

1982

## A study of English as a subject in the curriculum of the College of William and Mary

Jane Agnew Brown

*College of William & Mary - School of Education*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Higher Education Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Brown, Jane Agnew, "A study of English as a subject in the curriculum of the College of William and Mary" (1982). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. William & Mary. Paper 1539618324.  
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.25774/w4-g0qz-df68>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@wm.edu](mailto:scholarworks@wm.edu).

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted you will find a target note listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University  
Microfilms  
International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106



8219046

**Brown, Jane Agnew**

**A STUDY OF ENGLISH AS A SUBJECT IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE  
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY**

*The College of William and Mary in Virginia*

**Ed.D. 1982**

**University  
Microfilms  
International** 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

**Copyright 1982**

**by**

**Brown, Jane Agnew**

**All Rights Reserved**



THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

A STUDY OF ENGLISH AS A SUBJECT IN THE CURRICULUM  
OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

BY

JANE AGNEW BROWN

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

MAY 1982

A STUDY OF ENGLISH  
AS A SUBJECT IN THE CURRICULUM  
OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

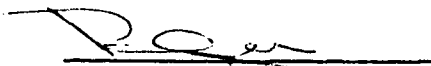
by


Jane Agnew Brown

---

Approved May 1982 by

  
D. J. Herrmann, Ph.D.

  
Paul Unger, Ph.D.

  
Clifton F. Conrad, Ph.D.  
Chairman of Doctoral  
Committee

This study is dedicated especially to my husband, Dan, whose continual support of my educational pursuits has been generous, steadfast, strong, and special; and also to my children: Danny, 13; Tim, 8; and Jennifer, 2, who have been loving and patient with a studious mother.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completing the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree has involved the direction, cooperation, and assistance of certain key individuals. To them I wish to express my sincere thanks.

A particular debt of gratitude is owed to the members of the committee for the time and support which they have given this project. With deep appreciation I wish to thank Dr. Conrad for his inspiring and scholarly example, constructive guidance, and steady encouragement; Dr. Herrmann for his keen perceptions and invaluable wit; and Dr. Unger for his knowledgeable contributions to the form and substance of this study. I would also like to thank Dr. Robert Emans for his helpful participation in the final stages of this project.

I am especially grateful to the staff of the Archives Division of the Earl Greg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary for their responsiveness, cooperation, and assistance in locating the necessary documents.

Finally, much appreciation is extended to Adelaide Harnsberger Sayers, whose attention to detail, desire for perfection, and skill at typing were important to the progress and completion of this paper.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION . . . . .	111
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iv
PREFACE . . . . .	vi
Chapter	
I. A STUDY OF ENGLISH AT WILLIAM AND MARY: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE . .	1
II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH AS A CURRICULAR STUDY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES . . . . .	20
III. FINANCES, CURRICULUM AND ENGLISH AT WILLIAM AND MARY . . . . .	50
IV. TEACHER EDUCATION AND ENGLISH AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY . . . . .	123
V. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROFESSORSHIP OF ENGLISH AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY . . . . .	151
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	158
VITA . . . . .	167
ABSTRACT . . . . .	168

. . . thesis written upon such subjects as may be proposed or approved by the society; which thesis is submitted to the private examination of each professor, and then to a meeting of the society.

The thesis must afford proof that the candidate is well acquainted with the principles of composition; and for this purpose it must be distinguished for a clear order or proper arrangement of all its parts, for just argumentation, for perspicuity and neatness of style, and an entire exemption from defects in punctuation and orthography; it must, moreover, afford proof that the candidate has carefully studied the subject of his thesis. . . .

Catalogue, 1840-1841

The College of William and Mary

## CHAPTER I

### A STUDY OF ENGLISH AT WILLIAM AND MARY HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, PURPOSE, AND STRUCTURE

In 1691 the General Assembly of the Colony of Virginia sent James Blair, commissary (representative) in Virginia for the Bishop of London, to England to request the permission of King William III and Queen Mary II to found a college.<sup>1</sup> On February 8, 1693, a royal charter was granted whereby the College of William and Mary in Virginia was established as "a certain place of universal study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences."<sup>2</sup> In order to provide the colonists an opportunity for a "religious and learned education,"<sup>3</sup> the College adopted the classical curriculum.

---

<sup>1</sup>Vital Facts: A Chronology of the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1978), pp. 1-2. (Hereafter referred to as Vital Facts.)

<sup>2</sup>"The Charter of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (February 8, 1693)," Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia: The Charter, The Transfer, Acts 1883, 1906 6 (January 1913): 3. (Hereafter referred to as Bulletin--1913.)

<sup>3</sup>Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia: From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina (London: J. Clarke, 1724), ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 82. (Hereafter referred to as Present State of Virginia.)

While emphasizing Latin and Greek, this curriculum included studies in Hebrew, logic, rhetoric, and mathematics, as well as natural, mental, and moral philosophy. A study of English was not included in the classical curriculum and subsequently was not a recognized part of the William and Mary curriculum from 1693 to 1888. It is the purpose of this study to determine what factors led to the incorporation of English as an organized discipline at the College of William and Mary in 1888.

When the College of William and Mary was closed in 1881, studies in English were not distinct offerings in the William and Mary curriculum. But when the College was reopened in 1888, English studies were organized under a professorship of English and were listed first in the curricular offerings shown in the catalogue. It is significant that the College was closed in 1881 because it did not have adequate operating capital and that the College was reopened in 1888 because sufficient funds were granted by the Commonwealth of Virginia. The College and the State had made a reciprocal agreement whereby the State would provide funds to the College and, in turn, the College would educate teachers for the Commonwealth of Virginia.

In order for the College to be funded as the State Male Normal School, the College was compelled to extend its curriculum to include instruction in subjects necessary to

the education and training of teachers for the public schools of Virginia. The study of English was included as a legitimate subject in the William and Mary curriculum when the curriculum was reorganized to provide a program of teacher education. Accordingly, it was hypothesized at the outset of this study that a professorship of English was established, and a systemized study of English was inaugurated at the College of William and Mary in 1888 because the State funded teacher education at William and Mary.

For almost 200 years, from the founding of the College in 1693 until 1888, studies related to English in the William and Mary curriculum were transitory. Furthermore, the existence and character of studies associated with the English language depended on the interests and philosophy of individual instructors whose endeavors generally had little effect on the subsequent status of English in the curriculum. Since most textbooks were written in Latin, which was the language of law, religion, and medicine, a knowledge of Latin was considered necessary. An understanding of the Greek language was also deemed important because Greek was the vehicle through which studies were conducted in classical literature, in issues of human interest, and in values. Indeed, a proficiency in Latin and Greek was required for admission to the collegiate course at the College until 1779 while no mention was made of

English as a necessary study.<sup>4</sup>

However, it was necessary for students to possess an adequate knowledge of their native English language in order to study the classical languages, Latin and Greek. Students frequently lacked either the sufficient knowledge of English or the ability to apply that knowledge to the study of Latin and Greek. Hugh Jones, an early eighteenth-century professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the College of William and Mary, explained in his book The Present State of Virginia that the students preferred the vernacular and were "for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best method."<sup>5</sup> Jones observed that William and Mary students neither liked nor needed to approach all knowledge through the classical languages, as was customary. He further theorized that Americans required disciplines somewhat different from those of their European contemporaries and recommended instruction in English, explaining:

For grammar learning taught after the common roundabout way is not much beneficial nor delightful . . . because they are imprisoned and enslaved to what they hate, and think useless. . . .

A civil treatment with some liberty . . . is most proper for them, and they have most need

---

<sup>4</sup>"Education in Colonial Virginia: The Higher Education," William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine 6 (January 1896): 172.

<sup>5</sup>Jones, p. 81.

of . . . ; and in English may be conveyed to them . . . all the arts, sciences, and learned accomplishments of the ancients and moderns, without the fatigue and expence [sic] of another language, for which most of them have little use or necessity, since (without another) they may understand their own speech; and all things requisite to be learned by them sooner and better.<sup>6</sup>

Jones proposed that Americans should be taught the proper use of their own language and that knowledge of other subjects should be transmitted through the vernacular. In 1721, he augmented his philosophy and further suggested a widespread need for instruction in English when he wrote what has been called "The First Colonial Grammar in English,"<sup>7</sup> a manual he entitled "An Accidence to the English tongue, Chiefly for the use of such boys and men, as have never learnt Latin perfectly, and for the benefit of the female sex, also for the Welch [sic], Irish, and Foreigners."<sup>8</sup> Despite the arguments Jones made for the inclusion of instruction in English, a study of the English language was still not accepted as a legitimate subject in the classical curriculum, and classical studies with Latin and Greek continued to dominate the program of instruction at the College of William

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>7</sup>Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 1: 341. (Hereafter referred to as Intellectual Life.)

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.



and Mary throughout the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth century as well.

In 1779 another attempt was made to give studies in English a legitimate place in the William and Mary curriculum. Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia and member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, proposed to make the College a state institution at the apex of a state system of education, to secularize it, and to broaden its curriculum. In recognition of the fact that the United States had become a republic with democratic principles and in support of the belief that an educated populace was important to the success of a democracy, a major reorganization of the College was effected. Because the institution was limited by its charter to six professorships, changes were made in the nature of those professorships. The two schools of Divinity were abolished; Greek and Latin studies were dismissed to the Grammar School, which was attached to the College; and a professorship of Law and Police, a professorship of Anatomy and Medicine, and a School of Modern Languages were added to the College. While these changes were being enacted, Jefferson made the following proposal pertaining to English:

And it is proposed, so soon as the Legislature shall have the leisure to take up the subject, to desire authority from them to increase the number of professorships, as well for the purpose of subdividing those already instituted, as of adding

others for branches of science. To the professorships usually established in the universities of Europe, it would seem proper to add one for the ancient language and literature of the North, on account of their connection with our language, laws, customs, and history.<sup>9</sup>

But, like other recommendations Jefferson made, the proposal that studies at the College of William and Mary be extended to include Anglo-Saxon went unheeded for over 100 years.

This historical research study was designed and conducted to investigate the incorporation of English as a standard subject in the William and Mary curriculum in 1888. Data and information pertaining to the existence and character of English studies at William and Mary prior to 1888 were collected and analyzed to establish a rationale for the curricular inclusion of a systemized study of English in 1888. Nineteenth-century instruction and curricular requirements at William and Mary were reviewed for two reasons. First, it was important to ascertain what English-related studies existed at the College before the curricular reorganization of 1888 in order to insure that the distinction given English in 1888 was unprecedented in the history of the College. Second, it was important to identify the conditions that may have laid the foundation for the development of English. The curricular offerings and emphases, professorships,

---

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Jefferson, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 1781-1784, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894) 8: 256. (Hereafter referred to as Writings.)

entrance and degree requirements, enrollments, and finances of the College were examined to find out what factors influenced the development of English at William and Mary. The object of this investigation was to determine whether State funding led to the establishment of a professorship of English and the incorporation of an organized study of English at the College in 1888.

A systemic approach is used in this study to place developments leading to the establishment of a chair of English in an analytical framework. The College of William and Mary is thus viewed as an organization affected by inputs, processes, and outputs, and the following assumptions are made regarding the institution:

1. it is a dynamic, changing organization;
2. it is affected by both internal and external factors;
3. inputs into the organization take many forms, among them: traditions, inheritances, goals, purposes, support (popular, legislative, and fiscal), leadership, organizational character, political climate, critical events (fires, wars), and competition from other institutions;
4. inputs are translated into outputs through organizational processes;
5. some inputs are advantageously transformed through organizational processes while other inputs appear to block developments;

6. goals and purposes change;
7. the character of the organization often changes;
8. needs are interpreted differently at different times  
and are often satisfied in different ways;
9. there is an interweaving of the many elements which  
make up the organization;
10. elements shift and combine with other elements  
to create a changing organizational environment;  
and
11. a viable organization must function within an ever-  
changing environment.

To facilitate an understanding of the concepts involved in this study, it is necessary to define some of the key words and phrases used in the study. Defining "English" is a problem, not only for the researcher, but for educators in general. The following is only one of many complaints that have been voiced regarding "English":

To a considerable degree, improvement in the education of teachers of English language arts has been limited by a lack of a widely accepted definition of English. The attempt in 1965 by the Commission on English of the College Entrance Examination Board to define the subject as language, literature, and composition ignored the important skills of reading and listening and overlooked such concerns as literature for children and adolescents, literature in translation, public speaking, and journalism. The problem of definition is difficult to resolve because the teacher of language arts has both a body of knowledge to offer--belles lettres and the

nature and history of language--and a set of skills and processes to develop.<sup>10</sup>

As is reflected in the comment above, the term "English" often is used to refer to a large variety of subjects. In this study, a general definition of "English," as suggested above, is employed. "English" is used to refer collectively to all studies pertaining to writing, speaking, and reading the English language and its literature.

A "systemized study of English," a "system of studies in English," and similar phrases are used to connote that subjects or areas of study related to "English," as defined above, were organized as a particular group of course offerings and put in a sequential order of curricular studies. The words "legitimacy," "legitimize," and "legitimate" refer to the acceptance in the standard curriculum of "English" as a study equal in importance to the other curricular offerings.

Because this study is historical in nature and pertains to the College of William and Mary, the majority of research was conducted in the Earl Greg Swem Library at the College. However, only a paucity of research relating to the nineteenth-century existence of the College was found. The only work that was found to pertain specifically to

---

<sup>10</sup>William A. Jenkins, "Changing Patterns in Teacher Education," National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, pt. 1 (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1977), p. 261.

English at the College was an article entitled "English at William and Mary," which was published in the Alumni Gazette in March 1941 as one of a series of articles written about the various departments of the College. In a descriptive essay, Jess Hamilton Jackson, chairman of the English department at the College (1929-1957), attempted to catalogue the English studies offered at the College from its foundation until 1941. Jackson observed that ". . . for 195 years after the founding, in 1693, College records mention English (in the sense of the title) merely in passing, suppressing details that might enlighten the historiographer. . . ."11 Although Jackson maintained that there had been instruction in English in the William and Mary curriculum from the beginning, he dismissed the absence of "a systemized effort to teach the vernacular tongue or its literature"12 with the rationale that competency in the native language had been assumed. However, with quotes from the extant College catalogues, Jackson presented in the first part of his essay a cursory, non-chronological review of English studies at the College until 1888. In the second part, Jackson discussed course offerings, studies, and textbooks which made up instruction in English under John Lesslie Hall (1888-1928).

