity was discussed from a decidedly southern point of view. Both advocates and opponents, especially of public schooling, tended to place their arguments in a sectional context, stressing the "southernism" of their point of view. Beyond the general southern

94 Ibid., July 27, 1873.
sectionalism which served as a background for all educational discussions, several specific themes were prominent.

Obviously the question of black schools—there was never any serious discussion of integrated schooling in Texas even during Reconstruction—surfaced any time education, particularly public education, was discussed. Undoubtedly the vast majority of white Texans believed that blacks were incapable of benefiting equally with whites from education because of their natural inferiority. Without a doubt black public institutions were less numerous and inferior to those of whites, even if, as whites often protested, Negroes received their fair share of public funds. Black private educational endeavors were not numerous, and, since much secondary and even primary education in rural areas was in private hands, blacks could not in any sense be said to have had an educational system equal to that of whites.95

95Although beyond the scope of this study, it is possible to surmise that public funds appropriated for Negro public schools may have been more or less equal to that appropriated for white before the turn of the century. As Louis Harlan notes in his Separate and Unequal, the glaring disparities in the expenditure of public monies did not arise until during and after the educational crusades of the early twentieth century. Harlan limited his study to the states of the Southeast, but it is probable that the same could be said for Texas. It should be noted, in justice to Texas and the South, that black educational facilities were inferior to those of whites throughout the United States during the late nineteenth century.
Those opposed to the rapid expansion of public schools did not generally directly attack the spending of public funds for black education on racial grounds before 1900. They often did obliquely attack those who advocated increased spending on public schooling for all by noting, as the Austin Statesman did in 1873, that black children needed to work rather than go to school. The Statesman questioned whether the property holders of Texas should be taxed "to school all the negro children in the State the whole year round, when most of them, for a great portion of the time, should be at work, making an honest living, as poor white children are obliged to do!"\(^{96}\)

Ironically those who seemed most opposed to the expansion of public spending on education often were the most vociferous in defending what Texas, and the South, had already done for the education of blacks. Typically, during the debates surrounding the concept of federal aid to states contained in the Blair bills before Congress in the 1880's, J. L. M. Curry, the Virginia-born general agent of the Peabody Fund, was lauded by a major opponent of public schooling for his defense of the South and black education:

He says the northern notion that the whites in the south do not want the negroes educated is unqualifiedly false.

\(^{96}\)Austin Daily Statesman, July 8, 1873.
The white people of the south last year contributed fourteen of sixteen millions raised for educational purposes—poor as they are. There are at present nearly one million colored children going to school in the south, and there are numerous normal schools, law schools, medical schools and colleges devoted exclusively to the education of the colored race. The elevation of the negro is peculiarly the problem of the south, as treated by the whites.97

It is significant, however, that those who favored expanded educational facilities also defended the South and Texas from charges that they had not provided adequate schooling for the blacks.98 Hence both advocates and opponents of educational expansion, for blacks or for the population generally, rose to defend Texas and the South when attacked by "outsiders."

Equally, both proponents and opponents of educational expansion at public expense reacted with hostility to any suggestion of racial mixing in public schools. Although there was never any question of such integration in Texas, both sides reacted with hostility to any report of such attempts in the North. Typically implying a link between public schools and radicalism, the Statesman noted with glee that "Colored children do not make much progress toward getting into the public schools set apart for the white children in the north."

97Ibid., February 4, 1885.

98Waco Daily Examiner, July 29, 1876, and September 20, 1882.
This remark was occasioned by reports of mob action in Wyandotte, Kansas, "the stomping ground of John Brown," which forced a black man to remove his children from a white school.  

Similarly the Waco Daily Examiner, generally a strong proponent of expanded educational facilities, reacted negatively to attempts in Illinois to force integration. This reaction, however, clearly reflected an apprehension that such actions might hinder the development of public schools in Texas. The Examiner noted:

In the south the colored people, as a rule, prefer separate and distinct schools for their children. When practicable they also prefer colored teachers. . . . The public schools, as a consequence, move on quietly and without disturbance, and white and colored realize equal benefits from the common school fund. The forced system of admixture may work in Illinois, but there is reason to apprehend it will impair the usefulness of the schools.  

An outstanding example of the arguments generally taken by supporters of educational expansion on the question of black schools and the necessity of their support by whites can be found in an editorial in the Dallas Weekly Herald in 1881. Entitled "Education for All," it neatly summarized the views of

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99 Austin Daily Statesman, October 17, 1883. The Statesman continued, "This is enough to cause the old man's soul to stop marching on and come back to enforce a little more radicalism into the social conditions of the north."

100 Waco Daily Examiner, January 24, 1882.
those favorable to public education especially. After noting the attacks of northern "republican politicians" on southern educational systems, particularly the provisions made for Negroes, the Herald stated,

We of the South know the injustice of such a charge. We know that the negro race is given equal opportunities for a free education with white children. In fact, here in Texas...the negroes have the most advantage of the educational fund for the reason that they pay so little of the taxes.

Continuing from this to a justification for white support of black education, the editorial opined that, since most blacks were unwilling or unable to educate their children, whites were obligated to do so "in a double sense,...that of charity and that of self-defense." Elaborating on this point, the Herald noted:

They live here; they are dependent upon the cultivation of the soil in a greater degree for a livelihood, and as the country prospers, they prosper. They are citizens among us, and the most capable they are of enjoying and understanding the rights and privileges of citizenship, the better citizens they will make. If reared in ignorance, idleness follows, and idleness begets vice and lawlessness, and we have in our midst an element to give us trouble, to require watchfulness, to give undue work for the officers of the law and courts and to constantly menace and jeopardize society. Elevate the mind and morals by culture and we make of the negroes citizens worthy

101 Dallas Weekly Herald, January 20, 1881.
of the grand endowment bestowed upon them by the government.102

Those hostile to expanded public education were able to forge a continuing link between public schools, Negroes, and radicalism long after the end of Reconstruction because of what appeared to be inevitable black support at the polls for those who favored educational expansion--generally Republicans or various independent groups. Conservative white Democrats assumed that blacks voted for Republicans and independents partially because the latter usually favored public schools. For example, after the "Democratic property holders of Austin voted the city tax in favor of the free education of colored children

102Ibid. The editorial also advocated that the white man aid educational endeavors for the Indians. "We certainly owe him something. We have taken from him his lands; we impose upon him whenever we want to and recognize no rights that he may imagine he has, not even the right to live, if a good opportunity offers to kill him. . . ." After noting the success of the experiment in Indian education at Hampton Institute in Virginia, the Herald continued, "This. . . is the solution to the Indian problem. . . .Provide schools and send to them the children of every tribe of Indians under the supervision of the government. Let the parents object just as much as they please, but take their children. . . .and send them to educational institutions provided. . . by the general government, where they can learn what civilization is and its pursuits. . . .Teach them the mechanical arts, farming, etc., the boys; and teach the girls how to sew, . . .cook, . . . keep house, how to live as civilized women live. . . ." This is an excellent example of blatant racism--at least by modern American standards--which affected nineteenth century American whites (even those of 'good will') when regarding "inferior races" such as Negroes or Indians.
as well as whites," in 1882, the Statesman noted that Negroes would probably still vote Republican. It counselled Negroes to vote Democratic "to show they properly appreciate the bounties of Democratic legislation to their community, the consideration paid by Democrats to the educational needs of the colored race in Austin and in Texas... ." If blacks persisted in attempting to "draw the color line" by voting Republican, then white Texans should allow them to rely on their own resources to educate black children, and thus the Negroes would learn their "dependence" upon the whites.

The hostility of many conservative Texans to public schools, born of the experience of Reconstruction and continuing black and Republican support for such measures, often took the specific form of a strong anti-northern bias. Beyond the material hostility to sending students "abroad" and thus losing the

103 Austin Daily Statesman, November 1, 1882.

104 Ibid., November 5, 1882. Earlier that fall, the Statesman had quoted the Austin Citizen, "a Republican paper, edited by a colored man," to the effect that Austin had good public schools for Negroes and excellent black teachers. This led the conservative Democratic journal to point out that "there are tin-horn politicians going around trying to make the colored people believe the Democrats are systematically denying them the benefits of those educational advantages enjoyed by the whites." Ibid., September 17, 1882. See also, Ibid., March 26, 1879; April 5, 1883; and April 11, 1883.
money spent directly or indirectly to others, many objected
to "northern" or "foreign" influence in Texas education it-
self. In order to be acceptable to many Texans, especially
those hostile to public schools in principle, the concept of
expanded public schooling had to be thoroughly identified as
southern. Schoolmen, both public and private, also generally
strove to identify themselves with the South.

During Reconstruction one of the most common blasts leveled
at the radical public school system was its supposed domination
by northerners and their ideas. Most Texans of this era prob-
ably felt that the belief of the "Yankee school marm" and her
radical supporters that Texas and the South were benighted
through ignorance and could be saved only by northern educa-
tional missionaries was bad enough, but, worse, "many Southern
people are sap-headed enough to listen to the song. Many even
send their sons and daughters into the atmosphere of that pre-
judiced region to be educated and accomplished."\textsuperscript{105} What Texas
and the South needed, these critics of the radical system felt,
was education, public and private, dominated by native south-
erners. Such persons "having been reared in this country, are
naturally identified with the people, in feeling, sentiment,

\textsuperscript{105}Dallas Weekly Herald, January 17, 1874.
and interest." As teachers, "TEXANS. . .will be a thousand
times more acceptable to the people than were the vast majority
of pedagogues imported in the last few years from the
North. . . ." 106

These critics of northern influences in the radical sys-
tem felt that the South had an ample supply of capable teachers,
especially because many once rich, well educated southerners
had lost all in the war and had been forced to become teachers,
an interesting comment in itself on the status of teachers in
late nineteenth century Texas. Such southerners were "preem-
inently conservative in moral and political economy." Obviously
most Texans wanted, according to conservatives, native Texans
or at least native southerners "in our free public schools,
seminaries, colleges and universities, and with them we want
text books free from infidelity, . . .historical falsehood and
. . .sectional and partisan animosity." 107

This fear of the pollution of young minds by northern
"falsehood" was especially notable during the Reconstruction

106 Austin Daily Statesman, March 20, 1873.
107 Dallas Weekly Herald, January 17, 1874. The Austin
Statesman, July 29, 1871, lauding a local private educational
enterprise, the Texas Military Institute, noted, "Every pro-
essor and attache of the school is a native of the sunny south,
trained and educated there, our people need have no fears in
entrusting their sons to their care."
years when the state board of education had the power to select textbooks to be used in the public schools throughout the state. In the battles among various publishing companies to have their books adopted, the charge that the competition's publications slighted the South were common. The agent of one series of textbooks which were supposedly written by southern men stated that the selection of his competition's publications by the radical school board had aided the sale of his company's wares because "...all private teachers and schools look with suspicion upon books selected by the corruptionists--our people not wishing their children taught to execrate the memory of our fallen braves and illustrious heroes." A teacher,  

108 In the public system after the adoption of the Constitution of 1876, local authorities were allowed to select any textbooks they wished. This created major problems both for the parents who bought the books and the teachers who used them because of the lack of any type of uniformity. It was not until 1897, however, that a state textbook board was created to select uniform sets of books for elementary schools. Typically, Frederick Eby referred to the selection of books by the state board of education under the radical regime as "one of the chief offenses that discredited that unhappy system." He praised, however, the similar type of system adopted two decades later because it brought uniformity. Apparently Eby's judgment of the correctness or incorrectness of this idea was based on who did the selecting. Eby, Development of Education in Texas, p. 213.

109 Austin Daily Statesman, September 9, 1871. One conservative Democratic leader, John Ireland of Seguin, felt that the textbooks adopted by the radicals were filled with the "twaddle of Henry Ward Beecher, or Harriet Beecher Stowe." Ibid., July 30, 1873.
who ruefully admitted being temporarily "in charge of a free school" because of "financial troubles," attacked the series adopted by the state as "vulgar." This elicited a response from the Austin Statesman which noted that the selection was "another slight to Southern ability, morality and worth. There are Southern series gotten up in better style, with more judgment and merit." Summarizing what could be said to be the attitude of most conservative white Texans at the end of Reconstruction, this same voice of hostility to radicalism noted:

Carpet-baggers and other knaves have taken advantage of the necessity for public schools in States and cities of the South and the rascals speculate in Yankee books and Yankee desks, and in Yankee slate-pencils, forcing parents to buy fresh libraries of stupidity each month and year. Then the desperate scoundrels fill Northern papers with soul-harrowing accounts of the wretched ignorance of Texans and of other Southern people. The whole North turns up its tearful eyes, full of distressed benevolence, because we modestly protest now and then against inequities imposed by thieving Yankee publishers in

110Ibid., March 18, 1873. Southern authored books had this merit. For example, "President Jones, of the Military Institute, is the author of a most attractive volume prepared for Southern schools; but it would serve as well those of the North, and teach them a vast deal of what they have never known—the truth. The book is made up of the choicest extracts from the choicest speeches and productions of Southern orators and writers, adapted for the use of rhetoricians in Southern schools. Here we have Southern speeches on Southern questions, and schoolboys will be suffered to know, while learning to declaim, how their fathers grew eloquent." Ibid., March 27, 1879.
partnership with thieving Yankee and other school super-
intendents. The whole public school system of Texas, as
organized by negroes and adventurerers, . . . is a stupen-
dous fraud and failure, and an intolerable burden.

This bitter hostility to northern influences continued
for at least two decades after the end of Reconstruction, al-
though undoubtedly in a somewhat muted fashion. In was common,
for example, for schoolmen, public and private, to advertise
themselves as being thoroughly southern in origins and ideas.
The columns of contemporary newspapers were filled during the
months of the summer and early fall with advertisements for
the numerous and ever changing private, and often public,
schools. Often these advertisements stressed the southern
origins of the teachers, their loyalty to the South, and the
southern source of their own education. Schools located in
Virginia were apparently especially noteworthy because it was
common for schoolmen to list schools from that state as the
source of their schooling. 112 Private schoolmen who advertised

111 Ibid., April 4, 1875. See also, Ibid., December 14,
1871; April 29, 1873; May 1, 1873; May 18, 1873; June 4, 1873;
June 20, 1873; June 22, 1873; July 6, 1873; February 13, 1874;
and Dallas Weekly Herald, November 8, 1873, and November 22,
1873.

112 Schools from the older areas of the South, varying from
major institutions such as the University of Virginia to now
obscure finishing schools, advertised heavily in Texas news-
papers in the summer months during this period. See, for ex-
ample, Austin Daily Statesman, August 17, 1880.
heavily in local newspapers could almost always count on fa-
vorable editorial comment on their desirability and their con-
tribution to the community. Such comment often referred to a
local schoolman as "one of the best educators in the South." 113

Private educators seeking local approval and support
stressed their southern orientation, and in doing so must have
realized that opponents of publically financed education were
fond of pointing out the foreign influences to be found in
Texas public schools. As the public system expanded in the
1880's, some Texans reacted with hostility to what they saw
as excessive employment of non-Texans in public schools. When
the state, in 1881, initiated a program of "summer normals,"
mainly in response to an offer of funds from the Peabody Fund,
critics of public education pointed out that those placed in
charge of the various normals were not Texans. The Secretary
of the state board of education—a position roughly equivalent
to the Superintendent of Public Instruction after 1885—was
charged with "... sending to another state to secure a corps
of teachers to learn [sic] Texas free school teachers how to

113 Ibid., August 11, 1885. For other examples, see, Ibid.,
August 13, 1876; July 28, 1877; August 3, 1875; August 17, 1879;
July 21, 1880; July 8, 1883; August 21, 1883; Dallas Weekly Her-
ald, August 14, 1875; May 5, 1881; August 21, 1884; Graham Leader,
July 24, 1890; Clarksville Standard, August 11, 1882; and Waco
Daily Examiner, July 25, 1877.
The Secretary, O. N. Hollingsworth, had, in fact, employed a number of persons from the St. Louis public school system, then acknowledged as one of the most advanced in the nation, to serve as "principals" of the various normal schools. One critic asked, "Why the state of Texas should put itself in the attitude of begging a little wisdom from Missouri teachers . . . ," while another wondered if it was "the settled policy of the state board of education and the agent of the Peabody Fund that these [Texas] citizen teachers shall be utterly ignored?" In subsequent years those who headed the summer normals were selected from among the ranks of Texas public and private schoolmen.

Another example of such hostility to schoolmen who came to Texas from the North can be found in the reaction to the

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114 Austin Daily Statesman, July 1, 1881.

115 Ibid., and an unnamed Mexia newspaper quoted in Ibid., July 3, 1881. See also, Ibid., July 13, 1881, quoting the Galveston News, and August 18, 1881, quoting the Houston Age. During the controversy the Statesman reported the "editor of the St. Louis Journal of Education begins already to presume upon his newly acquired authority in Texas, and he boldly declares 'Texas must drop its old tradition of the Lone Star.' The only thing, therefore, to be done is to drop it." Ibid., July 20, 1881. For similar reactions to descriptions hostile to public education in Texas found in "foreign" educational journals, see, Ibid., April 2, 1872; September 26, 1872; October 28, 1884; and December 16, 1884.
resignation of the superintendent of public schools in Houston in 1881. The man resigned after being charged, although later acquitted, by a member of the school board with being "guilty of independent intercourse with one of the female teachers." The superintendent, as the Statesman gleefully put it, "was not long ago imported from the north to conduct school matters in the liberal way so necessary to the proper advancement of the South." Another report hastened to point out that the man was from Connecticut, and even the "young lady" was "from abroad." Presumably a woman teacher from Texas would not have allowed herself to be placed in such a position.

Ultimately the dislike of many Texans to the presence of non-Texans, or at least non-southerners, in public education was united with the material argument for the necessity of building up "home institutions." The importation of teachers

116 Ibid., November 18, 1881. The Waco Daily Examiner, November 12, 1881, reported that the superintendent was "said to have been fondling one of the young lady teachers in his office."

117 Austin Daily Statesman, November 19, 1881. On November 20, the Statesman sarcastically noted that, although it had previously spelled the superintendent's name "Burnett," the correct spelling was "Burnette." "Please note the final e; there's something tony in it, such as cannot be found in Texas, and must be imported, because of its beauty, from the north."

118 Waco Daily Examiner, November 12, 1881. See also, Ibid., November 16, 1881.
from abroad or the sending of children away from "home influ-
ences" introduced them to questionable ideas and practices.

Equally important, however, this practice drew money away
from the local community and from Texas. As one advocate of
expanded local educational facilities put it:

It is a curious thing that our School Boards cannot find
a Texan competent to teach our children. They invariably
employ some fellow from the eastern states, and that fel-
low invariably 'pulls his freight' for the east as soon
as he collects his money. . . . We would prefer teachers
who take an interest in local affairs and men who will
help build our schools to stay here. The. . . . school has
a new principal every year, hailing from some other
state. . . .

The fears and apprehensions of conservative Texans, bred
partially out of the Reconstruction experience, of public
schools as a method of importing northern ideas was probably
most directly aroused by the question of the role of the na-
tional government in public education. During the debates
surrounding civil rights proposals of the late Reconstruction
period through those engendered by the various Blair education
bills proposed in the 1880's, the question of mixed schools
and possible federal dictation on racial matters was clearly
paramount if sometimes unstated.120 Texans, like all southerners,

119 Graham Leader, July 1, 1891.

120 Allen J. Going, "The South and the Blair Education
Bill," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIV (September,
expressed divergent views on the question of what role the national government was to play in public education. Generally speaking, those who were hostile to any type of federal action in public education were the same as those who questioned the whole concept of schools at the taxpayer's expense. Even those who favored federal aid to the states for public schools, however, were careful, as they were in defending the idea of public education, to present their position as being truly southern and not influenced by Yankee innovations or sentiments.

During the debates in Congress over what later became the Civil Rights Act of 1875, conservative Texans were horrified by provisions which proposed to make public schools subject to oversight by the "general government." Although these provisions were not finally included in the act, partially because of opposition from the Peabody Fund, the debates gave many Texans occasion to vent hostility both to the growing powers of the national government and to public education in principle.

1957), 267-290, discusses the attitude of southerners generally to what was periodically a major political question. He finds that the ultimate stumbling block to southern support for the Blair concept was the racial question and possible federal interference. See, especially, pp. 289-290. For a general discussion of the Blair bills see, Gordon C. Lee, The Struggle for Federal Aid: First Phase (New York, 1949).
Naturally those who bitterly opposed the state public school system of the Davis administration reacted with hostility to any congressional action relating to Texas public schools. A leading Democratic politician, United States Representative John Hancock, stated, "I have no objection to the freed colored man receiving all the benefits of education. There should by equal distribution of the school fund. . . ." but the proposed congressional action, "assumes the power of the State government. Under it our common school system is attacked, the general government saying who shall go to school, in what manner they shall go to school, and with whom they shall associate while there." The Austin Statesman linked this with its hostility to any form of public schooling when it observed:

Congress constantly widens its. . . legislative power, and therefore the mania for the subordination of the youth of the country by means of a grand central scheme of education to be conducted, as in Prussia, by the government. People should be taught to read and write;

121Austin Daily Statesman, October 16, 1874. See also, Ibid., June 4, 1874, when the Statesman observed, "Now if Congress has the right to interfere and say who shall go to school and who shall be the associates of the children, it has the same right to say who shall vote in each State and who shall hold office. That being admitted, the strong minded women of the North would put in their claims for the privilege of voting as well as of holding office; and soon we would see all State lines broken down and the government merged into grinding centralism."
if by their parents so much the better; but only taught
to read and write at the cost of government.\textsuperscript{122}

The question of the role of the general government and
public education was again brought forth during the 1880's
surrounding the debates over the proposal to supply federal
aid to the states based on their illiteracy rates. The so-
called Blair bills, named for their sponsor and chief sup-
porter, Republican Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire,
failed of passage four times between 1881 and 1890. The
greatest southern support for these proposals came from the
states of the Deep South and the Southeast, while the main
southern opposition came from the Border States and from Texas.
By the early 1890's, the idea was abandoned, apparently be-
cause of the rapid loss of interest in the blacks by northern
Republicans.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., July 21, 1875.

\textsuperscript{123}Going, "The South and the Blair Education Bill," pp. 276-
277, 281-284, 287, 289-290. Going finds that the most unified
congressional opposition came from Texas, and, in addition,
notes that opposition sentiments seemed to be stronger in Texas
than in any other southern state. He attributes this to the
apparent belief that ". . .Texas public land holdings were
considered entirely adequate to support the state schools with-
out outside aid." It may have been true that many Texans be-
lieved this, or professed to believe it when opposing increased
taxation for public education, but it certainly was not true
in reality. The use of the potential revenue from public land
sales was constantly cited in the 1870's and 1880's by those
opposed to higher taxation for school purposes. It was, for
Although it would seem obvious that the primary objection to federal aid to Texas public schools was centered around the possible use of that aid to foster racial mixing or some similar idea objectionable to most Texas whites, this objection was not publically stressed by those opposed to the Blair bills. Instead, opponents generally pointed out possible federal interference in what was totally a state matter or that the idea was not true to traditional Democratic states' rights doctrine. Such legislation, according to these opponents, would foster paternalism and undermine the self reliance of the states. Moreover, since the bulk of the funds would have been spent in the southern states, southern support would have betrayed "a backward, begging spirit," which would have indicated "a want of independence and a disposition averse to putting our hands into our pockets and educating the youth of the south example, a constant theme in the editorials of the Austin Statesman. In the final analysis, the phantom of revenue from public land sales probably retarded rather than aided the advancement of public education in Texas because it helped hinder the passage of effective taxation for public schools.

124 Clarksville Standard, August 8, 1884; February 12, 1886; Dallas Weekly Herald, September 14, 1883; April 24, 1884; and Graham Leader, July 4, 1889. Opponents of the Blair bills often quoted editorials from Henry Watterson's Louisville Courier-Journal, probably the leading southern voice in opposition throughout the decade.
that would hurt us immeasurably in many quarters." Some opponents also perceived in the Blair proposals a Republican scheme to eat up the Treasury surplus which plagued the national government during the 1880's. This surplus was one of the strongest arguing points of southern Democrats who wanted a downward revision of the tariff.  

Those Texans who favored the Blair proposals generally were the same persons who favored educational advancement at the state level. They remarked that the "South is peculiarly interested in the success of the measure," because the region

125Dallas Weekly Herald, September 14, 1883.

126Clarksville Standard, February 12, 1886. Going notes that many southern opponents especially viewed the Blair proposals as a means to sidetrack demands for lowering the tariff. The Graham Leader, July 4, 1889, quoted the Nashville American in its view that the "Blair Education Bill is again rearing its ugly crest, and with both houses and the president republican it may go safely through. We only hope that no democrat will lend his aid to so rank a job. A man may vote for a high protective tariff and yet retain some of the principles of Democracy for his guidance, but the man who votes for the Blair bill has violated the fundamental principles of Democracy. . . . The man who votes for the Blair bill only makes himself ridiculous when he opposes centralizing legislation or talks about the limitations of the constitution."

127Public schoolmen in Texas generally supported the Blair bills for obvious reasons. For example, see the report of a memorial from the faculty and students of Sam Houston Normal School to the Texas Congressional delegation favoring the proposal as noted in the Waco Daily Examiner, March 31, 1882.
faced high rates of illiteracy with meager resources, and hence "this sum... would help out wonderfully." Because the national government was in some sense responsible for the high illiteracy in the South, since it had freed the slaves, it was only fitting that Congress should aid the southern states. Proponents of federal aid found that those Texans who opposed the Blair proposals were the same men who attacked public education in principle, and in both cases these opponents were in error. Finally, it was "the duty of the general government to reach out its hands and assist in stemming and diminishing the tide of ignorance and illiteracy that is now immense and powerful. Society must act, if for no other motive than self-defense." Those Texans who thus supported the concept of federal aid obviously did not believe that it would threaten southern racial mores, nor did they believe that

128 Ibid., December 20, 1882.

129 Ibid., July 5, 1883.

130 Ibid. The Examiner reported favorably on the actions of a southern educational convention meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, in September, 1883, when it petitioned Congress in favor of federal aid to the southern states for public schools. Ibid., September 22, 1883. The Dallas Weekly Herald, opposed to federal aid, blasted the convention for its stand and expressed the view that "Fewer suggestions to Congress and more practical plans for the South, the better." Dallas Weekly Herald, September 27, 1883.
such aid was part of a northern Republican plot to oppress the South or prevent tariff revision.¹³¹

The fears expressed by conservative whites that any type of national aid to public education was an attempt to subvert southern mores and institutions through the introduction of foreign ideas were echoed in state-centered political debates over the necessity and scope of public schools. The continuing stigma of radicalism attached to public education was visible for decades after the end of Republican control. Those groups which challenged the conservative Democratic control of the state government—Republicans, various independent groups, and dissident Democrats—almost always called for the expansion of public schooling and charged the ruling Democrats with not doing enough for the education of the masses of the youth of the state. The platforms and campaign speeches of these groups usually called for increased taxation and extension of the length of the school year, while noting the weakness of public schools in rural areas.¹³²

¹³¹ The Examiner, July 5, 1883, reported that the Blair legislation had been sidetracked by "the tariff and kindred measures," but it would come up again because "public opinion will compel their passate."

¹³² For the political use of the educational issue in this period, see Barr, Reconstruction to Reform, passim. In addition, see, Dallas Weekly Herald, September 18, 1884; and Austin
Conservative Democratic reaction to such charges was predictable and quite similar to those arguments used during Reconstruction. Indeed, probably the most prominent argument used by conservative Democrats was the "failure" of the Republican public school system of the early 1870's. Typically, it was charged that the "Republicans held a long lease of power in Texas. During that period public school system was conducted at enormous expense, and not for the benefit of the school children, but to enrich partisan favorites, who waxed fat on this public revenue."\textsuperscript{133} To the conservatives Republicans were men who held to radical northern ideas which were not those of most Texans.\textsuperscript{134}

Anyone who attempted to make a political issue of public education was denounced by conservative Democrats as a demagogue

\textsuperscript{133}Austin Daily Statesman, January 29, 1880. ". . . [C]\) carpetbagism constituted itself a guardian of the masses. It tenderly and kindly took charge of a large share of their income and of their children. It could use money so much more wisely than they who toiled ignorantly on farms and in sunshine and storms that it generously undertook, with their money, to educate their children." Ibid., May 21, 1879. See also, Ibid., May 21, 1879; January 29, 1880; March 26, 1880; June 4, 1880; and August 2, 1880.

\textsuperscript{134}For six months after Roberts' veto the Statesman quoted almost daily the press reaction to the Governor's actions and to the idea of public education generally. It reported that most papers were favorable to the veto and hostile to the Democratic press is almost solid in support of him."
or a pedagogue—both equally offensive and dangerous. When a convention of teachers meeting at Sherman voted a series of resolutions favorable to the expansion of public schools, the resolutions were denounced by the various conservative newspapers because they were "...very much like in spirit... to the DeGress abortion we once had under the name of a free public free school system." Such resolutions made it seem that "the teachers are the principal abettors of those who champion the DeGress scheme. Let them once succeed and a swarm of adventurous, trampling pedagogues will pour into Texas, just as they did when DeGress held high carnival..."

Worse, however, than Republicans or even pedagogues were those "unmanageable independents and freethinkers" whose support of expanded education threatened to disrupt the Democratic Party. According to the Austin Statesman Texas needed the educational leadership of "straight, old-fashioned Democrat[s]" and not "fancy free school New England Democrat[s]."

135 For example, see, Austin Daily Statesman, March 27, 1880, and October 18, 1882, which noted that those who supported expanded public schools were "two-bit progressives and their allies..." Ibid., March 26, 1880.

136 Ibid., March 27, 1880, quoting the Mexia Ledger. The Statesman referred to the Dallas Commercial, which opposed the Roberts' veto, as being "edited by a professional free school teacher." Ibid., April 30, 1879.

137 Austin Daily Statesman, August 16, 1879.
Statesman bitterly attacked other newspapers which claimed to be Democratic but which supported expanded public education. Such support "for years past" made it obvious that such supposedly Democratic organs had been "subordinated to the purposes of shrewd pedagogues" who confused conditions in Texas with those in the North. In simplest terms, in the eyes of conservative Texans, anyone who favored rapid expansion of public schools was not true to the South, to Texas, or to the Democratic Party.