---

<sup>11</sup>Jess Hamilton Jackson, "English at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette 8 (March 1941): 8.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

Then, in the third part, Jackson focused on the growth and essence of instruction in English from 1929, when he was appointed chairman of the English department, to 1941, when he wrote the article. This article appears to represent the only attempt made by anyone to construct a history of English at the College of William and Mary.

The article by Jackson significantly differs in purpose from the research study which follows. Jackson's work is a brief descriptive review of English-related offerings in the William and Mary curriculum, whereas the following study is an analytical work which not only describes, but places events and developments in English at William and Mary in an historical perspective. Jackson merely outlined the existence between 1693 and 1888 of studies associated with the English language. In the following research study, a comprehensive explanation is offered, not only of the existence of English-related studies, but of the character and emphasis placed on those studies in the William and Mary curriculum. Furthermore, in the following study, calculations are made regarding why English studies were included during one period and not during another period in the history of the College. Jackson emphasized English studies included in the William and Mary curriculum between 1888 and 1941; hence, English studies after English was accepted as a legitimate part of

the College curriculum. The study which follows focuses on the events and conditions which led to the acceptance of English as a discipline at William and Mary.

In addition to the article written by Jackson, this researcher found only two research studies which offered any information about curricular offerings at William and Mary during the nineteenth century and which related in any way to the present study. One of the research studies was a thesis prepared for the master's degree in history at the College of William and Mary in 1978 by Anne W. Chapman. The Chapman study, entitled "The College of William and Mary, 1849-1859: The Memoirs of Silas Totten," is a perceptively annotated transcript of the personal record Totten kept during his tenure as professor of moral and intellectual science at the College (1849-1859). This study provided firsthand information and detailed accounts of the activities, faculty, curriculum, politics, and financial affairs of the College, as well as data relating to the personal life and opinions of Totten.

Although this study provided information pertaining to a period in the College history about which little has been written, the major thrust of Chapman's study was not on a discussion of English, but on the affairs of the College in general and the activities of Silas Totten in particular. The connection between Totten and English studies at the



College was that the collegiate study of English-related subjects was usually undertaken in the Junior Moral course, if English studies were included in the curriculum at all. Totten taught that course between 1849 and 1859, but his primary interest was in religion rather than in the study of the English language, and no significant advances were made in the development of English as a discipline during his tenure at William and Mary. Chapman's work, although not a study of English, contributes to the paucity of historical data on the College for the period 1849-1859.

The second study was a dissertation written in 1974 by Marilou Denbo for the Ph.D. degree in Higher Education at New York University. The Denbo report, "The Nineteenth Century Presidents of the College of William and Mary," provided a general overview of the concerns of the College of William and Mary in the nineteenth century. The study seemed to depend heavily on information found in general histories of the College, such as those written by Herbert Baxter Adams and Lyon G. Tyler. Although the Denbo representations of the presidents were amplified with contextual data and background information, they were not essentially different from the thumbnail sketches offered in the Bulletin: The College of William and Mary in 1932. The nineteenth-century presidents of the College of William and Mary were depicted as sharing many common characteristics and generally

having responsibilities similar to other nineteenth-century college presidents. One is left with the conclusion that the presidents of the College of William and Mary may have had to cope with more problems of fluctuating enrollments and unstable financial conditions than did the presidents of other colleges. Although the Denbo research seemed to deal in generalities, at the present time it is considered a contribution to the history of the College of William and Mary because of the sparse research done so far on the nineteenth-century existence of the College.

Little information regarding English as a part of the William and Mary curriculum was found outside the College Archives, and an historical perspective and a basis for comparing English studies at William and Mary with English studies at other colleges were considered useful. Therefore, the researcher found that it was helpful to study (1) the intellectual climate of nineteenth-century Virginia, (2) general issues in nineteenth-century higher education, (3) the historical development of the English language in America, and (4) developments in English at other American colleges. Included among the supplemental readings were some well-documented histories such as Irby's History of Randolph-Macon College, Bruce's History of the University of Virginia, Davis's Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, Mencken's The American Language, Laird's Language in America, and

Kerr and Aderman's Aspects of American English. Also helpful in keeping developments at the College of William and Mary in perspective with developments elsewhere were Rudolph's The American College and University, Hofstadter and Smith's American Higher Education: A Documentary History, and Sadie Bell's The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia.

The main body of research for the study is based on materials found in the Archives Division of the Earl Greg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary. Primary sources include information (such as correspondence and publications of presidents, professors, students, and members of the Board of Visitors of the College) which is contained in Faculty/Alumni Files and in the College Papers; pamphlets; catalogues (1829-1895); general histories of the College; speeches; magazine and newspaper articles; manuscript collections; the William and Mary College Quarterly; and particularly, the Faculty Minutes (1818-1888), Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the College (1856-1888), and Reports of the Faculty to the Board of Visitors.

Some specific difficulties exist in using many of the documents and papers listed above. All the Faculty Minutes and Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the nineteenth century have been preserved in handwritten form only. Numerous idiosyncracies in letter formations and sentence structure necessitate laborious deciphering of words. Some

handwriting is nearly illegible, and sometimes the pages of correspondence and records are faded or torn. The Archives staff can have some items reproduced for a researcher, but, as a rule, the materials in the Archives cannot be removed from the Archives area.

Facts must be carefully comprehended and interpreted because there usually exists only one record of events and discussions, not several versions for comparison or verification. Whenever a gap in the primary evidence was found to exist, an attempt was made to piece together the fragments by making inferences drawn from related extant data. In a few instances, the search for evidence was complicated further by the reorganization and reclassification of some materials in the Archives.

The researcher considered evidence from the period 1881-1888 especially important and was disappointed to find that such a scarcity exists. Although correspondence between some members of the Board of Visitors has been located for the period 1881-1888, during which the College was closed, some specific items have not been found. Neither an account nor any correspondence has been found which would provide a detailed outline of the formative plans, discussions, or actions taken to establish a normal school and prepare a curriculum which would offer education and training for teachers at the College of William and Mary. Records and

correspondence relating to the formal proposal, agreement, and final arrangements for the normal school exist, but the communications in which such a plan originated have not been found. No letter of application from John Lesslie Hall, nor any recommendations of Hall for the professorship of English, nor an invitation from the College to Hall has been located, although such information is available for other faculty members. In the absence of these items of information, data from other sources have been substituted.

The significance of this study is that it will provide a documented development of English as a curricular study at the College of William and Mary during the nineteenth century. Moreover, it will be the only comprehensive study of English at the College to date. Developments in English, a required subject in the current curricula of most colleges, are studied to determine how and why English studies became a standard part of the William and Mary curriculum. Reasons for the specific rise of English in the curriculum of William and Mary are explained in a context which recognizes that a college is an organization in which numerous factors interact and influence one another. Although this study represents a major attempt to construct evidence from primary sources, it is not merely a compilation of data. This study contributes to the dearth of research done on the nineteenth-century existence of the College and can serve as

a basis for historical comparisons. The analysis of factors which led to a reorganization of the William and Mary curriculum in 1888 gives an historical overview of some major issues and topics in higher education today. For example, a major change in the funding of the College in 1888 affected the goals and roles, enrollments, personnel, clientele, and overall financial state of the College. This study shows the beginning of State funding for particular programs at William and Mary and the impact such funding had on the curriculum of the College a century ago.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH AS A CURRICULAR STUDY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the existence and development of English as a course of study during the nineteenth century at American colleges other than the College of William and Mary. This portion of the research was conducted to find out when English became a curricular offering at other colleges and to determine the factors that precipitated the curricular inclusion of English. Although the information presented in this chapter does not constitute a comprehensive survey of English in American colleges, this chronological review of English as a collegiate study provides an historical context for an assessment of the study of English at the College of William and Mary.

It is assumed that throughout the Colonial period and most of the nineteenth century the general adherence of American colleges to the classical curriculum, which emphasized Latin and Greek, made it difficult to introduce new subjects such as English into the traditional curriculum. Usually colleges dealt with the need to provide some instruction in the English language by teaching English in connection

with other studies or by developing more practical programs, which included English studies, as alternatives to the traditional curriculum. During the nineteenth century, most colleges expressed their recognition of the merits of studying the English language first by making a proficiency in English an entrance requirement and later, by including English as a standard subject in the college curriculum.

Historically, changes in the college curriculum came slowly. Before the American Revolution, only the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) significantly deviated from the standard classical curriculum. In 1756 William Smith introduced a three-year course of study which was designed to offer instruction in practical subjects. Emphasizing English, the more utilitarian curriculum included "new subjects, such as political science, history, chemistry, navigation, trade and commerce, zoology, mechanics and agriculture."<sup>1</sup> This program was one of the first attempts to systemize college offerings in a manner different from the medieval tradition and not based on a religious purpose. Both this program and the attention given English were measures which were not duplicated at most other colleges until the next century.

Many of the collegiate programs of study that

---

<sup>1</sup>Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 32.



were initiated after the American Revolution served as alternatives to the traditional curriculum and may be viewed as the attempts of higher education to respond to the needs of a new country. Although many of the needs were not new, the notice that was given them was unprecedented. New relationships with the European countries encouraged modern language study. The desire for an educated citizenry fostered the establishment of new schools, and the growing need for teachers gave impetus to teacher education and training. Scientific and technical studies grew out of the need to develop the natural resources of the country, to increase scientific and technical knowledge, and to improve the quality of American life.

Independence from England brought with it new social, commercial, and diplomatic relations with the European countries, and new obligations led to a more insistent need for modern language study. Ironically, it was often the classical scholar who, while "recognizing most strongly the value of the classics," pointed out the practical need for modern language study:

" . . . the needs of modern life were peremptorily demanding very much more devotion to the modern languages than has yet been accorded them." . . . Indeed it is this supreme utility . . . which is the prime agency in raising their study "from the status of an accomplishment or of a commercial art" and making them to take a rank as "an integral portion of a liberal education."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Richard G. Boone, Education in the United States: Its History from the Earliest Settlements (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1889), p. 170.

In most colleges, the extension of language study to include French, German, Spanish, Italian, and sometimes Portuguese generally preceded the inclusion of English, primarily because students were expected to be knowledgeable about their native language. Although a study of English was added to traditional curricular offerings in a few colleges because it was recognized that many students did not have the knowledge of English necessary for the successful study of the classical languages, more frequently a study of English was included in the college curricula in alternative programs which offered practical or scientific instruction. The review which follows notes both the introduction of the study of English in alternative programs and the specific advances that were made in the acceptance and development of English studies as a collegiate offering in nineteenth-century college curricula.

In 1784, Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia included English grammar as an entrance requirement and a year later announced a willingness to substitute French for Greek for the B.A. degree.<sup>3</sup> Later, Union College at Schenectady, New York, offered a course which permitted students "to study

---

<sup>3</sup>Alfred James Morrison, The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860: Study of Secondary Schools in Relation to the State Literary Fund (Richmond, Va.: Davis Bottom, 1917), p. 104. (Hereafter referred to as Public Education in Virginia.)

what they wished" and in 1802 encouraged the substitution of French for Greek.<sup>4</sup> The substitution of a modern language for a classical language was a significant curricular adjustment which in some instances led to the acceptance of French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and later still to the inclusion of English in the college curriculum.

The intention of an abrupt break with the traditional curriculum is evident in the plans of the University of North Carolina in 1795 for a course

to consist of a professorship of chemistry, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, a professorship of belles-lettres, and a professorship of language, including that most neglected and perhaps most useful of all languages, English.<sup>5</sup>

In another progressive measure, a parallel course without the usual studies in Latin and Greek was provided at Princeton between 1796 and 1806 for "special scientific students."<sup>6</sup> While these curricular changes did not establish English as a subject in the curriculum, they did help to prepare the way for the curricular inclusion of English.

When the Military Academy at West Point opened in 1802, it was required that students be "well versed in reading, writing, and arithmetic,"<sup>7</sup> but by 1812 the Academy requirements

---

<sup>4</sup>Rudolph, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>7</sup>Boone, p. 237.

were more specific: entrants were required to have a knowledge of the elements of English grammar, history, geography, mathematics, and French.<sup>8</sup> Also in 1812, Yale added the study of English grammar and history to second-year studies and required that all students submit written compositions in English from time to time.<sup>9</sup>

During the early nineteenth century, Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia was the most innovative in its treatment of English. In 1819, thirty-five years after Hampden-Sydney first made English grammar an entrance requirement, the institution inaugurated a comparatively extensive program of instruction in English. English grammar and rhetoric were taught at the freshman level, English composition at the junior level, and rhetoric and English dissertations at the senior level.<sup>10</sup>

At the University of Virginia, practical subjects were combined with classical studies in the original plan of instruction. In 1824, the Board of Visitors of the University described the eight professorships which were to be instituted, listing first the ancient languages and

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>David Madsen, Early National Education, 1776-1830 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974), p. 123.

<sup>10</sup>Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830 (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 56. (Hereafter referred to as Intellectual Life.)

second, modern languages. They categorized "French, Spanish, Italian, German and the English language in its Anglo-Saxon form; also modern history and modern geography" under the tabular heading "Languages, Modern," while they catalogued "General Grammar, Ethics, rhetoric, Belles Lettres, and the fine arts" under "Ideology," explaining that "ideology" was the "doctrine of thought" and "General Grammar," "the construction of language."<sup>11</sup> The Board of Visitors justified the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon, contending:

. . . the Anglo-Saxon is of peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages, because it is in fact that which we speak, in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It will form the first link in the chain of an historical review of our language through all its successive changes to the present day. . . .<sup>12</sup>

However, although Jefferson intended that instruction in English be offered at the University of Virginia, the only requirement of English until 1848 was that each candidate for the B.A. degree send in an essay written in English to demonstrate his knowledge of his native language.<sup>13</sup>

In 1825, Miami University in Ohio offered a course called the "English Scientific," in which modern languages,

---

<sup>11</sup>Daniel Calhoun, ed., The Educating of Americans: A Documentary History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), pp. 221-222.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>13</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1899, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1921), 3: 64.

applied mathematics, and political economy were substituted for the "ancient subjects." In his book The American College and University, Frederick Rudolph maintained:

Miami intended to make both its curriculum and its clientele more democratic. It proposed to offer a course of study that would be generally useful and to bring into the college curriculum subjects that heretofore had generally been confined to the academy.<sup>14</sup>

Also in 1825, Harvard added the study of Italian and German to modern language study in French and Spanish and gave non-degree students an opportunity to study the modern languages.<sup>15</sup>

In 1826 a scientific curriculum which included the study of a modern language was introduced at Union College.<sup>16</sup> At the University of Vermont, several curricular reforms were inaugurated when James Marsh became president of the institution in 1826. It is reported that Marsh taught an English literature course in which he introduced "the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to a growing American audience."<sup>17</sup>

At Amherst, the faculty made an assessment of the curriculum and issued two reports in 1827. The first was an inquiry into the inadequacies of the prevailing traditional

---

<sup>14</sup>Rudolph, p. 113.