138 Ibid., June 20, 1879.

139 Ibid., November 18, 1882, and September 16, 1885. For the Statesman's comments on press reactions to Roberts' veto and hostile opinions of those who opposed the veto and supported public education, see, especially, May 4, May 6, May 18, May 24, May 27, May 30, June 1, June 24, July 5, July 11, July 25, August 16, August 21, and August 28, 1879.
CHAPTER III

IMPRESSIONS OF THE TEXAS SCHOOLMAN,
1870-1900

In American society, school teachers and administrators are not usually considered "important people." Historians, probably reflecting this attitude, have not shown great interest in American educators, with the exception of a few major innovators or philosophers such as Horace Mann or John Dewey, a few major college and university leaders such as Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, or the few who have moved from the upper reaches of American education into other careers such as Woodrow Wilson. Politicians, military men, labor leaders, and businessmen have attracted great historical attention, but schoolmen have not. The average American college student possibly could, if pressed, name at least one late nineteenth century political leader (probably Cleveland or McKinley), a military leader (undoubtedly Custer), a labor leader (probably Gompers), or a business leader (possibly Rockefeller or Carnegie), but it is highly doubtful that he could name an educational leader.
The reasons for this lack of study of schoolmen by historians is not difficult to understand. Educators normally live prosaic lives, and their influence upon society, although great, is not spectacular. Teaching has not traditionally ranked high among American professions; indeed, it could be argued that it was not generally considered a profession in the United States until the late nineteenth century. This lack of status accorded teaching, and the failure to recognize education as a respectable profession, was especially pronounced in the post Civil War South and in Texas. Possibly reflecting this attitude, historians of Texas in the late nineteenth century have not expended much apparent effort in the study of educators, preferring to study politicians and politics, farmers, businessmen and economic development, and especially the glamorous frontier of cowboys, Indians, and cattlemen.1

1One of the principal difficulties encountered in studying the late nineteenth century schoolman in Texas is the paucity of manuscript materials and the nature of such material. Certainly no one has ever made any consistent attempt to collect such materials as has been done with political figures. Since most private schools were ephemeral, records were either not well kept, or destroyed, or simply lost by indirection. Equally, because most schoolmen were not considered especially significant, either at the time or later, their personal papers were probably not considered worthy of preservation or collection. Ironically, the schoolmen involved with those institutions which did not disappear whose papers provide the bulk of materials
If anything, the relative status of schoolmen declined during these years, even in the face of growing "professionalism," although that term often meant something quite different in the 1880's compared with its modern usage. It might be more accurate to say that, if the status of educators did not decline, certainly they became more anonymous. The development and growth of public education in Texas undoubtedly contributed to this anonymity. The gradual conversion of the schoolman from an educational entrepreneur, among other things, into a public servant lessened the individualism and individual importance of educators. It is, of course, obvious that the growth of professionalism in the modern sense at the end of the century weakened the importance of the schoolman extant, were exceptional and may well give a distorted picture of the "typical" public or private schoolman.

Roughly speaking, professionalism in modern usage means, in education, training and practice of "education" at least in part as an academic discipline. In other words, a professional educator is one who has been trained in "education" as a discipline and who practices teaching, subject to certain standards generally set by government. Although the origins of pedagogics and of "normal" training can be found in the late nineteenth century, it appears that when schoolmen of that era used the term "professional" they simply meant one who pursued teaching as a career and not as part time or temporary work. Hence a professional teacher was one who taught for a living, and intended to continue to do so, regardless of his educational background.
by stressing common standards of training and possibly performance. Equally important was the rapid quantitative growth in the number of educators which occurred as a result of the expansion of public education. As schools became more common, those who ran them or taught in them became more familiar, and hence the local "professor" gradually ceased being very different from his fellow citizens. Public schools gradually replaced private ventures, and it seems likely, although it would be difficult to prove with any degree of certainty, that the status of educators declined. It does seem true, however, that the average Texan in the late nineteenth century had less respect for a public schoolman than for a private one.  

It would be a serious error, however, to overemphasize the differences between public and private schoolmen in the

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3Typical probably were the sentiments of a correspondent of a private schoolman and preacher concerning the newly opened Sam Houston Normal Institute, the first manifestation of modern educational professionalism in Texas. He wrote, "Think well of the Institute and faculty. The students gathered there from over the vast state are a promising little army of both sexes, & it will be bound to result in good for the cause of education. Most of our teachers in public schools are illey [sic] prepared for so great a task & aim no higher than drawing their salaries." C. N. Hines to Oscar M. Addison, June 4, 1880, Oscar M. Addison Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas. Addison was a Methodist preacher associated with numerous private schools in Texas from the 1850's to the 1890's.
decades before 1900. As late as the turn of the century public schools were not as all pervasive as they would later become. Especially in secondary schooling, public institutions were limited to urban areas almost entirely. In rural areas, even primary education at public expense was generally brief chronologically and weak pedagogically. Moreover, the differences between public and private schools were probably blurred in the minds of many Texans. Under the community system before 1885, many schools which received public funds were little more than private operations which "went public" for a limited time in order to gain state monies. Even as late as the turn of the century, many rural schools at all levels had a public and a private term. This allowed parents to give their children a full nine or ten months schooling when the public term might last no more than five or six months. Finally, there was often little difference between public and private schoolmen in their attitudes and operations. Most of those who took positions of leadership in the emerging public schools in Texas during this era were recruited from private school backgrounds. In addition, public school administrators especially, like their private counterparts, had to be schoolmen--this is, they had to sell themselves and their schools. Public schoolmen, in the absence of compulsory attendance
regulations and in the face of meager state appropriations, had to sell their wares successfully to prosper. They, like the private educator, had to create an interest in prospective patrons, influence local public opinion as to the benefits of education, and overcome hindrances born of wide-spread hostility to schooling beyond the rudiments and of the economic necessity which forced many parents to keep children out of school during part of the year.

The patterns and perspectives of the public and private schoolman in late nineteenth century Texas need to be understood in order to grasp their impact on their society. Who these men and women were, where they came from, why they were teachers, what types of problems they faced, and how they met them are all questions which need to be answered to understand the role of the educator in Texas. The vast majority must have fallen somewhere between the social parasites they were called by their detractors at the time and the selfless heroes portrayed by some institutional "historians." An accurate portrait of the schoolman needs to be drawn given the significant role played by educators in any society. It is possibly some sort of commentary on the state of historical scholarship that we know more about the "typical" cowboy of late nineteenth century Texas than we do of the "typical" schoolman.
Texas educators, public and private, in the final decades of the nineteenth century were overwhelmingly southerners. This would be expected, of course, because the majority of immigrants into the state came from the older states of the South and because native Texans of the period viewed themselves as southerners. Even a cursory examination of late nineteenth century newspapers, especially the ever-present educational advertisements used by both public and private schoolmen, reveals the southern geographical and educational origins of most Texas educators. Possibly more significant, however, almost every paid notice which identifies the origins

Such advertisements, and the editorials often accompanying them, were commonplace in any Texas newspaper of the period. For example, see, Austin Daily Statesman, July 29, 1871; January 30, 1872; August 29, 1873; July 17, 1874; August 3, 1875; September 14, 1879; September 4, 1881; August 21, 1883; Dallas Weekly Herald, June 30, 1881; Waco Daily Examiner, May 4, 1883; Clarksville Standard, September 10, 1880; Graham Leader, June 4, 1880; Pilot Point Post-Mirror, October 20, 1888. Typically, the Graham Leader, in an editorial praising a local schoolman—-one who advertised heavily—-referred to him as an "accomplished gentleman and scholar" who "hails from Georgia." See, Graham Leader, July 6, 1878. Similarly, the Austin Statesman lauded for their southern educations the faculty of the "Austin Graded School," a public institution under the community system which operated as a private school part of the year. One man was a graduate of William and Mary and had taught in Texas for an extended period, another had graduated from the University of Alabama and was "a ripe scholar," while a third was a graduate of Virginia Military Institute and was "a gentleman and a scholar." See, Austin Daily Statesman, July 28, 1877.
of the schoolman placing the advertisement indicated a southern education or origin. Apparently those teachers from the North, and certainly there were such men and women, purposefully chose not to emphasize the fact.

Similarly, often educational advertising stressed that the methods and sentiments of the schoolman were equal to those of any school "in the South." More than simply revealing the origins of the educator, such advertisements indicate that southern educational ideas, whatever that may have meant exactly, were believed superior. Additionally, such verbiage indicated that a patron need not fear that attitudes and philosophies hostile to the South would be inculcated into children. This was probably a true reflection of the sentiments of most schoolmen, and certainly such educators must have felt that it would appeal to prospective patrons. 5

Few schoolmen during this period could claim to be native Texans, but, of course, neither could the majority of the

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5For example, see, Dallas Weekly Herald, August 14, 1875; May 5, 1881; August 21, 1884; Pilot Point Post-Mirror, September 8, 1888; Waco Daily Examiner, August 21, 1878; Austin Daily Statesman, July 21, 1880; and August 6, 1885. Those seeking employment in established schools also often stress their southern origins. For example, one man advertised, "A southern gentleman, an experienced teacher of Latin, mathematics, and English, desires an engagement," while another stressed that he had "taught many years in the South." See Austin Daily Statesman, March 31, 1875, and September 1, 1874.
populace. Educators, however, constantly pushed the idea that they were committed to their new state, that they had experience in Texas, and that they would not return to their home in the older areas of the South. Especially in advertising, such sentiments were aimed at answering the charges that schools, especially public schools, were often "... taught by those who are not identified with our State, and who only want money to take them home." Similarly, many trustees would have probably echoed the statement of a schoolman that the person hired to head his institution "... must be--in a large sense a Texan. I consider this as almost indispensable to the Judicious Administration of the government of the College." Such sentiments seem to have been widespread, and a successful schoolman was forced to identify himself with Texas, at least in public.

6For example, see, Austin Daily Statesman, August 28, 1873; Graham Leader, June 8, 1877; Waco Daily Examiner, September 4, 1878; and March 31, 1877.

7Waco Daily Examiner, October 3, 1878.

8R. H. Byers to J. W. Miller, July 3, 1857, quoted in Robert Finney Miller, "Early Presbyterianism in Texas as Seen by Rev. James Weston Miller, D. D.," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XIX (October, 1915), 178. Both Byers and Miller were members of the board of trustees of Austin College, then located in Huntsville. Although this exchange occurred in the late 1850's, sentiments such as these do not appear to have changed to any great extent in the next fifty years.
Another criticism often used against schoolmen, which reveals an unhappy fact of life for most educators public or private, was the charge that teachers were traveling mendicants who sought only local money before traveling on. In its diatribes against public schoolmen, the Austin *Statesman* constantly referred to such educators as "peripatetic pedagogues," "wandering loafers," "literary tramps," or "peripatetic fellows who gather in tow-headed urchins and greasy nickels from the State Treasury."\(^9\) Most such teachers, according to the *Statesman*, were simply "such as are not wanted in the older states."\(^10\)

Regardless of the excesses in such politically motivated rhetoric, such criticism of public schoolmen illustrates a most significant aspect of the lives of both public and private educators—the high degree of mobility of schoolmen and of their schools as institutions. The life history of most teachers during this period appears to be one of constant movement. Private schoolmen, and public educators, especially before 1885, moved constantly, attempting to "get" schools as they

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\(^9\) *Austin Daily Statesman*, January 24, 1879; April 12, 1879; April 1, 1879; June 13, 1879; and July 10, 1879. On the latter date the *Statesman* charged that public schoolmen were taking "a free ride at popular cost."

\(^10\) Ibid., June 10, 1879.
generally put it. Normally this procedure involved the canvassing of an area or of a town in an effort to drum up enough students to open a school. It might also involve attempting to interest local businessmen and potential patrons in some type of financial support. Occasional occasions local citizens or religious groups would attempt to raise enough money to guarantee a schoolman a certain amount before attempting to hire a teacher. Hence, schools were created both by schoolmen seeking employment and by laymen seeking to create schools for the local community, although it seems clear that the former method was far more common.

For most schoolmen, public and private, the seeking of better prospects was a constant task. If better prospects offered themselves elsewhere, often the schoolman and his school, even by name, would simply move. Many private institutions

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11 Ibid., July 23, 1874; July 27, 1880; July 29, 1880; Graham Leader, June 4, 1880; July 9, 1880; January 7, 1881; September 7, 1881; July 7, 1885; March 25, 1891.

12 Austin Daily Statesman, August 29, 1873; January 11, 1880; April 13, 1880; April 11, 1883; Waco Daily Examiner, April 11, 1883; June 10, 1883; June 20, 1883; August 31, 1883; May 16, 1883; Graham Leader, July 28, 1877; May 27, 1891; and January 25, 1893. These citations are only examples of this constant practice. Involved in these attempts to create schools were Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Masons, and groups of citizens linked by geographical factors. In each case, attempts were made to create a school by subscriptions of land, money, or even physical labor.
were in fact the creations of the schoolmen who controlled them, and when he moved, the school moved with him. Even more established institutions occasionally relocated to improve their prospects, and the method employed was generally the same. Such institutions would canvass various areas and relocate into the one which offered the best prospects, often in the form of specific monetary or land inducements.  

Typical of the experience of schoolmen in the decade after the Civil War was that of Joel Daves, a Methodist preacher-teacher, although the same problems were probably faced by most private schoolmen for decades thereafter. In 1867, Daves

13 For examples of the migratory nature of the schoolman's life, see, James H. Baker Diary, entries from May 30, 1858, to August 12, 1867, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas; James R. Cole Diary, entries from June 13, 1885, to July 1, 1885, James R. Cole Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas; J. E. Kirby to Board of Trustees of Female Seminary, Chappell Hill, August 8, 1861, and W. C. Lewis to W. W. Browning, April 11, 1866, W. W. Browning Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas; Malcolm A. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, February 9, 1848; James H. Addison to Sarah Addison, April 7, 1848; R. Crawford to Oscar M. Addison, July 17, 1848; Malcolm A. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, September 5, 1849; John W. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, October 4, 1852; A. W. Ruter to Oscar M. Addison, no date; W. G. Graffenried to Oscar M. Addison, November 18, 1858; James H. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, October 27, 1861; Joel Daves to Oscar M. Addison, November 29, 1880; and December 31, 1880, Oscar M. Addison Papers. The voluminous Addison Papers indicate that the problems facing the private schoolman did not basically change from the late 1840's to the 1880's.
was attempting to live by preaching but could not. He was "...indirectly offered--and assured that it is within my reach--the control of 'Woodlawn Female Seminary'. . . ." but, "because it is not an established school, I am unwilling to risk the responsibility in the present condition of the country. . . ." Daves noted that he could not make a living by preaching or by farming, and hence, "the school room is my only resource. . . ."14 By April, 1868, Daves was "teaching school (female), a few young ladies only coming--No one able to send--those sending not able to pay--and so work for no profit. . . ." He did note, however, "If times change. . . . I propose to build up a first class Female School," but, "I would not remain here if I was able to get away."15 In January, 1869, Daves reported that he had relocated because he had been elected the head of a "Female Academy" in another town.16

Another example can be found in the experience of James R. Cole. In the summer of 1885, Cole, seeking employment as a

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14 Joel Daves to Oscar M. Addison, September 12, 1867, Addison Papers.
15 Joel Daves to Oscar M. Addison, April 30, 1868, Addison Papers.
16 Joel Daves to Oscar M. Addison, January 19, 1868, Addison Papers.
schoolman, sought positions in public and private schools in Houston, Georgetown, Terrell, Bryan, and Abilene. His diary clearly indicates that he saw little difference between public and private schools—in both cases his interest was determined by how many pupils or how much money a school would offer. For example, the public "School at Hempstead was vacant," and Cole was interested if "they would give me $1200. & all over and under the school [age], & let May [his daughter] assist me." On the same day, Cole noted,

Gillespie has sold out at Jacksboro, is on the lookout. Many men out of places—Dr. Connerly highly recommends me to go to Glenrose..., dissatisfied with teacher, can get house & have 70 or 80 paying students first year. Ragsdale highly recommends Abilene...

There are many indications that the "peripatetic" nature of the schoolman's life was the source of much hostility to educators both from the critics of public schools and from those who, while not hostile to public or private schools, did not like the lack of permanence in most educational endeavors. Private schoolmen often stressed the permanent nature of their institutions in their advertising. The "Masonic Female Institute," for example, in Marshall advertised itself as a

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17 James R. Cole Diary, entry for July 1, 1885, Cole Papers. The Cole Papers contain a vast amount of information on education in late nineteenth century Texas, especially in the diaries Cole kept throughout the period.
"school of long standing," while the "Mansfield Male and Female College" described itself as "old and respectable." Another school, the Methodist-controlled Central College in Sulphur Springs, reacted to another common criticism of schools when it noted the long period of time the school had been "without a change in administration." Advertisements such as these were intended to rebut hostility born of "a lack of system and constant changes in trustees, teachers and school management in general. . . ."

Evidence of the constant movement of educators geographically as well as from school to school within a single community can be found in the study of individual schoolmen as it can in the columns of late nineteenth century newspapers in Texas. In 1881, for example, in the small Hays county town of Kyle, a schoolman named T. H. Storts opened the "Kyle Seminary." In 1883, the local Baptist association purchased the school from Storts and placed it in the hands of W. M. Jordan,

18 *Dallas Weekly Herald*, August 5, 1876, and August 20, 1885.

19 *Pilot Point Post-Mirror*, July 26, 1890.

20 *Graham Leader*, April 1, 1891. For additional examples of such advertisements stressing permanency, see, *Waco Daily Examiner*, May 17, 1883; *Dallas Weekly Herald*, August 16, 1883; and *Austin Daily Statesman*, August 18, 1876, June 12, 1874, and July 17, 1873.
a Baptist educator who had been operating a school, the "Dripping Springs Academy," also in Hays county. Jordan attempted to consolidate the school with another private venture in Kyle, the "Science Hall Institute," headed by Mrs. Willie Andrews. He failed, and, in 1885, Jordan resigned to be replaced by W. W. James. James remained in control of the school until 1888, when he resigned and was replaced by J. T. Ryle. Ryle in turn resigned in 1890, and was replaced by Milton Parks. Shortly after Parks took control the school building burned, and eventually the students and faculty were absorbed by the public school of Kyle.21

Another example of the peripatetic nature of the life of a schoolman can be found in the life of James R. Cole. Cole, born in North Carolina and graduated from Trinity College, came to Texas in 1865 after service in the Confederate Army. He came to Texas to accept a teaching position at McKenzie College at Clarksville, probably the largest and most significant institution in ante-bellum Texas. The school was, however, in a process of disintegration because of the effects of the

21 T. F. Harwell, "Kyle Proud of School System," San Antonio Express, no date, p. 14, clipping in the Willie Andrews Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas. Willie Andrews and her husband operated the "Science Hall Institute" for women in Kyle during the 1880's, and later she organized the "Home Institute" in Austin during the 1890's.
Civil War and the advanced age of its founder and president, J. W. P. McKenzie. After one session, Cole left to take control of the "Masonic Female Institute" at Bonham, which he deserted after one session to head another school in Grayson county. During the late 1860's and early 1870's, Cole served as the head of several schools in North Texas, including public schools under the radical system. Between 1876 and 1878, Cole served as president of the Methodist-controlled "North Texas Female College" at Sherman. From Sherman he went to Texas A. and M. College as a professor of mathematics. Cole left Bryan in 1885 as a result of a purge of a faction of the faculty. He then assumed the position of superintendent of the newly created public schools in Abilene, where he remained until 1889. In 1890, Cole removed to Dallas and established "Cole's Select School," which he operated until his death.

A third life history which illustrates the migratory nature of the schoolman's existence is that of John V. Covey, who was born in New York and came to Texas in the early 1850's

22Ironically, Cole had been hired at the state agricultural school as the result of a similar purge in 1879.

after ten years in Tennessee where he became a Baptist preacher and schoolman. From 1854 to 1857, he served as the president of a Masonic "college" in Palestine, after which he spent seven years preaching and teaching in various communities in Texas. In 1864, he opened Concrete College in De Witt county and served as its president until it closed in 1880. His son-in-law, also a Baptist minister, served as vice-president of the school and as a teacher. After the failure of Concrete College apparently for financial reasons, Covey spent the remainder of his life preaching and teaching in and around the small town of Tilden in McMullin county. Covey's idea of the type of schools needed by Texans would probably have been echoed by hundreds of private schoolmen in the 1870's and 1880's. In 1871, he wrote,

We need two or three hundred intelligent, earnest, and enterprising teachers. We need a hundred or more institutions with boarding houses attached for the accommodation of 30 or 40 pupils. Let these institutions be placed under the control of their teachers. . . . Let the discipline be firm and strict but parental. Let these schools depend upon their own merits and efficiency for success.

24Anonymous, untitled sketch of Covey, John V. Covey Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas.

25The College Independent, July 1, 1871, Covey Papers. This was the college newspaper, and this one copy in the Covey Papers is most revealing of the life in such a private institution in the 1870's. Covey's sentiments were clearly aimed
Probably the sentiments expressed by Covey would have been acceptable to men like James R. Cole and those who headed the "Kyle Seminary." The life histories of Cole, Covey, and the men of the small "seminary" in Hays county were repeated thousands of times throughout Texas during this period by other obscure men and other little-known institutions.

Both the motivations and the necessities which contributed to the constant movement of these itinerant schoolmen and to the impermanence of their schools can be traced in the pages of the Waco Daily Examiner during the 1870's, although similar notices could be found in almost any Texas newspaper of the period. In the late 1870's, Waco, in addition to ephemeral public schools of the community system lasting at most
three months a year in rented buildings, boasted numerous private schools ranging from a substantial Baptist-controlled "university" to many small elementary schools operated in private homes largely by women. During these years, many schoolmen came to Waco and left Waco for apparently about the same reason—the search for greener educational pastures. For example "Prof. J. W. Melton" arrived in Waco in the summer of 1876 for the purpose of "establishing a permanent school." Melton, who had originally come to Texas from Tennessee, sought in a public letter the patronage of "only those who are not committed to other schools." He said he had moved to Waco from Fort Worth because his patrons in that city had failed to build him a promised school building and because Waco offered better advantages to the schoolman. Another educator, R. P. Dechard, in March, 1877, contemplated establishing a "first-class high school" as the result of local citizen's efforts to bring him back to Waco where he had previously been the head of the "Waco Female College." In

27 *Waco Daily Examiner*, September 1, 1876.


29 *Ibid.*, March 31, 1877. Between the time of his resignation as head of the Waco Female College and his attempted return to the city, Dechard had taught at "Trinity University" controlled by the Cumberland Presbyterians in Limestone county.
September, 1878, still another schoolman, "Col. Pope, Superintendent of the Galveston Military Institute," was reported in Waco "to review the field and ascertain if Waco is prepared to extend to him that aid and patronage necessary to carry forward..." in the creation of a military school. Pope got guarantees from enough citizens that he did locate in the central Texas city and open his school.  

At the same time Pope was attempting to establish his school, the Waco Daily Examiner was praising Waco's "educational advantages" by listing six schools as "Colleges and Schools," three as "Primary Schools," four as "Public Schools," and two (both apparently private) as "Colored Schools." Two significant observations could be made in interpreting this listing of schools: First, although public schools are listed, this did not necessarily mean that some of the others did not receive some public monies if they incorporated as school communities, and it would also not mean that those listed as public schools would not continue to operate as private schools charging tuition after public funds ran out. Second, a perusal of the Examiner during these years shows that the schools  

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30 Ibid., September 24, 1878.
31 Ibid., November 23, 1878.
listed were not all of those in the town because schools and schoolmen came and went from year to year.\textsuperscript{32}

If Waco attracted schoolmen during this period, it also lost them. "Prof. and Mrs. Nash" were reported in Sherman where the professor had bought land to establish a "female college." The couple had come to Waco from Tennessee "with a view to establishing a seminary for young ladies," but they found that the city already had too many schools. After a year teaching at Waco University, they moved on to Sherman.\textsuperscript{33}

In 1882, Waco lost another schoolman when the Reverend Samuel P. Wright, president of the Waco Female College, resigned and left the city. As early as 1876, Wright had been forced to deny rumors that he was abandoning the school by asserting that he would "stand by her as long as there is hope."\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32}Ibid., September 1, 1878. For another description of Waco schools during this era, see Austin Daily Statesman, June 8, 1879, in which a New York reporter noted that there was no public school building and that the two or three months of public schooling took place "in old tenements rented for the purpose."
\item \textsuperscript{33}Waco Daily Examiner, August 15, 1877. The Examiner quoted the Sherman Register describing Nash's "purpose...to build up in Sherman a school for young ladies that will take rank with the best institutions of the kind in the Southwest. Professor Nash is vouched for as a fine scholar and an excellent manager..." Newspapers inevitably spoke well of schoolmen who contemplated establishing schools in their communities.
\item \textsuperscript{34}Ibid., August 27, 1876; see also, ibid., August 15, 1877.
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he finally did leave, the Methodist minister and schoolman noted that the school building was too small and "dreadfully out of repair." Moreover, the school was $2,500 in debt, which made it impossible to remedy such physical problems. Wright stated that he wanted to remain in Waco, but there was not enough support for the school, especially for a boarding house which he felt necessary to attract more students. Wright concluded by noting that he was leaving Waco because he had been offered "a splendid school" with "new and commodious buildings" in a "city of no mean proportions." 35

In addition to moving in and out of a community in substantial numbers, schoolmen who remained in an area often would move from school to school. For example, in Waco in the 1870's, J. T. Strother operated his own school, taught mathematics and

35 Ibid., November 23, 1882. Another preacher-schoolman, "Professor Rounsavall," and his wife took control of the school. They were praised by the Examiner for their educational experience in Texas and for their southern origins. According to the Waco paper, "They come from no broken down school, but from one they have built up to a matriculation of over two hundred and sixty, with a music class of seventy five." As was typical, the music department was under the control of the president's wife, but, as the Examiner explained, "It is not because of her relationship. . . ." See, ibid., May 4, 1883. R. O. Rounsavall and his wife came to Waco from Coronal Institute, a Methodist school in San Marcos. See, "Report of the Board of Trustees of Coronal Institute," October 13, 1880, Orceneth A. Fisher Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas.
was "principal of the Primary Department" at Waco University, and later served as "principal" of the "Leland Seminary," a private school owned by a local businessman and his wife, Fannie C. Leland, who also taught "Drawing and Painting" at the Waco University.  

This constant movement of schoolmen into, out of, and within Waco points to another problem for both schoolmen and their patrons. The large number of educators often found in a community made it difficult for any one of them to create and maintain a substantial institution. Facing a phenomenon not unknown to others in the rapidly expanding economic system of the late nineteenth century, schoolmen often found themselves faced with "cut-throat competition" which could destroy their schools at worst or make them highly unstable at best. Occasionally educators would complain of the

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36 Waco Daily Examiner, August 27, 1875; July 25, 1877; and August 20, 1878. For a similar phenomenon in Austin, see, Austin Daily Statesman, August 20, 1881, which revealed that several women who had taught in small private primary schools were absorbed into the newly created Austin public schools.

37 Although the analogy might be somewhat strained, it is possible to liken the growth of public schools to the growth of attempts at consolidation in American industry during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Public schools did absorb many private schoolmen, and, although public and private institutions did compete during the infancy of the public system, in the end public education was largely without competition. Some conservative foes of public education did
ruinous system of changing instructors with each change of season." Such a "ruinous system" was possible because often there were so many schoolmen vying for limited patronage. One schoolman, the head of the private "Graham High School," offered his formula for a successful school. After complaining of the lack of interest in the small community for expanding his facilities so that he would not be forced to turn pupils away, he pleaded for better support. One good school building, well furnished, was needed because without proper physical facilities a situation would be created which would give rise to the organization of side-schools, petty in number or pupils, diverse in course of study, and commanding the services of those who make teaching a mere step-stone to some other vocation. No man or woman of culture, experience or energy, would be content to preside over a school of a dozen or fifteen pupils, or be satisfied with the meagre remuneration which such a paucity of numbers would afford. Divisions and distractions would be where all is harmony; and besides, the school from time to time deprecate the lack of educational competition fostered by public schools.

38 Austin Daily Statesman, September 7, 1884. A common criticism of "frequent change of teachers" was "a perplexing diversity in textbooks, entailing an unnecessary expense upon the patrons. . . . , and impairing the efficiency of the teacher . . . ." See, Graham Leader, November 11, 1876. For similar sentiments, see, ibid., June 22, 1895; Austin Daily Statesman, February 5, 1879; February 9, 1879; and November 23, 1879. As would be expected, the Statesman saw frequent changes in textbooks as merely another scheme of "tramping pedagogues" to bleed money out of the parent of Texas school children.
population of the town is barely sufficient for the maintenance of one first class school. Divide the present patronage, or that of some time to come, and there will be inaugurated a class of schools that can... militate against rapid and thorough educational progress.

Although such sentiments were common enough among both public and private schoolmen, the tendency seems to have been almost always for educators, especially private teachers, to divide and compete rather than to consolidate. It would probably not be an overstatement to declare that often schoolmen drove each other out of business, or at least, drove the weaker to move on to other communities. It is probable also that the weaker were attracted into the growing public school system, especially after 1885, although not necessarily by choice.

Two examples from many that could be noted illustrate the tendency of schoolmen to divide and compete against each other. Early in 1876, a bitter and lengthy controversy erupted in Waco over the possible division of public school funds, under

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39Graham Leader, September 15, 1877. See also, ibid., July 15, 1881, and January 11, 1893. The existence of too many schools, schoolmen sometimes charged, encouraged parents to play one teacher off against another and hence to interfere with the running of schools. See, ibid., July 6, 1878; June 10, 1886; and April 20, 1878.

40For an example of a public schoolman bending every effort to "get" a private school, see, James R. Cole Diary, entries for September 1, 1885; September 28, 1885; October 2, 1885; October 3, 1885; October 6, 1885; October 10, 1885; and October 16, 1885.
the new community system, among private schools. Essentially two factions emerged: one favored the use of state funds to "build up" public schools, while the other wanted to use such monies to support existing private schools, especially the Baptist-controlled Waco University, whose president, Rufus Burleson, strongly advocated such use of public funds throughout the late 1870's as a method of building up strong private schools like his own. Such controversy among private and public schools, and among various private schools, was common in Waco as late as the middle 1880's.