<sup>15</sup>Arthur Levine, Handbook on Undergraduate Curriculum (San Francisco, Washington, and London: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978), p. 502.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Rudolph, p. 121.

course, and the second was a set of proposals for improvement. Concluding that the traditional course was one from which a student derived "no material advantage," the faculty argued that "in an age of universal improvements, and in a young, free, and prosperous country like ours, it is absurd to cling so tenaciously to the prescriptive forms of other centuries." The Amherst faculty recommended the establishment of a parallel program which would offer English literature and practical subjects that had been omitted from the prescribed classical program.<sup>18</sup>

Rudolph reported in his history entitled The American College and University that

. . . by 1828 at Union College Eliphalet Nott had perfected the college's popular and now long-established parallel course of study, which had imparted collegiate dignity to modern languages, mathematics, and science.<sup>19</sup>

The popularity of the Union College plan helped to provide creditability for the curricular inclusion of modern languages, mathematics, and science. Bowdoin in Maine, Columbia in New York, and Princeton in New Jersey fostered modern language study, and in 1829 Lafayette College in Pennsylvania offered modern language, Old English, and philology studies in a course which is said to have constituted the most

---

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

comprehensive study of any language other than Latin and Greek.<sup>20</sup>

But amid the curricular reforms being effected at a growing number of colleges, there were still strong forces at work to maintain the classical curriculum as the only curriculum worthy of collegiate study. In the Yale Report of 1928, the Yale faculty adamantly defended the integrity of the classical curriculum, with its emphasis on Latin and Greek, and outlined their position as follows:

Modern languages . . . are studied, and will continue to be studied, as an accomplishment, rather than as a necessary acquisition. . . . To suppose the modern languages more practical than the ancient . . . because the former are now spoken in some parts of the world, is an obvious fallacy. The proper question is, what course of discipline affords the best mental culture, leads to the most thorough knowledge of our own literature, and lays the best foundation for professional study. The ancient languages have here a decided advantage.<sup>21</sup>

While the position taken by the Yale faculty had a strong influence on many colleges, some colleges continued to introduce curricular reforms. Literary-scientific courses, as alternatives to the traditional classical program, were established at Hampden-Sydney in Virginia in 1828,<sup>22</sup> Columbia

---

<sup>20</sup>Boone, p. 172.

<sup>21</sup>Levine, p. 555.

<sup>22</sup>Rudolph, p. 115.



College in New York in 1830,<sup>23</sup> and Wesleyan College in Connecticut in 1831.<sup>24</sup> When the University of the City of New York was opened in 1832, the program of study included parallel courses, one on the new English-scientific pattern and one in the classical tradition. Four separate chairs were established, one each for French, German, Spanish, and Italian, but none for English.<sup>25</sup>

At this point a brief discussion of teacher education and training is included in this chronological review of English in the curricula of American colleges. Attention is given to this topic because of the role of English studies in teacher education and because of the association of English studies with the introduction of teacher education at the College of William and Mary in 1888. Although one finds that teacher education courses were introduced at colleges more often in the 1830s than during any previous time, there are several events which preceded the introduction of college-level teacher education and training and which are considered to be noteworthy.

As early as 1789, Elisha Ticknor of Harvard urged that a grammar school be established in each county "to fit

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 129.

young gentlemen for college and schoolkeeping"<sup>26</sup> and that a board of supervisors be appointed which

. . . should annually examine young gentlemen designed for school masters, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar, and if they are found qualified for the office of schoolkeeping, and able to teach these branches with ease and propriety, to recommend them for that purpose.<sup>27</sup>

But at that time, public sentiment was not ready for such a proposition, no immediate results were effected, and the plan was not mentioned again for nearly thirty years. By then, the number of public schools and the demand for competent teachers was increasing.

In 1823 Samuel R. Hall, a minister in Concord, Vermont, anticipated normal school methods and established a practice school for teacher-pupils.<sup>28</sup> Plans for normal schools, which were originally designed as high schools for teacher-training, were made in only some New England states in the 1820s. Other states tried to solve their problems regarding teacher-training through their academies, which were sometimes the forerunners of modern-day high schools and sometimes preparatory schools. In 1827, the New York legislature passed the first act "to promote the education

---

<sup>26</sup>Edwin Grant Dexter, A History of Education in the United States (New York: Burt Franklin, 1906), p. 372.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

of teachers."<sup>29</sup>

The growing need for competent teachers attracted attention at the Convention of Literary and Scientific Gentlemen held in New York City in 1830. Henry E. Dwight, son of Yale president Timothy Dwight and the first American to be registered at the University of Berlin, delivered an address on the "Low Status of Teachers." Dwight pointed out that "teaching" in America was generally temporary and secondary employment for a graduate student who was pursuing professional studies. He explained that the graduate students'

. . . limited resources compel them to devote several years to this employment, and when they have learned a little of the art of teaching . . . one of the most difficult arts ever acquired, they resign their places. . . . Education has consequently never become a distinct profession in the United States, but a stepping stone to one of the learned professions . . . instructors are less respected . . . and few men of talents are willing to devote their lives to teaching, or even to pursue it longer than their necessities compel them.<sup>30</sup>

In 1831, in response to the need for teacher education and training, Ohio University established a non-degree partial course to prepare teachers for the growing number

---

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>30</sup>Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., American Higher Education: A Documentary History, 2 vols. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 1: 305. (Hereafter referred to as American Higher Education.)

of public schools,<sup>31</sup> and Hampden-Sydney College founded an Institute of Education.<sup>32</sup> In 1838, Lafayette College in Pennsylvania responded to the need for teacher education by establishing a Model or Laboratory School to train teachers for the new public school system there.<sup>33</sup> In 1839 the first normal school for the preparation of teachers was established in Lexington, Massachusetts,<sup>34</sup> and the Board of Visitors of Randolph-Macon College passed a resolution to establish a "normal school as a department in the college in which a good and liberal education can be attained, and which in its organization shall be especially fitted to educate common school teachers."<sup>35</sup> However, although Randolph-Macon made the first move in Virginia to incorporate normal education into the college curriculum, the expressed intentions of the Board of Visitors of the college were not implemented in a program of teacher education at that time.

The programs which were designed for the education of teachers included English grammar as a necessary study. In 1842 Washington College at Lexington, Virginia, clearly

---

<sup>31</sup>Levine, p. 503.

<sup>32</sup>Morrison, Public Education in Virginia, p. 58.

<sup>33</sup>Rudolph, p. 217.

<sup>34</sup>Levine, p. 503.

<sup>35</sup>Richard Irby, History of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, [189?], p. 71.

indicated the importance it attributed to English in teacher education by offering a course specifically designed for "English teachers," who were teachers of the common schools.<sup>36</sup>

Shortly before the Civil War, the number of state normal schools began to increase and continued to grow at the rate of twenty-five new schools each decade to the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> After the Civil War, interest in public education intensified, and the need for competent teachers became more pronounced. In 1868 the University of Missouri created the first School of Education in any American college.<sup>38</sup> The teacher education movement flourished, and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century "almost everywhere the state universities became the major teacher-training agencies, setting standards for the public schools."<sup>39</sup>

Returning now to the specific discussion of English as a collegiate curricular study in the nineteenth century, the researcher learned that Randolph-Macon College in Virginia was not only a pioneer in recognizing the need for teacher education, but was also one of the few colleges that

---

<sup>36</sup>Sadie Bell, The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia (Philadelphia, Pa.: Science Publishing Co., 1930), p. 352.

<sup>37</sup>Harry G. Good and James D. Teller, A History of American Education, 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973), p. 311.

<sup>38</sup>Levine, p. 505.

<sup>39</sup>Rudolph, p. 361.

publicly recognized deficiencies in students' knowledge and understanding of English and attempted straightforwardly to establish studies in English as a practical solution to the problem. While other colleges sometimes included studies related to English, Randolph-Macon College claims credit for inaugurating the first English course in an American college.<sup>40</sup>

Edward Dromgoole Sims, the professor of ancient languages, originated the English course at Randolph-Macon. In June 1835, the Randolph-Macon Board of Visitors granted Sims leave to travel to Europe to study modern language, particularly Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, in preparation for teaching the English language.<sup>41</sup> When Sims returned in 1836, a separate chair of English Literature was established, and Sims gave a course on Historical English in 1839.<sup>42</sup> The difference in the Randolph-Macon course and the seemingly extensive English course that was formulated at Hampden-Sydney in 1819 was that the Hampden-Sydney studies were limited to a study of English grammar, composition, and rhetoric while the Randolph-Macon course dealt with the history and literature of the English language.

---

<sup>40</sup>Irby, p. 43.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

Sims conducted the course on historical English only three years before leaving Randolph-Macon to teach at the University of Alabama. Although the chair of English at Randolph-Macon was occupied by William M. Wrightman and then David S. Doggett after Sims left the institution,<sup>43</sup> English studies do not appear to have been developed further at Randolph-Macon until 1868. In his history of Randolph-Macon, Richard Irby wrote:

It does not seem, however, that Prof. Price was aware that such a course had been previously established, and it was as original with him as it was with the first mover [Sims] in it. Fortunately, in this second movement it [the study of English] became a permanent course, and the influence of the move has spread far and wide.<sup>44</sup>

The study of English fared no better at Harvard than at many other American colleges in the 1820s. Richard Boone explained in his history of education in the United States:

After the first liberal impulse [in 1824] . . . little more was done for many years than to work over and revise the original plan. Within eight years, however, half the students in modern languages were taking the study as an extra, or a substitute; as a result of which success, a like concession for a time was made to mathematics, Greek, Latin, Theology, philosophy, logic, and rhetoric. Having little encouragement, outside the department of French, less was accomplished. Really, the extension was discouraged, extras in most of these subjects being paid for in students' fees.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>45</sup>Boone, p. 192.

Still in 1841, English studies were not recognized as a distinct study at Harvard although a course which was described as "by far the broadest program enacted up to the time,"<sup>46</sup> was adopted. The Harvard curriculum was organized in 1841 as follows:

. . . For the freshman year all the work was still prescribed; for the sophomore year, only five subjects; for the junior, eight; and for the senior, eight; while students of these three years might, so far as their time would allow, and the means of such instruction "were within the resources of the university," elect from the following subjects: mathematics, chemistry, Greek, Latin, natural history, geology, geography, and the use of the globes, and any modern language.<sup>47</sup>

As is shown, although the Harvard curriculum was comparatively broad, English studies were not included, and modern language study was mentioned last in the explanation of curricular offerings. Furthermore, when the Harvard curriculum was reorganized in 1869, English was made an elective but not a requirement.<sup>48</sup> However, in his inaugural address as president of Harvard in 1869, Charles Eliot mentioned the study of English in the following context:

The University believes in the thorough study of language. It contends for all languages--Oriental, Greek, Latin, Romance, German, and especially for the mother-tongue English<sup>7</sup>; seeing in them all one institution, one history, one means of discipline, one department of learning. In teaching

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 194.



languages it is for this American generation to invent, or to accept from abroad, better tools than the old; to devise, or to transplant from Europe, prompter and more comprehensive methods than the prevailing; and to command more intelligent labor. . . .<sup>49</sup>

At the University of Virginia attempts were again made in 1841 to develop English as a curricular study after an article appearing in the Southern Literary Messenger chastized the University for its apparent lack of attention to English. The author complained that graduates of the University would "never have heard of English literature, unless a little belles-lettres may be so denominated."<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, he declared that the graduates did not know a "word of English history, or indeed, in any serious sense, any other."<sup>51</sup> The Society of the Alumni of the University responded by urging the Board of Visitors of the University to establish a School of History and Literature in order to quiet the criticism which the absence of English instruction had caused, but the income of the University was reported to be too small to justify such an expensive addition.<sup>52</sup> In 1845 the issue was again raised, and the Board of Visitors of the University responded by requesting the faculty to

---

<sup>49</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 2: 604-605.

<sup>50</sup>Bruce, p. 29.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

draw up a report that would indicate the course of instruction for a professorship of history and literature.<sup>53</sup> However, again no immediate action was taken, and the only requirement for English at the University in 1848 remained that each candidate for the B.A. degree send in an essay in English to demonstrate a knowledge of his native language.<sup>54</sup>

Finally, the prodding of interested alumni of the University of Virginia came to fruition when a School of History and Literature was founded in 1856.<sup>55</sup> The School of History and Literature consisted of a history class and an English literature class, both of which were conducted by the same professor. Instruction in the department of literature included the requirement of practical exercises in writing, speaking, and reading the English language; lectures on classical authors with attention to the general features of successive literary eras; and a study of the development of English literature. Significantly, all students were required to write English compositions regularly and to deliver lectures or read essays upon any literary subject designated by the professor.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

Meanwhile, at Brown University, Francis Wayland made his controversial "Report to the Corporation on Changes in the System of Collegiate Instruction" in 1850. "The main concern of Wayland's report was to bring the American colleges into line with the main economic and social developments of the age."<sup>57</sup> Wayland, president of the university and a critic of the traditional college, maintained that there was "something ridiculous about their [the colleges'] preference for buying students rather than offering a curriculum the students would buy."<sup>58</sup> Wayland contended that the colleges were becoming increasingly superficial and that efforts to accommodate new subjects within the old framework often resulted in the dilution of instruction in all subjects. He proposed a new program of courses in applied science, agriculture, law, and teaching; and he recommended "A course of instruction in the English Language and Rhetoric, one year."<sup>59</sup>

As higher education began to embrace more democratic principles after the Civil War, the study of English was more frequently included in college curricula in response to a demand for more practical subjects. The curricula of

---

<sup>57</sup>Rudolph, p. 239.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

colleges established under the Land Grant Act of 1862 (which authorized "the sale of federal lands to provide funds for the support of colleges offering instruction in 'agriculture and mechanic arts without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics'"<sup>60</sup>) included the study of English during all four years, while Latin and Greek studies were generally not required.<sup>61</sup> In the late 1860s, several significant advances were made in the curricular incorporation of English.

In 1868, Thomas R. Price, at that time professor of Latin and Greek at Randolph-Macon College, sponsored the curricular incorporation of English studies at Randolph-Macon in an attempt to deal with his students' lack of preparation for language study. He explained the situation at Randolph-Macon in the following account:

. . . in 1868, as Professor of Greek and Latin, I had, with my large classes, to struggle against great difficulties and grave discouragements. . . . The fundamental difficulty was soon revealed to me. I was seeking, as all instructors of Greek and Latin of that period were seeking, to give a knowledge of the ancient languages to boys and young men that knew not enough of their own language to receive it or apply it. It was irrational, absurd, almost criminal, for example, to expect a young man, whose knowledge of English words and construction was scant and inexact, to put into English a difficult thought of Plato

---

<sup>60</sup>Levine, p. 505.

<sup>61</sup>Boone, pp. 235-36.

or an involved period of Cicero.<sup>62</sup>

Price contended that the introduction of instruction in English into the curriculum at Randolph-Macon was the "boldest and wisest move in education that has taken place in my time." He attributed the success of his endeavors to include English in the curriculum of Randolph-Macon to the trustees' "clear perception of what education meant and from their sense of duty to their church and their people."<sup>63</sup>

With the support of the Board of Visitors of Randolph-Macon College, Price was instrumental in making the study of English both literary and historical. He established the following criteria for the curricular inclusion of English:

to place, in the ordinary college course, the study of English on an equal footing with that of Latin and Greek, giving it the same time and attention, aiming at the same thoroughness, and enforcing the same strictness of method. . . . A knowledge of the early forms of English was demanded, not as philology pure and simple, constituting an end in itself, but as a means for acquiring a true, appreciative knowledge of the mother tongue, and thereby for understanding English literature and other literature all the more.<sup>64</sup>

Although the incorporation of English had required a deliberate effort to break with old traditions, the establishment of English in the Randolph-Macon curriculum was permanent and successful.

---

<sup>62</sup>Irby, p. 209.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

Richard Irby reported that the School of English Literature, which was established at Randolph-Macon under Thomas R. Price in 1868 soon became the most popular school in the college with 191 of the 235 students enrolled in the college taking the English course voluntarily.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, Irby contended that "English fever" at Randolph-Macon appeared to be "epidemic."<sup>66</sup> He reported:

. . . The movement [to include English studies in the college curriculum] soon spread far and wide. Other institutions, impelled by the same needs, either imitated it outright--some of them actually going so far as always to unite the English department with the Greek, as if there were some subtle virtue in the connection (building possibly wiser than they knew)--or developed out of their own necessities similar arrangements.<sup>67</sup>

Some of the Randolph-Macon alumni studied further in Europe and, upon returning to America as Doctors of Leipzig, found teaching positions at other American colleges and universities, such as the University of Louisiana (Tulane), Vanderbilt University in Tennessee, South Carolina College (University of South Carolina), Wofford College in South Carolina, Central College in Missouri, the University of Virginia, the University of Georgia, Washington and Lee University in Virginia, Trinity College in North Carolina, Saint John's College

---

<sup>65</sup>Irby, p. 230.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

in Maryland, and the University of Kansas.<sup>68</sup> John Lesslie Hall, a cousin of Thomas R. Price and one of his students at Randolph-Macon and later at the University of Virginia, was appointed as the first professor of English at the College of William and Mary when the professorship of English was established there in 1888.<sup>69</sup>

During the 1870s, a more thorough and extensive examination of the English language with instruction in oratory or spoken composition was added at the University of Virginia. Thomas R. Price, who had complained about students' inadequate command of the English language at Randolph-Macon in the previous decade, became professor of Greek at the University of Virginia and took up his crusade for English studies there. Price maintained as before that it was his pupils' ignorance of their mother tongue that hampered their Hellenic studies and diminished the value of all work in philology done in the other schools of the institution. He was joined by other members of the faculty who acknowledged that the preparation of their students in "Grammar, spelling, expression, biography, and general information--was marked by the gravest shortcomings; and that this preparation, such as it was, was growing to be more superficial each year."<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup>Irby, p. 213.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 213-24.

<sup>70</sup>Bruce, p. 379.

But it was not until 1882 that a separate School of English Language and Literature was established by the Board of Visitors with instruction designed along the following lines:

1. the nature of language and its relation to thought as exhibited in the structure and applications of the English tongue;
2. the correct and effective employment of that tongue, whether in speech or communication;
3. the principles and art of style as disclosed in the masterpieces of the English language; and
4. the history.<sup>71</sup>

This plan of study at the University of Virginia appears to be the most comprehensive study of English offered at any American college in 1882.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the study of English increasingly became a requirement in American colleges. It is reported that English was included in the "essential studies" when Johns Hopkins University was opened in 1876.<sup>72</sup> Further recognition was given English studies when Columbia College in New York made a distinction between English and Anglo-Saxon and required juniors and seniors to study in both areas.<sup>73</sup> By 1889, Harvard, like most other institutions, included English in its curriculum, as well as rhetoric and English compositions and themes

---

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 379-80.

<sup>72</sup>Boone, p. 199.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 197.



throughout the four years.<sup>74</sup>

Although great strides had been made, as late in the nineteenth century as 1889, the study of other modern languages--French, German, Spanish, and Italian--so overshadowed the study of English that the following observation and complaint was made:

It would be gratifying if as much could now be said for the increased attention given to the university study of English as belongs to other modern languages. Whatever argument of utility applies equally to our own. As latest developed it is the richest in the possibilities of comparative studies; historically it has a very practical aspect. And yet no college in this country gives anything like so comprehensive instruction in the philological or critical or even the practical study of English, as in that of most other languages, or as it concedes to science and mathematics. . . . No phase of American learning shows more present neglect than the university study of English.<sup>75</sup>

The study of English did not begin to develop into a distinct discipline at most American colleges until the end of the nineteenth century, and the emphasis in many colleges did not shift from the ancient languages and other modern languages until the twentieth century.

The brief survey of English in nineteenth-century college curricula which has been presented in this chapter was made part of the study of English at the College of William and Mary in order to give the William and Mary study

---

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

an historical perspective. A knowledge of the attention given to English studies at other American institutions in the nineteenth century provides a basis for comparing developments in English at the College of William and Mary with developments at other American colleges. A summary of the data presented reveals that many of the curricular changes made in American colleges after the American Revolution involved the establishment of parallel programs of study as alternatives to the prescribed classical curriculum. In most instances, the introduction of alternative programs was an attempt by higher education to offer a practical or scientific education. The study of modern languages, which sometimes included the study of English, was frequently introduced in conjunction with scientific, industrial, mechanical, commercial, political, or historical studies.

While most colleges required a proficiency in Latin and Greek for both entrance and graduation, the curricula of a few institutions such as the Military Academy at West Point, Yale, and Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia included a proficiency in English grammar and composition as entrance and degree requirements after 1800. Two Virginia institutions appear to have been the most progressive in their treatment of English. Both Hampden-Sydney College in 1819 and Randolph-Macon College in 1835 formulated courses which recognized English as a distinct discipline worthy of study at the

collegiate level. The development of teacher education courses at American colleges also helped to establish English as a collegiate curricular study because of the importance of a mastery of the English language to the public school teacher.

While the prescribed classical course of study remained the dominant curriculum in most colleges during the nineteenth century, attempts to supplement that curriculum with more practical subjects increased as the century progressed. As higher education began to embrace more democratic principles in the 1860s and 1870s, English was included in college curricula more frequently in response to a public demand for more useful studies. It appears that English was gradually recognized at American colleges because it was a useful study, because its mastery was necessary to the successful study of other languages, because a command of English was of practical value in one's education, and because teachers of the public schools needed instruction in English as part of their preparation for teaching. Therefore, English courses were incorporated into collegiate curricula as a preparatory and support course for other language study, as an extension of modern language study, as a basic course in a practical education, and as an essential course in teacher education.

The brief overview of English as a curricular study at other American colleges which has been presented in this

chapter is followed by a detailed analysis in the next chapter of the existence and character of English studies at the College of William and Mary during the nineteenth century.

The investigation conducted in Chapter III is focused on an attempt to determine the factors which led to the establishment of English as a legitimate discipline at the College of William and Mary.

### CHAPTER III

#### FINANCES, CURRICULUM, AND ENGLISH

##### AT WILLIAM AND MARY

During most of the nineteenth century, the curricular inclusion of English language study was generally more incidental than planned. An examination of studies pertaining to English was made in order to determine first why English was not recognized as a legitimate course of instruction at William and Mary until 1888 and then to ascertain what led to the incorporation of English as a discipline at the College. It may be argued that English did not develop as a field of study at William and Mary before 1888 only because the College sought to maintain the classical curriculum and English was not a recognized subject in that curriculum. However, the financial condition of the College also affected curricular developments and was the major factor in the development of English at William and Mary. In short, it is concluded that a systemized study of English did not develop at William and Mary before 1888 because the study of English as a distinct and separate language was perceived neither as a necessary part of the traditional classical curriculum nor as a curricular offering which would improve the financial health of

of the institution.

In 1888, the treatment of English at the College of William and Mary changed radically. It is maintained in this study that the consideration given English studies was linked directly to measures taken to secure the financial support necessary for the College to reopen after being closed since 1881. Pursuant to an agreement and financial arrangement between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia, the William and Mary curriculum was reorganized in 1888 to provide a program of teacher training in addition to the regular course of studies at the College. Because of the vital role of English in teacher education, the study of English was accepted at William and Mary in 1888 as a necessary and profitable course.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it is concluded that English became a systemized, legitimate, and permanent course of study in the curriculum of the College of William and Mary as a result of the agreement whereby the College was to train teachers for the public schools of Virginia in return for financial aid from the State.

---

<sup>1</sup>Dexter, pp. 379-81. The National Education Association (NEA) committee on normal schools recommended proficiencies in certain areas as minimum requirements for admission to the state normal schools and proposed a four-year course of normal instruction. Both criteria included the specific study of "English" and "English grammar," as well as other subjects related to English language study.

The first part of this chapter is an historical review of the eighteenth-century heritage of the College of William and Mary, noting the founding purpose, organization, and curriculum of the College; the close affiliation of the College with the Crown and the Church of England; and the early financial support of the College. This review is relevant to the present study because a knowledge of the early history of the College contributes to a clearer understanding of why the College was beset with distinct problems of affiliation and support after the American Revolution and throughout most of the nineteenth century and how those problems affected the curriculum and hence the curricular incorporation of English. In this chapter the major emphasis is on the effect of finances on curricular development, particularly on the development of English, at William and Mary during the nineteenth century. It was observed that even though the College of William and Mary had prospered during the Colonial period, the nineteenth-century existence of the College was basically a struggle for survival.<sup>2</sup> The College

---

<sup>2</sup>Throughout the nineteenth century, the most critical topic of discussion at Faculty meetings and meetings of the Board of Visitors was the finances of the College. The minutes of these meetings and the reports of the Faculty to the Board of Visitors contain detailed information concerning (1) the costs of maintaining, repairing, rebuilding, and re-equipping the College as a result of fires, wars, and general deterioration; (2) discussions about limited operating capital and financial priorities; (3) proposals to sell College property in order to pay College debts and prevent lawsuits

of William and Mary had been closely affiliated with the English Crown and the Church of England and suffered from the loss of that relationship and support when the Colony of Virginia became independent from England; when religion was separated from education, as well as from politics, by the separation of Church and State; and when the official relationship of the English Crown and the Church of England with the College of William and Mary was subsequently terminated.

Furthermore, the historical relationship between the College and the Crown and the Church of England hampered the relationship between the College and the new State government. At the close of the American Revolution the College of William

---

against the College; (4) suggestions about how to offer a complete program of instruction on a reduced budget (especially by not filling vacant faculty positions and dividing the instruction of classes without professors among the professors presently employed); (5) proposals to reduce faculty salaries when the operating capital of the institution was reduced; (6) plans to carry faculty members on record while allowing them to find other employment to compensate for the inability of the College to pay their salaries; (7) resolutions about what professorships to leave vacant when the College funds could not support the full complement of faculty; (8) arguments for the removal of the College from Williamsburg as a means of increasing patronage and financial support; (9) discussions of the possible incorporation of the College into another institution; (10) decisions regarding the pursuit of funding from the state and national governments and the Peabody and other funds, as will be cited in Chapter III; and (11) the decision to close the College in 1881 because of insufficient operating capital. The concern of the College administration with the financial condition and survival of the College during the nineteenth century was expressed in correspondence between members of the Board of Visitors and also in the Memoirs of Silas Totten, 1849-1859.



and Mary had neither a meaningful affiliation nor financial support from Church or State.

It is contended that the crucial need of the College for financial support led to a continuous search for funds and had a significant effect on curricular development. A result of the overriding concern with the finances of the College was that most planned additions to the classical curriculum, as well as presidential and faculty appointments, were usually linked to measures intended to improve the financial state of the institution. The evidence is compelling that English language study became a legitimate part of the William and Mary curriculum in 1888 only because English studies were an integral part of the teacher education program which was introduced at the College in 1888 to secure the financial support necessary for the College to reopen after being closed for seven years (1881-1888).

A chronological study of the finances and curriculum of the College of William and Mary helped to provide a basis for determining first why the study of English was not formally prescribed before 1888 and then how and why English became a legitimate subject in the reorganized curriculum of 1888 at the College. It was found that the financial roots of the College of William and Mary extend almost to the beginning of the Colony of Virginia. When the College finally became operational in 1693, the institution was established

as the charitable endeavor of the English Crown, the Church of English, and the Colony of Virginia. In 1690 the clergy of the Church of England in Virginia proposed the founding of a college in Virginia, and James Blair, commissary in Virginia of the Bishop of London and head of the Anglican Church of Virginia, was sent by the Virginia General Assembly to England to request a royal charter for the College from King William III and Queen Mary II.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, the College of William and Mary became the first corporation in America to be recognized by royal will and granted a royal charter.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the Colonial period, the College of William and Mary functioned in close alliance with the English royalty, the Anglican Church, and the Colony of Virginia, who jointly assumed responsibility for education in Virginia and who intended that "Their Majesties' Royall Colledge of William and Mary" rank, at least in theory, with Oxford and Cambridge in England and be more than just a local institution.<sup>5</sup> Although the College of William and Mary operated first as only a Grammar School (where boys from eight to fifteen years of age were taught reading,

---

<sup>3</sup>Bulletin--1913, pp. 3-4, 20 and Vital Facts, pp. 1-5.