A similar type of controversy developed in the small frontier town of Fort Davis in 1885. The public school teacher, Mattie B. Anderson, sought and gained the local postmastership after the Democratic victory of Cleveland in 1884, displacing a member of the board of trustees of the public school who had been postmaster under the previous Republican administration. The former postmaster influenced the board to demand Mattie Anderson's resignation. The ousted teacher later noted that a "pretty, inexperienced young lady was put in my place--I was requested to open a private school." She did so, and "this

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41 *Waco Daily Examiner*, February 21, 1876; February 23, 1876; February 24, 1876; February 25, 1876; February 26, 1876; March 5, 1876; and March 17, 1876.
greatly depleted the public school." Although different in motivation, these two examples reveal the common problem of schoolmen competing with one another to the point of almost destroying each other.

The migratory and highly competitive nature of the life of the Texas schoolman in the decades after the Civil War was only one aspect of school life. Many schools, public and private, were family enterprises. It was extremely common for the wife of a schoolman to be a member of his faculty, most often as a teacher of music or other such "ornamental" subjects. In smaller operations, often the school would consist simply of a man and his wife, with the woman teaching the smaller children and the man instructing the older pupils.

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42 Mattie Belle Anderson, "Reminiscences," manuscript memoir, Mattie Belle Anderson Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas.

43 "Chappell Hill College," broadside, Oscar M. Addison Papers; Anna [?] to Oscar M. Addison, Oscar M. Addison to Joel Daves, Helen Addison to Oscar M. Addison, Oscar M. Addison Papers; Fannie E. Crockett, "Parson's Female Seminary," manuscript narrative, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas; Blanco Masonic University and High School, Minutes of the Board of Directors, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas; Dallas Weekly Herald, August 5, 1876, September 2, 1876; Clarksville Standard, August 18, 1882; Graham Leader, September 24, 1885, May 31, 1893; Pilot Point Post-Mirror, August 4, 1888, May 19, 1888; Austin Daily Statesman, July 29, 1871; August 29, 1873; September 6, 1874; August 3, 1875; July 18, 1875; June 8, 1879; August 17, 1880; August 3, 1881; and August 16, 1882. On May 11, 1877, the Waco Daily Examiner reported that in
It was also common for a schoolman to use the members of his family as teachers, generally daughters as teachers of music, art, or of primary pupils. Less common, although by no means rare, was the family enterprise which included the schoolman, his brother or sister, and other relatives, while examples can also be found where a wife would carry on her husband's school after his death.

Often the wife of a schoolman would be the head of what was sometimes called the "boarding department." This generally meant, regardless of whether she taught in the school or not, that she had supervision over the pupils, generally girls, who boarded with the educator in his home. The boarding of three of the six private schools in the city the schoolman's wife was a teacher or an "assistant." See also, Dallas Weekly Herald, August 11, 1881, in which the citizens of Duffau in Erath county advertised for a "competent and experienced teacher...to build up a permanent school, one who can bring a female assistant qualified to teach instrumental music preferred."

44 For example, See, Waco Daily Examiner, August 18, 1874, August 15, 1876, August 22, 1878; Austin Daily Examiner, July 18, 1875; June 8, 1883; June 1, 1884.

45 For example, see, Waco Daily Examiner, August 15, 1876; Austin Daily Statesman, December 26, 1879; July 15, 1874; July 4, 1875; August 15, 1882. The family enterprise idea extended to high levels. The first "principal" of the Sam Houston Normal Institute hired his wife as "second assistant," while the second head employed his daughter. See, Austin Daily Statesman, September 14, 1879, and May 15, 1883.
female students was a common practice probably brought about by the necessity of finding homes for pupils from "abroad," by the financial aid such boarders could bring the struggling schoolman, and by the widespread belief that girls needed the close supervision of adults to supply "correct" influences. Most schoolmen seem to have been firmly convinced that boarding facilities, especially a separate boarding house if possible, aided the growth of schools and that likewise the lack of them retarded such development. 46

In addition to supplying boarding facilities, schoolmen employed various other methods to "build up" their schools. 47

46 Dallas Weekly Herald, August 12, 1876 and August 20, 1885; "Report of the Board of Trustees of Coronal Institute," Orceneth A. Fisher Papers; Annie Lee Williams, "The Willie Andrews Pioneer Schools of Texas" (no place, no date), p. 5, Willie Andrews Papers; Oscar M. Addison to J. Fred Cox, September 13, 1872, George W. McClanahan to Oscar M. Addison, Addison Papers. McClanahan, head of the Paine Female Institute, wrote Oscar Addison, "We now have 55 pupils with a prospect of an increase next session. Can you find a man--a good Methodist--who will come here and put up a boarding house for us?"

47 The most commonly used term for describing the successful creation and development of a school was "build up." This accurately described exactly what a schoolman had to do in order to be an educational and financial success. See, for example, Austin Daily Statesman, February 3, 1872, and Waco Daily Examiner, June 3, 1882. In November, 1880, a group of men from Hays county advertised for a teacher to take charge of the "Walnut Springs Academy." They wanted a man who could "build up a paying school." See, Austin Daily Statesman, November 6, 1880.
One common method was the employment of a "traveling agent" to solicit funds and students. In the case of smaller institutions, the educator himself would often spend the summer months traveling about in the area surrounding the school seeking out potential students. Larger schools, especially those controlled by religious denominations, generally employed itinerant preachers as agents. This could be done informally, with the itinerant minister simply putting in a good word for a specific school during his travels. For example, the head of a Methodist school requested that such a minister "Do all you can for Paine Institute in your travels. Send us as many new pupils as you can--we will try and do them good by the help of God."48 It was also common for schools to hire paid agents who received a salary or a percentage of the funds raised, or of the tuition paid by the students solicited. Indeed, teaching school or soliciting for them seems to have been a common method used by ministers to make a living when preaching would alone not suffice. The financial arrangement involved in solicitation for schools was apparently usually informal, and this often led to friction between the agents and the schools. For example, one school demanded that the two hundred and fifty

48George W. McClanahan to Oscar M. Addison, August 25, 1857, Addison Papers.
dollars advanced to such an agent be returned because he had not sufficiently fulfilled his "agency." 49

To build up his school the schoolman, more than soliciting students through agents or personally contacting them, had to be constantly aware of what would now be called public relations. Most schoolmen advertised heavily in local newspapers, while larger institutions did so in papers covering a greater area. The successful schoolman cultivated editors, and schools which advertised heavily could expect favorable editorial comment. For example, the Graham Leader, in praising J. N. Johnston, the man employed to take control of local public schools, noted, "Prof. Johnston is said to be the best organizer and solicitor for schools in this portion of the state." 50

The Leader continued by lauding Johnston's record as a private schoolman at Whitt in Parker county where he had "built up" a

49 Oscar M. Addison to "Rev. A. Davis," October 22, 1874, Addison Papers. On the employment of traveling agents and direct solicitation by schoolmen, see, Williams, "Willie Andrews Pioneer Schools," Andrews Papers; W. G. Connor to Oscar M. Addison, July 2, 1872, Addison to J. Fred Cox, September 13, 1872; and Addison to Earnest Addison, June 8, 1883, Addison Papers; Waco Daily Examiner, August 5, 1876. During the decades from the 1850's to the 1880's, Oscar Addison solicited formally or informally for at least four Methodist schools—Paine Female Institute, Owensville District High School, Waco Female College, and Granbury College.

50 Graham Leader, August 3, 1892.
good school with many boarding pupils. Virtually every issue of the Leader for the next few years contained an "Educational Column" in which Johnston reported the activities of his public schools, solicited new students, and attempted to convince parents to leave their children in school during the private term before or after the public school funds ran out.51

The attempts by J. N. Johnston in Graham to convince parents to leave their children in school for the "private term" illustrates both the lack of a clear differentiation between "public schools" and "private schools" in late nineteenth century Texas and a practical means whereby public schoolmen augmented their meager incomes.52 In a practical sense, the division between public and private schools, which came to exist

51See, ibid., 1892-1895. Specific examples can be found in April 26, 1893; September 14, 1892; May 31, 1893; and September 28, 1892. The Leader, chiding teachers for not subscribing to the county seat paper, revealed the role newspapers played for schoolmen. It opined, "You don't spend a dollar a year with these papers, but you expect them to print free of charge, notices of institutes, insert long programs of same, and full reports of what you say and do on these occasions, and thus expect them to advertise you and your abilities in your chosen profession, thus assisting you to climb the ladder to higher positions and better salaries without a cent's postage in return." Graham Leader, August 31, 1895.

52During his first summer in Graham, Johnston and his wife operated a private term as an extension of the public term. In advertising his school, Johnston noted, "Keep your boys in school and out of mischief." Graham Leader, May 31, 1893.
later, had not yet fully developed by the turn of the century. In a philosophical sense, the division between the two was not clearly established in the 1870's, but, in the course of the 1880's, this issue was clarified. By the turn of the century, no one seriously entertained the idea of channelling state funds into private schools, an idea hotly debated by Texans in the 1870's.

Throughout the thirty years after the end of the Civil War, in a practical way, many public schools existed part of the year as private institutions, at least in the sense that they charged tuition. Both under the radical system and especially under the community system, it was common for public schools to conduct classes three or four months a year drawing state funds on a per capita basis for those students within the scholastic ages and then to continue for another three or four months as "subscription schools" supported by tuition. Of course, many public school teachers were unable to operate in this fashion, but many did, especially if they operated larger institutions or taught in areas where it was possible to solicit sufficient patronage. Viewed from another direction, many private schoolmen received public funds for some of their students for part of the year if their school could be organized as a school community. In reality, the difference between
a public and a private schoolman was blurred and indistinct and designation could well depend upon the time of the year being considered.\textsuperscript{53}

There were two major exceptions to this blending of public and private schools. The first included the totally public schools of short duration, often referred to as "wet weather schools" by critics of public education. It was those who taught in these short-lived public schools that conservative critics were wont to call "peripatetic pedagogues," although such critics generally simply used these schools to attack public education in general. The other exception was the avowedly sectarian private schools controlled by religious denominations. The school laws written under the Constitution of 1876 before its revision in the middle 1880's precluded "sectarian" teaching in public schools, and hence schools directly connected with church organizations could not qualify

\textsuperscript{53}For examples of the blending of public and private schools during the period of the radical and community system, see, \textit{Waco Daily Examiner}, August 18, 1874; January 17, 1874; Clarksville \textit{Standard}, August 18, 1882; \textit{Graham Leader}, January 12, 1878; September 4, 1884; Austin \textit{Daily Statesman}, August 8, 1876; August 13, 1876; August 7, 1878; July 11, 1879; and August 24, 1879. In Austin from 1876 to 1881, the "Austin Graded School" operated as a school community in a building owned by the city, but the salaries of the teachers were paid from students' tuition fees. It was "free" only for three months a year beginning in early September.
for state funds. This did not prevent, as apparently was often the case, schools operated by preachers from qualifying for state funds if these schools were individual operations which theoretically did not engage in sectarian instruction.54

During the heated educational debates of the late 1870's and early 1880's, the philosophical questions involved in the differences between public and private schools were clarified so that by the end of the 1880's little doubt remained as to what was and what was not a public school. Conservative critics of the spread of public education during that period regularly charged that public schools drove private schools

54 Austin Daily Statesman, September 14, 1872; September 17, 1872; October 1, 1872; September 30, 1882; March 11, 1883; October 16, 1883; and October 14, 1885. A hot educational topic of the day was the use of the Bible in public schools. See, Oscar M. Addison to O. M. Roberts, December 28, 1880; and John D. Templeton to Addison, January 6, 1880, Addison Papers; Waco Daily Examiner, December 4, 1881; and August 21, 1883. Many private schools advertised that they were non-sectarian apparently in an effort to attract persons from all faiths. See, Clarksville Standard, August 11, 1887, in which the local Catholic school advertised that, although it was "...uncompromisingly Catholic, respectable pupils of all denominations are received, and no attempt is made to interfere with the religious convictions of non-Catholics." See also, Graham Leader, August 5, 1881, in which the heads of "Roxana College" note, "Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists and others make up their community list. This shows that there is no sectarianism in their enterprise." For similar sentiments, see, Clarksville Standard, August 11, 1882; Graham Leader, September 21, 1878, and January 7, 1881.
out of existence.\textsuperscript{55} In a brutally simple analogy, the Austin Statesman noted, "People would not buy a good article because the meanest and poorest was given to them."\textsuperscript{56} Numerous church groups also charged that public schools would drive denominational schools out of business, leaving the way open for a loss of faith.\textsuperscript{57}

Some schoolmen, however, hoped for a blending of public and private schools in such a way as to benefit both. One common idea was for the state to educate children in public primary schools, while private "academies" or "colleges" would educate pupils seeking more advanced learning. Such private higher schools could then receive state funds on a per capita basis.\textsuperscript{58} Some educators even saw a rivalry between the two types of schools as desirable and beneficial to both. Such

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{55}Austin Daily Statesman, January 24, 1879; February 15, 1879; April 12, 1879; May 19, 1879; July 27, 1879; August 17, 1879. On January 24, 1879, the Statesman stated, "If we had good and capable teachers competing with one another, each having his own school which he must create and maintain for himself instead of the State for him, children would learn . . . ."

\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., July 8, 1879.

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., July 11, 1879; July 25, 1879; August 21, 1879; Waco Daily Examiner, August 21, 1883; Joel Daves to Oscar M. Addison, November 29, 1880, Addison Papers.

\textsuperscript{58}Austin Daily Statesman, April 20, 1873; April 20, 1878; September 12, 1878; and Waco Daily Examiner, October 4, 1883.

men argued that "in educational as in commercial enterprises, 'competition is the life of trade.'"59

The leading advocates for a true blending of public and private schools were two Baptist schoolmen, Rufus Burleson, president of Waco University and state agent for the Peabody Fund in the 1870's, and William Carey Crane, the head of Baylor University at Independence. Burleson and Crane, although bitter rivals and close to personal enemies, both argued for a system whereby the state would pay private schools for teaching students within the legal scholastic ages. Both also believed that secondary schooling should be left entirely to private schools with or without state aid. During the debates over the creation of the University of Texas, Crane and Burleson, but especially Crane who was an admirer of the system used in New York, argued against the actual creation of a state university. Instead, Crane supported the idea of a university made up of private schools which would remain independent but which would be coordinated into some type of university system. Under such an arrangement, state funds would be channelled into these "branches" of the state university. Although there was undoubtedly some support for ideas such as

59 *Graham Leader*, August 11, 1877.
these, the creation of the University of Texas and the revision of the public school system in the middle 1880's clearly reveals that a majority of Texans did not favor a formal blending of public and private education. Many Texans may well have believed what one critic charged, that Crane and Burleson were trying to "dispose of their private unprofitable schools."60

That a majority of Texans opposed the concept of public funding of private schools is revealed in the storm of controversy aroused when, in 1882, Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Ireland made statements which seemed to endorse the ideas of men like Crane and Burleson. Ireland was also known to be a foe of any great expansion of public education. If the Waco Examiner correctly reported press opinion, most

60Austin Daily Statesman, February 4, 1879. For other hostile notices of the ideas of Crane and Burleson, see, ibid., February 8, 1879 and October 23, 1879; Waco Daily Examiner, 1877. In 1874, Burleson became deeply involved in a controversy concerning the allotting of state funds to his Waco University. See, ibid., September 11, 1874; September 12, 1874; September 17, 1874; and September 25, 1874. The most detailed statements of the ideas of Crane and Burleson can be found in their correspondence throughout the 1870's. Although they disliked each other intensely, they united in their attempts to get state funds for private schools and in their efforts to thwart the creation of any competing Baptist schools in Texas. See, Rufus C. Burleson Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas. In addition, see, Austin Daily Statesman, April 10, 1873; July 23, 1873; February 16, 1879; May 4, 1879; November 12, 1879.
newspapers in the state, with the exception of the Austin
 Statesman, condemned the idea, and Ireland apparently quietly
dropped the question in the face of opposition and charges
that it might divide the Democratic Party. 61 Many Texans
probably agreed with the Examiner when it reported,

Texas Siftings [a humor magazine of the period] this week
has a humorous . . . cut, depicting the workings of denom-
inational schools, as a part of the State free school
system. A fat Catholic priest and a lean Protestant
preacher have . . . hold of a frightened boy, trying to
pull him into their respective educational institutions.
Between the two the urchin bids fair to have the life
pulled out of him. 62

With cessation of the philosophical debate concerning
the relationship between public and private education and with
the revision of the public system in the middle 1880's which
led to the abandonment of the community system except in cer-
tain counties, private schools gradually became more strictly
private. Public schools, however, still retained in many areas,
especially rural areas, the private element of two types of
school terms. Many public schoolmen clearly still depended

61 Alwyn Barr, in his Reconstruction to Reform, does not
mention this issue, probably indicating that after a brief
flareup it was dropped as Ireland backtracked. See, Waco
 Daily Examiner, August 6, 1882; August 15, 1882; August 18,
1882; August 20, 1882; August 22, 1882; and September 22, 1882.

upon these private terms to augment their incomes, and many school patrons enrolled their children in them in order that they might have nine or ten months schooling a year. 63

In the small West Texas town of Graham, for example, from the late 1870's to the late 1890's, the public school, whether under the community system or the later district system, inevitably had a public term and a private term. In 1878, under the community system, the head of the "Graham High School," John H. Brantley, announced the opening of the "free department" in early January. In 1884, the head of the somewhat misnamed "Graham Public School," Y. B. Dowell, announced that a "subscription school" would operate from September to January and a "free school" from January to June. He requested that "all who aim to send this year start their children at the beginning of the term" so that they could have a full year's schooling. He emphasized that the tuition for the private term was "reasonable." In September, 1887, the head of the school, R. E. Sherrill, put forth a plan similar to that of his predecessor. He, too, advised parents to enroll their children in the private term. In August, 1888, still another principal, E. P.

63See, Blanco Masonic University and High School, Minutes of the Board of Directors, and Fannie E. Crockett, "Parson's Female Seminary."
Williams, did the same; however, he was unable to keep the public term going until June. Announcing a private term for April and May, 1889, Williams requested parents "to continue their children in school. . . . Let us close with a full school. Let the children go on, that they may take part in the Exhibition. . . ." Williams' two successors, "Prof. Vaughn" and S. H. Kimmons, were also forced to resort to a second short private term to finish out the school year. J. N. Johnston, who unlike his predecessors remained "principal" for an extended period of time, was able to dispense with the short private term in the spring but retained the private term in the fall. He explained that having the private term in the fall would "give time for all the farmers to gather the cotton crop" using their children.64

In addition to augmenting their income through private terms, public schoolmen also often increased their earnings.

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64Graham Leader, January 12, 1878; September 4, 1884; September 7, 1887; August 23, 1888; April 4, 1890; March 11, 1891; March 30, 1892; August 24, 1892; August 23, 1893; and September 4, 1896. Schoolmen often complained of parents who kept their children away from school to work on the farm. For example, see, Dallas Weekly Herald, February 24, 1881; Clarksville Standard, June 23, 1882; Graham Leader, July 24, 1890; Oscar M. Addison to Joel Daves, January 20, 1881, Addison Papers; James R. Cole Diary, entry for October 1, 1872, Cole Papers. Cole noted, "School small today on account of cotton corn, wheat & Whooping Cough."
by instructing "overs" and "unders." This was a common method of referring to those students who were over or under the legal scholastic age and who had to pay tuition to attend public schools. Schoolmen generally favored such students because of the increased income, and, in the case of the "overs," for the increased challenge of teaching what were often called the "higher branches." Sometimes public opinion was hostile to the practice because, it was claimed, schoolmen spent too much time with these more advanced students. 65

Public schoolmen, then, as late as the end of the century, often performed in ways that made them essentially private educators. Regardless of the philosophy involved, most public schoolmen seem to have had a substantial number of private, tuition-paying pupils. Possibly one of the most telling arguments in support of the argument that public and private education was not as clearly defined in late nineteenth century Texas, as it would later be, can be found in the diary of James R. Cole. In the summer of 1885, Cole was hired to be superintendent of public schools in Abilene. He reported at length to his diary on his agreement with the school trustees:

65 See, Graham Leader, March 15, 1888.
They fought hard for seven months session & me to take all risks. Finally we agreed that I would be superintendent both schools, furnish 8 teachers all fuel & water, repair desks & keep property in order and run the school for 7 months provided there was $5000 school fund receiving montly $714.28; if not $5000, then school to close when money is exhausted at rate of $714.28 per mo. I am to receive all school fund and all tuition of children under 8 & over 16 of age and those between these ages if not enrolled to school fund--the latter to be charged $1.50 per mo. Should the School fund (and tuition) pay all teachers and all expenses and $1500. clear to me then the school is to be prolonged as long as the money will pay, provided it is not to continue longer than 8 months under any circumstances, and all money from School fund or tuition over 8 months is to be paid to me.

Thus Cole, as a public schoolman, operated essentially like a private one, which he had been a few years earlier. All tuition, whether paid by the "overs" and "unders" or by the state, was paid to him, and from that money he hired his teachers and supplied all the physical necessities. Whether or not he actually received his stated salary depended upon the amount of the state funds and the tuition-paying students. In the end, under the above contract, Cole was able to pay his teachers, cover physical expenses and other costs, and keep the schools open just over seven months. He was also able to clear the $1,500 salary. Cole was essentially a private educational contractor, and, although they did not receive state monies,

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most private schoolmen of the period operated in about the same fashion. Like them, as subsequent entries in his diary show, Cole was constantly worried lest he offend his patrons who might withdraw their children and thus jeopardize the state funds. Cole did not especially desire to remain a public schoolman, and, after many abortive attempts, he moved to Dallas in 1890, opening there a private school which he operated much like his public one in Abilene.

The educational career of James R. Cole seems to have been similar to that of most public and private schoolmen in Texas during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Most such schoolmen were, like Cole, southerners who immigrated into the state and spent the remainder of their lives in a migratory existence pursuing educational employment. Many, again like Cole, operated as both public and private educators, although most seem to have favored private endeavors if obtainable. Regardless of whether their schools were public or private, however, these schoolmen used methods that seldom varied to any great extent. Like Cole, their schools were often family enterprises. It is this aspect which illustrates the most striking similarity between public and private schoolmen of the late nineteenth century and between these schoolmen and their counterparts in the twentieth. The
employment of family members enabled the schoolman to reduce his operating expenses, a vital necessity for an educational entrepreneur often facing "cut throat" competition. The vast majority of educators in late nineteenth century Texas were, and had to be, educational entrepreneurs, selling their wares to a public not always convinced of the necessity of formal schooling.
CHAPTER IV

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLMAN AND HIS SCHOOL: DAVID S. SWITZER
AND GRANBURY-WEATHERFORD COLLEGE, 1873-1901

Throughout the decades following the end of the Civil War, while publicly financed primary and secondary schools were still rudimentary, religious denominations took a leading role in the creation of educational institutions in Texas. The dominant Protestant groups—Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—along with the Catholics founded and operated a large and ever shifting number of schools to serve their own members and persons in the locality of the institution. These endeavors were especially significant because of the weakness of public institutions in rural areas and in sparcely settled frontier regions. The schoolmen, both preachers and laymen, who operated these schools were influential in shaping the educational aspects of society in late nineteenth century Texas. They also were important in the emerging public school system because most of the early leaders in public education came from a background in these private educational institutions. The interchange of schoolmen back and forth between the public and
private areas of educational endeavor tended to lessen the
general public's conception of the differences between the
two, and, in fact, lessen the actual differences between the
two school "systems."

Among the Protestant denominations, the Methodists had
played a greater role from their founding in America in the
late eighteenth century than any other group. In the South
from the 1830's to the Civil War, every southern state con-
tained numerous "colleges," "academies," "universities," and
"institutes" connected in some way with the church. Metho-
dists coming into Texas by the 1830's began to establish schools
patterned on those of the older southern states. Some of these
were directly controlled by the church, while others were sim-
ply operated by Methodist preachers or laymen and hence were
only "Methodist related." Among the more important institutions
were Rutersville College near present-day LaGrange, McKenzie
College at Clarksville, and Soule University at Chappell Hill
near Huntsville. The Civil War virtually destroyed these

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1From 1844, when the church split over the slavery ques-
tion, until 1939, when it was reunited, the vast majority of
Methodists in the South were members of the Methodist Episcopal
Church, South. Each state was broken up into "conferences"
which were virtually independent of each other. Each confer-
ence was broken up into a series of "districts" which were in
many ways largely autonomous. It must be noted, however, that
the church structure was, in theory and in some ways practi-
cally, hierarchical.
schools, and the many lesser known endeavors, by removing the bulk of their patronage. By 1865, it would be only a slight exaggeration to say that no permanent Methodist school existed in Texas. 2

During the three decades after 1865, Texas Methodists continued to play a major role in primary and secondary education patterned on the traditions and methods of the ante-bellum period. By the turn of the century, Methodist interest in the founding of new schools waned in the face of the growing public educational system which was sapping the financial resources of all private schools. From this time on Methodists concentrated on institutions of "higher education." Older schools either gradually closed (sometimes being absorbed physically into the growing public school systems) or gradually became institutions solely of collegiate rank or pretentions. Throughout

these years before 1900, however, these many small Methodist schools did play a major role in secondary and even primary schooling in rural areas and along the frontier.

The reasons behind the determination of Texas Methodists to sponsor a system of educational institutions can be clearly seen in the records of the meetings of the Northwest Texas Conference established in 1866. Following the lead of the older conferences in the state, the new unit quickly established a policy of sponsoring educational institutions. Church leaders stressed the necessity of fostering the "moral development" of Methodist children. Great fear was expressed that "Satan . . . is to transform himself into the likeness of the Angel of science and in this form pervert their minds from our holy Christianity." There could be no doubt that Methodist schools could ward off the "poison" of the "science and literature of the present day." In addition, such institutions would be able to offset "the inducements of the theater and ball room." Perhaps even more importantly, Methodists needed their own schools to counteract the "Romanizing influence of papal schools" which

3Although its boundaries were changed from time to time, the conference covered a huge area, extending as far south as Georgetown, as far east as Waco and Fort Worth, and as far west as the frontier line. By 1900, the Panhandle and most of the South Plains were under its jurisdiction.
were threatening to cast a "gloomy pall" of a "general papacy" over the state. 4

The political and social upheaval of Reconstruction and the years thereafter also supplied reasons for Methodists to look to the creation of their own system of schools. The radical constitution of 1869 created "social restlessness and apprehension" and a public school system which laid "heavy taxation. . . upon the people." Moreover, the "extreme anxiety of some foreigners to degrade the white man of the South, is leading them to educate the negro. . . in which case, if we neglect to elevate our own children, they will be left below the level of their negro neighbors." 5

As early as 1868, the conference proposed to establish a system of schools to include primary schools, academies or high schools, and colleges. These Methodist leaders were aware of the problems created by such an undertaking from the experience of the ante-bellum period. There was the danger of

4Minutes of the Northwest Texas Conference, 1st Session, 1866, I, 11; 3rd Session, 1868, I, 56; 7th Session, 1872, II, 177; and 14th Session, 1879, III, 98. Hereafter cited as "Conference Minutes," the accounts here used are bound, typewritten copies of the originals and are in the possession of the secretary of the North Texas Conference in Fort Worth.

5Conference Minutes, 3rd Session, 1868, I, 55; and 7th Session, 1872, II, 176-177.
giving such schools "high sounding names" which caused "intelligent educated men" to "laugh in their sleeves." A second concern was the financial distress which had destroyed the pre-war schools. These church leaders constantly warned against allowing conference schools to go into debt. Because of previous experience, the conference generally refused to take financial responsibility for the schools established, and hence the majority were the property of the individual districts which made up the conference. Again attempting to avoid earlier mistakes, the conference set forth criteria for the location of Methodist schools. These included "healthfulness," location "in the midst of a large body of rich land," "accessible," "centrally located in district," "wood and water easily and cheaply obtained," "building material...easily and cheaply procured," "surrounding society be of a high type," and "important local men take an interest in the school." 6

With these problems in mind, the Northwest Texas Conference established a substantial number of schools throughout its

6 Ibid., 3rd Session, 1868, I, 56-59; 4th Session, 1869, I, 101; and 8th Session, 1873, II, 218-219. The vast area of the Northwest Texas Conference, like all Methodist conferences, was broken up into many smaller jurisdictions called districts. The boundaries, geographical areas, and the total number of these district conferences constantly changed and shifted as population patterns changed.
jurisdiction during the next thirty years. The history of one of these schools, Granbury-Weatherford College, and of the schoolman who ran it for twenty years, David S. Switzer, offers an excellent case study of the general trends in Methodist educational efforts. Moreover, it probably offers, in its founding, operation, and problems, an example typical of such educational efforts by Protestant denominations in late nineteenth century Texas. The story of Switzer and his school appears to follow closely the patterns of most private educational efforts in Texas during the Gilded Age and are not greatly dissimilar to those of public schoolmen and their schools.

In 1873, the Weatherford District Conference decided to create a school to serve the growing number of Methodist families within its jurisdiction, primarily Parker and Hood counties. The small settlement of Granbury was chosen as the site for the proposed school, and a committee of local Methodist

7At one time or another during this period the conference sponsored in some manner schools at Fort Sullivan on the Brazos River in Milam county, Waco, Waxahachie, Owensville in Robertson county, Corsicana, Graham, Stephenville, Fairfield in Freestone county, Belle Plaine near present-day Abilene, Jonesboro in Coryell county, Brownwood, Lampasas, Vernon, Fort Worth, Clarendon, Midlothian, Blooming Grove near Corsicana, and Whitt in Parker county. The records of the conference reveal that most of these schools were transitory, and most foundered, apparently for financial reasons.
leaders was selected to find a location, solicit subscriptions for the purchase of the land, and to erect a building. Although the school began operations in the fall of 1873, the three-story structure to house it was not completed and occupied until 1875. Before 1880, the school was known as "Granbury High School," although its students ranged from young children in the "Primary Department" to young men and women of college age. The institution was under the direct control of the Weatherford District Conference. The Northwest Texas Conference took no direct part in its operation beyond the formal appointment of the series of ministers who served as principals of the school and the selection of a "Visiting Committee" made up mainly of Methodist ministers who made a formal inspection

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8In an effort apparently to increase patronage, in 1876, the school was made for a time the joint property of both the Weatherford and Stephenville district conferences. See, Minutes of the "Joint Committee appointed by the Weatherford and Stephenville Conferences to take into consideration the propriety of uniting the said District Conferences upon the Granbury High School. . . .," August 17, 1876, Oscar M. Addison Papers, University of Texas Archives, Austin, Texas. Oscar M. Addison, a Methodist minister who came to Texas in the late 1840's and was active in church affairs for over fifty years, served Granbury College as a traveling agent throughout the 1870's and 1880's, as well as sitting on the Board of Trustees. As a traveling agent, Addison's primary function was to solicit contributions and patronage for the school. When asked why he chose to be a traveling agent instead of a settled minister, Addison forthrightly noted, "I thought it would offer me a better support." Oscar M. Addison to Joel Daves, March 11, 1878, Addison Papers.
annually and reported to the conference on the status of the school.  