<sup>4</sup>Bulletin--1913, p. 3 and Lyon G. Tyler, "Education in Colonial Virginia, Part III: Free Schools," William and Mary College Quarterly 6, 2 (October 1897): 84.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. and Jones, p. 5.

writing, Latin, and Greek), by 1729, the College had engaged its full complement of six professors and had developed into the three schools that had been planned originally.<sup>6</sup>

When the students had completed the basic course of reading, writing, and Latin and Greek studies in the Grammar School, they could enter the Philosophy School, which had two professors: one to teach rhetoric, logic, and ethics; the other, physics, metaphysics, and mathematics. Philosophy students were provided a classical curriculum with instruction prescribed as follows: first year--Latin, Greek, logic, Hebrew, and rhetoric; second year--logic, Greek, Hebrew, and natural philosophy (physics); third year--natural and mental philosophy (metaphysics), and moral philosophy (economics, ethics, political science, sociology, etc.); fourth year--review of Latin, Greek, logic, natural philosophy, and mathematics.<sup>7</sup>

Although students in the Philosophy School were exercised in disputations, declamation, and themes on various subjects, generally the ancient faculty psychology dominated educational philosophy.<sup>8</sup> According to this view of learning, the mind was a receptacle and muscle with various potentialities to be trained; and further, the mind could be trained

---

<sup>6</sup>Bulletin--1913, pp. 3, 20, 21 and Jones, pp. 5-6.

<sup>7</sup>Rudolph, pp. 25-26.

<sup>8</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 274.

and furnished best by adhering to the ancient subjects. As stated in the Yale Report of 1828, "The two great points to be gained in an intellectual culture are the discipline and furniture of the mind [*italics are those of the author*]; expanding its powers, and storing it with knowledge."<sup>9</sup> It was thought that "mathematics shaped the mind as an instrument of reasoning. The classics helped to achieve a balance by bending the mind toward taste."<sup>10</sup>

A command of English, the native language of American students, was a natural prerequisite to the study of other languages because a practical mastery of English was necessary for translating from one language to another, in declaiming, and in writing essays. But even though an understanding of English grammar and the ability to use the English language correctly and effectively were deemed "indispensable" [*sic*] skills,<sup>11</sup> not all William and Mary students had acquired these skills before entering the College. As a result, progress in advancing collegiate instruction was slow.<sup>12</sup> In an effort to see instruction at William and Mary

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>10</sup>Rudolph, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup>Jones, quoted in Davis, Intellectual Life, 1: 383.

<sup>12</sup>Herbert Baxter Adams, The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education with Suggestions for its National Promotion (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 14 in College Papers, Folder 48 and Thomas Jefferson in Writings, ed. Ford, 6: 255-56.

consolidated, Hugh Jones, a professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, maintained in 1721 that establishing a practical mastery of English rather than a mastery of Latin or Greek as a curricular priority was a necessity. Proposing that a proficiency in English be made a requirement for admission to the Grammar School at William and Mary, Jones suggested:

Let such Lads as have been taught to read and instructed in the Grounds of the English language in these [parochial] Schools, be admitted into the Grammar School at the College, if they pass an Examination before the President and Masters.<sup>13</sup>

But despite Jones's observation and proposal for change, English studies were neither required nor formally incorporated at that time into the William and Mary curriculum, which, in the classical tradition of the English college, emphasized the Latin and Greek languages.

After completing the Philosophy School course, a student could enter the Divinity School, which also had two professors: one to teach Hebrew and to "critically expound . . . the Holy Scriptures"; the other, to "explain the common places of divinity, and the controversies with hereticks [sic]."<sup>14</sup> Although the professors of philosophy stressed ethics and morality, the purpose of the institution was best

---

<sup>13</sup>Jones, quoted in Davis, Intellectual Life, 1: 383.

<sup>14</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 44.

reflected in the Divinity School. The charter of the College of William and Mary specified that the College was established so that "The Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel, . . . and that the Christian Faith may be propagated. . . ."15

The ties of the College to the English Crown and the Church of England were strengthened by the stipulation in the Statutes of the College that:

For avoiding the danger of heresy, schism, and disloyalty, let the president and masters, before they enter upon these offices, give their assent to the articles of the Christian faith, in the same manner, and in the same words, as the ministers in England, by act of Parliament are obliged to sign the Articles of the Church of England. And in the same manner too they shall take the oath of allegiance to the king or queen of England. . . .16

One result of this requirement was that throughout the Colonial period most of the professors at the College of William and Mary were Oxford-educated ministers, and until 1814, only Anglican or Episcopal ministers were appointed to the College presidency. Usually the president of the College was head of the Anglican Church in Virginia and in the Colonial period the deputy or commissary of the Bishop of London as well.

---

<sup>15</sup>Bulletin--1913, p. 3 and Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 33.

<sup>16</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 47.

<sup>17</sup>Bulletin: The College of William and Mary in Virginia--Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae for the Years, 1866-1932 (Williamsburg, Va., /1932/), pp. 2-26. (Hereafter referred to as Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae.)

The English influence was apparent not only in the curriculum, philosophy, purpose, and personnel, but also in the finances, for the College had monetary ties to England also. When the king and queen of England granted the College of William and Mary a royal charter in 1693, they provided several avenues of monetary support for the College from colonial taxes and real estate. These munificences were added to the revenues which had been provided for the College in 1693 by the Virginia General Assembly.<sup>18</sup> Ongoing financial support for the College was intended by the founders as the generous expression of common interests in a joint enterprise, and from time to time the governor of the Colony of Virginia addressed the House of Burgesses, praising education at the College of William and Mary and soliciting further monetary support for the College. In the address delivered on February 20, 1745, Governor Gooch maintained that he was:

. . . induced by a pious Regard for the advancement of pure Religion and the study of useful knowledge to recommend to you its [an act which pledged financial support to the college] Renewal . . . and promise to procure his Majesty's confirmation.

. . . there is not in any part of the world a College where good order, Decency, and Discipline are better maintained, where God Almighty is more constantly and devoutly worshipped, and where greater care is taken to train up young students in the Rudiments of Religion, Loyalty, Science, and good Manners. . . .

. . . you will not only think such diligent

---

<sup>18</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 35-37; Bulletin--1913, p. 21; and Vital Facts, pp. 1-2.

and discreet instruction of youth worthy the continuance of the annual Income . . . but kindly take them under your constant patronage and protection.<sup>19</sup>

Accepting Gooch's recommendation, the House of Burgesses agreed to support the "wise and pious institution."<sup>20</sup> Throughout the Colonial period, the testimonials and approbations of influential persons such as Governor Gooch proved so profitable that prior to the Revolution the College of William and Mary had an annual income of nearly 4,000 pounds sterling.<sup>21</sup> Having been the constant recipient of royal, colonial, and private benefactions, the College of William and Mary was the richest college in North America in 1776.<sup>22</sup>

But the congenial relationship between the College and the colonial government succumbed to conflicts of interest as the Colony moved closer to revolution against England. Whereas the close ties between Church and State had served the College well in its early years, the relationship of the

---

<sup>19</sup>"Governor Gooch's Message Concerning the College, February 20, 1745," William and Mary Quarterly 7, 2 (October 1898): 125.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1865-1866 (Richmond, V.: Gray and Clemmitt, 1866), p. 11 in College Papers, Folder 64. (Hereafter referred to as Catalogue, 1865-1866.)

<sup>22</sup>Robert J. Morrison, History of the College of William and Mary from its Foundation 1660, to 1874 (Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph and English, 1874), p. 46 in College Papers, Folder 48. (Hereafter referred to as History, 1660-1874.)



College to the Church of England became a liability as the Colony increasingly desired freedom from demands made by England.

From mid-eighteenth century until 1888, problems at the College were frequently associated with the relationship of the College both to the Crown and to the Church of England, an affiliation which affected enrollments at the College as well.<sup>23</sup> Because of its close ties with England and the Church of England, the College of William and Mary lost the enrollment of some Virginia youths, including James Madison (who later became President of the United States), who elected to attend the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) rather than the College of William and Mary.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, the numbers of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists in the Colony had greatly increased, and some people had come to regard the College of William and Mary with jealousy and distrust as the headquarters of the "favored" church (Church of England).<sup>25</sup>

Political and ecclesiastical controversy between the College and the Virginia General Assembly helped to make the

---

<sup>23</sup>Mary R. M. Goodwin, Historical Notes on the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1954), pp. 188-91.

<sup>24</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

administration of James Horrocks as president of the College of William and Mary (1764-1771) one that was characterized by "strife and turmoil."<sup>26</sup> Then, partly because of his Loyalist sympathies, John Camm, Horrocks' successor, was removed from office in 1777.<sup>27</sup> Camm, while serving not only as professor of Divinity and president of the College, but also as head of the established church in Virginia, is said to have "involved the college in the political struggles of the times."<sup>28</sup> Increasingly, during the latter part of the Colonial period, the Anglican foundation of the College and its faculty of clerical professors placed in jeopardy the colonists' acceptance of William and Mary as an American institution of higher learning.

After the Revolution, the College of William and Mary lost its identity as a school which trained both statesmen and Anglican ministers and the financial support of the English Crown and the Church of England. Thus, the College had to depend on the fees of students as its only source of ready income. The sudden and striking drop in the enrollments at the College after the Revolution was an early indicator of

---

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>28</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, "Early Presidents of the College of William and Mary," William and Mary Quarterly 1, 2 (October 1892): 70.

how sensitive the situation at the College was and how grave the effects of the American Revolution on the institution would be. Prior to the Revolution, the average number of students in attendance was 60,<sup>29</sup> but between 1776 and 1781, a total of 41 students enrolled at the College.<sup>30</sup>

The Revolution left the College of William and Mary cut off, like an orphaned child, from her wealthy progenitors. Subsequently, the institution suffered a loss of financial, political, and public support in Virginia. By the depreciation of paper money, the College lost almost all the funds acquired by public and private donations. The foundation for scholarships between 1693 and 1776 was "at the brink of ruin,"<sup>31</sup> and by a decree of the British Courts, the revenues of the Estate of Brafferton Manor, which had been purchased for the College with the Charity of Robert Boyle, were channeled elsewhere. The College was deprived of the most valuable part of its endowment, and in 1786, the entire money capital of the College was only \$2,503, a great reduction

---

<sup>29</sup>Adams, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>List of students attending per year, 1720-1854 in Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1855 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Hervey Ewing, [1855?]) in College Papers, Folder 144. (Hereafter referred to as Catalogue, 1855.)

<sup>31</sup>Minutes of the Meeting of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary, p. 201b. (Hereafter referred to as Faculty Minutes.)

from the pre-war annual income of 4,000 pounds sterling.<sup>32</sup> The presidents, faculty, and Board of Visitors thereafter made numerous lengthy requests to the legislature for financial support from the Commonwealth. But although the House reviewed the memorials of the College on several occasions, no constructive action was ever taken on those proposals, and the College continued to receive no financial aid from the Commonwealth.

Thomas Jefferson recognized the political and financial needs of the College and proposed that the College be aligned with the State,<sup>33</sup> but rather than aid the College, the State further handicapped it financially. In 1787, the General Assembly divested the College of all surveyors' fees, substantially reducing the assets of the College to little more than real estate.<sup>34</sup> The public continued to associate the College with the Anglican Church and English royalty.

To help the College of William and Mary adjust to new societal goals after the Revolution, John Camm, a Loyalist, was replaced as president of the institution in 1777.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Thomas Jefferson, "A Bill for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary" in Writings, ed. Ford, 2: 220-37.

<sup>34</sup>Vital Facts, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 16.

James Madison, another Episcopal minister (and cousin of the James Madison who became President of the United States), was elected president of the College,<sup>36</sup> and like many of his predecessors and successors, became Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.<sup>37</sup> Although the administration of the College kept a religious orientation, several curricular changes were introduced, and the William and Mary faculty was reorganized in 1779. The changes were directed at secularizing instruction and more closely aligning the institution with secular needs for an educated citizenry. The professed sacred responsibility of the College to train ministers for the Anglican Church was replaced with a new responsibility to educate citizens for the State. Both the Divinity School and the Grammar School were abolished, and in their places a Chair for Modern Languages and a Department of Law and Police were established in 1779. Instruction in Moral Philosophy was altered to encompass the Law of Nature and Nations and Fine Arts studies, and proposals for the study of Anatomy and Medicine were made. The purpose of these changes was to transform the College of William and Mary into a state university rather than to continue the existence of the College as a

---

<sup>36</sup>Calhoun, pp. 107-10; "Explanation of the Changes Made in the Curriculum in 1779," Virginia Gazette, 18 December 1779 in College Papers, Folder 12; History 1660-1874, p. 135; and Vital Facts, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 16.

small religious institution.<sup>38</sup>

Realizing the necessity for changes at the College, Thomas Jefferson, then a member of the Board of Visitors of the College and Governor of Virginia, drew up several bills intended to help the College of William and Mary become affiliated with and supported by the State of Virginia. In an attempt to identify the College as a public institution entitled to State aid, Jefferson drew up a bill in which he argued:

And whereas the experience of near an hundred years hath proved, that the said college, thus amply endowed by the public, hath not answered their expectations, and there is reason to hope, that it would become more useful, if certain articles in its constitution were altered . . . and the said college . . . being founded and endowed with the lands and revenues of the public, and intended for the sole use and improvement, and no wise in nature of a private grant, the same is of right subject to the public direction and may be altered and amended, until such form be devised as will render the institution publicly advantageous, in proportion as it is expensive. . . . it becomes the peculiar duty of the Legislature, at this time, to aid and improve that seminary, in which those who are to be the future guardians of the rights and liberties of their country may be endowed with science and virtue, to watch and preserve the sacred deposit. . . .<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, Jefferson proposed that education at the College of William and Mary be given a new direction, that its purpose be to endow students with "science and virtue," while offering

---

<sup>38</sup>Calhoun, pp. 107-10.