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In 1880, David S. Switzer, a lay Methodist schoolman with ten years experience in private educational institutions in Texas, was appointed to head Granbury High School. Born in Spartanburg, South Carolina, in 1844, Switzer had lived with his family in both South Carolina and Mississippi before he entered South Carolina College just before the outbreak of the Civil War. With the coming of the war, he joined the Confederate Army, was wounded at Shiloh, captured by Union forces, and finally exchanged. His wound, caused by a Minie ball which shattered in his hip, left Switzer a cripple with a painful limp the remainder of his life. In 1865, he returned to Mississippi where he taught school for a short time before entering the University of Mississippi, from which he graduated in 1870. Shortly after his graduation Switzer moved to Texas where he found employment as a teacher at the Greenwood Masonic

9Conference Minutes, 9th Session, 1874, II, 244; 10th Session, 1875, II, 300; 11th Session, 1876, II, 343; 13th Session, 1879, III, 32. See also, Thomas T. Ewell, History of Hood County (Granbury, 1895, reprint, 1956), pp. 120-125; and David S. Switzer to Fred G. Rand, no date, Weatherford College Papers, Weatherford, Texas. Hereafter cited as "Switzer letter," this fifteen page account of Switzer's years as President of Granbury-Weatherford College was written during the early 1920's to the man who was then President of Weatherford College.
Institute at Round Rock near Austin in Williamson county. While at Round Rock, Switzer married Rebecca Mays, whose musical talents were to be a main feature of the various schools he operated in later life. In 1874, he became principal of the Comanche Masonic Institute, where he remained until his appointment to Granbury High School. Throughout these years and in the decades that followed, Switzer was an active Methodist layman and church leader.

Shortly after Switzer began his tenure as "principal," he attempted to advance the rank of "Granbury High School" to "Granbury College," although he later expressed some misgivings.

10 While teaching at Greenwood Institute, Switzer attended a convention of private schoolmen which met in Austin, December 31, 1872-January 1, 1873. He took an active role in the proceedings which were primarily concerned with bitter criticism of the radical public school system. Switzer was a member of a committee which drafted a lengthy series of "objections to the present school law." These private schoolmen apparently favored a system which would have allowed public funds to be allotted to private schools. See, Austin Statesman, January 1, 1873.

11Biographical information on Switzer can be found in "Switzer, David S.," The Handbook of Texas, edited by H. Bailey Carroll and Walter Prescott Webb, 2 vols. (Austin, 1952), II, 700; and "David S. Switzer," in History of Texas Together with a Biographical History of Tarrant and Parker Counties (Chicago, 1895), pp. 385-387. Additional biographical information was obtained in a series of interviews with Zoe Switzer McCrary, March 25, April 7, and April 13, 1967. Mrs. McCrary was the youngest of Switzer's eleven children and attended her father's school in Weatherford during the 1890's. Hereafter cited as "McCrary Interviews."
about the move because of the school's lack of an endowment and limited financial resources. The action was taken at the prompting of local citizens who objected to the relationship of the school with Southwestern University at Georgetown. All of the various district high schools were supposedly to act as preparatory "feeders" for the state Methodist "university" at Georgetown. This system, however, never worked satisfactorily, partially because of the lack of direct communication between the various schools as well as the expenses incurred by students leaving their home areas to attend the "central university." More importantly, the concept stimulated the jealousies of both local communities and of the Methodist schoolmen who controlled the small church institutions. Communities like Granbury and men like Switzer disliked the idea of their "home institutions" being subservient to another school "abroad." Obviously the status of a "college" in the local community, along with the material economic benefits derived from it, played the major role in the elevation of the school at Granbury.

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12 "Switzer letter"

13 Ibid., and Conference Minutes, 15th Session, 1880, III, 169. The Northwest Texas Conference expressed a desire that its various district high schools "...shape their curriculum in accordance with the preparatory course of S. W. University
Until 1887, regardless of its academic pretensions, Granbury College was able to remain financially solvent, primarily because it maintained an enrollment of between two and three hundred students a year. Switzer and his teachers, some of whom were members of his family, were able to run the school and to make improvements such as "...the fitting up of the entire upper story...as a comfortable recitation room and the erection of an additional building for the Music Department." This struggle to stay free of debt, however, seems to have been a constant problem which could never be solved.

and adopt its methods of instruction...." Not until the 1890's, however, was there a concerted effort to do this, and even then it met with little success.

14 It is necessary to be suspicious of enrollment figures claimed by late nineteenth century private schools; see, however, Conference Minutes, 15th Session, 1880, III, 169; 16th Session, 1881, III, 246; 17th Session, 1882, IV, 321-322; 19th Session, 1884, IV, 447; 20th Session, 1885, IV, 523-524; and 21st Session, 1886, V, 30. See also, Graham Leader, February 15, 1884, which noted, "Granbury College has 293 students enrolled, the largest number ever recorded yet." College stationery of the late 1880's claimed "310 attended last year." During the 1870's before Switzer's tenure, enrollment was less than two hundred. See, Earnest H. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, February 17, 1877, Addison Papers.

Because the school had no endowment and received no direct monetary aid from the Methodist Church, Switzer had to rely on funds from tuition charges alone. This became increasingly difficult by the middle 1880's because of the drought which struck portions of Texas and also because of the steady decline in farm prices which made it difficult for many potential patrons to raise the money to send their children to school. Switzer was often forced to accept promissory notes for tuition, and sometimes he even accepted trade in kind in exchange for education.16

Various methods were tried by Switzer and others interested in the school to increase its revenues. A "first-class commercial college course" was introduced in an effort to attract more pupils.17 Periodic attempts were made to raise funds through subscription drives during which Methodists were asked to pledge money to support the school. These efforts were generally unsuccessful because of the financial stringency

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16 In addition to the conference minutes previously cited, see "Switzer letter." J. J. Shirley, Switzer's predecessor as head of the school, "bought a cow and gave 35 dollars for her." He bought the cow from a man whose "daughter is boarding at brother shirleys and going to school and bro shirley took it in the way of paying her board." Earnest H. Addison to Oscar M. Addison, February 24, 1877, Addison Papers.

17 Report of the Committee on Education. . . , Addison Papers.
of the latter 1880's, which deterred people from pledging funds or which made it impossible for them to meet the obligations already pledged.\textsuperscript{18}

One method of easing the financial plight of Granbury College which commended itself to those who supported the school, and which was also favored by many schoolmen during the latter 1870's and early 1880's, was the allotment of state funds to private schools on a per capita basis. The District Conference, which had partial oversight of Granbury College, memorialized Governor O. M. Roberts, asking "such change in the present school law as to allow a pro rata division of the public school fund among the different church schools in Texas . . . ."\textsuperscript{19} The memorial argued that "a large per centum of the scholastic population" was taught by church schools, and hence it was only fair that they receive some of the money paid by the people through taxation. Moreover, because religious

\textsuperscript{18}For example, see, "Centenary Contributions to Granbury College, no date, Addison Papers. Granbury College had to compete with several other private schools in Hood county for local patronage, especially "the Campbellite school," Add-Ran College. See, S. D. Adkins to Oscar M. Addison, May 21, 1875, Addison Papers. See also, \textit{Graham Leader}, February 15, 1884.

\textsuperscript{19}Copy of a memorial to Governor O. M. Roberts from a committee of the Stephenville District Conference, July 29-30, 1881, Addison Papers.
instruction was strictly forbidden by law, state schools could educate "the intellect alone," which was especially true after state authorities ruled that even prayer and Bible reading had no place in public educational facilities. Since "we are not a community of atheists or of infidels, but a Christian people, who believe in the Bible, and the religion it teaches . . .," such exclusion served the interests of only "the small minority of irreligionists." Public schools, the memorial concluded, could be maintained for such people, but it was only justice that religious Texans be allowed to contribute their tax money to church schools. These pleas by the Methodists who controlled Granbury College were not effective, and their schools were forced to maintain themselves alone and increasingly in competition with the public system.

The educational and religious attitudes expressed in the memorial clearly were those which dominated Granbury College. One statement of these attitudes noted that the "great governing

20Ibid. Addison favored, as did most who supported this idea, a plan which would have recognized private schools as school "communities" under the state system as it existed before its revision in 1884. This would, of course, have been the simplest method for private schools to receive public money. Some Methodist schoolmen, however, although wanting prayer and Bible reading in public schools, did not want state support for private institutions. See, Oscar M. Addison to Fulmer A. Mood, December 2, 1881, and January 24, 1882, Addison Papers. Mood was the President of Southwestern University.
forces in the world today" were the pulpit, the press, and the school. Schools must supply "the culture needed by all," but without religion such culture "means Nihilism, communism, and anarchy." Granbury College supplied both the education and the religion which were the hope of society, its supporters contended. Methodists, they argued, had both a right and a duty to support such schools through their patronage and their financial aid. 21 This report and the memorial sent to Governor Roberts are only two examples of the hostility felt by many private educators and many religious laymen toward the public school system. The impression is left that these private schoolmen became increasingly hostile to public education as it became clear that a system of public aid to private schools was unacceptable to the majority of Texans. Although there was a gradual movement of private educators into public schools as the public system developed, it seems likely that many preferred the private school and entered public education only under the compulsion of necessity.

Only the barest outlines of the actual day to day operations of Switzer's Granbury College during the 1880's can be gleaned from the scanty materials extant. Clearly the religious

21Report of the Committee on Education... , Addison Papers.
atmosphere was all pervasive. Switzer emphasized in his reports to the Conference that "the moral and religious surroundings are of the best order" and that "many students have professed religion and joined the church."\(^{22}\) It was not uncommon for the "closing exercises" or public examinations which ended the school year to be accompanied by a revival both for the students and the general public.\(^{23}\) The curriculum was narrow and totally classical, with heavy emphasis on ancient languages, mathematics, rote memorization of the rules of English usage, and elocution. Accompanying this course of study was a system which included:

...scant equipment, bare library shelves, teachers... without much training or background; discipline smacking of the Hoosier Schoolmaster days; general supervision under the Methodist Church... The teachers heard lessons from morning till night. They had no time to study themselves. A half-dozen instructors must look after two or three hundred boys and girls from the primary grades up through college seniors. These seniors and other upperclassmen sat all day in rows of desks, supervised by a monitor, just as if they were first graders.\(^{24}\)

\(^{22}\)Conference Minutes, 21st Session, 1886, V, 30.

\(^{23}\)Oscar M. Addison to Joel Daves, June 12, 1878, Addison Papers; and J. H. Baker Diary, typescript, University of Texas Archives, entries for May 29-June 1, 1882. Baker was a businessman with extensive land holdings in Parker county.

\(^{24}\)John A. Lomax, Adventures of a Ballad Hunter (New York, 1947), p. 24. Lomax attended Granbury College and later taught for Switzer after the school moved to Weatherford. In 1895, he left to attend the University of Texas and later Harvard.
Regardless of its academic shortcomings as judged by modern standards, Granbury College was able to attract enough pupils to keep itself in operation and free from debt.

Early in January, 1887, however, a disaster struck the school which forced it under a burden of debt from which it could not free itself. Fire totally destroyed the college building. The remainder of the school year was completed using various church buildings, and by September, 1887, a new three-story building had been erected. Although the patronage of the school did not decrease, the funds thus raised were insufficient to retire the $6,000 mortgage on the new building. The Northwest Texas Conference appointed a special agent, B. M. Stevens, who was also the Presiding Elder or chief executive officer of the Weatherford District Conference, to raise the money through subscriptions. This proved to be impossible, and, on May 3, 1889, the building was handed over to the holders of the mortgage.

Lomax later gained nation-wide renown as a collector of western folk songs and a leading authority on Texas folklore.

25"Switzer letter;" McCrary interviews, Conference Minutes, 24th Session, 1889, V, 187-188; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1890-1891 (Weatherford, 1890), p. 2; and Weatherford College Catalogue, 1899-1900 (Weatherford, 1899), pp. 6-7; and Ewell, History of Hood County, pp. 124-125.
The president of the Board of Trustees informed Switzer that it was useless to attempt to redeem the property, and hence Switzer began to seek a suitable place to reestablish the school. A group of Methodists from Weatherford, the county seat of Parker county about thirty miles from Granbury, contacted Switzer and invited him to bring his school there. He agreed to do so if they would provide a suitable building and furnish it. According to Switzer, the group from Weatherford agreed to his conditions, and the removal of the school was accepted by the Trustees of Granbury College, the Weatherford District Conference, and finally by the Northwest Texas Conference. With a new Board of Trustees appointed by the District Conference, the new "Weatherford College" began operations in the fall of 1889. Switzer always maintained that Weatherford College was simply a continuation of Granbury College in a new location under a new name.26

Many citizens of Granbury and some of the members of the old Board of Trustees of Granbury College, however, did not agree with the removal of the school. A faction of the Board charged that the removal was "unnecessary, unauthorized, and

26"Switzer letter;" McCrary interviews, Conference Minutes, 24th Session, 1889, V, 187-188; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1890-1891 (Weatherford, 1890), p. 2; and Weatherford College Catalogue, 1899-1900, pp. 6-7.
illegal." \(^{27}\) This group charged that Switzer and Stevens "transcended your authority... by entering into a compact to remove said college from Granbury to Weatherford... \(^{28}\) It was charged that Switzer and Stevens had obtained the approval of the District Conference, which met in Graham in July, 1889, through misrepresentation of the true facts and because of the "meagre attendance" at the meeting caused by "the recent rains and bad roads." These dissident Board members charged that "the president of the faculty [Switzer], if he had at that time any connection with the college--as the school term had ended--it was not to accept for the church, propositions to remove the college, but to superintend his classes, and his teachers." \(^{29}\)

The imbroglio surrounding the removal of Switzer and "his" school and the subsequent competition between the two Methodist sponsored schools amply illustrates the problems and weaknesses

\(^{27}\) Oscar M. Addison to B. M. Stevens, September 12, 1889, Addison Papers.

\(^{28}\) Oscar M. Addison to B. M. Stevens, no date, Addison Papers.

\(^{29}\) Ibid. The reaction of Switzer and Stevens to these charges as reported by Addison, noted, "When it seemed that the star of hope had gone down, Weatherford opened the doors of her liberality, and invited the wandering one home, \([\text{donation in buildings, grounds and money, to the amount of six thousand dollars were offered. The Financial Agent and President, acting for the church accepting their proposition.}\)" See, Ibid.
of such schools. Although Switzer maintained that the school moved with him, in fact, it operated under the sponsorship of the church through the 1890's after the citizens of Granbury purchased the property and deeded it back to the Methodists. Switzer always thought of the school as "his" school as was common with the many private schools of the period. Private schoolmen like David Switzer, and early public school educators, generally so completely dominated the scholastic enterprises with which they were associated that a type of proprietary interest developed in their own minds and in the minds of the public. This attitude, along with the local "boosterism" of small towns in late nineteenth century Texas, led to the creation of many small schools which directly competed with each other for increasingly meager patronage. Such competition also weakened the support which sponsoring churches could offer by diffusing it among many small struggling institutions.

When Switzer moved his school to Weatherford, he built it, to some extent, upon the foundation of previous private schools

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30Ewell, The History of Hood County, pp. 124-125. The Conference Minutes reveal that Granbury College was prosperous during the 1890's. Instructively, Ewell, who had served on the Board of Trustees since the 1870's, makes no mention of the removal of Switzer to Weatherford. Some indication of the ill feeling engendered by Switzer's actions is revealed by the fact that Ewell notes that Granbury College reopened in 1890 "under improved auspices." Although extremely laudatory of the previous presidents of the school, he barely mentions the nine years that Switzer spent as its head.
in the town. This second channel of development of Weatherford College also illustrates typical aspects of private educational development in late nineteenth century Texas. In the 1870's, the Masons had operated a school in Weatherford similar to the many they sponsored in Texas both before and after the Civil War. Generally a lodge would incorporate and sell stock to finance the erection of a school building, and the school would then be controlled by a Masonic board of trustees. By the 1880's, however, the Masons gradually lost interest in educational activities because of the growth of the free public school system.31

In 1868, members of the Phoenix Lodge in Weatherford began discussions concerning the erection of a building to house the lodge and a school. Early in 1869, a group of Masons was appointed by the lodge to create a plan for the erection of a building which would house the lodge meeting hall in an upper story and schoolrooms in the lower. A joint stock company was created to raise the estimated $12,000 needed by securing subscriptions. By April, 1869, about $8,000 had been raised and construction began on the building to house "Weatherford Masonic Institute" as the school was to be known. Some of the

31Eby, Development of Education, pp. 129-130.
persons who had subscribed to purchase stock failed to do so, however, and the building was only partially complete when it was ordered sold to satisfy a debt against the property. At the sheriff's sale a member of the lodge purchased the property and deeded it back to the lodge again, holding a lien against the property. Apparently the building was not completely finished and ready for use until the fall of 1875, probably because of difficulty in raising the necessary funds. 32

When finally opened, the school was operated by a new organization known as the "Weatherford High School Association," which had raised the money to finish the building. The directors of this group, apparently still Masons, were empowered to "select, employ, and engage a suitable corps of teachers." The man employed as principal received half of the matriculation fee of one dollar per student plus the tuition he charged. Additional funds were raised by subscription. By its second year of operation, the school enrolled 147 students. 33

32H. Smythe, Historical Sketch of Parker County and Weatherford, Texas (St. Louis, 1877), pp. 121-126. According to Smythe, in July, 1869, several men were scalped by Indians raiding into Parker and Tarrant counties from the north. One of the men was supposedly on his way to the laying of the cornerstone of the Masonic Institute. See also, Weatherford Democrat, September 12, 1895, and August 11, 1937.

33Smythe, Historical Sketch, pp. 224 and 327-331; and Weatherford Democrat, October 22, 1937. The information contained
Throughout the next decade, the school building erected by the Masons housed a constantly changing variety of schoolmen and their schools. Although information is sketchy, it appears that those who controlled the building contracted with schoolmen to conduct a school in their building on a year to year basis. This would have been, of course, typical of similar operations throughout the state during this period. The trials of the schoolman can be seen in the problems of the first principal of the school, T. C. Hart. Smythe notes that he was fired after his first year when a committee of the board of trustees had been appointed to ascertain the cause of "dissatisfaction which is reported in the community." Hart continued to reside in Weatherford, however, and opened another school which he called the "Weatherford Academy."34

It is difficult to ascertain the qualifications of the many persons who operated the Masonic school. Sixty years later, two former students remembered one of the principals, Morgan H. Looney, as the "most outstanding mathematician in

in the article from the Democrat was supplied by two women who were among the four who "graduated" from the school in 1876.

Texas at that date." Another, William W. Davis, attended Washington College in Virginia during the period when Robert E. Lee was president just after the Civil War. Another, Smith Ragsdale, who controlled the school in the early 1880's, was recognized by state education authorities as one of Texas' leading educators.35

In 1885, the name of the school was changed to Cleveland College, supposedly in honor of the newly elected Democratic president. By the latter part of the 1880's, however, the private school in the Masonic building began to decline, probably because of the growing competition from the public school system in Weatherford, which had been first created in 1881. It was the Masonic building which the group of Weatherford Methodists bought and deeded to the Weatherford District in order to provide a home for Switzer's school from Granbury. 36

35Weatherford Democrat, October 22, 1937. On Ragsdale see, Austin Statesman, August 3, 1881, and, in the Weatherford College Papers, a picture of the Masonic Institute building taken in 1879 or 1880 with the notation "Prof. Ragsdale's school was then on the first floor." Significantly, the photograph reveals that Ragsdale taught pupils from elementary age to at least high school age.

36Holland, History of Parker County, pp. 99-100; John B. Grace and R. B. Jones, A New History of Parker County (Weatherford, 1906), p. 154; and Weatherford Democrat, August 11, 1939. For notices of "Cleveland College" see Dallas Weekly Herald, August 6, 1885, and November 26, 1885.
In September, 1889, Weatherford College began operations in the old Masonic school building. All of the faculty and many of the students moved from Granbury to Weatherford with Switzer. The previous summer the new board of trustees, composed mainly of local bankers and lawyers, had solicited subscriptions, renovated the building, and furnished it. Many of those who had subscribed, however, later would or could not pay, and eventually the Board took legal action to force payment, although without much success. 37

Among other things, Switzer had been promised that the school would be supplied with a boarding house as part of the inducement to locate in Weatherford. He felt such a facility was vital to the success of the school because it would enable students from "abroad" to attend easily. At the end of the first year Switzer attempted to force the Board to live up to its promises by threatening to resign if the boarding house

37 "Switzer letter;" McCrary interviews; Weatherford College, Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Trustees, May 22, 1889, July 3, 1889, August 31, 1889, June 10, 1890, and June 10, 1891, Weatherford College Papers. Hereafter cited as "Board Minutes." The president of the Board of Trustees throughout Switzer's tenure was I. W. Stephens, law partner of S. W. T. Lanham, later governor of Texas. Stephens had been associated with Switzer at Granbury and apparently was one of the main forces behind the latter's removal to Weatherford. The Weatherford lawyer could thus combine personal friendship, service to his church, and local boosterism in one enterprise.
was not forthcoming. After a series of apparently stormy meetings, the Board finally allowed Switzer to solicit more subscriptions to raise funds for the project. He was never able to raise sufficient money, however, and throughout his tenure at Weatherford College Switzer boarded an average of twenty-five female students in his home.\textsuperscript{38} Even with this problem, at the end of the first year he noted that "it was the best school he ever had & thought more of it."\textsuperscript{39}

Throughout the early 1890's the school prospered in enrollment, so much so that the old building became inadequate. It appears that the hurried patching in the summer of 1889 had failed, and the building was in a bad state of disrepair. As early as 1891, the structure was considered inadequate, and, in June, 1894, plans were drawn to enlarge the building, "provided no debt be created against the institution." The Board

\textsuperscript{38} The boarding of female students was typical of many private schoolmen of this period. It combined possible financial necessity with "correct" moral oversight of the lives of young women placed in the schoolman's care.

\textsuperscript{39}"Switzer letter;" McCrary interviews; Board Minutes, May 31, 1890, June 7, 1890, and June 10, 1890.

\textsuperscript{40}Frederick Eby notes that the standard type of structure for small private schools during this period "...was the oblong two-story, four room building." This is an exact description of the old Masonic Institute building. Eby, \textit{Development of Education}, p. 140.
accepted a bid of just under seven thousand dollars to add new rooms and a chapel to the existing structure. The stress of construction proved too much for the original walls, and these had to be replaced at an additional cost of two thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{41} One result of the original construction and the later patching of the original walls was a violation of the Board's own directive and of the continual admonition of the various Methodist governing bodies--debt. Attempts were made to raise the necessary money by the standard method of subscription, but this failed. Finally, in September, 1897, the property was mortgaged in order to borrow enough money to pay off a creditor who had gained a judgment against the property in county court. Although it was not redeemed in the specified two years, the mortgage was finally paid off in July, 1901. Thus the Methodists who controlled Weatherford College were only barely able to escape the trap which was the downfall of many church and private schools in late nineteenth century Texas.\textsuperscript{42}

The debt incurred in the building program had its parallel in the personal finances of its president. Switzer's life was

\textsuperscript{41}Board Minutes, June 10, 1891; June 8, 1893; June 7, 1894; July 5, 1895; July 28, 1894; August [no date], 1894; August 31, 1894; January 18, 1895; June 10, 1895; and October 14, 1895.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., July 25, 1894; April 15, 1895; June [no date], 1897; September 29, 1897; and July 6, 1901.
a constant struggle to keep the school in operation and out of debt. In reality the finances of the school and those of Switzer were so closely intertwined that they were really one. He received all the money raised through tuition charges as his compensation, but from this money he hired his teachers and paid all operational expenses. A detailed account exists of the breakdown of the financial operations of Weatherford College during its first year of operation, 1889-1890. Switzer received approximately $3,800 in tuition during that year. His own salary was listed as $1,535, while the salary of the three men he hired as teachers averaged about $500. The teachers were paid at irregular intervals, apparently as the money became available. Switzer himself simply lived on the money gained from tuition, meeting his expenses along with those of the school. At the end of the scholastic year any money remaining was divided among the teachers and Switzer in proportion to their basic salaries. In simplest terms, Switzer paid his personal bills with the school's money, charging this

\[43^{\text{Switzer letter; McCrary interviews; Board Minutes, May 22, 1889.}}\]

\[44^{\text{The ledger, now in the Weatherford College Papers, was found in the 1950's in Mineral Wells, Texas, also in Parker county. It was apparently taken there by one W. C. Poston, whom Switzer hired to teach math and keep the school's books.}}\]
against his preset salary. He also gave free tuition to the children of persons to whom he owed money. 45

By the middle of the 1890's, the income of the school had markedly increased. In 1895 and 1896, Switzer reported school income as $8,850 and $9,500 respectively. This was partially because of gradual increases in tuition. Weatherford College's total dependence upon such tuition fees undoubtedly forced such increases, which, while relatively small, averaged five dollars per semester per student. In 1899, the tuition for "literary" courses was twenty-five dollars a semester; for the "Business Department" forty dollars; and for "Shorthand and Typewriting" thirty dollars. Extra fees were charged for such things as penmanship, oratory, and bookkeeping. A large portion of the money upon which the Switzer family lived came from the music

45 The account contains an extremely detailed breakdown of expenditures for the year. It notes, for example, such items as $7.50 for a year's postage; $22.05 for coal; $0.25 for a "bell rope;" $3.00 for "work on out houses;" $3.00 for a "water closet;" and $0.25 for "broom for college."

Switzer, like all schoolmen of his era, was a firm believer in advertising, for which he spent $62.97, in ten area newspapers. The school placed, for example, an ad in every issue of the Weatherford Democrat between April, 1895, and March, 1897. An ad placed in the Graham Leader, August 23, 1893, probably indicated through its copy what Switzer felt parents wanted in a school. It noted that Weatherford College had eleven teachers and three hundred students, that "young ladies board with the president and family," that the school had "no connection with Public Schools," that it was in a "healthy locality," and that it offered "cheap rates."
lessons given by the president's wife. This was typical of Texas schoolmen of the period as was Switzer's use of his daughters as teachers in his school. Apparently almost all of the girls enrolled in Weatherford College took courses in music and art, instead of "literary" subjects. Courses were offered in piano, violin, mandolin, oil painting, and water color. Most of the degrees conferred by the school were to girls who had completed such "finishing" courses.46

Regardless of what type of studies the students pursued, their numbers increased throughout the decade. The exact number of tuition paying students, however, is difficult to ascertain. Switzer claimed between 250 and 300 per year in his reports to the Annual Conference and the Board of Trustees, and in the college catalogues. There is reason, however, to doubt Switzer's figures. He obviously counted the number of students in each department (from primary to "collegiate") and then added them up for the total. The names listed in the college catalogues, however, reveal that many students were enrolled in more than one department and hence were counted more than once. An educated guess would be that the school

never had more than two hundred students at any one time during the year. These lists of students in the catalogues also reveal that about half were local and half from "abroad." Weatherford College drew substantial numbers of students from sparsely settled areas west of Weatherford.47

Regardless of the number of tuition paying students, the lack of an endowment seems to have been a constant source of anguish to Switzer. In his school's catalogues he pleaded for someone to give "a handsome sum" to endow the school. He continued, "Let every friend in his own way set aside a part of his fortune, though small it may be, for a permanent fund to perpetuate. . . .and enlarge. . . .Weatherford College."48

47 Conference Minutes, 31st Session, 1896, VII, 158; 32nd Session, 1897, VII, 215; 33rd Session, 1898, VIII, 16; 35th Session, 1900, VIII, 120. Board Minutes, May 14, 1891; June 9, 1892; and June 9, 1893. Like all private schoolmen, Switzer faced strong competition, not only from the expanding public schools, but also from the many private schools in his area. During Switzer's years at Weatherford College, at least ten private schools operated in Weatherford and Parker county. See, Weatherford Democrat, May 23, 1895; June 6, 1895; September 12, 1895; January 7, 1897; February 28, 1936; April 8, 1938; March 10, 1939; August 11, 1939; and May 10, 1940. See also, Weatherford Daily Constitution, October 20, 1890; Weatherford Republic, December 19, 1901; and Stephenson's Complete Census and Directory of the City of Weatherford, Texas (Weatherford, 1901), pp. 2-3, 28, 38. The Conference minutes reveal that during the late 1880's and early 1890's Methodists supported a school at Whitt, also in Parker county.
Twenty years later, he felt that the lack of an endowment was the chief reason for the school's constant financial problems.\textsuperscript{49}

The average student at Weatherford College in the 1890's, whether a child in the primary department or an adolescent in the collegiate, probably knew little of the constant financial problems of the school. A fairly accurate and complete picture of campus life can be drawn, and the type of environment in which Switzer's charges existed probably did not vary much if at all from that of students in Texas public and private schools of a similar nature. Although not remarkable to those who had grown up in the atmosphere of rural Texas in the late nineteenth century, the rigid discipline and oppressive religious atmosphere would be intolerable by modern standards. Late Victorian moral values and the evangelical orientation of nineteenth century Methodism molded the viewpoints of both the teachers and the students and were everpresent in the daily life of the school.