<sup>39</sup>Thomas Jefferson in Writings, ed. Ford, 2: 232-33; and Adams, pp. 37-38.

instruction that was civil and ethical, not spiritual, in nature. In the future, William and Mary students were to be educated for citizenship, not for the ministry.<sup>40</sup>

In his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge (1779), Jefferson proposed that a system of public education be established with the College of William and Mary at its head, but his efforts failed, partly because his plan would have put what was considered to be "an Episcopal institution at the apex of the Virginia school system."<sup>41</sup> It was observed that "dissenters [to Jefferson's plan] after awhile began to comprehend some sacred design of a preference to that sect . . . ,"<sup>42</sup> for the College was after all "pretty highly Episcopal"<sup>43</sup> even without the Divinity School. "Probably owing to the retention of Episcopalians in the personnel of the College, the nature of the changes being made was not clear to all outside."<sup>44</sup>

Even though the Grammar School had been closed, the Divinity professorships abolished, and the affiliation of the College with the Church of England reduced, the institution

---

<sup>40</sup>"A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Education," in Writings, ed. Ford, 2: 233.

<sup>41</sup>Hofstadter and Smith, 1: 36-37.

<sup>42</sup>Thomas Jefferson, in Writings, ed. Ford, 1: 71.

<sup>43</sup>Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Joseph Priestly, in Writings, ed. Ford, 1: 71 and cited in Bell, p. 176.

<sup>44</sup>Bell, p. 178.

was still considered by many as an Episcopal school. Bishop James Madison, the president of the College, later wrote to Jefferson that it seemed "easier to move mountains than to eradicate old Prejudices [sic]. They seem . . . to be eternally tumbling back on us."<sup>45</sup> The historical association of the College of William and Mary with both the English royalty and the Church of England made the task of changing the image of the College in the public mind seem impossible. As a result, Jefferson abandoned his plans for the College of William and Mary and lamented, "What a misfortune that we cannot liberalize our legislators so far as to found a good academical institution. W<sup>m</sup> & Mary College [sic] . . . would afford a comfortable look into futurity."<sup>46</sup>

It is believed that Jefferson's plans for the College of William and Mary failed partly because a growing number of persons objected to the traditionally close relationship of the College to the Episcopal Church even though the Episcopal Church of Virginia made no clear move to establish a definite connection with the College after the American Revolution.<sup>47</sup> The decision deriving from the case of Bracken v. the College

---

<sup>45</sup>"Letters of the Rev. James Madison, President of William and Mary College, to Thomas Jefferson," William and Mary Quarterly 5, 3 (July 1925): 148-49.

<sup>46</sup>Extract of a letter from Thomas Jefferson to William Short from Monticello, 9 November 1813. Typescript in College Papers, Folder 14.

<sup>47</sup>Bell, pp. 187, 214.



of William and Mary in 1790 afforded the Church an opportunity to develop further its historical relationship with the College when it was legally determined that the College of William and Mary was a private rather than a public institution.<sup>48</sup> Following this decision, the absence of direct involvement with the College on the part of the Episcopal Church is attributed by some to the fear that renewed association with the Episcopal Church might spark increased emotional opposition to the traditionally religious nature and past connection of the College with the Anglican Church. In her book on The Church, The State, and Education in Virginia, Sadie Bell pointed out:

The Protestant Episcopal Church, though awake to the importance of the problem of educational control, was as yet too sensitive on the subject of church and state, to attempt any serious issue with the legislature on the subject of education.<sup>49</sup>

Still others maintained that the Episcopal Church in Virginia did not seek to develop a further relationship with the College because after the Revolution the Church was financially unable to support an official affiliation with the College.<sup>50</sup>

Until 1790 the College of William and Mary was characterized as a public institution and received aid from the

---

<sup>48</sup>Vital Facts, p. 11 and Bell, pp. 178-80.

<sup>49</sup>Bell, p. 214.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

State although it voluntarily eliminated its theological department but retained its ecclesiastical personnel. Though Thomas Jefferson gave up his efforts to establish the College of William and Mary as the state university, other attempts were made to acquire State aid for the institution. In 1809, Judge John Tyler, who was Governor of Virginia, asked the Virginia legislature either to abolish or to alter the charter of the College of William and Mary and to place the College under the control of the General Assembly. He argued, "All charters of a public nature are for the public benefit, and whensoever they fail of their object, they should be altered or amended, or newly organized."<sup>51</sup> Although the exact reasons for the failure of the proposals of Jefferson and Tyler are unknown, some nagging questions could be asked regarding these failures. The College may have preferred to cling to its original charter. Taxpayers may have been unwilling to pay increased taxes. Other denominations may have held a prejudice toward a "traditionally Episcopalian institution, or the orthodox [Anglicans] towards a reputed deistic or atheistic institution."<sup>52</sup>

However, the College still retained hopes of receiving support from the State, and its expectations were encouraged by the report of the president and directors of the Literary

---

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

Fund (which was established in Virginia in 1810 in support of public education) to the General Assembly. The evaluation of the College of William and Mary noted that the College afforded:

strong evidence of prosperity; that the professorships are filled with ability; and that the students are numerous and increasing in number daily.

The Commonwealth is greatly interested in the welfare of this institution, and ought to count largely on the assistance it will afford in diffusing the benefits of science and literature among its citizens.<sup>53</sup>

But the University of Virginia was founded shortly thereafter (in 1819), and the role of the College of William and Mary in connection with the State remained ambiguous. William and Mary still hoped to become the state university and declined to join the Hampden-Sydney and Washington College faculties in 1821 in presenting to the legislature their request for State support. The College of William and Mary maintained that the State had no "grand" university and that until it could be proved by experience that there could not be one, independent colleges could expect no aid from the State. That prediction later proved true.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup>Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to the General Assembly, December 1816, p. 4 in College Papers, Folder 14.

<sup>54</sup>Request, 4 December 1821 and reply, 17 December 1821 reported in Faculty Minutes, pp. 101-106.

While the College of William and Mary suffered numerous financial reversals after the American Revolution, the curricular developments at the College fared no better. It was maintained that the curriculum had been reorganized in 1779 partly because the

funds of the college . . . [were] no longer competent to support so extensive an institution as that which the charter recommends. . . . And the necessities of the college . . . [rendered] it expedient to multiply the sources of revenue by every possible means. . . .<sup>55</sup>

However, after the reorganization, it was still difficult for the College to enroll the needed numbers of students and to attract and keep employed the faculty needed to teach the broad array of subjects.<sup>56</sup>

Subsequently, the curriculum which was introduced in 1779 did not endure, and before 1800 the College had generally returned to its pre-war organization of the curriculum: the prescribed classical curriculum. In 1792 the Grammar School was reinstated, and again Latin and Greek were taught in the Grammar School, as well as at the collegiate level.<sup>57</sup> The medical school failed to materialize. The professorship of anatomy and medicine, established in 1779, was discontinued

---

<sup>55</sup>Thomas Jefferson quoted in Bell, p. 176.

<sup>56</sup>"Explanation of the Changes Made in the Curriculum in 1779," Virginia Gazette, 18 December 1779 in College Papers, Folder 12.

<sup>57</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 18.

when the professor of medicine, Dr. James McClurg, moved to Richmond.<sup>58</sup> Jefferson's proposal to include studies in the English language was apparently ignored, for English was not added to the curriculum.

The maintenance of a stable curriculum was a problem at William and Mary. For example, in 1812 it was announced that the professorship of humanity had been eliminated and that the College would provide instruction in gunnery, fortification, and architecture by the mathematics professor. Classes in natural philosophy and chemistry were planned, and the establishment of a department of belles lettres and politics was discussed, but a more useful indicator of the condition of the curriculum was that the three professorships of law and police, moral philosophy, and chemistry remained vacant.<sup>59</sup> It was difficult for the College to provide a complete course of instruction with inadequate financing and seemingly indistinct curricular goals.

Securing financial and political support for the repair and maintenance of the physical plant of the College was a continual problem, and the hardships the College faced were exacerbated by the necessity of increasing student enrollments to help offset financial vicissitudes. Between 1786 and 1799,

---

<sup>58</sup>Vital Facts, p. 10.

<sup>59</sup>Extract from Enquirer (Richmond), 25 August 1812 in College Papers, Folder 14.

the College enrolled an average of only 25 students per year and an average of only 58 students per year between 1800 and 1811. When enrollments fell to 32 students in 1812 and dwindled to only 19 students in 1813,<sup>60</sup> the Board of Visitors asked John Bracken to resign from the presidency of the institution.<sup>61</sup>

In a measure designed to attract a larger number of students and to gain tuitions which would help to alleviate the critical financial condition of the institution, the Board of Visitors of the College interrupted the tradition of clergymen-presidents at the College and elected the physician, John Augustine Smith to the presidency of the College in 1814 (1814-1826). Although a complete plan of collegiate instruction was projected and it was announced in the Enquirer that the vacant professorships in the College would be filled,<sup>62</sup> the College was still unable to attract the number of students necessary for the College to become financially solvent, and the financial condition of the College deteriorated further.

---

<sup>60</sup>Statement of the annual number of students attending the College of William and Mary, from the year 1786, to the year 1823, taken from the book of Matriculation by Robert M'Candlish, Chairman of town meeting in College Papers, Folder 144.

<sup>61</sup>Vital Facts, p. 11 and Bell, pp. 178-79.

<sup>62</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 20 and Extract from Enquirer (Richmond), 6 August 1814 in College Papers, Folder 14.

While serving as president of the College, Smith proposed several plans for both enlisting financial aid and increasing student enrollments. He sought to have founded in Williamsburg a theological seminary which would operate in conjunction with the College but maintain a separate identity. The public announcement of the plans specified that there was to be "no connection between the college and the school, which will always be kept entirely independent of each other." Although the new seminary was to be "essentially episcopal," pupils of every religious denomination were invited to attend the general theology courses which were to be taught at the College of William and Mary.<sup>63</sup>

Pursuant to plans for a seminary, the following motion was approved at the Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia in May 1821:

. . . taking into consideration the deficient condition of the diocese as respects the means of theological instruction, and the importance of retaining among ourselves, for education, those young men who may be disposed to devote themselves to the sacred office of the ministry, recommend to this convention the establishment of a theological school in Williamsburg; it being understood that the society of the college in that place is willing that such a step be taken, and that the faculty have generously offered to afford gratuitously, to all bona fide [sic] students of theology, a course of lectures for the support of such school.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Bell, p. 287.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

But this plan, like others before it, met strong opposition. The legal decision of *Bracken v. the College of William and Mary* in 1790, which had determined that the College of William and Mary was a private institution, was disregarded, and critics of the seminary plan refused to accept the legal right of the institution to be affiliated with the Episcopal Church.

Also, many people regarded the College as part of the property transferred from England to the Commonwealth of Virginia after the American Revolution. Opponents of the seminary-college plan contended that the College of William and Mary was public property and that the professors were trustees of the State and should not favor any particular denomination. They argued: ". . . the professors of William and Mary had no right in their public capacity to bestow exclusive patronage upon any one denomination of Christians."<sup>65</sup> When the seminary site was changed to Alexandria, Virginia, all arguments regarding the seminary and the College of William and Mary ceased to be relevant. Again the College was left without an affiliation which would supply the revenue it sorely needed.

Not anticipating a significant increase in enrollments at the College, the Board of Visitors attempted to have the College transferred to a more prosperous location and therefore

---

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 289.



adopted the following resolution: "That it is expedient to apply to the Legislature of Virginia to authorize the Visitors to change the site of the College of William & Mary [sic] with a view to a more extended diffusion of the benefits of the Institution."<sup>66</sup> When Smith presented the proposal to the legislature on behalf of the College, the majority of the assets of the College were vested in real estate. The finances of the College totalled \$130,741, an amount deriving from (1) the sale of land purchased with donations by the colonial assembly; (2) Crown lands (land which had belonged to England and which had become property of the College of William and Mary) sold and the value of lands not sold; (3) the sale of other property given by the Virginia Legislature; (4) money capital in 1786; and (5) stocks, with the majority of the assets of the College coming from Crown lands valued at \$92,500.<sup>67</sup> But regardless of the financial state of the College, the legislature refused to permit the College to be moved to Richmond.<sup>68</sup>

Again in 1824 the relocation of the College was proposed as "necessary . . . to rid it of its ancient popular

---

<sup>66</sup>Historical retrospect of 26 November 1824 given by Benjamin S. Ewell in Faculty Minutes, p. 201b.

<sup>67</sup>Report prepared by Judge Semple on 26 November 1824 and cited by Benjamin S. Ewell in Faculty Minutes, p. 202.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

disadvantages and enable it to make a new start."<sup>69</sup> But local opposition led by John Tyler and fears that changing the location of the College of William and Mary would interfere with legislative and financial support for the new state university helped to defeat the second proposal presented by Smith to move the College to Richmond,<sup>70</sup> and with only twelve students enrolled at the College in 1826,<sup>71</sup> Smith resigned.<sup>72</sup>

When Smith left office, the College had one of the smallest student enrollments in its history. With direct support from neither the Commonwealth of Virginia nor the Episcopal Church, the financial condition of the College was desperate. Nevertheless, Smith had effected some changes in the curriculum. The moral and political course had been remodeled, and freshmen were offered instruction in rhetoric, belles lettres, and moral philosophy.<sup>73</sup> It also appears that the College of William and Mary was influenced during Smith's term of office by the advisors of the Literary Fund who recommended the extension and development of curricula to include:

---

<sup>69</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 20.

<sup>70</sup>Historical retrospect in Faculty Minutes, p. 200b.

<sup>71</sup>Catalogue, 1855.

<sup>72</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 21.

<sup>73</sup>"Printed Address of the Board of Visitors at their Convocation, 4 July 1815," William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine 26, 4 (April 1917): 241.

"In literature--Universal Grammar; Belles Lettres; Rhetoric; Criticism; Composition; as to the several languages, the pupils have learned."<sup>74</sup> In the first extant catalogue of the College of William and Mary, which is a manuscript entitled "A Roll of the grammar school for the term commencing the first of October 1826 and terminating the last of July 1827," it was recorded that:

. . . one [class]. . . was instructed in reading English grammar . . . and the other in geography, the use of globes, and English grammar. . . . Exercises have been required once a week from most of the scholars, in writing translations from Latin into English, and from English into Latin.<sup>75</sup>

Although the College purposefully attempted to maintain a prescribed classical curriculum, it was apparent that a knowledge of the English language, a study not included in that curriculum, was necessary for the successful study of the classical languages Latin and Greek. Subsequently, instruction in the English language was given, usually in connection with studies of the humanities, but no concerted effort was made to establish English as a distinct study in

---

<sup>74</sup>Letter from Samuel L. Mitchie to his Excellency Governor Nicholas giving the outline for public education which he submitted to the Directors of the Literary Fund in the State of Virginia, New York, 16 July 1816 in College Papers, Folder 14.