Although coeducational, Weatherford College practiced rigid segregation of the sexes. Students were not allowed to communicate with a member of the opposite sex without permission of a teacher. Teachers were enjoined to report to

\textsuperscript{49}"Switzer letter."
Switzer any infraction of this rule. This system was relaxed only at closely chaperoned social affairs such as recitals and in the daily chapel exercises. Dances or dancing was expressly forbidden. Close supervision of the relationships between the sexes was necessary so that the teachers could insure that the students "...may be corrected or encouraged in the rules of propriety in social life."\(^{50}\)

The religious life of the students was also closely supervised. They were expected to join and attend a church, and daily chapel exercises were held. At the latter, Switzer or a local minister would offer godly admonition. These services were augmented by weekly prayer meetings and occasional revivals. The Bible was a regular object of study for all students.\(^{51}\)

\(^{50}\) McCrary interviews; Lomax, Confessions of a Ballad Hunter, p. 26; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1890-1891, p. 13; and Weatherford College Catalogue, 1899-1900, pp. 45-46. In addition to non-intercourse between the sexes, the "General Rules" expressly forbade attending "balls, parties, shows and other places of dissipation," abstention from "all intoxicating drinks and games of chance, and visiting drinking or billiard saloons," and possession any type of deadly weapon.

\(^{51}\) McCrary interviews; Lomax, Confessions of a Ballad Hunter, p. 26; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1893-1894, p. 32; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1899-1900, pp. 36-37; Weatherford Democrat, March 28, 1895; May 2, 1895; September 26, 1895; October 3, 1895; October 31, 1895; January 9, 1896; Conference Minutes, 26th Session, 1891, VI, 25; 28th Session, 1893, VI, 151; 29th Session, 1894, VII, 43-44; 31st Session, 1896, VII,
Even with these rigid restrictions, campus life was not without its diversions. For those so inclined, the school established a military company known as the "Weatherford College Guards." Under the close supervision of a teacher, male students organized, elected officers, and subjected themselves to periodic drills. The State of Texas supplied rifles for drill purposes. It should be noted, however, that no student was required to join. 52

By the latter 1890's, although there appears to have been opposition to it from some churchmen, Weatherford College organized athletic teams. Boys played football and baseball in season, and often competed with teams from the small towns around Weatherford. A member of the faculty was generally appointed to oversee organized sports of this type. The female

164-165; 32nd Session, 1897, VII, 224; 34th Session, 1899, VIII, 75; and 36th Session, 1901, VIII, 183.

Switzer's daughter noted that her father was famous for his inspirational chapel talks. Judging from contemporary newspaper accounts, one of his favorite topics was the evil of tobacco. He was also instrumental in the passage of a resolution passed at a local meeting condemning a proposed prize fight in Texas between James J. Corbett and Robert Fitzsimmons. 52

52 Weatherford College Catalogue, 1893-1894, p. 32; Weatherford Democrat, October 15, 1896; November 5, 1896; November 12, 1896; and November 26, 1896. According to his daughter, Switzer was always extremely proud of his service in the Confederate Army, and he thought things military instilled the proper "character" in young men.
students do not appear to have entered into any type of athletic endeavor.\textsuperscript{53}

By far the most popular student activities were the literary or debating societies which were common at most private and public schools in the late nineteenth century. These organizations were in no way primarily social but rather were debating clubs organized and controlled by the school. Their meetings were held on Saturday night, which undoubtedly helped prevent students from straying into temptation. Switzer's school maintained four such societies: Phaino, for men of college age; Demosthenic, for boys of high school age; Adelphian, for girls; and Cleonian, for the children of the primary department. The male organizations generally spent their time planning and taking part in debates or oratory contests. The female club spent theirs in planning and presenting musical programs and pageants. Often the male and female societies would have a joint program of oratory and music to which the public would be invited. Each society had its own room in the school building and its own library. All such activities were closely regulated by Switzer and his faculty.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} Weatherford Democrat, April 4, 1895; May 23, 1895; November 28, 1895; October 31, 1895; January 9, 1896; January 30, 1896; October 15, 1896; September 8, 1939; September 20, 1940; and July 8, 1945.

\textsuperscript{54} McCrary interviews; Weatherford College Catalogue, 1890-
The school sponsored two other types of social outlets, but these were mainly oriented toward the citizens of Weatherford and the surrounding area. The music students of Rebecca Switzer gave periodic concerts and recitals which apparently were popular with the public. They must have provided one of the few cultural experiences in a small town and certainly served as good advertising for the school. Graduation or "closing" exercises, however, were the high point of the school year. The activities usually lasted at least a week and included public examinations, debates, contests for medals in various subjects, music recitals, orations, and generally a speech by the president of the Board of Trustees, I. W. Stephens. These extended exercises served two purposes: they ended the academic year by allowing the students to publicly exhibit their acquired knowledge, and they served as advertising for the school with the general public and, hopefully, attracted new students for the next school year.\textsuperscript{55}

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1891, p. 24; \textit{Weatherford College Catalogue}, 1892-1893, p. 30; \textit{Weatherford College Catalogue}, 1893-1894, p. 30; \textit{Weatherford College Catalogue}, 1895-1896, p. 33; \textit{Weatherford College Catalogue}, 1899-1900, pp. 57-58; \textit{Weatherford Democrat}, April 4, 1895; April 11, 1895; May 16, 1895; May 9, 1895; May 30, 1895; September 26, 1895; October 3, 1895; November 19, 1895; and December 19, 1895. Almost all of the male students appear to have been members of the local Young Men's Christian Association, although it was not, of course, associated with the school.
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\textsuperscript{55} McCrory interviews; \textit{Catalogue of the School of Fine Arts}
There were some types of extracurricular activities which were intended to enrich the academic experience of the students. The school sponsored a lecture course every year which usually attracted nine or ten guest speakers in the college chapel. Most of the speakers brought a religious or moral

of Weatherford College, 1901-1902, pp. 5-21; Weatherford Democrat, May 23, 1895; May 30, 1895; June 13, 1895; June 26, 1895; September 12, 1895; October 1, 1895; February 6, 1896; and June 4, 1896. A father, who had two children attending Granbury College while Switzer was president, recorded in his diary what was probably a typical example of such closing exercises. He noted that the "young ladies 'Adelphian Literary Society' gave an entertainment at night which was very creditable indeed." The next day he recorded, "Attended the examination of the various classes today. Most of the pupils had had good training, and acquitted themselves creditably. At night Mrs. Switzer's music class gave a concert, which showed the pupils had had good training. It was very much enjoyed by a large audience." The next day he wrote, "Declamations and essays this A. M. Some of them very good indeed. Not much doing during the afternoon. A speech by I. W. Stephens of Weatherford. After which about 20 prizes were distributed among the students. Among them two gold medals. One...for declamation and the other...for best essay. The college building was filled to overflowing. This closes the exercises. The school is a good one and is worthy of patronage. There is a fine spirit among the students and the social and religious influences seem to be for good." J. H. Baker Diary, entries for May 30-June 1, 1882. These sentiments reveal two important aspects of David Switzer's Granbury-Weatherford College. First, there was a remarkable continuity throughout the twenty years that he was associated with the school. Baker could have been describing the closing activities at Weatherford in the late 1890's. Second, at least in this case, the exercises had the desired effect of favorably impressing a patron and thus serving as good advertising for the school.
message; however, at least one, ex-Confederate general and southern politician, John B. Gordon, gave his famous oration on "The Last Days of the Confederacy."\(^5^6\) The school also maintained an observatory which attracted apparently large interest from students of both sexes for periodical astronomical observations at night. For those with literary interests the school published a periodical, the *Weatherford Collegian*. The one extant copy reveals that it was composed of news concerning the literary societies, news of campus events, and religious homilies. The school owned its own printing press and produced its own printed material.\(^5^7\)

Considering all the various aspects of Switzer's school, it appears to have been typical of the many like it in Texas during the last years of the nineteenth century in its organization, academic offerings and methods, campus life, and its continual financial struggle. By the end of the decade, these

\(^5^6\) *Weatherford College Catalogue*, 1892-1893, pp. 5 and 24; *Weatherford College Catalogue*, 1893-1894, p. 7; *Weatherford College Catalogue*, 1895-1896, p. 6; *Weatherford Democrat*, April 18, 1895; May 2, 1895; November 21, 1895; and October 15, 1896. Two of the typical religious topics of lectures were "From Bar-room to Pulpit," and "Boys and Girls, Nice and Naughty; or the Pendulum of Life."

\(^5^7\) McCrary interviews; *Weatherford College Catalogue*, 1899-1900, pp. 9 and 56; *Weatherford Collegian*, February, 1896; *Weatherford Democrat*, March 28, 1895; April 11, 1895; May 16, 1895; June 6, 1895; and October 22, 1896.
financial problems began to become more critical. As previously mentioned, the building program of 1894 had left a burden of debt which caused the Board and Switzer much anxiety. Early in 1899, friction arose between the faculty and Switzer on the one hand and the Board of Trustees and Switzer on the other over financial problems. Although the information is sketchy, it appears that some members of the faculty were dissatisfied with the salaries offered to them by the president. The president of the Board, I. W. Stephens, was appointed by the Board to investigate the matter. Early in April, Switzer reported a salary schedule to the Board which apparently did not meet with the approval of either the Board (who thought it too high) or the faculty (who thought it too low). By June a compromise, which may have been the beginning of friction between Switzer and his Board of Trustees, was apparently reached which considerably lowered the proposed salaries. Twenty years later Switzer bitterly noted,

> Notwithstanding all this progress a self satisfaction and want of personal responsibility for the school had taken hold of the officials and the people while the President was left to select and pay his teachers and the other expenses of the school without any income save tuition fees.

> "Switzer letter;" Board Minutes, March no date, 1899, April 1, 1899, and June 8, 1899. Another indication of trouble between Switzer and the Board is the lack of any minutes for a
With this friction as a background, a series of events occurred in December, 1901, which ended the twenty year association of David Switzer with the Methodist school. A confrontation erupted between Switzer and Stephens, who had been the president's long-time friend and supporter. Although it is not exactly clear what happened, it appears that Switzer expelled two girls who refused to live in housing approved by the president. On December 2, 1901, the Board informed Switzer that he could not expel a student without the consent of the faculty. He was ordered to call a meeting of the faculty and either reinstate the two girls or expel them permanently. Two days later Switzer refused to follow the directive and tendered his resignation, along with that of his wife and two of his daughters who taught music. The Board refused to accept his resignation, but Switzer insisted. A week later the Board did accept the resignation effective December 29, 1901.

59"Switzer letter;" McCrary interviews, Board Minutes,
The remaining dealings of Switzer with Weatherford College concerned the problem of untangling and adjusting the finances of the school and those of its ex-president. The problem basically concerned Switzer's reimbursing the school for tuition he had collected, and the school adjusting this amount against what he had spent on college affairs before his resignation. Throughout the spring of 1902, Switzer and the Board argued over who owed money to whom. It was June, 1902, before the matter was settled.

Although Switzer clearly saw his twenty years as president of Granbury-Weatherford College as the best of his life, his career as a private schoolman was not over. In the late spring of 1902, Switzer and his family moved to the small town

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December 2, 1901; December 16, 1901; Switzer to Stephens, no date; Switzer to Stephens, December 11, 1901, Weatherford College Papers. Switzer's daughter avoided making direct statements concerning the matter. She did note several times that the two girls "got around" the Board in some manner. She intimated that they came from socially prominent families. She also felt that Stephens was at fault in the matter, as would be expected.

60 Board Minutes, December 16, 1901; January 22, 1902; January 29, 1902; and June 2, 1902. Two members of the faculty were hired to run the school for the remainder of the school year. In May, 1902, these men and the Board agreed to make the school "a first class Training School for boys and girls . . ." without collegiate curriculum. See, Board Minutes, December 18, 1901; March 23, 1902; and May 12, 1902. The two girls who had precipitated the crisis attended the school during the spring of 1902.
of Itasca in Hill county and opened a private girl's school. Later, in 1914, Switzer and his wife moved to the Oak Cliff section of Dallas where they opened the "Switzer School of Music," which remained David Switzer's means of support until his death in 1929. The move to Dallas undoubtedly reflects both Switzer's advancing age and physical infirmity and, more importantly, the rapid changes in educational structure in Texas in the early twentieth century. With the rapid growth of public schools, especially high schools, private schoolmen like Switzer generally either moved into public schools, which was impossible for many who were either old or too strongly imbued with the independent and often domineering personality of the private schoolman, or were forced into marginal educational endeavors such as schools of music. Even many public schoolmen of the late nineteenth century found themselves out of step with the growing professionalism and anonymity of the twentieth century.

The history of Granbury-Weatherford College during the twenty years which David S. Switzer served as its president reveals much about education in late nineteenth century Texas. The school was probably typical of the many such institutions

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61 McCrary interviews; and "Switzer, David S." in Handbook of Texas, II, 700.
controlled by the Methodists, other religious denominations, or private schoolmen alone. Their academic pretentions were often ludicrous, but it must be remembered that accrediting bodies did not exist until the very end of the century. Their educational philosophies were probably outmoded even by the standards held by the newer type of educators of the day. Still these private schools offered a type of classical learning which traditionally had been seen as best. Their rigid, harsh, and oppressive atmosphere seems so only by modern standards. The moral and religious values of Weatherford College under David Switzer were undoubtedly those of the vast majority of the school's patrons. The seemingly quaint social activities were not quaint at that time.

David Switzer, like his school, appears to be typical of the schoolman of his era in Texas. He was a southerner who came into the state from the Southeast. His life was spent in a series of private educational endeavors which seldom varied. His schools were essentially one man operations in the sense that he totally dominated the school. So strong was this domination that Switzer believed what was basically true, that his school moved with him. He had a domineering personality, and probably such a personality was useful in keeping schools such as his in operation. Like most schoolmen
of his time, Switzer lived a precarious financial life. His personal finances and those of his school, which were essentially the same, remained a source of constant concern and even dread. Even though Switzer used the musical talents of his wife as a source of income and the services of his daughters as teachers, his finances were precarious. As he bitterly remarked during his troubles with the Board of Weatherford College over settling his accounts with the school after his resignation, "This procedure is hard on us, who have sacrificed every thing we have made for the upbuilding of the College. . . ."62

62 Switzer to Stephens, no date (probably December 4, 1901).
CHAPTER V

ALEXANDER HOGG: SOUTHERNER, CONSERVATIVE, AND SCHOOLMAN

During the decades after the end of the Civil War, in Texas as throughout the South, a new type of schoolman emerged to play a larger and larger role in the educational life of the state. Although these "public" schoolmen generally had their origins in the private educational system of an earlier era and their methods, attitudes, and beliefs did not differ as greatly from those of the private schoolmen as is often thought, they faced problems and hostilities which were novel to southern educators. In Texas and the rest of the ex-Confederate states, these men were confronted with a hostility born of the traditional southern view of public schools coupled with the connection made in many southern minds between public education and hated northern or radical ideas.

Although these public schoolmen escaped the petty personal and denominational bickerings which plagued private teachers, they faced new problems--political interference, lack of direct financial control, and public accountability.
These dangers, which threaten the livelihood and peace of mind of all public servants, came to play an increasing role in the life of the schoolman. Clearly not all found the positive benefits of public employment—minimal financial stability and a ready supply of potential students—outweighing the attractions of private employment. There was, undoubtedly, a steady flow of schoolmen from private into public education (a movement facilitated by the lack of a clear differentiation between the two), but the public educator faced many of the same problems confronting the private schoolman and some with which the latter did not have to contend.

The life of the public schoolman in Texas during the forty years after the end of the Civil War can be traced and typified, in so far as any one man can be said to be "typical" of a class or group of persons, in the career of Alexander Hogg. Hogg, whose life seems typical of most Texas schoolmen, public and private, was an acknowledged leader among Texas educators from the 1880's until his death in 1911. From 1882, off and on until his final retirement in 1906, he served as Superintendent of Public Schools in Fort Worth, and, in addition, Hogg was one of the leading boosters of public education throughout the state. Because of his long-term membership in the National Education Association and his aggressive
personality, Hogg was not unknown among public educators nationwide. Even though he was, by most standards, a success in his chosen career, Hogg confronted problems which were probably typical of those faced by most public schoolmen. Throughout his life, and especially during his last years, his inability to control his own fate lent almost a tone of tragedy to what appeared to be an educational success story.

Hogg can best be described in the three words which probably could have been used to describe most Texas educators, public and private, of his era--schoolman, southerner, and conservative. Although Hogg was all of these things, in some sense, partially by birth, he consciously chose to stress and publicize these three aspects of his life. It is certainly possible that Hogg emphasized his southern origins and loyalties as well as his conservative politico-economic philosophy as a means of furthering his career as public educator in the "New South" era. A man such as Hogg, in pursuing a career which was not acceptable to many southerners, rightly chose to stress his loyalty to the South and his conservatism. Both of these were calculated to appeal to those persons who tended to dominate Texas in the years after Reconstruction. In other words, Hogg, consciously or unconsciously, chose to identify himself with two roles which would aid and further
the third role he had chosen for himself—that of public schoolman.

Alexander Hogg's birth, early life, and education gave him "southern" credentials which were vital to a career in public education in the postwar South. He was born near Yorktown on the Virginia Peninsula, October 10, 1830. His father, Louis Hogg, was apparently a small yeoman farmer, and Hogg during his early years worked on the farm in the summer and attended local subscription academies during the winter months. Hogg himself later taught in subscription schools to raise money after he decided to go to college. In 1854, he graduated from Randolph-Macon College, supporting himself by tutoring while there.1

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1 Mary Lulie Hogg, "Life of Professor Alexander Hogg Supt Public Schools of Fort Worth 1882-1906," Hogg Papers. This fifteen page manuscript by Hogg's youngest daughter was apparently written shortly after his death in 1911. It is in the Hogg Papers held by the Fort Worth Public Library. The bulk of the material cited in this chapter is from this collection.

2 Hogg, "Life of Hogg." In addition, general biographical information can be found in the following clippings from the Hogg Papers: *Fort Worth Record*, August 11, 1911; *Baltimore Sun*, August 21, 1910; *Fort Worth Record*, August 15, 1911; *Baltimore American*, August 11, 1911; "Alexander Hogg, M. A. LL. D.,” a fragmentary sketch in the Hogg Papers; Alexander Hogg to J. E. Clark (Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction of New Mexico), December 9, 1909; memorandum sketch of Hogg's life enclosed in the above. The latter material was used in publicity for a meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association, December, 1909, where Hogg gave a series of lectures.
After graduation from Randolph-Macon, Hogg sought work as a teacher by placing an advertisement in the Richmond Enquirers which requested "...by one who selects through choice and expects to follow as a profession, a place to teach school." This early commitment to education as a profession was somewhat uncommon in the antebellum South. As his daughter noted after his death, "he evinced the desire to exhaust [sic] teaching to the height of a profession and adopted it, not as a stepping stone to something else, but a life work. . . . ." Hogg thus revealed a trait common to most of the first generation of public schoolmen in the postwar South—a desire to follow education as a profession, and yet possessing training which in no way reflected the changes which were beginning to take place in "pedagogy." He became a professional educator in the sense that he pursued teaching as a career, but not in the later sense of one trained in education as a discipline. By the latter decades of his life, Hogg, and many others like him, were being rapidly replaced by "professional" educators in the modern sense of the word.

After a short stint as proprietor of the "Cappahosic Academy" in Gloucester County, Virginia, Hogg enrolled in the.

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3Hogg, "Life of Hogg."  
4Ibid.
University of Virginia. While engaged in studies in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, he supported himself as a "licentiate" in Latin. After graduation with a Master of Arts degree, Hogg gained employment at the "Murphresboro College for Young Men" in North Carolina, where he stayed until 1862, when the Civil War forced the "suspension" of the school.5

During the war, Hogg returned to Gloucester County, Virginia, and supported himself by opening a private subscription school. Although Hogg always emphasized his southern and Virginia origins, he was a strong unionist who disapproved of secession. While at Randolph-Macon in the early 1850's, Hogg had been a champion of the nationalism of Daniel Webster.6 Obviously defending her father against charges that must have been made during his lifetime, Hogg's daughter noted:

He had all the Southern patriotism that mustered the soldiers to the battlefield, but he foresaw the outcome of

5Ibid. See also, "Alexander Hogg, M. A. Ll. D;" Francis Smith, untitled manuscript memoir, Hogg Papers; unidentified, undated newspaper clipping from Richmond, Virginia newspaper [probably August, 1908]; "Educational Rally," broadside, Hogg Papers. The clipping and the broadside concern a series of speeches Hogg gave in Virginia, in 1908, supporting the Universal Education Movement.

6Hogg, "Life of Hogg." In the Hogg Papers there are several manuscript copies of speeches given by Hogg while at Randolph-Macon, probably before literary societies. One of these is an outspoken defense of "nationalism" and Daniel Webster.
the war, and disapproved of secession.

The duties of the school room over, his time, service and sympathy was completely absorbed in nursing the wounded soldiers. A loyal Southerner first, a loyal Virginian always, he was at the same time a broad-minded patriot. If his head was not at all times in agreement with the prime-movers of secession, his heart and his services were theirs. 7

In 1867, after teaching mathematics at Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, Hogg moved to Alabama where he secured a position at East Alabama College at Auburn. During the next decade in Alabama, the patterns of his life took the forms they would have until his death almost fifty years later. He became well known, at least by his own estimation, as a man dedicated to public schools, "practical" education, southern economic development through education, and conservative economic and social nationalism, at least as it was defined by the leaders of the "New South." 8 In addition, the personal

7 Hogg, "Life of Hogg."

8 Ibid.; "Alexander Hogg, M. A. LL. D."; Baltimore Sun, August 21, 1910, clipping in the Hogg Papers; Fort Worth Record, August 11 and 15, 1911, clippings in the Hogg Papers; unidentified undated newspaper clipping [probably Alabama, early 1870's] in Hogg Papers; "Opinions on Prof. Olney's Mathematical Series, by one of the Leading Educators in the Southern States," broadside, Hogg Papers. This advertising broadside notes that Hogg "is now the Principal of Montgomery Public Schools, one of the most important positions in the State." It was not uncommon in these early days of public education in the South to refer to the chief administrative officer in public schools as the "principal." This method of using testimonials as advertising was one which Hogg himself used heavily later in his career.
pattern of his life began to take shape. Hogg became an aggres- sive self-promoter, much given to publication and public ut- terances. He also developed the habit of approaching im- portant persons and thus developing useful acquaintances. In other words, Hogg appears to have developed those traits of self-promotion which seem to have been vital to success as a schoolman in the New South. The aggressive, entrepreneurial characteristics which he developed--with the addition of some of the traits of the successful politician--appear to have been necessary for the schoolman, public or private, who desired to succeed in selling himself and his ideas. Alexander Hogg thus became a type of educational promoter, either because he believed in what he had to "sell" or because of personal am- bition or both.

During those years in Alabama, both as a teacher at East Alabama College, later known as Alabama Agricultural and Me- chanical College, and as superintendent of public schools at Montgomery, 1874-1876, Hogg continued to manifest the nation- alism of his earlier years in Virginia.9 In 1871, while a professor of mathematics at East Alabama, Hogg helped organize a "Websterian Society" at the school, dedicated to the

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9Hogg, "Life of Hogg."
nationalism of the New England orator. He did so in order to counteract "the baleful influence of a narrow sectionalism . . . ."\textsuperscript{10} He wrote the President of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot, asking assistance in the dissemination of Webster's nationalistic sentiments in the South. Eliot directed Hogg's letter to Peter Harvey, President of the Marshfield Club of Boston, an organization dedicated to Webster's ideas. Harvey and his club sent Hogg and his debating society a portrait of Webster with a letter echoing what must have been Hogg's position. Harvey was gratified that "a society of young men in a distant state" were sympathetic to Webster's nationalism, and, speaking for the club, Harvey hoped that "... the young men of the south generally, will study with care his admirable writings," so they would have "a stronger sense of the Union" and would be able to "sacrifice sectional feeling" for a broad nationalism.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{11}Peter Harvey to Hogg, August 24, 1871, Hogg Papers. Harvey also expressed the hope that the portrait would give Hogg's students "a stronger sense of the value on the Union, and make them ready, for the sake of that Union to sacrifice sectional feelings, and incur if need be, the coldness of friends and the heat of enemies." The above letter was reprinted in the \textit{Montgomery Advertiser}, March 7, 1909, clipping in the Hogg Papers. It was part of a letter to the editors in which he noted that Harvey's communication was "reported
After almost ten years in Alabama, during which time he became by his own account "a leader in education," Hogg moved west to Texas, accepting a position as professor of mathematics at the newly created Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. This position seemed well fitted to Hogg because of his earlier tenure at another land grant institution and because of his educational theories. During his last years in Alabama and during him time at Texas A. and M., Hogg became an outspoken advocate of what he called "industrial education." Hogg became, at least in his own eyes, widely known as a speaker who linked together demands for expanded public education, revision of the traditional curricula toward a more practical

widely" throughout the South at the time because of its "lofty patriotic sentiments." Hogg's letter was typical of his flair for self-publicity, especially in newspapers. Additionally, Hogg prided himself on his "friendship" with Charles W. Eliot—again, typical of his aggressive approach to important persons. See, for example, Charles W. Eliot to Hogg, March 21, 1891, and January 23, 1904, Hogg Papers. An unidentified, undated newspaper clipping in the Hogg Papers recounts a reception given for Eliot in Dallas where Hogg stated that he had known Eliot "for many years." Hogg's daughter glowingly recounts the portrait episode in "Life of Hogg."

For Hogg's assessment of himself as leader in public education in Alabama, see Montgomery Advertiser, March 7, 1909. In 1900, the University of Alabama awarded Hogg an honorary doctorate. See, M. L. Stansel to Hogg, June 14, 1900, and James K. Power to Hogg, July 19, 1900, Hogg Papers. Sadly, but typically, the latter communication told Hogg, "The diploma Fee is $3.00 if you desire a Diploma."
orientation, and the benefits such practical public schooling could have for the "New South."\(^{13}\)

The sentiments which Hogg expressed and the arguments he used in the late 1870's clearly reveal his attempt to wed the popular "New South" philosophy of sectional salvation through industrialization with public schooling which stressed practical training.\(^{14}\) Hogg believed that practical public education

\(^{13}\) Hogg, like most prolific public speakers, apparently had a series of set speeches which he delivered when the occasion arose. The printed versions of some of these reveal that, although he changed the titles occasionally and inserted or deleted material, most of his speeches showed a remarkable similarity. The same ideas, and even the same wording, appear over and over. More than this, he was making essentially the same speeches in the early 1900's that he had made in the late 1870's. The printed copies of these speeches appear in most cases to have been printed at the author's expense.

\(^{14}\) For excellent discussions of the philosophy of the New South, see Gaston, The New South Creed, and Woodward, Origins of the New South, pp. 142-174. Although common themes and even wording run throughout all of Hogg's publications, the following discussion is based upon three pamphlets published in the 1870's. These three, originally presented as speeches, are "Practical Education: Respectfully Dedicated to the Industrial Classes of the South" (Montgomery, Alabama, 1876); "Lacks and Needs of the South Educationally: The Development of her Natural Resources, the Remedy" (Salem, Ohio, 1876); and "Industrial Education, or the Equal Cultivation of the Head, the Heart, and the Hand" (no place, no date). The second was a speech delivered before the National Education Association meeting in Baltimore, July, 1876, and also before the "Centennial Bureau of Education" in Philadelphia, September, 1876. The third was a speech delivered before the National Education Association meeting in Philadelphia, July, 1879.
was the main prerequisite for the industrialization many southern leaders of the period thought to be the key to solving the problems facing the region. As Hogg forcefully stated,

> We need now, that the 'tremble under the drums and tramplings' of martial hosts have ceased—now that broad and white-winged peace has returned to our torn and devastated country, that which will bring PROSPERITY. We, too, need in this bloodless, yet hotly-contested conflict—well-drilled, well-trained workmen. To accomplish this we need three very necessary things; first, industrial education; secondly, more Industrial Education; thirdly, much More INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

We lack the education which produces 'producers.'

If the South created such education then the undeveloped natural resources of the region could be exploited. With such schooling these resources wait but the bidding touch of art to do their willing service; and the day when they shall come forth to take their part in this great and grand industrial conflict, a new era will dawn upon the South. Then shall our ears be ravished by the sweet, because productive, music of spindles, and our eyes delighted with their handiwork, because performed by cunning fingers.

While calling for "industrial education," and linking it with the economic salvation of the South, Hogg was also making a broader appeal for alterations in the educational system he found in his native region, and, at least by implication,

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\[15\] Hogg, "Practical Education," pp. 11-12. Virtually the same passage can be found in Hogg, "Lacks and Needs of the South, p. 21.

throughout the nation. Although Hogg protested that southern education was not as bad as many northerners thought, and was actually equal in many ways to that of the North, it needed alteration to meet the needs of the present generation.  

Agreeing with those who said that too much of the education supplied by the schools was of little use to "a merchant, a mechanic, or a farmer," Hogg attacked especially the teaching of subjects which had no practical application. At the top of Hogg's list of subjects to be discarded were the "ancient languages," since, Hogg claimed, such subjects had little practical value to the student when he entered the real world. English should be taught, however, because

the language of Milton and Shakespeare is as classical as the language of Homer and Virgil, and doubtless were a moiety of time spent on our mother-tongue that is spent in trying to collect a little Latin and Greek, we should have, at least, better English scholars--more practical businessmen.

17 Hogg, "Lacks and Needs of the South," pp. 3-6. This method of defending the weaknesses of southern public education in comparison with that of the North by pretending that they did not exist was a common practice among those defending southern public schooling.


19 Hogg, "Industrial Education," p. 6. For a similar passage, see, Hogg, "Practical Education," p. 2. Although Hogg did not feel that the ancient languages were totally worthless, they did not "contribute...to industrial pursuits." Their study was a "pleasant and profitable study, too, but it does
English would supply the needed "mental discipline" as well as the classical languages and would be of more practical value. Modern languages such as French or German were acceptable because much "scientific investigation" was to be found in them.\(^{20}\)

After attacking the impracticality of much schooling, Hogg was specific as to the type of subjects he felt should be taught. Although his "practical" subjects in many cases do not seem so to the modern American, Hogg advocated, in addition to modern languages, the teaching of applied mathematics, especially geometry, because it had real applications for practical men.\(^{21}\) Physics, chemistry, and geology should also be taught because of their usefulness to the farmer or mechanic, while history and the various "social sciences" contributed to the practical understanding of man. History


\(^{21}\)Ibid., p. 7, and "Practical Education," p. 8. See also, Alexander Hogg, "More Geometry--Less Arithmetic" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers. This nine page pamphlet, apparently published in the 1870's, attacked the rote teaching of mathematics for "mental discipline." He noted that after many years of such teaching boys "upon being sent into the surveyor's office, machine shop, and carpenter shop, could not erect a perpendicular to a straight line, or find the center of a circle...if their lives depended upon it." Hogg stressed heavily the test of "utility" in teaching mathematics.
especially taught "the phenomena of the social organization and progress of the race." To Hogg drawing was a useful adjunct to the sciences and mathematics, although "painting" along with music "come under aesthetics" which belonged to the "ornamental." Finally, "vocal music" could escape the stigma of impracticality because it "would give proper exercise to the lungs, expanding the chest, and really arming us to ward off pulmonary disease."23

Ultimately, however, Hogg did not advocate the total elimination of "ornamental" subjects. For those who wanted them, they should be taught, but, for the progress of the South and of the rest of the nation, the masses of people should receive practical education. Hogg clearly wanted this practical curriculum for most schools, colleges, and universities. He was especially distressed that the land grant agricultural and mechanical schools were not providing the type of schooling needed by farmers and mechanics. Hogg heavily stressed that "the objects of the industrial college are very different from the objects of the common college; the former are for the education of men for an industrial


23 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
pursuit, the latter for the so-called learned professions."\(^{24}\) In addition, Hogg was specifically critical of the military aspect of the Texas agricultural and mechanical college.\(^{25}\)

Hogg's criticism of the state of practical education in the 1870's extended to the condition of the teaching profession itself. As a schoolman, he felt the South lacked, in addition to "suitable school-houses, school furniture, and school apparatus, . . . a sufficient number of well-trained teachers--teachers who have selected teaching through choice, and expect to follow it as a profession."\(^{26}\) All his life Hogg bitterly attacked what most schoolmen saw as a persistent evil in southern education--the use of teaching as merely a means to something "better." He was ironically echoing the sentiments of many critics of southern public education when he noted that

\(^{24}\) Ibid., p. 5 and 6. Concerned with what he saw as the land grant colleges' failure to provide practical industrial training, Hogg asked, "Could we get a single institution--a school or a college--to confine its instruction to a single subject. . . say to Civil Engineering (not what is called 'course in engineering') but a real school of engineering, then all the railroads and public works of some States would not be 'directed by the graduates of other States?'" Hogg, "Practical Education," p. 3.

\(^{25}\) Hogg, "Industrial Education," p. 5. Hogg's dislike of the military system at Texas A. and M. might have contributed to his removal with the rest of the faculty in 1879.

"teachers of the present day are divided into two classes. The first class teach in order to do something else; the second teach because they can do nothing else."\(^{27}\) He was also critical of schoolmen who attempted to teach "practical" subjects when they had been trained in the older classical curriculum.\(^{28}\) In expressing such sentiments, however, Hogg placed himself in a peculiar position. He undoubtedly had not been educated in a "practical" curriculum, nor had he been trained in the new pedagogical methods. That he at least partially realized this problem is revealed by a coolness toward the then new "normal school" idea of the 1870's. Reflecting this, as well as his viewpoint as a southern schoolman, Hogg noted, "I am very far from admitting that our [southern] teachers are so inferior to the teachers of other States in the work of teaching; for I am not quite a convert to the supreme capacity of the Normal-School training."\(^{29}\)

Hogg's ideas and proposals expressed in his speeches and publications of the 1870's could be said to have had two purposes. The first was to create, intentionally or unintentionally, a rationale for the schoolman, especially the public schoolman,

in the scheme of the New South. If Hogg's ideas were widely accepted, public educators would have an important place in the emerging structure of the region. The second offered arguments which could be used by those who were attempting to bring education abreast of the rapid changes occurring in late nineteenth century America. For the nation as a whole, and for the South in particular, Hogg noted:

We need to open up new fields of labor. . . . Therefore, we need a new education at once, in our midst, supplementing the old--not uprooting, but converting the old into the new.

The great Industrial Problem to be solved by our statesmen--our educators, is this: How can we make the most of our natural resources which. . . . are but the basis of our wealth? . . . .This problem cannot be solved by 'protection,' neither by 'free-trade'--not by the politicians at all; it can only be solved by the teachers--by education for definite industrial purposes and directed by reason and experience.

This education can be imparted. That art which gives form and decoration a commercial value can be taught--should be taught.

Where shall it be taught? The work should commence in the schools, whether Private or Public, and be continued through the Higher Institutes, specially designed and equipped for the purpose. 30

30 Ibid., pp. 20-21. Substantially the same material can be found in Hogg, "Practical Education," p. 9. In creating an educational scheme for the New South, Hogg did not ignore the blacks. In "Lacks and Needs of the South," p. 10, he quoted with approval the words of J. L. M. Curry, "In this awakened sense of the necessity of a high and universal education both races are included. The colored people as citizens and wards of the nation, need to be qualified for their exalted responsibilities. Especially do they need trained and educated teachers of their own race. If practicable, a degraded race should
Hogg's commitment to practical agricultural and mechanical education was similar to that which supposedly guided the land grant institutions in which he taught in Alabama and later in Texas. This educational orientation on the part of Hogg could not, however, save him from the total dismissal of the Texas A. and M. faculty in 1879. When Hogg first came to the state the *Waco Daily Examiner*, the chief organ of the state Grange, had reflected that "Prof. Hogg, late of Alabama...is the 'right man in the right place.'" 31 By 1879, however, the *Examiner* and the Grange had become increasingly hostile to the school. The crux of the growing hostility seems to have been the lack of interest on the part of the president and faculty in practical schooling. 32

Hogg's firing by Governor O. M. Roberts and the Board of Directors of the school left the former mathematics professor bitter. In 1884, a Fort Worth newspaper, probably reflecting be elevated and delivered by their own class, as the patronage of the superior has a tendency to degrade character."

31 *Waco Daily Examiner*, October 24, 1876.

32 George S. Perry, *The Story of Texas A and M* (New York, 1951), pp. 59-66. The first president, Thomas S. Gathright, was, like Hogg, an import from the older regions of the South. Gathright, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Mississippi, was employed on the recommendation of Jefferson Davis, who had been offered the position but declined.
Hogg's sentiments, lauded "the first faculty of the A. and M. college, decapitated by the unjust ruling of the 'Roberts dynasty,' the displacement of these simply to make places for his favorites. . . ." The Fort Worth paper continued that their "displacement was an absurdity and a wrong morally." Roberts later defended his actions in response to a demand from Hogg for the reasons for the latter's removal. Roberts stated that the basic reason for the dismissal of the entire faculty and the president was to be found in a war between two factions of the faculty over the nature of the school. One faction, apparently led by the president, favored keeping the school primarily a "literary" institution, while the other, including Hogg, wanted to convert it into a true agricultural and mechanical college. The ex-governor explained that he and the other members of the Board of Directors had felt that the only solution to the problem was to clear the air by firing the entire faculty and starting again. Apparently, although

33Fort Worth Gazette, quoted in the Clarksville Standard, August 15, 1884. The Gazette article noted that all the men dismissed were "scholarly, dignified and successful teachers." In addition to Hogg, one had become the superintendent of public schools in Corsicana, and another had become the president of Salado College before becoming a teacher in the Bryan public schools.

34Oran M. Roberts to Hogg, February 19, 1888, Hogg Papers. Roberts, in explaining the dismissal, noted, "I do not think
Hogg had been true to his published sentiments and in sympathy with the critics of the administration of the school, he was caught in a general housecleaning. In addition, his hostility to the military aspect of the school might have prejudiced his position.35

For three and one half years after his dismissal from Texas A. and M., Hogg left public education. During these years he became involved directly in what was to become later one of the dominant interests of his life--railroading. Between his firing at A. and M. and his appointment as

that the conversion of the institution into an agricultural and mechanical school proper, had any active influence with the Board in their action toward the professors. Though after our work on that occasion was completed it was unanimously agreed. . . . that we would as soon as practicable make the change so as to give the school the shape designed in its creation. . . . So far as I recollect there were but two professors, who had ever spoken in favor of that change of policy. . . . They were you and the professor of Agriculture. . . . I will state further that the Board deeply regretted the necessity of acting as they did. . . . to the prejudice of some of the professors, who were little if any to blame in the matter." This must have been at best cold comfort for Hogg, who had been "right" in educational philosophy but got fired in any case.

35 The Gathright faculty was replaced by one headed by John G. James, a favorite of conservative Democrats, Governor Roberts, and the Austin Statesman, who had previously headed the Texas Military Institute in Austin. Both Hogg and Gathright, although opposed on the nature of the curriculum, agreed in their dislike of the military aspect of the school. See, Perry, Story of Texas A and M, pp. 65-66, and Hogg, "Industrial Education," p. 5.
Superintendent of Public Schools in Fort Worth in the fall of 1882, Hogg served as "state inspector of new railroads," as a civil engineer for the Houston and Texas Central Railroad, and in the land offices of the Texas and Pacific Railroad in Marshall. Although it is impossible to state with certainty that he became a self-appointed apologist for railroads at this time, he did serve railroad interests faithfully until the end of his life. Hogg's conservatism was most evident in his ever ready defense of railroads against the growing hostility to them and to the men who controlled them. He tended always to link this defense of railroads with his pleas for expanded public, practical education.

Even during this period of withdrawal from an active pursuit of his educational career, Alexander Hogg remained actively involved in the public school matters of his adopted state,

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37 During his Alabama years, Hogg was apparently acquainted with some leading railroad men. See G. J. Foreacre (Superintendent of the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia) to Albert Fink (Vice President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad), April 30, 1873, Hogg Papers. For examples of Hogg seeking employment from railroad companies during this period, see, G. J. Foreacre to Hogg, March 16, 1880; John C. Brown (Vice President of the Texas and Pacific Railroad) to Hogg, March 8, 1880; and F. P. Alexander (executive of the Louisville and Nashville) to Hogg, May 28, 1880, Hogg Papers.
becoming a man recognized as a leading spokesman for those favoring expanded public schooling. In January, 1881, for example, Hogg led a delegation from Marshall to Austin seeking the location of the new state normal school in the former city. He entered the public debate surrounding the proposed creation of a state university by defending such a school—a position favored by the conservative elements in the state led by Governor Roberts. A state university was necessary, Hogg stated before a teacher's meeting in Corsicana in July, 1881, to aid in the creation of a homogeneous population in a state made up of vastly differing types of people from different parts of the nation and world. He noted, "The people of Texas at present are from 'the ends of the earth,' but the sons of these folks will have a oneness of country and a oneness of purpose in life--the developing, and improving, and ornamenting [of] their state..." The erection of a state university was thus

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38 Clarksville Standard, September 8, 1882. On August 18, 1882, the Waco Daily Examiner favorably reported that Hogg was one of several resident Texans applying for positions at the new University of Texas. Hogg was a strong supporter of the creation of such a school and may well have supported it hoping for a position there.

39 Austin Statesman, January 27, 1881.

40 Galveston News, November 15, 1881, clipping in the Hogg Papers.
among the duties of Texans "to our country and to ourselves in morals, manners and religion." 41

Recognition of Hogg's status among Texas schoolmen came in the summer of 1882, when he was appointed state "lecturer" for the summer normal institutes for that season. Such normals lasted from the first week in July until the middle of August and were intended for both public and private teachers. Hogg's job was to travel to the seventeen towns around the state where the institutes were being held and deliver a series of lectures on education. These lectures were open to the public and were intended to be, in addition to a cultural event, a platform for furthering sentiment favorable to expanded popular education. 42

41 Ibid. Editorializing on Hogg's remarks, the News noted, "It is of the highest importance to the general welfare of Texas that the State government, boards of education and public educators, pulpit, press and pedagogue, should harmonize and work together on the same line of policy to assimilate the present heterogeneous population of the State and provide for the prompt absorption of the vast multitudes of immigrants that are coming into the common system." See also, Austin Statesman, April 5, 1881.

42 Dallas Weekly Herald, June 8, 1882; Austin Statesman, June 6, August 3, August 5, August 8, 1882; Waco Daily Examiner, August 8, 1882; Marshall Tri-Weekly Herald, June 8, 1882, clippings in the Hogg Papers. The Marshall paper called Hogg's selection a "good addition," while the August 5, 1882, report in the Statesman noted that Hogg had visited the school at Salado and had "delivered three lectures, and proved himself
One of the speeches or lectures which Hogg delivered over and over during the summer of 1882 was entitled "A Plea for Our Mother Tongue." He opened his lecture with remarks alluding to his often expressed belief in the necessity of professionalism in teaching. He greeted teachers who are gathered from nook and corner, from hamlet and village, from the humbler schools (the foundation stones, however, of our free public school system), for the purpose of further study--for gaining a closer and clearer insight into the art, as well as the science, of your high, honorable and noble profession. . . .

Hogg then continued by linking his vision of a "New South" with his assessment of the role of educators and a new curriculum in this new system. This new curriculum must be practical and must have the study of English at its center.

Alexander Hogg, "A Plea for Our Mother Tongue: An Address Delivered Before the Students and Friends of the Summer Normal Institutes by Prof. Alex. Hogg, Normal Institute Lecturer" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers. Many of the words and phrases used in Hogg's publications of the 1870's can also be found here. He had a decided habit of plagiarizing himself. Even at the end of his life almost thirty years later, Hogg was still attempting to make use of his publications of the 1870's and 1880's. See, for example, Nathan C. Schaeffer to Hogg, March 25, 1907, Hogg Papers. Schaeffer, the president of the National Education Association, rather tartly informed Hogg that there was no place for his "plea" on the program of the association meeting that summer in Los Angeles.

Hogg, "Plea," p. 1
English was the basis of all other studies and must be mastered. Moreover, it was to be taught "...not by parsing, not by analysis of analyses, not by diagramming ever..." Instead, students must learn "the art of speaking and writing the English language by writing and speaking it..."45

From this position, Hogg proceeded to attack the teaching of the ancient languages and their "so-called classics." He continued, "Whether we examine the works of art or science, of poetry or history--of authorship, statesmanship, or generalship...those speaking the English language will not be found second in the long list of the world's greatest nationalities." Hogg thought Milton superior to Homer, Shakespeare to Virgil, Francis Bacon to Aristotle or Plato, and Burke, Chatham, Calhoun, or Webster to Demosthenes or Cicero. Texans could find in the example of the Alamo "other evidences of the prowess, the heroism and the patriotism of the Anglo-Saxon race..."46

In words similar to those common during the expansionism of the late 1890's, Hogg ended his "plea" with an appeal to nationalism and cultural imperialism. He pointed to the vast expansion of the English language in the wake of the British

46 Ibid., pp. 7-9.
Empire, but noted that it had about reached its limits, while "with us there is practically no limit to our expansion." He envisioned English as the "world tongue" and wondered who would question "this unparalleled spread of the Anglo-Saxon race and the universality of our mother tongue." Hogg pointed with pride to "this blue-eyed, light-haired, fair-skinned race," which through "steam and electricity, iron and steel, rather than silver and gold" had been able "to subdue, to possess and to occupy this great heritage."47

Hogg's reputation as a spokesman for expanded public education and his tenure as the state normal lecturer apparently put him in demand as a speaker in towns facing proposed tax levies for public schools. In December, 1882, for example, Hogg spoke before a large audience at the McLennon county court house in Waco on Sunday before such an election. In his plea for the proposed tax, Hogg stressed the practical benefits of public schools to a community, and he emphasized public education as a "business investment." After the tax was approved, the Waco Daily Examiner noted that Hogg's "logical, earnest, manly and frank speech. . . in behalf of public

47 Ibid., pp. 13-14. Hogg prophesied that the "Russian language remains the greatest rival of all. Russia has a splendid future." Ultimately, "... the race will be between the English and Russian [languages]."
education was a potent factor in solving the problem that confronted the friends of free public schools..."48 The next spring, when Hogg was in Waco meeting "with old college classmates who are here as visitors...," the Examiner took pleasure in saying that whether in college as a professor --in the field as an engineer--upon the railroad as inspector for the State--or in the public schools as organizer and conductor, Professor Hogg has proven himself equal to the occasion... Our people in this city remember with pleasure his speech last December in behalf of the proposed tax to support our public schools... 49

48 Waco Daily Examiner, December 12, 1882, [pp. 2, 4]; see also, ibid., December 10, 1882.

49 Ibid., May 13, 1883, reprinted in "Testimonials," a two page broadside in the Hogg Papers. It was ever Hogg's habit to solicit testimonials praising his writings and qualifications as a schoolman, and he would subsequently have these printed. There seems to be a correlation between these testimonials and the periods when Hogg was seeking educational work. Among those included in this broadside are United States Senator Richard Coke ("You have established an enviable reputation as a gentleman of great ability and energy in your profession of education of youth."); United States Senator Sam B. Maxey ("high commendation for his intelligence and efficiency"); T. M. Scott, a member of the Board of Directors of Texas A. and M. ("a Christian gentleman"); and Richard B. Hubbard, former governor ("honorable character"). See also, Thomas L. Hill (an author of mathematics textbooks) to Hogg, September 5, 1882, Hogg Papers, for an example of an obviously solicited testimonial which was apparently not used.

Throughout his life, Hogg kept up correspondence with various persons connected with the University of Virginia, either graduates or faculty members. He seems at various times to have been involved in attempts to raise money for his alma mater. There are hints throughout the Hogg Papers that Hogg or his wife, whom he married while teaching in Virginia, longed to return to their native state. Hogg's true desires
Six months before Hogg used his oratorical skills to push for public education in Waco, he had done a similar job for public supporters in Fort Worth. Hogg thus established a connection with public education in Fort Worth which lasted throughout the remainder of his life. Throughout the latter 1870's and early 1880's, public school advocates in Fort Worth faced the same problems which plagued their counterparts in other Texas towns. Although the town had its share of private "academies" and "institutes," civic leaders like K. M. Van Zandt and John Peter Smith pushed for the creation of public schools. From 1877 to 1882, these civic leaders tried and failed three times in their efforts to create a public system, being thwarted by an inability to gain the necessary two-thirds of the taxpayers needed to incorporate for school purposes in

and intentions must often be deduced from incoming correspondence because he kept almost none of his own. On his Virginia relationships, see, Charles S. Venable to Hogg, March 27, 1880, in which Venable commiserated with Hogg on his "hard fate" of being fired at Texas A. and M. and regrets that Hogg cannot aid in solicitation of funds for the University of Virginia in Texas; F. H. Smith to Hogg, December 20, 1895, in which the Board of Visitors of the University rejected Hogg's offer to work as a paid solicitor with railroad magnates in New York; M. Schele DeVeres to Hogg, July 31, 1890, in which DeVeres says that he cannot aid Hogg in finding employment in Virginia; unidentified, undated clipping, which reports that Hogg is leaving for Virginia where "he may find employment in educational work," all in Hogg Papers.
1887 and by legal technicalities in 1879 and 1881. Finally, in the summer of 1882, sufficient votes were cast to gain a tax rate of fifty cents on the hundred dollar valuation. 50

In that summer of 1882, one of the leaders of the pro-public school forces, Mayor John Peter Smith, invited Hogg to come to Fort Worth and deliver several speeches in support of the tax. Partially as a result of Hogg's speeches the proposition passed, and Hogg was quickly selected as the new superintendent of public schools over thirty-two other applicants recruited by newspaper advertisement in both Fort Worth and St. Louis. His selection was generally conceded to be at least partially a recognition of the role he had played in the election. 51


51 Ibid., pp. 161-162; Hogg, "Life of Hogg"; "Alexander Hogg, M. A. Ll. D."; Fort Worth Record, August 11, 1911, clipping in the Hogg Papers; and John Peter Smith to Hogg, August 18, 1897, Hogg Papers. Quizzed by a reporter from the Dallas Weekly Herald in November, 1882, as to how he felt now that "you have returned to your profession," Hogg stated, "I do not know that I can be said to have 'returned,' since I have regularly contributed to educational journals; have attended the various educational associations, state and national; have become associate editor of the Texas Journal of Education; have lectured by appointment of the state board of education, the governor being the chairman, to the teachers and students of the summer Normal Institute, and all this since my separation from the Bryan Agricultural college. Really, I believe I have
The remainder of Alexander Hogg's career as a schoolman revolved around the Fort Worth public schools. This association was, however, far from placid. At least twice he was "fired," and then after a period of years rehired. As his earlier career indicated, Hogg must have been a man much given to public controversy. In Fort Worth, as earlier, he aligned himself with conservative elements. During the 1880's and 1890's, his special patron seems to have been sometimes mayor and civic leader John Peter Smith.

In the summer of 1883, for example, only one year after his tenure as superintendent began, Hogg became embroiled in a controversy concerning the state summer normal program. The various towns of the state competed vigorously for selection as one of the sites for a state summer normal. Since selection brought both financial gain and prestige, competing towns usually bombarded state educational officials with information about the suitability of local school buildings and the availability of cheap board and room for those attending. In addition, the men chosen to lead the normals were considered

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"done more for the school interests generally of the state within the past two years than previously," Dallas Weekly Herald, November 6, 1882. Modesty was never one of Hogg's weaknesses, and throughout his life he especially used newspapers as a means of self-promotion.
leading educators in their locality of the state. In 1883, Fort Worth was not chosen as a location for the local state summer normal, the honor going instead to Decatur, and Alexander Hogg was not chosen to head the Decatur normal. The Fort Worth public schools opened a normal school of their own which directly competed with the state school in Decatur. It was charged that the Fort Worth operation was opened "to gratify personal spite," and that "teachers who wish to attend the Decatur school fear to go as they understand that unless they get a certificate from the Fort Worth normal they need not expect appointment in the Fort Worth Schools." Mayor Smith defended Hogg and the Fort Worth school, saying that his city's normal had been planned before the state had made its selection. He blamed the problem on state educational officials.

Hogg's success in Fort Worth and his apparent influence did succeed in bringing a state summer normal to the city in 1884, with Hogg as "conductor." He apparently led the delegation of city officials to Austin where they pleaded the case for Fort Worth. Hogg offered to match a dollar for every two the state provided, which would "secure instruction in music,

52 *Austin Daily Statesman*, June 19, 1883.

drawing, and callisthenics [sic] in addition to the usual branches."\(^{54}\) He also told state officials that he favored confining the summer normals to the larger cities and not scattering them all over the state in small towns.\(^{55}\)

Hogg also became involved in the debates over the proposals to amend the state constitution in order to create a more unified public school system. He was, as would be expected of a public schoolman, a strong advocate of the proposed alterations which would facilitate local support and provide for the creation of a Superintendent of Public Instruction. In January, 1883, Hogg took a leading part in a meeting of public school superintendents in Houston and was bitterly attacked for his positions.\(^{56}\) The victory of Hogg and other public schoolmen in these debates of 1883 and 1884, probably laid the foundation for the later development of public education in Texas. It was, however, at least two decades before this victory could be fully realized.\(^{57}\)

\(^{54}\) Ibid., April 17, 1884.

\(^{55}\) Ibid., April 22, 1884; see also, Dallas Weekly Herald, May 8, 1884, and Graham Leader, June 19, 1884.

\(^{56}\) Austin Daily Statesman, January 2, January 4, January 5, January 9, January 10, and February 16, 1883. For indications of Hogg's prestige as a public educator, see, ibid., May 15, 1883, and July 27, 1884, and Dallas Weekly Herald, June 11, 1885.

\(^{57}\) Eby, Development of Education in Texas, pp. 193-213.
A final example of Hogg's penchant for controversy occurred in December, 1885. Possibly at Hogg's instigation, Mayor Smith, greeting a meeting of public schoolmen in Fort Worth, "took the occasion to combat, vigorously, the practice of going abroad for educational talent." Smith alluded to the fact that so many public school superintendents were "foreigners" and also to the then raging controversy over the hiring of almost all of the faculty of the new University of Texas from "abroad." One of the bitterest opponents of expanded public education in Texas, the Austin Statesman, noted,

The truth is, this piece of sentimental demagogism from Mayor Smith was unworthy of him. . . . , and there is a shrewd suspicion that the superintendent of the city schools of Fort Worth, whose aspirations in the past are well known here in Austin, inspired the invective on 'imported talent.'58

In 1890, Hogg's reputation in the state as a schoolman was recognized by his election to the presidency of the Texas State Teachers' Association. His election illustrates another aspect of Hogg's education career and his method of self-promotion. He was an inveterate joiner of educational groups and attender of educational meetings from his years in Alabama

58Austin Daily Statesman, December 31, 1885. The Statesman was apparently referring to Hogg's attempt to secure a position on the faculty of the University of Texas.
until his death. Hogg was proud of his record of attendance at the summer meetings of the National Education Association and the special meetings of that group held for public school administrators. He served as a vice president of the Association four times and as a state director seven times. Many of his published works began as speeches before the Association or similar groups. In addition, he regularly attended meetings of the "Conference for Education in the South" after its creation at the turn of the century. The Fort Worth schoolman never failed to stop by the offices of newspapers in the cities where he attended such meetings in order to get his name and his ideas before the public in print. It was also his habit to write letters back to the hometown newspapers reporting his important role in such regional or national meetings. 59

59 Hogg, "Life of Hogg." Hogg's daughter noted that it was her father's custom "when he entered a large city to call at the leading newspaper office and on the head officials of the railroads. He never met a rebuff." For examples of Hogg's activities in various associations, see, "Tells of Progress in Education," unidentified, undated newspaper clipping; "Educational Meeting Largely Attended," unidentified, undated newspaper clipping; Fort Worth Record, September 16, 19[?], clipping; "Prof. Hogg Speaks," unidentified, undated newspaper clipping; Teachers Idea for Proper Education," unidentified, undated newspaper clipping; Fort Worth Record, July[?], 1909, clipping; Nathan C. Schaeffer to Hogg, March 25, 1907; and Francis P. Venable to Hogg, November 5, 1903, all in Hogg Papers.
Hogg's use of the meetings of the National Education Association as a forum for himself and his ideas was reflected in two speeches delivered before the N. E. A. in the late 1880's. Hogg, undoubtedly like the majority of his audiences, was a strong advocate of federal aid to public education through the method proposed in the ill-fated Blair bills. Speaking before the meeting of the "Department of Superintendence" in February, 1888, he stated that he spoke as "an American citizen" who supported federal aid to the states. Hogg noted that he did not represent the state of Texas nor the city of Fort Worth, but neither did the two Texas senators who opposed the Blair bill represent the state either, although they did reflect "what they consider should be the views of the Democratic party of Texas...."61

In offering arguments in favor of federal aid, Hogg stressed the dangers of an illiterate electorate and the inability of southern states like Texas to pay the price necessary


to educate the masses. He noted that the need for education was not confined to "the brother in black" because Texas had been inundated by unschooled whites from the older states of the South. He defended Texas and the other southern states for doing all they could, "more according to their means than the foremost States in the Union." Defensively, he added that in "the cities the whole are as well taught as in Boston or anywhere. . . .," but the trouble lay in the rural areas. 62 It was in these country sections of the South that federal aid would so greatly aid the cause of public education, he declared.

Answering arguments against the principle of federal aid, Hogg stated that no question of "centralization" really existed because the states would administer the funds. Attacking the claim of Texas' Senator John Reagan "about the millions of acres of land set apart for the education of the children of Texas," Hogg asked, "Is he not literally. . . , 'When the children cry for bread, giving them a stone?'" Concerning the potential funds which would come from the Blair plan, Hogg maintained that "Texas does need it, and however unpleasant it may be to me, as well as to others, the facts justify my position."63

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62 Ibid., pp. 155, 157, 162.

63 Ibid., pp. 160, 162. Several other passages in the speech pointedly attack Reagan for his opposition to the
A year and a half later, Hogg presented to the N. E. A. another speech on federal aid, in which he united his plea for such assistance for the states with his standard calls for practical education, patriotic nationalism, and a growing conservative fear of civil strife resulting from "class violence" as Hogg called it. He warned his listeners of a "surging sea of vice, ignorance, and discontentment" stemming from illiteracy, which threatened to engulf the nation. The answer was, of course, public education, but

How shall we gather up the children and induce them to go to school? The parent is supreme. . . . I am not prepared, therefore, for compulsory education. I believe the teachers, the ministers, the good people. . . should see that every coming American citizen shall have the opportunity to read, to write, and to cipher; and while receiving these, while his head should be influenced, that the moral shall go side by side. . . with the mental.

For the South especially, according to Hogg, this vital task could only be accomplished with federal aid as outlined in the Blair bill, and he believed that the federal government was especially responsible for aiding southern public education

Blair bill. Reagan tartly replied to a letter from Hogg that his opposition was "much demanded by the people of our section." John Reagan to Hogg, March 19, 1890, Hogg Papers.

Hogg became increasingly fearful of labor violence in the 1880's, especially when it was directed against railroads.

because it had freed the blacks. Hogg noted that the "right...conferred by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments... in enfranchising over six millions of negroes... demands of the United States (the power conferring the right) the preparation of these people to exercise the franchise." The Civil War had destroyed even the South's ability to educate the whites much less the blacks, and Hogg saw "simple justice" in the demands of southern educators, and the North and East "should cheerfully concede... a fraternal obligation." He then proceeded to attack those southerners who charged that southern weaknesses in public schooling could be blamed on the burdens left by the extravagant Reconstruction governments. This might be true to some extent, Hogg conceded, but it was no reason to oppose federal aid to southern public education.66

Hogg argued that more was needed than simply federal aid to southern education. Many children all over the nation, he noted, failed to attend school--and hence remained ignorant and prey to all sorts of civil evils--because public schooling was concentrated upon

the four per cent of the producing population that live by their brains only. What these institutions need is more students, and an extension of their instruction to

66 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
embrace hand culture, and above all, a continuous and unbroken course of heart or moral culture.  

Finally Hogg spoke of the violence of the preceding decade and noted that only education, and that of the right kind, could keep matters from getting worse. Especially vital was the necessity of keeping people on the farms, and he believed the right type of schooling could do it. Hogg reflected that "we of the city schools should. . .begin from this time to look after the country people. What they need are schools and churches." The state and national governments could provide the schools and private "munificence and Christian philanthropy furnish the churches and preachers. . ." to keep the people in the country, on the farm, and away from the numerous temptations of the city. Ultimately, Hogg claimed, only with universal public schooling, aided by the national government, would the "ignorant foreign population, the ignorant and vicious home population, white and black, North and South. . .not wreck our fair ship of state. . . ."  

According to his daughter, Hogg's outspoken support of federal aid and his attacks upon those opposed to it subjected him to substantial criticism.  