<sup>75</sup>"A Roll of the grammar school for the term commencing the first of October 1826 and terminating the last of July 1827," Matriculation Book, 1827-1881 in College Papers, Folder 144B and quoted in Jackson, p. 9.

the curriculum. The concerns of the administration of the College centered on the finances of the institution, not on the curriculum, and the predominance of financial problems contributed to the lack of curricular development in general and the development of English in particular.

Financially supported by neither the Episcopal Church nor the Commonwealth of Virginia, the College repeatedly pursued some means of continuing financial support, first from the Episcopal Church and then from the Commonwealth of Virginia. Alignment with a denomination had proved to be a wise action for many other institutions in an era of successful church-supported and church-sponsored education.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, observing the success of other institutions, the College of William and Mary sought to establish a position that would advance religion but favor no particular denomination. In hopes of attracting a larger number of students and increasing support for the College, the Board of Visitors returned to the tradition of electing clergymen to the College presidency and in 1827 appointed the Reverend Adam Empie.<sup>77</sup> To place more emphasis on religion at the College the Board of Visitors in 1830 adopted a code that included provisions for non-compulsory religious exercises in the College chapel and

---

<sup>76</sup>Rudolph, pp. 52-58.

<sup>77</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 24.

allowed divinity students to be admitted to the College gratis.<sup>78</sup>

While the College remained secular in character, the new scheme resulted in an increase in enrollments from 12 students to 69 students during the administration of Empie (1827-1836).<sup>79</sup> The financial condition of the College also improved. Although Empie had been trained as a minister, he took an active role in the administration of the financial affairs of the institution as well. Under his supervision, unproductive lands were sold, and between 1827 and 1836, the endowment of the College grew from \$2,503 to \$151,794.<sup>80</sup>

Some curricular advances were also made, and studies pertaining to the English language were included in the William and Mary curriculum during Empie's administration. A mastery of the English language was no longer assumed since it was necessary for studies in English to accompany studies in the ancient languages. The following statement found in the "Laws and Regulations of the College" under the Department of Ancient Languages supports the incorporation of English studies as follows: "in the department are taught Latin and Greek, and so far as is necessary, the ordinary

---

<sup>78</sup>Faculty Minutes, 18 October 1830, p. 55.

<sup>79</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 24.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

branches of English education."<sup>81</sup> The Moral Philosophy course taught by Empie included instruction in "Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Criticism,"<sup>82</sup> and a copy of Irving's English Composition was ordered by the College on February 6, 1830,<sup>83</sup> presumably as a guide for instruction in English.

At Empie's retirement, a second layman was elected to the presidency of the College of William and Mary. Thomas Roderick Dew, a noted educator, writer, publicist, and professor of history at William and Mary since 1826, effected one of the most prosperous eras in the history of the College.<sup>84</sup> In his first address as president of the College, Dew spoke about the "inestimable benefits of education" and explained the curricular philosophy of the College in 1836, pointing out:

Our plan embraces a course of general study which may be pursued to great advantage by all having the time and means, no matter what may be their professions in later life. Besides this course of general study, it embraces the subject of law, and aims at accomplishing the student in one of the learned professions.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup>"Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary in Virginia," reprint (Petersburg, Va.: Farmer's Register, 1837) in College Papers, Folder 61.

<sup>82</sup>Faculty Minutes, 18 October 1830, pp. 55, 237.

<sup>83</sup>Faculty Minutes, 6 February 1830.

<sup>84</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 25.

<sup>85</sup>Thomas R. Dew, An Address Delivered Before the Students of William and Mary, at the Opening of the College, on Monday, October 10th, 1836 (Richmond, Va.: T. W. White, 1836), p. 6.

Further perpetuating the philosophy of a liberal and classical education, the preparatory department was once again re-established so that students could obtain the elementary education "requisite for the successful study of the higher classics."<sup>86</sup> The alliance of English with Greek and Latin studies was explained as follows:

The Classical School consists of two departments. The first is adapted to Students who attend other classes in the college and are prepared to read the higher Greek and Latin authors. Instruction is also given on the principles of general Grammar, Grecian and Roman Antiquity, Mythology and Ancient Geography.

In the second department, which is distinct from the first, pupils will be received from the time of their commencing the rudiments of the Latin or Greek language. They are also instructed in English Grammar, Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern Geography and Writing. In this second school as many teachers may be employed as circumstances render necessary.<sup>87</sup>

It was further noted in the Catalogue of 1839-1840 under the Department of Ancient Languages that "the student is required to write out translations from English into Latin, and from Latin into English. . . ."<sup>88</sup> Throughout his presidency, Dew maintained that "The knowledge of the ancient languages is

---

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1836-1837 (Petersburg, Va.: Farmer's Register, 1837), pp. 7-8 in College Papers, Folder 61.

<sup>88</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1839-1840 (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin, 1840), p. 14.

far more important to us than that of any other, save our own."<sup>89</sup>

Although study of the ancient languages was still emphasized, the role given them had changed. Prior to Dew's administration, Greek and Latin had been prerequisites to other studies, but the Catalogue of 1841-1842 indicates a reversal--English as prerequisite to the classics: "To obtain a Certificate in the Classics, the student must have attended the Junior Moral Class."<sup>90</sup> The student also was required to deliver a thesis that was

. . . written upon such subjects as may be proposed or approved by the society; which thesis is submitted to the private examination of each professor, and then to a meeting of the society.

The thesis must afford proof that the candidate is well acquainted with the principles of composition; and for this purpose it must be distinguished for a clear order or proper arrangement of all its parts, for just argumentation, for perspicuity and neatness of style, and an entire exemption from defects in punctuation and orthography; it must, moreover, afford proof that the candidate has carefully studied the subject of his thesis. . . .<sup>91</sup>

Increasingly, English was found in the curriculum in connection with instruction given in the Junior Moral Course,

---

<sup>89</sup>Dew, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1841-1842 (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin, 1842), p. 8.

<sup>91</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1840-1841 (Petersburg, Va.: Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin, 1841), p. 15.



which was usually taught by the president of the institution. Requirements for graduation generally reflected a reversal in educational policy as language instruction came to focus on the utility of mastering the English language before studying other languages. Whereas a proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages had historically been required for graduation from the Philosophy School, during Dew's administration a proficiency in Latin came to be required of the M.A. degree candidates only, while the requirement of a thesis for graduation was reinstated for all candidates.<sup>92</sup>

As a writer and publicist, Dew was interested in the written and spoken expression of the English language and personally engineered curricular developments which included English. In the Junior Moral Course Dew delivered tri-weekly lectures which included Belles Lettres, Rhetoric, Logic, Composition, Moral Philosophy, and History.<sup>93</sup> This grouping of English-related subjects and the reinstatement of the thesis requirement for graduation underscore Dew's concentration on English as a foundation for further study. During Dew's administration English came closest to becoming a course in the curriculum prior to the reorganization of 1888.

The development of English in the curriculum was

---

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

aided by the popularity of Dew as a lecturer. It is reported that:

Even before he [Dew] was president the growth of the classes he taught gave continuing proof of the power and attractiveness of his lectures. In 1839-40, for example, the Senior Political Class paid fees of \$760, and the Junior Moral Philosophy Class paid \$1430.<sup>94</sup>

During Dew's administration (1836-1846), enrollments at the College increased significantly, the number of students reaching 140 in 1839-1840, the highest enrollment in the history of the College to that date.<sup>95</sup>

Although the College benefited from an increase in the number of enrollments and appeared to favor no particular sect (having a Baptist president and a faculty of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians),<sup>96</sup> the College of William and Mary joined the denominational colleges of the State in 1844 in requesting from the State legislature an appropriation of \$1500 each from the Literary Fund.<sup>97</sup> With new emphasis being placed by the State on the necessity of improving the qualifications of teachers, the denominational colleges of the State sought the opportunity to build their

---

<sup>94</sup>John Stewart Bryan, "Thomas Roderick Dew--Address Delivered April 3, 1839," Bulletin of the College of William and Mary 33, 5 (June 1939): 10, 11.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>96</sup>Article in Southern Literary Messenger 10 (February 1844): 121, cited in Bell, p. 352.

<sup>97</sup>Faculty Minutes, pp. 102-106.

institutions by offering to educate teachers for the public schools. The colleges proposed to educate gratis a certain number of students who were to be selected by the State and who would teach in the public schools after graduation, but nothing came of this petition. This action seems to have been the first attempt that the College of William and Mary made to provide teacher education for the Commonwealth of Virginia in return for financial assistance.

A quick retrospect reveals that Dew's administration, oriented to the secular and practical, spawned the more modern concept of English as a useful tool; however, curricular developments, including the development and acceptance of English studies in the curriculum, were interrupted when Dew died while in office in 1846.<sup>98</sup> Until the Reverend Silas Totten was appointed to the chair of Moral and Intellectual Science in 1849,<sup>99</sup> the College had no Professor of Moral Philosophy and hence, no professor of English-related studies since those studies were usually included in the Moral Philosophy course, if in any collegiate course.

Although the College had rallied and was viewed as being "next to the University in reputation and in the character and number of students" during Dew's administration,<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 25.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>100</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 202.

the prosperous trend was interrupted when the College was closed in 1848-1849 because of internal and external conflicts.<sup>101</sup> The College's successful experience as a somewhat secular institution during Dew's presidency prompted the appointment of another layman, Robert Saunders, to the presidency of the institution in 1847.<sup>102</sup> But Saunders resigned the next year (1848), primarily because of the emotional turmoil occasioned by conflicts among president, faculty, Board of Visitors, and townspeople.<sup>103</sup>

Because the public continued to associate the College with the Episcopal Church, the William and Mary Board of Visitors became convinced that the best position for the College was one that strengthened the affiliation of the institution with the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, and there appeared to be no better way to make that relationship clear than to have the Assistant Bishop of Virginia serve as president of the College of William and Mary.<sup>104</sup> But until the Right Reverend Bishop John Johns could be persuaded to accept the presidency, Benjamin S. Ewell served as president pro tempore.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 202 and Vital Facts, pp. 13-14.

<sup>102</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 26.

<sup>103</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 202.

<sup>104</sup>Anne W. Chapman, "The College of William and Mary, 1849-1859: The Memoirs of Silas Totten" (Master's thesis, Department of History, College of William and Mary, 1978), p. 58.

<sup>105</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 28.

At mid-nineteenth century, the situation at the College was fractious and unpredictable. The letter of resignation submitted by George Frederick Holmes, Professor of History and Political Economy (1846-1847), and recorded with the Board of Visitors on January 22, 1848, is a testimony of the discord and depression enveloping the College during the late 1840s. Holmes wrote:

1. . . . I am convinced that there is no earthly possibility of the College of William and Mary reviving before the lapse of five or six years. . . . the prevalent dissatisfaction of the students of the College, and of the Citizens of the State generally with the present condition of William and Mary is such that it cannot possibly regain its influence or efficiency in a shorter period of time.

2. . . . I can neither afford to wait for the revival of the College, nor am I willing for the pittance of \$1,000 . . . to consent to remain in a disorganized and sinking institution.

3. I am not willing . . . to sacrifice . . . reputation . . . to be connected with a failing College, against which the feelings of the whole State seem to be arrayed.

. . . . .

5. I have every reason to anticipate that the attendance at College next year will not be more than ten or twenty students. . . .

6. It is contrary to my feelings to hold office in an Institution where I am debarred from all expectation of rendering that service . . . which the public might reasonably expect from a Professor of William and Mary.

7. The Public will ask what is done by a College so richly endowed as William and Mary and . . . no response can be given. . . .

8. I will not remain in a College where there is no conceivable possibility of unanimity among the professors, or of cordiality between the Faculty as a body and the students.

. . . . .

11. I cannot . . . remain in a college where

from its agitated condition, I must refrain, as I have refrained from inviting young men to attend its courses. . . .<sup>106</sup>

Faculty resignations were frequent, and the condition of the institution so uncertain in the late 1840s and early 1850s that when a professorship was vacated, the vacancy was not usually filled. It then became the responsibility of the remaining professors to teach the classes which were left without instructors.<sup>107</sup> In such instances, the curriculum offered by the College actually depended on the educational background and interests of the professors engaged by the institution at a particular time. Without the funds to support a full contingency of professors, curricular developments suffered, as did the finances of the College at mid-nineteenth century.

When the Episcopal Convention agreed in 1849 to allow the Right Reverend Bishop John Johns to serve as president of the College of William and Mary, the College was reorganized to reflect the expressed hope for more Episcopal support. Since Johns served essentially as a figurehead president while continuing to discharge his duties as the Assistant Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, a professorship of Moral and Intellectual Science was created and Silas Totten, also an Episcopal minister, was appointed to that

---

<sup>106</sup>Faculty Minutes, 22 January 1848, p. 77-78.

<sup>107</sup>Faculty Minutes, pp. 203, 206, 222.

position to assist with Johns's collegiate responsibilities.<sup>108</sup>

Adjustments were also made in the curriculum to accompany the development of religious emphases at the College. Obligatory church attendance was established, but since it was the intent that no sect be favored, students were offered a choice between denominational services.<sup>109</sup> Additionally, because it was important that the number of students be increased as much as possible in order to re-establish the College and satisfy the public, it was agreed that all students preparing for the Christian ministry, if in indigent circumstances, would be accommodated.<sup>110</sup>

Totten, the professor of Moral and Intellectual Science, was given the responsibility of instructing and drilling all students in religion. The lectures he gave on the Evidences of Christianity and Natural Theology became requirements for graduation in 1857, along with a proficiency in Greek and Latin.<sup>111</sup> To emphasize religion further, Sunday afternoons were set aside for Scripture study,<sup>112</sup> and

---

<sup>108</sup>Chapman, pp. 57-60.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 21 and Faculty Minutes, 1 October 1849.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>Catalogue and Course of Studies of William and Mary College, 1855 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Hervey Ewing, 1855), p. 12.