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67 Ibid., p. 8.  
68 Ibid., pp. 9-10.  
69 Hogg, "Life of Hogg."
John Reagan, a popular political figure, must have made ene-
mies for the schoolman.\textsuperscript{70} Additionally, his staunch defense
of the necessity and moral obligation of whites to support
black public education, although reflective of his conservative,
Redeemer-Bourbon point of view, may well have been increasingly
unpopular in an era marked by the increase of "Jim Crow" sen-
timent in the South.\textsuperscript{71} It seems certain that Hogg's open sup-
port of possibly unpopular causes may have contributed to both
of his removals as superintendent of public schools in Fort
Worth in the late 1880's and early 1890's.

It appears that Alexander Hogg attempted to put into op-
eration his educational ideals--practical schooling,

\textsuperscript{70} Hogg's hostility may have stemmed partially from Reagan's
leading role in writing the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887,
a piece of legislation which Hogg bitterly attacked in the
course of his defense of railroads.

\textsuperscript{71} Hogg corresponded with Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire,
the sponsor of the federal aid measures. In one such letter,
Blair enclosed a "circular" supporting the principle of fed-
eral aid which "will satisfy your people that the most emi-
nent Democrats are all out of gear or that the 'B. B.' is a
constitutional God send." Henry W. Blair to Hogg, no date,
Hogg Papers. Another of Hogg's correspondents, William Preston
Johnston, son of Confederate military hero Albert Sidney John-
ston and a professor at Tulane University, remarked, "I fear
we are going to lose the Blair Bill, those who vote eighty
millions per annum as pensions to 'bummers' who dispoiled the
South cannot find a constitutional reason for giving a tithe
of that to build it up." William Preston Johnston to Hogg,
November 17, 1887, Hogg Papers. Johnston was referring to nor-
thern Republican opposition to the Blair proposal.
nationalistic and patriotic content in the curriculum, and black education—during his tenures as superintendent of public schools in Fort Worth. Although it would be difficult to believe that blacks in Fort Worth during these years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had access to equal or even near equal educational opportunities, Hogg must have paid something more than lip service to his ideal of the necessity and obligation of equal, though of course separate, schooling for Negroes. In 1910, a year before his death, addressing an audience celebrating the twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the first black school in Fort Worth, Hogg made a clear statement of his attitude and methods. After a self-laudatory account of the growth of public education in the city since 1882, Hogg told his audience that one of the first propositions he submitted to the school board was one stating that black teachers should be paid the same as their white counterparts. Further, he contended that black "manual training, cooking, and sewing" facilities were equal to those of the whites. Hogg sarcastically pointed out the error of northerners who said that the South had done nothing for public education, particularly black education.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{72}Alexander Hogg, "Address of Ex-Superintendent Alexander Hogg, Celebration of the 28th Anniversary of the School for
Hogg was, no matter how strongly he stressed his belief in equality of educational opportunity, a conservative southerner. He told his black audience in 1910:

The foreigner is your natural enemy. The white people of the South are your natural friends—they have shown this not only in this city, but throughout the Gulf and South Atlantic States. In old Virginia, from my boyhood, I have been attached to you. I have 'supped' with Aunt Hannah and eaten 'ashcake' with Uncle Charles.

He reminded his listeners of something they probably found hard to believe—that since "your liberation you have had all your rights, religiously, educationally and politically." Hogg lamented the fact that both whites and blacks were "attracted by the glitter and the glare of the cities"; hence, he implored black graduates to "go into the country and teach your country brothers to remain in their neighborhoods."

Finally, Hogg reiterated for his black audience the necessity of practical education for their well being, since

the Colored People, City of Fort Worth, Texas" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers. Noting the source of the facilities for practical schooling for blacks, Hogg reminded his audience of "that large-hearted, far-seeing, beneficient man, W. J. Turner, [who] gave you $1000 upon condition that you would raise among your white friends another thousand, and from the $2000 you have your manual training, cooking, and sewing departments, just like the white schools have." This might have been a damaging admission unintentionally on Hogg's part. It could indicate that the blacks had to rely on white charity to have the same facilities which the whites received through regular taxation.

73Hogg, "Address."  
74Ibid.
blacks even more than whites needed to educate "the whole man." Some changes had been made, but others were needed:

The head has had its full share; the hand is now receiving its share, the heart--the morals--have been neglected. You should insist on purer lives, cleaner homes, broader patriotism, better citizenship.75

In 1909, addressing whites, Hogg outspokenly took a stand that must have been unpopular with many, when he strongly attacked the often proposed idea of educating blacks only with the money raised from black taxes. With a paternalism characteristic of his attitude towards blacks and poorer whites, he noted that public schools were especially intended for those who could afford nothing else. He reminded his listeners that one of the main purposes of public education was to make "better citizens" of these poorer classes, white and black. With remarkable understatement, Hogg opined that the "colored man, the negro, is here to stay! Then the problem is to make him the best citizen possible and education seems to be the only solution of this problem."76 Admitting that black education

75Ibid.

76"Negro Education and Taxes," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers. A year before he died, Hogg expressed the opinion that "the two great problems confronting the American people today are the race question, affecting particularly the South, and the estrangement between the masses and the classes, affecting the entire country." Baltimore Sun, August 21, 1910, clipping in the Hogg Papers.
had not solved the "race problem," Hogg pointed to Booker T. Washington and wished "the South had 1,000 Booker Washingtons."  

During his years as superintendent in Fort Worth, Hogg developed a special relationship with I. M. Terrell, who served as principal of the city's black school. Although the descriptions offered of Terrell's attitude towards Hogg smacked of

77"Negro Education and Taxes," Writing to Hogg, Booker T. Washington noted, "Your interest in the cause of the colored people has always been a matter of deep satisfaction to me." Booker T. Washington to Hogg, November 15, 1906, Hogg Papers. This letter indirectly illustrates two facets of Hogg's style. First, he was in the habit of writing to important persons whom he hardly knew and then saving their replies. Second, Hogg was constantly trying to promote himself into positions boosting public education which carried remuneration, which reflects what appears to have been a chronic shortage of funds, especially late in his life. In this case, Hogg had apparently asked Washington to use his influence with the Southern Education Board to secure Hogg some type of position.

Another example of Hogg's self-promotion of this type can be found in two letters from Robert C. Ogden, the New York philanthropist who served as president of the Southern Education Board, to Hogg. In the first, Ogden told Hogg that the program for the Conference for Southern Education meeting in Little Rock in April, 1910, was filled, and that they could not use Hogg. In the other, Ogden commended Hogg and Fort Worth for what they had done for black education. (Hogg had sent Ogden some newspaper clippings). The philosophy of northern philanthropists like Ogden involved in the "Universal Education Movement" of the early twentieth century was clearly revealed when Ogden noted, "As to how Negro Education has been treated by the white South--the question is too much mixed to generalize about. I know of other places scattered over the whole South in which the record matches that of Fort Worth. Where it is otherwise criticism accomplishes nothing--it is the outcome of low white standards which can only be lifted by kindness and Education. And so I would have government (federal) aid for both, white and black." Robert C. Ogden to Hogg, March 30, 1910, and June 30, 1910, Hogg Papers.
the servile "Uncle Tom," nevertheless Terrell served as the leader of black education in Fort Worth and as Hogg's chief assistant in administering black schools. According to Hogg's daughter, Hogg referred to Terrell as "my faithful Achates," and after Hogg's death Terrell took the leading role in a series of memorial meetings in the black community honoring Hogg as "a benefactor to us as colored citizens. . . ."78

Hogg's views on education for another "minority," women, were possibly enlightened, but hardly radical by present day standards. He favored equal educational opportunities for women throughout his life. As superintendent in Fort Worth, he later claimed that one of his first actions was to insist that women teachers be paid the same as men if they did the same job.79 As a conservative southerner, however, Hogg

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78 *Fort Worth Record*, August 15, 1911, clipping in the Hogg Papers. See also, Hogg, "Life of Hogg," and "Negro Schools Honor Memory of Prof. Hogg," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers. Hogg's daughter noted that Terrell led a "band of faithful colored friends" who met Hogg's body at the railroad station when it was returned from Baltimore where Hogg died. The Record reported that Terrell and "several of the leading negroes of the city paid their respects by standing on the lawn of the residence throughout the funeral exercises." This would seem to indicate Hogg's high standing with Fort Worth blacks as well as the social customs of the era.

strongly opposed co-education and attempted to prevent the mixing of the sexes in the public schools above the elementary level. He probably indicated the type of education he thought best for women by the method used to educate his daughters. All three were sent to the "Lasell Seminary for Young Women" at Auburndale, Massachusetts, just outside Boston. As a conservative southerner, with what might be called a "patrician viewpoint," Hogg thus sent his girls to a private, New England finishing school. Apparently he saw no inconsistency between his lifelong advocacy of practical public education and his daughters' traditional private finishing school education.

80 Hogg, "Life of Hogg." In the mid-1880's, Hogg inquired of John B. Minor, a law professor at the University of Virginia, what Thomas Jefferson's ideas had been on the education of women. Minor replied that he was not sure Jefferson favored it, declaring that co-education "never entered Mr. Jefferson's mind." Reflecting what may well have been Hogg's sentiments on the question of co-education, Minor continued, "Until it shall please God to reconstruct the nature and being of women, physically and intellectually, it seems to me that mischief only can come of imposing on her the same tasks as those laid on men. Their qualities, physical and mental, are as noble, and more pleasing than those which belong to the other sex, but they are different and supplemental. To try to make them the same is to fight against nature and against the Most High, and cannot but mar the harmony of the social structure, and destroy those soft and softening influences which make women a genial blessing to the world. . . ." John B. Minor to Hogg, May 30, 1885, Hogg Papers.
Another of Hogg's concerns, both as an educational propagandist and as an educational administrator, was the proper inculcation of the young with "patriotism and morality." He became increasingly concerned--as did many conservative American educators--in the decades following the middle 1880's with the social and economic tensions resulting from industrialization and urbanization; tensions which produced Populism, labor unrest, and occasionally violence. Hogg was especially concerned with the struggles between what he generally called the "masses and the classes" reflected in strikes, particularly against railroads. His view of what "patriotism and morality" entailed must be understood as a part of his conservative, nationalistic attitudes. He believed, and certainly attempted to promote, the idea that public education was the chief bulwark of stability and of the sanctity of private property.

81"Honor Prof. Hogg," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers.

82Hogg, "Life of Hogg," Fort Worth Record, August 15, 1911, clipping in the Hogg Papers; "Tells of Progress in Education," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers. Unable to attend the laying of the cornerstone at the dedication of Texas Christian University in 1910, Hogg wrote the Rev. Ed. McShane Waits, "Patriotism is a religious virtue; good citizenship is the practical application through life of Christian ethics. The test of the deep religious interests of the university and
As a teacher and administrator, Hogg stressed the link between patriotism and social stability. Hogg "never tired of teaching [his students] to love their country and honor the flag." Speaking to the teachers and students of the high school in Fort Worth sometime after the turn of the century, Hogg chose as his topic "The Reciprocal Duties of the Tax Payers and the Pupils." He told his audience that the tax payers had done their part by providing schooling for the students, and it was thus the duty of the students to do something for "the city, the State and the country... in better citizenship." Hogg declared that the southern states, particularly Texas, and cities such as Fort Worth, had done much for the students, and they owed each support and loyalty. Since the taxpayers had given up part of their property to educate the students, the students were obligated to support the claims of private property.

of the power of its ethical teaching will be, in the years to come, the patriotism and good citizenship which it will practice and inculcate..." Unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers.

83 *Fort Worth Record*, August 15, 1911, clipping in the Hogg Papers. This comment came from Dr. H. A. Boaz in his oration at Hogg's funeral.

84 Alexander Hogg, "The Reciprocal Duties of the Tax Payers and the Pupils: What the Latter Owe the City, the State and the Republic" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers.
Hogg also used the meetings of the various educational organizations of which he was a member as a forum for his version of patriotism. At the meeting of the Texas State Teachers Association in Galveston in the summer of 1894, he offered resolutions which reflected his growing concern with social instability, strikes, and threats to private property. In part, his resolutions noted that

for several years our social equilibrium seems to be very unstable--strikes and other evidences of dissatisfaction upon the part of one class of citizens to another class. . . .[T]here is a wider and deeper estrangement between those who labor with their hands and their brains too, and those who labor with their brains alone. . . . [T]his estrangement has grown into open defiance of the rights and security of property and even to bloodshed. . . .

[T]t is the duty of the teachers of this State to at once enter upon a broad course of instruction, which shall embrace not only a broad patriotism, but a more extended course of moral instruction, especially in regard to the rights and duties of citizenship, the right of property, the security and sacredness of human life.

85 Broadside of resolution offered by Hogg at the meeting of the Texas State Teachers' Association in Galveston, 1894 (no place, no date). This broadside also reprinted favorable comment on the resolutions by the Galveston News, July 1, 1894. One New York newspaper, after noting, "All the Hoggs in Texas are not Governors," lauded the resolutions and agreed with Hogg that "the ideas on these subjects which get into the heads of 25,000,000 schoolchildren of this country. . . .come out when they become citizens, and if they are to disapprove of the open defiance of the rights and sanctity of property, their education on this subject cannot begin too early." New York Evening Post, July 23, 1894, clipping in the Hogg Papers.
At the annual National Education Association meeting in Denver in July, 1909, Hogg offered resolutions almost identical to those of fifteen years earlier. Writing to the hometown newspaper about the meeting, as was his wont, Hogg praised Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, for the latter's call for the singing of patriotic songs in public schools and for the teaching of love for the flag and of the Constitution. Hogg's resolutions pointed out the "estrangement" between "the masses and the classes" which often led to "riot and often bloodshed." He called for a "systematic course of instruction" to teach "broader patriotism," "love of the flag," "respect for the constitution," "the rights of property," and the "security and sacredness of human life."86

Again reporting home from an educational meeting in Oklahoma during this same period, Hogg "hoped the schools of Fort Worth would have been the first to insert in the course of study this kind of study--of making morals, rights, duties, patriotism

86Fort Worth Record, July [?], 1909, clipping in the Hogg Papers. Hogg also proposed in a resolution that "since the general government had emancipated, had clothed the colored man with...the right of citizenship,...it is the duty of the general government to prepare him for the exercise of his privilege..." Hogg noted, however, that "wiser heads" had omitted this passage. Hogg apparently saw nothing strange in still speaking of the preparation of blacks for citizenship fifty years after emancipation.
and all that instruction which belongs to the heart of... citizens... prominent even if it had to be done by a separate chair."  

Alexander Hogg's conservative nationalism was most directly linked with his educational theories in *The Railroad as an Element in Education*. First delivered as a speech before the Texas State Teachers' Association and subsequently published in 1883, this work, in its final form, contained the most detailed statement of Hogg's ideas. Most of his later speeches and publications were to a greater or lesser extent simply lifted from this work. In addition, Hogg attempted to augment his income through the sale and distribution of the book.  

87 "Training the Child," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers. Hogg continued, "Citizenship, more than the multiplication table, is what our country needs today."

88 Hogg added and deleted material from different editions of the book apparently to make it more salable. The Library of Congress *Catalog of Printed Cards* lists nine separate editions, although the last of these, published in 1903, was called the fifteenth edition. Most of these "editions" were probably published for specific railroad companies who sometimes purchased the book for propaganda purposes—a practice which Hogg spent much of the final twenty years of his life encouraging. Although several versions of the work are to be found in the Hogg Papers, the one used here is *Alexander Hogg, The Railroad as an Element in Education* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1902). Importantly, bound into the book is a separate sheet which states that the book was "... tendered with the compliments of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company."
Hogg introduced the book by pointing out that the year of 1776 was of great significance. In that year Adam Smith published his Wealth of Nations, the Continental Congress declared the United States independent of Great Britain, and James Watt perfected his steam engine. These three events symbolized three great principles for Hogg—laissez faire economic theory, American nationalism, and the railroad. Proper education, Hogg claimed, would aid in furthering each of these three great ideas; it was, in fact, their greatest bulwark.89

According to the Fort Worth educator, the expansion and development of American railroads depended upon education, which only practical schooling, stressing the "mother-tongue," would achieve. Such schooling would train civil engineers to construct roadbeds and bridges and teach the men needed to build railroads applied mathematics and the sciences. Equally, the operation of the roads required practical education to teach such necessary skills as accounting.90

in the belief that the information contained therein will prove not only interesting, but also of lasting benefit to the student who gives it careful attention."


90 Ibid., pp. 4-10.
If the railroads needed practical education from the schools, so too did the schools need the railroads. Hogg noted that "...the school interest, the schools themselves, have flourished and spread their influence in the direct ratio of the number of miles of railroads..." since in any state, the "schools, academies, colleges, and universities" were "all arranged along the lines of the great railroads." In Texas especially the link between railroads and schools was strong, Hogg argued, because the vast lands set aside for the various school funds would have been worthless without the development of the railroads. Those towns which had assumed control of their own schools and supplemented state funds with local funds were almost all situated along the lines of railroads. Texans who complained that rates were too high failed, according to Hogg, to see the services which the railroads provided to the people of the state and especially to the school children.  

Ibid., pp. 12-15. Hogg expressed similar sentiments in a speech before an audience at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. He noted that there was a Texas building at the Fair because of the combined generosity of railroad men such as Jay Gould and Collis P. Huntington and the pennies of the school children of Texas. This was symbolic of the state, Hogg maintained, because "Texas is what the railroads have made her." Equally, the public schools of the state were what they were because of the railroads, because, Hogg claimed, cities which had good public schools, like Fort Worth, were always railroad towns. Alexander Hogg, "Texas: A Great State, Speech Delivered at the Texas Building, World's Fair" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers.
More than simply aiding education, to Hogg railroads stimulated the spread of good moral conduct. He noted that railroads did discriminate—"and always in favor of the press and pulpit," since preachers and "temperance lecturers" always traveled free. One prominent railroad man was quoted, "at all times put me down, first, in favor of free public schools; second, and under all circumstances, against whisky." Railroads, according to Hogg, were beginning to demand that their employees not use "intoxicating liquors," and would eventually outlaw the use of tobacco among their workers.92

Hogg also stressed the philanthropy of railroad magnates both to their own employees and to the public at large. He asked:

who have been foremost in building churches, schools, and colleges, in endowing universities, and in contributing to the advancement of liberal, higher education? Where can it be so truthfully said, 'charity never fail-eth,' as among railroad men? Who ever knew a real cause

Similarly, in "Then and Now: The Opportunity of Texas, Prophecy of 1883 Fulfilled" (no place, no date), Hogg reprinted his original 1883 speech in Galveston with additional material to illustrate how railroads had contributed to the growth of that city. See also, Alexander Hogg, "Thoughts for the Consumer" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers. In this four page pamphlet, Hogg placed the blame for high prices in Texas on retailers and not on railroads. He noted that railroad rates were regulated while retail prices were "left to the laws of trade."

of charity turned from office, home, or tent of a railroad man?\textsuperscript{93}

Hogg outlined at great length the specific charities of well known railroad barons, especially contributions to educational institutions.\textsuperscript{94}

Beyond their contributions to education and morality, the railroads, according to Hogg, were primarily responsible for the development of the nation. Through the railroad, the United States was in the process of outstripping the British Empire. Hogg noted that the "railroad is solving commercial and social problems--is the greatest pioneer, the greatest missionary ever sent out by Church or State." Reflecting his own actual railroad employment, Hogg grew especially ecstatic over the role of the Texas and Pacific and its managers in the development of the United States. He prophesied that "the whistle of the Texas and Pacific locomotives will carry our civilization, our enterprise, our religion, and our language..." all over the continent. Already the building of the Texas and Pacific had turned the "American desert" into fertile farmlands and, Hogg continued, "the flower-decked prairie will add its fragrance to and forever embalm the memory of Thomas A. Scott, the great projector of the Texas &

\textsuperscript{93}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 22. \textsuperscript{94}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 22-25, 30-36.
Finally, Hogg envisioned railroads spreading American, "Anglo-Saxon" culture around the world, and saw the tracks of these roads followed by "smiling Plenty, with her attendant hand-maids, Religious Liberty, Political Freedom, and Universal Education." 95

The later editions of The Railroad in Education revealed Hogg's growing concern with the public hostility shown for railroads and with the growth of union organizations. He defended the roads against the charges commonly made against them. In doing so he blamed the Civil War for economic dislocation which first raised prices and then, when it was over, necessitated readjustments which brought about unrest and resentment. Both farmers and workers who attacked the railroads failed to realize, he said, that without them there would be far fewer farms and jobs. If the railroads were rich, it was because they had built these riches through investment and development. In the process, they had opened new farm lands, come to the aid of the nation during the Civil War, and had helped subdue the Indians of the Great Plains. With some justice, Hogg noted:

There is a strange inconsistency in the actions of men who are without railroads and those who have them. The

95Ibid., pp. 18, 20, 26, 27.
former work for their location, talk for them, and even pay money in subsidy to secure them; the latter abuse them as monopolies, as oppressors of the poor.\textsuperscript{96}

Hogg also bitterly attacked the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act and similar state legislation attempting to regulate railroads. He maintained that neither the states nor the national government had the power to regulate private property, and denounced politicians who supported such legislation as demagogues.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{96}Ibid., pp. 36-43.

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., pp. 40-42. In an unidentified, undated manuscript in the Hogg Papers, Hogg expanded his arguments against the regulation of railroads by state commissions. Apparently this manuscript was used as the basis for a speech or for newspaper publication. Hogg argued that if railroad rates were set too low the railroads would not expand and improve their property because the return would not be sufficient to warrant such actions (an argument not confined to the early twentieth century). The setting of rates in Texas was in the hands of the Railroad Commission, which, like similar bodies in other states, was made up of lawyers, farmers, and politicians who Hogg claimed had been "selected for political reasons on personal grounds." Hogg continued, "Not one of them has one cent of money interest in these roads and yet the entire railroad transportation of our country...is in the hands of these men."

If, however, these laymen chose to leave rates sufficiently high, he predicted, "Investors, monied men, in concert with our own Texas managers...will build more railroads and along these will come factories, mills, churches and schoolhouses. The legislature therefore...should not lose sight of the difference between 'Party Platforms' and Railroad Platforms--should bear in mind that the former are built wholly upon paper, the latter upon Stocks and Bonds..." Hogg apparently felt that his arguments had had their effect because he told a leading railroad executive that "I have done my part and have helped defeat the 'Two cent rate' in this State." Hogg
Hogg saved his bitterest invective for those who joined unions, or worse became involved in strikes, or even worse still led such undertakings. He saw it as the right of the owners of capital to manage their investments as they saw fit and believed the workers had a right "to demand for their labor the greatest compensation; this not granted, to stop work or continue as preferred."\(^8\) Workers, however, had no right to interfere with the property of others or with other's right to work. To Hogg both unions and strikes were a direct violation of the American system of government--"Our government is 'of the people, for the people, and by the people'; it is not 'of the union,' nor for the 'federation,' nor by 'the association,' and can never be."\(^9\) All labor unions, according to Hogg, were secret and attempted to give their members unfair advantages over other citizens. In most strikes, Hogg argued, the workers' complaints were "imaginary wrongs" as in

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98 Hogg, *The Railroad in Education*, p. 48. Hogg's fear and hatred of unions and strikes formed a common theme in his later public pronouncements. See, for example, Alexander Hogg, "Work and Wealth or What the Railroads and the People Owe Each Other" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers. This four page pamphlet, published sometime after 1900, consisted of material lifted from *The Railroad in Education*.

the strike of the Knights of Labor against the Jay Gould-controlled Texas and Pacific in 1886, or he contended that the workers had no "real" grievances, citing as an example the Homestead Steel strike of 1892. Hogg especially attacked the American Railway Union strike against the Pullman company in 1894. He envisioned Pullman's company town as "a veritable magic city; the ideal wrought into a reality; a happy home, made so by the genius and foresight and business capacity of its founder." He lauded the company-owned free schools, churches, library, and theater, and commented that while Pullman provided banks, it was not his fault that the workers had not "laid up for a rainy day." Hogg bitterly noted that although many preachers and "educational workers" did not make what the Pullman workers did, the former did not strike.

Hogg summarized the discussion of railroads and their problems by asking what could be done to prevent unions, strikes, and other pernicious practices. His answer was that

100Ibid., pp. 73-74. Hogg's abhorrence of unions, strikes, and violence can be seen in two letters to Hogg from Governor John Ireland in 1884. Ireland defended himself vigorously from charges, apparently made by Hogg in letters to Ireland, that the Governor had been remiss in his duty and thus had allowed violence by strikers to take place. Hogg apparently had reacted strongly to mob violence against railroad property and felt that Ireland had been lax in preventing it. See, John Ireland to Hogg, November 4, 1884, and November 28, 1884, Hogg Papers.
the "statesman, the teacher, the minister of the Gospel, and the press all should come to the rescue." For Hogg, of course, it was the educator who had the most significant role to play -- "We school men should extend our fields of study." He specifically called attention to his resolutions before the Galveston teachers' convention in 1894, which had called for the teaching of patriotism and the rights of property. Thus Hogg was able to unite his defense of railroads, fear of organized labor, and his theme of practical and patriotic education in a simple answer to what he saw as the great problem of the age, the tension between "the masses and the classes." The right type of education was the answer to the social and economic problems which plagued American society.

Alexander Hogg's linking of education and railroads may be said to form the theme of the final two decades of his life.

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101 Hogg, The Railroad in Education, pp. 78-79, 86. The final twenty-five pages of this edition of the book contain miscellaneous facts about great railroad firsts, descriptions of leading railroad men and their benefactions, and compilations of statistics favorable to railroad interests. It also contains various advertisements, mainly for educational institutions, including the Lasell Seminary which Hogg's daughters attended.

For favorable assessments of Hogg's contributions to railroads and the public understanding of them, see, Hogg, "Life of Hogg"; S. W. Fordyce to Mary L. Hogg, December 4, 1911; Francis Smith (apparently a friend of Hogg's from his days at the University of Virginia), untitled memoir; A. C. Garrett
In addition, these last twenty years also illustrated what must have been a problem facing nearly all schoolmen of the period--financial uncertainty. Moreover, Hogg's financial troubles were partially caused by a problem peculiar to public schoolmen, that of uncertain employment produced by the vagaries of politics. Although private schoolmen faced problems with denominational bickerings, uncertain and generally falling enrollments, and personalities, they did not confront factional political strife which often made public schoolmen apprehensive. Hogg's employment problems were probably typical of those facing most public schoolmen during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The identification of Hogg with a conservative faction in Fort Worth led by men like K. M. Van Zandt, John Peter Smith, and B. B. Paddock, along with his strong public identification with railroads and hostility to railroad unions, must have made him vulnerable to shifts in city administration. After being employed as superintendent in the fall of 1882, Hogg served until the spring of 1888, when he was not rehired. After a year as the head of the public schools at Waxahachie, a small

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(Catholic bishop and president of "St. Mary's College and School of Music" in Dallas), "Tribute by Bishop Garrett," all in Hogg Papers.
town near Dallas, Hogg was rehired in Fort Worth, serving until another shift on the board of education led to his "retirement" in the spring of 1891. During the next decade, Hogg was apparently not employed directly in public education. From 1896 until 1902, he lived in Dallas and edited the Texas & Pacific Quarterly. In the fall of 1902, he was again employed by the Fort Worth public schools, serving as superintendent until his final retirement in 1906, at the advanced age of seventy-six. Thus during the final years of his life, Alexander Hogg faced constant shifts in employment and the financial uncertainties resultant from them. 102

102 Knight, Fort Worth, pp. 162-163; Hogg, "Life of Hogg"; W. D. Miller (Secretary of the Board of Education of Waxahachie in 1889) to Hogg, no date; "Testimonials to Professor Alexander Hogg, Upon his Retiring from the Superintendency. . . of the Fort Worth City Schools," broadside; John Peter Smith to Hogg, August 18, 1897; H. C. Townsend (General Passenger Agent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad) to Hogg, May 20, 1902; F. H. Smith to Hogg, June 12, 1902; W. D. Harris (Mayor of Fort Worth) to Hogg, May 25, 1907; and Twenty ex-members of the Fort Worth Board of Education to Hogg, May 12, 1908, all in the Hogg Papers. The Miller letter noted that Waxahachie could not continue to employ Hogg because "its financial condition will not justify" it. The 1891 printed broadside contained press notices of Hogg's second "retirement" in Fort Worth which stressed the political nature of his removal. For example, the Waco Day regretted "to learn of the vicissitudes of official favor," while the Stock Journal noted that "changes in the school board caused his retirement. . . ." The New York School Journal spoke of Hogg as the "latest victim" of educational politics, while the National Journal of Education thought his firing was "another of the mistakes of the year." Finally, the Houston Post noted that Hogg "... was recently antagonized.
In an apparent effort to augment his fluctuating income from public education, Hogg devoted much time during these years to attempts at selling his *The Railroad in Education* or some variation of it. Although it is not possible to make an accurate judgment of his success, he was pushing his book hard into the last summer of his life. The tempo of his efforts seems to have picked up noticeably after his retirement in 1906, indicating an increasingly desperate need for income—something which must have been especially unpleasant considering his advanced age.

Hogg attempted to sell his book to two quite different buyers, to railroads for use in advertising and propaganda, and to public schools for classroom use. It would appear that he was unsuccessful in the latter attempt. He corresponded extensively with various important persons attempting to gain their influence with public school administrators for the adoption of his book. Additionally, Hogg sought to

by the present city government. . . " of Fort Worth. One of Hogg's railroad correspondents, in 1902, took pleasure in Hogg's election to the superintendency because "a genuine educator has triumphed over politicians. . . ."

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103 See, for example, Charles Francis Adams to Hogg, January 21, 1895; John Ireland (Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota) to Hogg, December 30, 1909; C. S. Young to Hogg, February 18, 1910; F. E. Boothly (General Passenger Agent of the Maine Central Railroad) to Hogg, February 3, 1904;
sell his work directly to such administrators, but apparently without much success. 104 In the course of his travels, Hogg also attempted to make personal contacts with public schoolmen, although again his efforts seem mainly to have been in vain. The tone of replies to his letters indicates that professional schoolmen did not think the book suited for schoolroom use. 105 This was undoubtedly true because of its disorganized structure and its highly polemical nature.

and John M. Converse (official of the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Philadelphia) to Hogg, April 25, 1902, all in the Hogg Papers. Converse's reply to Hogg's solicitations indicates the methods the latter used in selling his book. Converse noted, "I am not prepared to aid you in placing this book in the schools of Philadelphia, either by personal contribution or otherwise. We are unable to avail of your offer to publish a special edition with the picture of Mr. Baldwin and statistics of our Works."

104 Ella Flagg Young (Superintendent of Public Schools in Chicago) to Hogg, April 29, 1911; George A. Mercer (president of the Board of Education of Savannah, Georgia) to Hogg, March 16, 1901; William F. Fox (Superintendent of Public Schools in Richmond, Virginia) to Hogg, January 2, 1904, all in the Hogg Papers. The tone of all these replies is decidedly cool, and Hogg noted plaintively at the bottom of the Fox letter, "If I could go to Richmond & could try to get my book adopted but I can't get away from my schools... ."

105 New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 13, 1903, clipping in the Hogg Papers; Indianapolis Journal, May 10, 1910, clipping in the Hogg Papers; "What Boston Pupils Ought to Know about Railroads," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers; and an untitled, unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers. The last of these clippings, apparently from a Texas paper, quoted Hogg as saying that his book was the only...
Its polemical nature commended *The Railroad in Education* to railroad men to a far greater degree than it did to schoolmen. Hogg was much more successful in selling the book to railroads, and he certainly never stopped trying to do so. For example, as early as 1894, he sold two thousand copies to the Baltimore and Ohio, and, in 1896, a substantial number to the Texas and Pacific. In 1900, one of his correspondents referred to the "Wabash edition of that book." As previously noted, Hogg's efforts to sell his work increased significantly after his final retirement in 1906.

one which covered all phases of the "railroad situation." Hogg further noted that it had been used widely by railroads and by public schools, although he failed to mention any schools specifically.

Charles O. Scull (General Passenger Agent of the Baltimore and Ohio) to C. G. Hancock (official of the Pennsylvania Railroad), December 11, 1894; and L. S. Thorne (Third Vice President of the Texas and Pacific) to Hogg, December 3, 1896, Hogg Papers.

J. Ramsey, Jr. (Vice President of the Wabash Railroad Company) to Hogg, August 1, 1900, Hogg Papers.

The Hogg Papers abound with correspondence relating to his efforts to market his work. For example, see, John Maddon (General Attorney for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad) to Hogg, October 12, 1910; George B. Harris (President of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad) to Hogg, November 8, 1909; S. W. Fordyce to Hogg, December 15, 1909; C. B. Bryan (General Passenger Agent of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad) to Hogg, August 17, 1903; E. L. Lomas (General Passenger Agent of the Union Pacific) to Hogg, September 7, 1903; Warren J. Lynch (General Passenger Agent of the Cleveland, Cincinnati,
Hogg's approach to railroad men was a combination of unctuous flattery and an appeal to the roads' self-interest. The few extant copies of Hogg's correspondence with railroad executives are filled with references to railroad men living and dead which border on sycophancy. Although Hogg may have truly believed that the leaders of the great railroad companies were paragons of virtue and nation-builders second to none, his letters leave the impression of a man so desperate to sell his wares that he would go to any length to do so. It seems reasonable to deduce from Hogg's method that he, especially after 1906, was increasingly in severe financial straits and needed to sell his book in order to live.

In the summer of 1910, for example, Hogg attempted to sell The Railroad in Education to the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific as a way of offsetting bad publicity the road had been receiving in California from a series of "muckraking" articles in Hampton Magazine which blasted the vast influence of the railroad system in the state. Hogg wrote, "I am anxious to

Chicago and St. Louis Railroad) to Hogg, November 20, 1903; Stuyvesant Fish to Hogg, March 6, 1906; J. Stone (Passenger Traffic Manager of the Missouri Pacific) to Hogg, February 12, 1910; E. B. Kinsworthy (official of the Missouri Pacific) to Hogg, May 6, 1910; and J. W. Lee (official of the Pennsylvania Railroad) to Hogg, March 28, 1911.

109 Hogg to Charles L. Fee (Passenger Traffic Manager of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific), August 4, 1910, Hogg Papers.
have the Southern Pacific join me--help me--to set before the people of the Pacific Coast the other side of the question."

He described his "little book" as "an individual enterprise trying to show what these roads have done for the country. That whatever may have been the method of Mr. Stanford, Huntington, Crocker and Hopkins that we have the roads and now undisturbed transportation from ocean to ocean." Hogg counselled his correspondent that the book would help the road with its public relations, but it should not be publicly distributed by the Southern Pacific. If the road would underwrite the work, Hogg would distribute the book and thus do ". . .something to cause the people--the voters--to look with fairness upon what we have said, and the right of railroads to have a 'square deal.'"

In another instance in 1907, Hogg attempted to sell the book to the Southern Railroad. He proposed to include two pages in a new edition on "The Southern Railway as Educational Force." In addition, he proposed to write a memoir of a recently deceased Southern executive to be issued as "a little pamphlet that would be read by the common people." Such a memoir could also be included in a new edition of his book.

110Ibid. See also, J. F. Stubbs to Hogg, July 11, 1910, and Fee to Hogg, July 22, 1910.
Finally, Hogg proposed that the company attempt to organize an "Education Campaign before the meeting of the next Congress," and to do so the company "should have several as good if not better men than myself, to write and speak--to set the Railroad case before the people." Hogg concluded his letter by noting, "I am anxious to return to Va and want you to consider such an organization, such work..."  

Although not always successful in selling his book to railroads, Hogg succeeded more than in his attempts to sell it to schools. In 1903, for example, the Southern Pacific turned down Hogg's offer to publish an edition of the book for its use. Although one executive expressed himself "much gratified at your highly appreciative words in regard..."

111Hogg to W. W. Finley (President of the Southern Railway Company), May 1, 1907, Hogg Papers. An additional example of Hogg's attempts to sell his book to railroad companies for propaganda purposes can be found in Hogg to George M. Schriver (Assistant to the President of the Baltimore and Ohio), October 17, 1908, Hogg Papers. In this letter, Hogg called attention to his efforts "to write and to work" to educate the people for the railroads. Although Hogg did "not know that I shall ever be able to get the B. & O. to assist me," he could not "see for my life why the great corporations cannot help the matter..."

112E. O. McCormick (Passenger Traffic Manager) to Hogg, January 22, 1903; June 27, 1903; September 19, 1903; James Harsburgh, Jr. (Assistant General Passenger Agent) to Hogg, November 20, 1903; and T. H. Goodman (General Passenger Agent) to Hogg, November 20, 1903, Hogg Papers.
to the leaders who have passed away," the Southern Pacific could not use the book:

While I think I appreciate its educational value, I fear that that value would be lessened by their being given away by a railroad company. More vital, however, is the fact that we have too limited an appropriation for advertising purposes to permit us to avail ourselves of your offer. I would like very much to see the book have a wide circulation, but my experience and observation are that a book that is purchased is valued much more highly than a book that is given.\textsuperscript{113}

Hogg's method of continually pestering railroad executives to buy his book, especially after 1906 and his retirement from public education, is clearly illustrated in a series of letters to Hogg from the president of the Colorado and Southern Railroad. Apparently Hogg attempted to sell the company a reprint of his original Galveston speech of 1883--the genesis of what later became The Railroad in Education--with additional material added on the Colorado and Southern. The road apparently bought a limited number, and Hogg persisted in his attempts to have it buy more. The railroad executive's letters to Hogg gradually got nastier and nastier until the railroad man offered Hogg two hundred and fifty dollars for services rendered--take it or leave it. The former ended the correspondence by noting, "I do not care to authorize any

\textsuperscript{113} T. H. Goodman to Hogg, November 20, 1903, Hogg Papers.
expenditures at this time along the lines of your suggestion. 114

This method of unctuous flattery and dogged persistence used by Hogg to sell his book was also used to advertise it. Hogg's principal method of advertising in railroad periodicals and in broadsides utilized testimonials or endorsements by important persons as to the value of the work. 115 He apparently made it a practice to send a copy of the work to some important figure and then ask for an endorsement, which could be used in advertising the book. 116 In most cases, these individuals

114 Frank Trumbull (President of the Colorado and Western Railroad) to Hogg, December 3, 1906; March 20, 1908; May 6, 1908; May 21, 1908; and November 12, 1908, Hogg Papers.

115 For examples of Hogg's use of such testimonials in advertising or in what appear to be solicited editorials, see, American Journal of Education, undated clipping; Manufacturers' Record, undated clipping; Official Guide of the Railways, undated clipping; "Then and Now," broadside reprint of editorial from Official Guide of the Railways; untitled broadside quoting L. H. Jones, President of the Michigan State Normal College; untitled broadside quoting Francis H. Smith of the University of Virginia and E. H. Randle of the "Randle University School" of Hernando, Mississippi; untitled broadside quoting J. H. Phillips, Superintendent of Public Schools of Birmingham, Alabama; untitled broadside quoting the Railway Age, December 28, 1900, Hogg Papers.

116 For examples of responses to such letters from Hogg, see, W. J. Youmans (editor of Popular Science Monthly) to Hogg, April 19, 1894, and June 6, 1894; C. C. Bragdon (President of the Lassell Seminary) to Hogg, December 3, 1903; Edwin Ginn (Ginn & Company, publishers) to Hogg, December 16, 1902; and Charles W. Eliot to Hogg, March 21, 1891, and January 23, 1904,
were persons whom Hogg knew only slightly or not at all. Hogg, for example, entered into a correspondence with Basil L. Gildersleeve, the editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, whom he had apparently known slightly during his years at the University of Virginia before the Civil War. Gildersleeve politely acknowledged Hogg's letters and expressed himself pleased at renewing an acquaintance after so many years. He was pleased when he received a gift of *The Railroad in Education* from Hogg, but the correspondence was abruptly ended when Gildersleeve tartly wrote to Hogg:

> Your 'Railroad in Education' reached me before your letter & I acknowledged receipt of it immediately. The letter that followed it was not so welcome. I had fancied, strange to say after all my experience, that the gift was prompted simply by a pleasant memory of oldtimes. I never write 'observations' to be used as endorsement.117

The financial uncertainty that plagued the final years of Alexander Hogg's life, leading to the seemingly desperate necessity of selling his book, was also revealed in other ways.118

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117 Basil L. Gildersleeve to Hogg, May 24, 1909; December 12, 1910; February 16, 1911; and February 17, 1911, Hogg Papers.

118 In 1891, after Hogg's second "retirement" as superintendent
He used both his reputation as a schoolman and as a railroad man to solicit employment as an author. For example, Hogg's association with the Texas and Pacific Railroad made him a staunch defender of Jay Gould, the Wall Street speculator and promoter who controlled the railroad from the early 1880's until his death in 1892. In 1895, Hogg began a correspondence with Helen Miller Gould, the railroad baron's daughter, supposedly seeking information for a memoir of her father. She supplied Hogg with various pieces of information and requested that the memoir stress the constructive side of

in Fort Worth, he considered "removing to the Pacific Coast." He succeeded in getting a letter of introduction from United States Senator Richard Coke to Senator Leland Stanford, the California railroad baron. Apparently Hogg was seeking a position at the new school Stanford was creating at Palo Alto. He was not successful. Nor was he any more successful in a similar attempt directed at Stanford's widow in 1896. See, Richard Coke to Hogg, April 28, 1891; Coke to Leland Stanford, April 28, 1891; and Jane E. Stanford to Hogg, July 20, 1896, Hogg Papers.

119 About the same time that Hogg was seeking employment from Leland Stanford in 1891, he attempted to interest Gould in some type of proposition. See, S. W. Fordyce to Jay Gould, February 6, 1891, Hogg Papers. Fordyce, an official of one of Gould's railroads, may well have summed up the attitude of railroad men toward Hogg when he described Hogg to his boss, "Professor Hogg was State Engineer, under Gov. Roberts, whose business it was to report whetner or not land grant roads in Texas had complied fully with the law. Prof. Hogg was not only so fair and reasonable that he commended himself to the State authorities, but has made a name for himself among the railroad people of Texas as a strictly honorable and fair man in every respect. He has written several valuable and useful articles on the subject of Railways in Education.
her father's life, particularly his contribution to the settlement of the western states. Although she must have been pleased by the laudatory account of Jay Gould presented in the memoir, Helen Gould must have also been surprised to learn that Hogg proposed to sell her one hundred thousand copies of the four page memoir. Instead, she subscribed for two hundred copies and also for a thousand copies of an edition of *The Railroad in Education* containing the sketch of her father. As late as 1903, Hogg attempted to sell Helen Gould copies of the book with her father's memoir in it. Although he was unsuccessful, Hogg was able to influence the railroad heiress to give three hundred and fifty dollars to the Fort

120 Helen Miller Gould to Hogg, January 24, 1895; April, 1895; April 8, 1895; September 10, 1895; and January 6, 1896, Hogg Papers. Gould's daughter more than got her wish. Hogg described Gould, generally conceded to have been one of the most rapacious of the Gilded Age railroad speculators, as a paragon of virtue. For example, "To-day with pardonable pride it may be said, that to the magic touch of Mr. Gould is the present prosperity of this great country west of the Mississippi due." The four page memoir described Gould as a man of charity, humility, large vision, and constructive enterprise. Ultimately, according to Hogg, "Mr. Jay Gould's interests gave employment to over one hundred thousand employees, thus providing for over a half million of human souls--the families and dependents upon these employees." A copy of the memoir can be found in the Hogg Papers.

121 Helen Gould to Hogg, November 12, 1896, and December 15, 1896.
Worth public schools to pay the salary of a "sewing teacher" for one year. 122

Another example of Hogg's use of his reputation as a schoolman to aid his financial plight can be found in a pamphlet, "The Evolution of the Printing Press," written sometime during the final decade of his life, apparently for the Dorsey Printing Company of Dallas. 123 The brief seven page work discussed what Hogg called the three chief allies of American civilization, "The Printing Press; The Public School; The Railroad." 124 To material taken from his earlier publications on public schools and railroads, Hogg added laudatory comments about the role of the printing press in the evolution of

122 Julie M. Lippman to Hogg, no date; Ruth Fullerfield to Hogg, January 29, 1902, and November 11, 1903. These women were apparently Helen Gould's secretaries, indicating that she had ceased personally to correspond with Hogg. This may have been the result of Hogg's persistent efforts to sell the heiress his book. Julie Lippman told Hogg that, although Helen Gould would aid in the employment of a sewing teacher, it was not her "custom to do such local work in distant cities. . . ." The sewing teacher episode is glowingly retold by Hogg's daughter in Hogg, "Life of Hogg."

123 Alexander Hogg, "The Evolution of the Printing Press" (no place, no date), Hogg Papers.

124 Most of the material in this pamphlet, without the direct references to the Dorsey Printing Company, can be found in what appears to be a manuscript speech entitled "The Three Chief Allies of American Civilization--The Printing Press; The Public School; The Railroad," in the Hogg Papers.
Protestantism and the public school. He found the "true parent of the public school idea was the reformation," and the printing press had aided the spread of protestant ideas and, hence, the spread of public education. The success of Protestantism and public schools in Texas had been aided, according to Hogg, by printers such as the Dorsey brothers. These men, "through their pluck and push, through their well directed energy, have given to the progressive and growing city of Dallas, a printing establishment worthy not only of the patronage of this great state, but of the entire southwest."125 Thus, as he had with railroads, Hogg was able to link public education with the printing business--apparently for a financial consideration.

There are other concrete indications of Hogg's financial troubles during these final years of his life. In the late summer of 1908, he undertook a speaking tour of parts of Virginia on behalf of expanded public education. The Southern Education Board expended large amounts of money during these years to sponsor educational campaigns such as that in Virginia in 1908. Even with Hogg's life-long support of public schools, it is difficult to believe that a man in his latter seventies

125Hogg, "Evolution of the Printing Press."
would have traveled such a distance enduring what must have been an exhausting schedule unless he needed the remuneration badly. In addition, sometime after his retirement in Fort Worth in 1906, the Texas State Teachers Association commended Hogg to the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for one of the pensions established by the Scottish steelman for educators. Finally, in 1910, Hogg was "placed on the roll of teachers by the School Board" of Fort Worth and "assigned light duties. . . in recognition of his past services to the schools. . . ." Although it is possible that Hogg was singular among public schoolmen in not having made provision for his final years, it seems more likely that this was a common problem. The resolutions of state teachers associations described Hogg as being only one among those men who have borne the heat and burden of the day in the long struggle for the establishment of efficient systems of public free schools, . . . who have. . . fought the real battles of educational progress, and shaped the splendid

126 Unidentified, undated clipping from a Richmond, Virginia newspaper; "Educational Rally," broadside; Hogg Papers. That Hogg sought such educational work is clearly indicated in Booker T. Washington to Hogg, November 15, 1906, Hogg Papers.

127 "Fine Compliment to Prof. Alex Hogg," unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers.

128 Unidentified, undated clipping in the Hogg Papers.
edifice of our Texas school system and are approaching the evening of life, with no compensation save the satisfaction of contemplating. . . their labor of love. . .

It must have been humiliating for a man with Alexander Hogg's sense of self-importance to have been placed in the position of virtually begging charity from railroad executives, businessmen, philanthropic funds, and even from the public school system he had helped to create.

It is not without significance that what appears to have been Hogg's final appearance before the National Education Association was a plea "For the Better Remuneration of Teachers." At the meeting in Los Angeles in 1907, Hogg was assigned the task of introducing a series of papers on the "compensation of teachers." In doing so, Hogg called attention to the fact that teaching was a profession, and yet teachers were not paid like other professionals such as doctors, lawyers, or even preachers. He bitterly remarked that civil engineers make more than college presidents, locomotive

129"Fine Compliment to Prof. Alex Hogg," Hogg Papers.

130 Alexander Hogg, "For the Better Remuneration of Teachers: An Address delivered by Prof. Alexander Hogg, before the National Educational Ass'n meeting in Los Angeles, July tenth, nineteen hundred seven" (no place, no date). Hogg Papers.

131 Nathan C. Schaeffer to Hogg, March 25, 1907, Hogg Papers.
engineers more than high school principals, and secretaries more than primary teachers. Answering the question as to why teachers should be paid more, Hogg stated that "the work of the teacher is upon the human mind and human soul...," and that it cost a person as much to become a teacher as it did to become a member of other professions. 132

Hogg concluded his plea with suggestions as to how schoolmen could gain better compensation. He first suggested that teachers show "...the patrons--the school board--that in addition to teaching--you have to govern, to keep order, to interest fifty or sixty little immortals for six hours." He next advised teachers to replace books like The Last of the Mohicans with works on science, agriculture, and the mechanical arts so that the public could see the practical side of education. Finally, Hogg counselled, "Teach...morals and manners, better citizenship, broader patriotism, greater love for home and school." 133

Throughout this final statement before an educational group Hogg bitterly reflected on the position of teachers as mere "hirelings" of public school boards. Reflecting his own

132 Hogg, "For the Better Remuneration of Teachers."
133 Ibid.
experience—and probably that of many public schoolmen of his era—Hogg castigated public school teachers for not expending more effort in selling themselves to the public. He noted that teachers alone "in all the trades" allow the employer to select "the goods and set the price." Continuing along this line, Hogg stated, "As teachers we are hirelings of our school boards—in rank their subordinates—but as citizens, American citizens, we are their great friends—their equals." Americans in general and school board members in particular would treat teachers better and pay them more if they only realized "that on universal education, on free schools, depends the prosperity of the country and the safety and posterity of the Republic."\(^{134}\)

This final plea for better compensation for teachers, along with the financial plight of the last decade of Alexander Hogg's life, was sadly ironic. Throughout much of his educational career, most southerners were either hostile or indifferent to his, and other schoolmen's, argument for expanded public education. The Redeemer philosophy which dominated the ruling groups in the southern states throughout most of Hogg's educational career, although it certainly agreed with his...\(^{134}\)ibid.
conservative economic and political ideas, was largely indifferent to pleas for expanded public education. The "New South" philosophy did not place a high priority on expanded educational opportunity at public expense. By the time of his death in 1911, Hogg had seen this indifference change into an avid support of public schooling by many leading Texans and other southerners. Much of this support was directed toward the special development of the more "practical" education Hogg had long advocated.

The Fort Worth schoolman was forced to face, regardless of the public acceptence of ideas such as those he had long supported, what was for him a bitter side effect of this victory. Schoolmen increasingly ceased to be independent entrepreneurs and became "hirelings." Regardless of how deeply he believed the conservative politico-economic philosophy he had enunciated for decades, his public schools were largely responsible for destroying "private enterprise" in education. Although the private schoolman was hardly free of the necessity of pleasing his patrons, the public schoolman was little more than a public employee. In the same manner as most businessmen viewed their workers, public officials saw teachers as hirelings to be hired and fired as necessity dictated and to be employed at the lowest possible cost. The "public" showed
little more sense of social responsibility for their employees than most railroad men or other businessmen of the era showed for theirs. In a personal, financial sense, Alexander Hogg was a victim of the victory of his own philosophy.
During the final decades of the nineteenth century, Texas followed patterns in its economic, political, and social development not unlike those of the other ex-Confederate states of the older South. Although the popular imagination and historical scholarship has concentrated on the western, frontier aspects of the state during the Gilded Age, Texas was, in reality, primarily a southern state. Politically, after the trauma of Reconstruction, Texas fell into the hands of conservative Democrats, although not without challenge from dissident groups both within and without the party. Economically, the state became even more "southern" than before the war with the spread of cotton culture into newer areas. Socially, the presence of substantial numbers of freedmen dictated that white Texans would view the questions of the necessary social reconstruction following emancipation in the same way as their fellow ex-Confederates of the older South. The immigration of large numbers of persons from the older southern states
only reinforced the southern outlook of the vast majority of whites within the state. Certainly Texans, like most southerners, viewed most social, economic, and political questions in the quarter-century after the end of Reconstruction in terms relating to the experiences of the Civil War and its aftermath.

Probably few questions were as stigmatized by the Reconstruction experience in the minds of most Texans and other southerners as was the hotly debated issue of education. Granting the difference in Texas because of the state ownership of vast public lands supposedly earmarked for public schools, the educational debates and patterns of development in the Lone Star State seem to have been similar those of other southern states. The "Radical Republican" regime under Governor E. J. Davis attempted to erect a public school system patterned upon the centralized systems which had emerged in many northern states in the twenty years before 1860. This public system of the Reconstruction era in Texas, even if it had not been tainted by its association with "radical misrule," challenged many educational beliefs which were still deeply held by most Texans and their fellow southerners. Probably most Texans, for example, at the time of the Civil War, saw education as being part of those areas of life which
were no concern of government. Parents were to educate their children, or fail to educate them, as they saw fit, paying for such schooling as they could afford or felt necessary. Public schools, if they should exist at all, were needed only for paupers who could not afford to pay for the rudiments of formal education. Most Texans probably also believed that schooling above a rudimentary level was unnecessary except for an aristocratic corps of leaders in the professions, business, and politics.

It was attitudes such as these which most Texans carried with them into the final decades of the nineteenth century—attitudes which were reinforced by the association of radical Reconstruction with the rapidly developing "northern" concepts of expanded public schooling. Despite the attitude of the general population in Texas, the growing commitment of most Americans to public schools as the answer to the traditional belief in the necessity of popular education dominated the viewpoint of many, but not all, Texas schoolmen in the final decades of the century. It clearly dominated the attitudes of those men who wrote the "history" of educational development in Texas, especially Frederick Eby. In his Development of Education in Texas, published in 1925, Eby, like almost all members of the so-called "Cubberley school" of educational
historians, wrote from the point of view of a public school advocate of the early twentieth century. As a leading public school leader in the first half of the twentieth century, Eby was still struggling in Texas to overcome what he saw as a backwardness in public schools as institutions and against a lack of proper "school spirit" in the entire South.

This, along with the nature of the sources he used, led Eby to heavily overemphasize public education and to slight private schooling in late nineteenth century Texas. His work does present a clear and concise picture of the constitutional and statutory provisions for public schools, but too often little more than this. Moreover, Eby's work fails to deal with broader aspects of education in a social or cultural context or to treat the more subtle differences between a "teacher" of the twentieth century and a "schoolman" of the late nineteenth.

One of weaknesses of Eby's work is the failure to probe deeply into popular educational attitudes. In Texas, at least until the 1890's, heated debates periodically erupted over the benefits of formal education or popular education in general and public education in particular. Those who opposed the expansion of public schools generally seem to have been conservatives who held to older southern attitudes concerning the
role of the state in education. Their arguments, however, often called into question the necessity of popular education in general, and were often bitterly hostile to "pedagogues" who advocated such education. Those who favored the expansion of popular schooling, especially through public education, were faced with the problem of advancing an idea which had never taken strong hold in the South and which had been blackened by the Reconstruction experience. Not surprisingly, these advocates most commonly advanced a practical, material argument for expanded formal schooling. They argued that such schools, public or private, would be of benefit to the material interests of Texas and of the local communities where they were located. Arguments in favor of expanded popular education of a less tangible nature were also brought forth, but less often and in a more offhand manner. Finally, those who pushed for expanded formal education, public or private, continually had to assert their loyalty to the South and its traditions. Public school advocates and private schoolmen seem to have been constantly aware of the necessity of identifying themselves with Texas and the South and refuting charges that they were advocates of "Yankee" ideas.

This study has attempted to deal with another weak point of Frederick Eby's work by studying the late nineteenth century
schoolman and his school in detail. An attempt was made in this study to confine the investigation to those areas of formal schooling which are today commonly termed primary or secondary. This was difficult, however, because of the almost total lack of definition in the late nineteenth century used in naming schools. Words like university, college, seminary, institute, academy, and high school were commonly used to denote institutions which often enrolled pupils from what today would be called the lowest primary level to the college level. Even institutions which at the time were generally considered to be schools of "higher learning" often had preparatory departments attached to them which contained more students than the "college" itself.

The term "schoolman" was chosen to denominate the typical educator of the period because it was in common usage at the time and because it denoted that the teacher of the twentieth century and the educator of the late nineteenth are not the same in Texas. As important as the differences between the educators of the late nineteenth and the latter half of the twentieth centuries were the similarities between the public and private educator in the late nineteenth century. The life styles, methods, interests, and problems of public and private schoolmen were strikingly similar, indicating that the twentieth
century understanding of the essential differences between the two was not well developed as late as the 1890's. Private educational endeavors, controlled by religious denominations or by the schoolmen themselves, remained an important feature of formal schooling in Texas as late as the 1890's, especially in rural areas where public schools were weak pedagogically and ephemeral chronologically. Many public schools operated "private terms" supported solely by tuition at least part of the year. In addition, many public schoolmen depended for extra income on what they called "overs" and "unders," students above and below the legal scholastic age.

In addition, both public and private schoolmen had to be educational entrepreneurs; that is, they had to sell their services, as did the private schoolman, in the absence of any type of compulsory attendance law. Meager state funds and the low level of or lack of local taxation forced the public schoolman, like his private counterpart, to try to convince local population and potential patrons of the benefits of formal schooling, often in material terms. Additionally, it was apparently a common practice for public educators to actually run their schools in a manner almost exactly the same as their private counterparts. Such public educators would often receive the state per capita funds and revenues from
"overs" and "unders," and, from these monies, operate the physical facilities of the school, hire any additional teachers needed, and pay any other expenses. What was left after expenses was a profit which might or might not equal a predetermined maximum salary. Private educators generally operated in the same fashion. Finally, there seems to have been constant movement of schoolmen back and forth between public and private schools. The careers of most of the educators studied encompassed both types of educational endeavors, with many schoolmen seeming to prefer private schools if they could get them.

The lives and educational careers of David S. Switzer and Alexander Hogg amply illustrate the dominant trends in public and private education in late nineteenth century Texas. David S. Switzer was a Methodist schoolman whose life in Texas spanned the years from Reconstruction to well after the turn of the century. Coming to Texas from Mississippi in 1870, Switzer served as a teacher and "principal" of two Masonic institutes before becoming the head of a small Methodist school in 1880. For the next twenty years, he ran the small denominational "college" and faced the problems common to most such institutions during the period. These problems included constant financial stringency, parental and denominational
bickering, and similar problems. Switzer apparently depended heavily upon the music students of his wife for additional financial support, a common practice of both public and private schools of the era. In a real sense, David Switzer and his school were the same, and his use of the term "my" to refer to it was as common in late nineteenth century Texas as it was true. Switzer and his Methodist supporters favored public aid to private schools in the early 1880's, as did many private schoolmen, and the failure to receive such aid forced schools such as his to rely upon tuition charges alone for support. Switzer's small denominational "college" accepted students from the lowest elementary level to what would be called undergraduate collegiate level in modern terminology.

Like Switzer, Alexander Hogg came to Texas from the older South after the Civil War. In 1882, Hogg became the first superintendent of public schools in Fort Worth, a position he held off and on until his final retirement in 1906. Unlike Switzer, Hogg was a strong advocate of the benefits of public schooling and its potential contribution to the creation of a "New South" which could compete with the industrial North. Like Switzer, Hogg was personally and politically conservative, fitting as well as any man could the definition of the "Redeemer" attitude described by C. Vann Woodward. While protesting his
loyalty to southern traditions, Hogg, like the Redeemers, advocated non-southern ideas as the salvation of the region. A strong advocate of railroads as well as public education, Hogg linked the two together as the salvation of the South in particular and the nation in general. Thus his politico-economic philosophy was identical to that of the Redeemers who controlled the post-Reconstruction South, while his educational philosophy looked forward to the educational crusades of the early twentieth century. These crusades proposed to deliver the South through education in the same manner that the Redeemers were going to recreate it through industrialization a generation earlier. In the end, both Hogg and Switzer faced their later years burdened by the constant realization of financial stringency, again apparently a common problem facing the late nineteenth century Texas schoolman.

In summary, the type of educational system which served Texas during this era, one which was both public and private but which was becoming increasingly dominated by the public, was the kind most Texans probably desired. Earlier educational historians such as Frederick Eby probably erred in their contention that public education was retarded by the lack of a proper "school spirit" among the population of southern states like Texas. Some Texans supported expanded popular schooling,
generally in terms of more public schooling, while others opposed. The blending of a public system and a private "system" was apparently what most Texans favored. The methods and philosophy of both public and private educators seem to have carried out this blending. In the end, the educational system of late nineteenth century Texas blended together some of the educational ideals of the "Old South" with the philosophy and necessity of the "New South."
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