<sup>112</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1855-1856 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Hervey Ewing, 1856), p. 20.

the hour between three and four o'clock on Monday evenings was reserved for the president's recitation in the sacred Scriptures.<sup>113</sup>

In addition to his religious duties, Totten also instructed the Junior Class in Rhetoric, Logic, Composition, and Declamation. He taught the Senior Class the elements of criticism and provided exercises in composition and declamation designed to relate to specific subjects being studied.<sup>114</sup> Subsequently, by 1859, requirements for the M.A. degree also included English Literature,<sup>115</sup> a significant change from the previous requirement of a proficiency in the Latin language for the same degree.

Declamation and composition received unprecedented emphasis during the decade 1849-1859, and the faculty made numerous specific resolutions pertaining to those exercises. They resolved that the students be divided into classes for the purpose of declamation and composition, that the students in the classes be arranged in alphabetical order for declaiming, that the exercises of declamation take place on Saturday mornings immediately after prayers in the presence of the

---

<sup>113</sup>Faculty Minutes, 3 October 1849.

<sup>114</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1854-1855 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Hervey Ewing, 1855), p. 16.

<sup>115</sup>Catalogue and Course of Study of the College of William and Mary, 1858-1859 (n.p.: n.d.) in College Papers, Folder 63.



faculty and students, and that the classes declaiming on one Saturday submit compositions on the following Saturday.<sup>116</sup>

Steps were taken to assure that all students fulfilled their declaiming and composing assignments with the faculty resolution that: "any student who shall fail to declaim or hand in his composition at the regular time, without sufficient excuse, shall be detailed on till the exercise is performed, and shall have, for each failure, six demerit sic." <sup>117</sup>

Adamant in their requirements, the faculty requested that the Board of Visitors require that: "No diploma shall be granted to any student who shall fail to prepare and hand in an essay approved by the faculty, or to deliver it publicly, as corrected, if selected for that purpose."<sup>118</sup> Declaiming became important to the extent that one of the items considered at the meeting of the faculty on December 12, 1854, was the petition of a student to be excused from declaiming because of a speech impediment.<sup>119</sup>

Even though religion was emphasized and some English-related studies were included in the curriculum during the presidency of Bishop John Johns, the most pressing concern

---

<sup>116</sup>Faculty Minutes, 22 October 1851.

<sup>117</sup>Faculty Minutes 20 January 1852.

<sup>118</sup>Faculty Minutes, 6 July 1854.

<sup>119</sup>Faculty Minutes, 12 December 1854.

of the College was finances, not curricular development. Finding financial support for the College was the main subject of most faculty meetings. Repeatedly, the debts owed to and by the College were discussed and various means of increasing the operating funds of the College were proposed. The possibilities of selling large amounts of land owned by the College were investigated by a faculty committee appointed on January 15, 1850.<sup>120</sup> Subsequently, on February 19, 1850, a resolution was passed to sell the land owned by the College in King William and Sussex Counties,<sup>121</sup> and it was agreed that a house and lot in Richmond be sold to pay a \$2,500 debt owed by the College.<sup>122</sup> Then on May 11, 1850, the College declined to contribute to the purchase of a fire engine for reasons of financial exigency, explaining:

. . . the recent disbursements of the College place it beyond the power of the faculty to unite with the Common Council of Williamsburg in the purchase of a fire engine, or in carrying out the police arrangements proposed to them.<sup>123</sup>

As the physical condition of the College continued to decline, the financial concerns of the College increasingly involved the faculty, as well as the president and the

---

<sup>120</sup>Faculty Minutes, 15 January 1850.

<sup>121</sup>Faculty Minutes, 19 February 1850.

<sup>122</sup>Faculty Minutes, 12 June 1850.

<sup>123</sup>Faculty Minutes, 11 May 1850.

Board of Visitors of the College, and rather than developing the curriculum or making curricular innovations, the faculty spent much of its time and energy trying to raise funds for the renovation of the College Building. On July 4, 1854, the faculty requested permission from the Board of Visitors to solicit funds for repairs to the physical plant of the College and specifically pointed out:

. . . The condition of the building is such that it requires continual repairs. It was badly constructed in the first place, and now owing to the length of time and hard usage the place occupied by the students is hardly tenantable. . . . It now needs thorough repairs, little less than the entire renovation of the whole interior of the building. We have direct proof of the injury done to the Institution by the dilapidated state of the building in the fact that several students who came to Williamsburg at the beginning of the session, displeased at the appearance of the College, left without matriculating, others were with difficulty persuaded to remain. To put the building in complete repair so that it can compare in comfort and appearance with most of the colleges around the country we require an outlay of at least ten thousand dollars.<sup>124</sup>

Gradually the buildings were repaired and the physical appearance of the College was improved. Then a fire destroyed the main building, furniture, scientific apparatus, and library on February 8, 1859.<sup>125</sup> Although a new building was quickly erected and the College was reopened for the next session, money was scarce for the replacement of the other losses.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup>Faculty Minutes, 4 July 1854.

<sup>125</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 202b.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid. and Faculty Minutes, 8 February 1859.

Even while Bishop John Johns served as president of the College of William and Mary (1849-1854), the College was neither officially affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia nor directly supported by the Episcopal Diocese. The poor financial state of the Episcopal Church in Virginia at that time has been given as one reason for the lack of financial support for the College from the Episcopal Church.<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, the development of religious observances and emphases and the association of the College with the Church, which was effected by the election of Bishop John Johns to the presidency, appear to have profited the College. An increase in student enrollments from 21 students in 1849<sup>128</sup> to 82 students in 1854<sup>129</sup> also brought added revenue to the College.

Johns attested to the improved condition and atmosphere of the College in his letter of resignation, which was recorded on March 31, as follows:

. . . with a growing interest and patronage on the part of the public, evinced by the fact that the number of students surpasses the average since the foundation of the College--with a fair prospect of increase up to the limits and with a policy fixed by successful experiment--I can retire without solicitude as to the future [of the College]. . . .<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup>Bell, p. 214.

<sup>128</sup>Goodwin, p. 189.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>130</sup>Faculty Minutes, 31 March 1854.

After Johns retired, the study of foreign languages, especially Latin, Greek, and German, was emphasized.<sup>131</sup> Although instruction in other European languages was offered at an additional charge of \$20 per language,<sup>132</sup> the only attention given to English appears to be that the study of English literature was a requirement for graduation.<sup>133</sup> The commencement address delivered by Hugh Blair Grigsby in 1859 supported the renewed emphasis on the classical languages at William and Mary during the 1850s. Grigsby maintained:

But it is in their application to our own tongue, that philological studies are directly useful to the American student. . . . If with such preparations we take up the Latin and Greek classics, we will derive from them all the instruction and delight which they have imparted to the wisest of our predecessors. . . . They still contain the purest models of historical composition of eloquence . . . a thorough study of the Latin and Greek classics will do more to develop [sic], and strengthen, and exalt those faculties of the mind most employed in the offices of the pupil, the bar, and the forum, than all the sciences put together. . . . Classical literature . . . will ever be . . . the countersign and the passport of educated men.<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup>Catalogue and Course: Status of William and Mary College, 1855-1856 and 1856-1857 (Williamsburg, Va.: J. Hervey Ewing, 1857), p. 27.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia: From its Foundation to the Present Time, 1859. Catalogues and Courses, No. 3, p. 101 in College Papers, Folder 48.

<sup>134</sup>Hugh Blair Grigsby, Oration Delivered Before Students of William and Mary College, July 4, 1859, printed address, p. 2 in College Papers, Folder 17.

Along with language studies, religion continued to be an important part of the curriculum during the pre-Civil War administration of Colonel Benjamin S. Ewell, who became president of the College of William and Mary in 1854.<sup>135</sup> Adding to the religious observances which already existed, the faculty resolved on November 27, 1860 that a Bible class be organized and conducted at the College.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, on January 15, 1861, the faculty passed the following resolution which made clear a determination to have religious exercises observed:

That when any student shall have been absent from prayers three times in one week without excuse; he shall besides receiving the usual demerit, be put on probation, and that if such student shall be absent three times in any second week of the same month without excuse, he shall be suspended. . . .<sup>137</sup>

In May 1861, the collegiate exercises of the institution were suspended until the fall of 1865 because of the Civil War.<sup>138</sup> Subsequently, the break in instruction given at the College provided a permanent rift in the emphasis placed on religion at the College thereafter. When the College was reopened after the war, enrollments, finances, and building repairs became major considerations, and the emphasis

---

<sup>135</sup>Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae, p. 28.

<sup>136</sup>Faculty Minutes, 27 November 1860.

<sup>137</sup>Faculty Minutes, 15 January 1861.

<sup>138</sup>Faculty Minutes, 10 May 1861 and 28 September 1861 and Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 5 July 1865.

on student morality was replaced by a concern for the survival of the institution.

On September 9, 1862, the College Building was burned again, and as the war progressed extensive damage was done to the other buildings of the College. The financial losses to the College between 1860 and 1865 were estimated to be \$150,000.<sup>139</sup> The wrecked physical plant and depleted funds of the College led to renewed discussion of moving the College to Richmond after the war. But the old questions pertaining to the identification of the College with the Episcopal Church, State usurpation of the endowment of the College, the ambiguity of applying public or private rights to considerations of the College, local patronage, and the historical significance of the College were again raised.<sup>140</sup>

In a lengthy report which reviewed the history and fluctuating financial condition of the College, Ewell warned that the existence of the College anywhere might be endangered if the proposal to move the College from Williamsburg were brought before the legislature at that particular time (just after the war). He also pointed out that the College would incur extensive financial losses if it were located anywhere outside Williamsburg.<sup>141</sup> The arguments against the

---

<sup>139</sup>Faculty Minutes, 5 July 1865.

<sup>140</sup>Faculty Minutes, pp. 198-202b.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

relocation of the College succeeded, and the College was reopened in the fall of 1865 on the original site. With a physical plant which was essentially rubble and finances too depleted to support a complete faculty, the College fervently renewed its search for financial support.

Maintaining that antiquity and the past usefulness of the College supported the request of the College for restoration as an object of historical importance, the faculty made the following resolution on October 25, 1865 to request financial aid from England:

Whereas it is believed that by a proper representation to the English nobility and gentry of the past history and present condition of the College of William and Mary in Virginia founded and endowed as it was by Royal Munificence, and private liberality, and associated as it is with England and the English, pecuniary assistance for restoring its recent losses might be obtained.<sup>142</sup>

Receiving no monetary assistance from England at that time, the Board of Visitors next sent a Memorial to the Congress of the United States asking: "A donation of money or of land, as Congress may in its wisdom decide is asked for to reimburse the College for the destruction in 1862, 63 and 64 [sic] of its Buildings enclosures and other property."<sup>143</sup> But the repeated petitions of Ewell on behalf of the College for financial losses resulting from the Civil War were not

---

<sup>142</sup>Faculty Minutes, 25 October 1865.

<sup>143</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 221.



not indemnified until 1893.<sup>144</sup>

Next, the faculty petitioned the legislature of Virginia on January 3, 1867, for the Land Fund granted by Congress to endow an "Institution for Agriculture and other practical Sciences," but again funds were denied.<sup>145</sup> On February 25, 1867, pointing out the "present condition and necessities of this Institution," the Board of Visitors sent a request to the Peabody Fund, which had been set up to promote education in the South and Southwest.<sup>146</sup> This request failed to produce funds because the Peabody Fund aided only state institutions.<sup>147</sup> Subsequently, the financial outlook of the institution looked especially bleak. Then on March 3, 1867, the Virginia legislature ordered a payment to the College of \$6,000 in interest on bonds.<sup>148</sup> Soon afterwards, progress was made in obtaining the "Matty Fund," a benevolence which had been bestowed on the College in 1741 but had since been detained in the Chancery Court of England.<sup>149</sup> The promise of these financial aids may have

---

<sup>144</sup>Vital Facts, p. 17.

<sup>145</sup>Faculty Minutes, 3 January 1867.

<sup>146</sup>Faculty Minutes, 25 February 1867.

<sup>147</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 211.

<sup>148</sup>Faculty Minutes, 3 March 1867.

<sup>149</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 215.

prompted the encouragement shown in the following statement made by President Ewell: "It may be years before the College, even with suitable and attractive Buildings, attains any great degree of prosperity; but that it will in time command its just share of patronage I do not doubt."<sup>150</sup>

But the debts of the College continued to mount, and at the July 3, 1871 meeting of the Board of Visitors, a committee of five was appointed to determine whether the debts should be paid out of the private debt due the College and the sale of the unproductive real estate and whether the best mode of supplying deficiencies in the salaries of the professors was to reduce the number of professors.<sup>151</sup> On July 4, 1871, the College acknowledged the foundation of the Chancellor's Scholarship by Hugh Blair Grigsby and noted that it was given at a time of "political and financial difficulty and embarrassment."<sup>152</sup>

Most reports of the faculty and Board of Visitors of the College throughout the 1870s continued to focus on the finances of the College and record discussions pertaining to the borrowing of money to pay debts and to prevent lawsuits against the College. In 1873 a Bureau of Education Circular

---

<sup>150</sup>Faculty Minutes, 3 July 1867.

<sup>151</sup>Faculty Minutes, 3 July 1871.

<sup>152</sup>Faculty Minutes, 4 July 1871.

which summarized the condition of each Virginia college reported that the College of William and Mary was "gradually rising out of depressions brought on it by the war."<sup>153</sup> But a comparison of degrees granted within the Commonwealth in 1873 showed that only three degrees were granted at William and Mary while Roanoke awarded 20 degrees; Washington and Lee University, 31 degrees; Richmond College, 11; and Hampden-Sydney College, 7.<sup>154</sup>

Also in 1873, the William and Mary Board of Visitors again considered an affiliation with the Episcopal Church, and a committee to study the relationship between the College and the Episcopal Church was appointed.<sup>155</sup> An outcome of this study was a resolution by the committee on July 1, 1874 that:

. . . the College of William and Mary be and remain free from all connexion [sic] with any religious denomination, and church. . . . In the opinion of the Board it is inexpedient, injudicious, and unwise, to give to any one denomination of Christians the control of the College of William and Mary-- but we cordially invite the cooperation of all in our effort to promote the usefulness and prosperity of the College.<sup>156</sup>

For all practical purposes, the future of the College

---

<sup>153</sup>Bureau of Education Circular offering a summary of the conditions of the colleges of the State (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1873) in College Papers, Folder 20.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid.

<sup>155</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 1 July 1874, p. 143.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

in respect to denominational affiliation was decided at that time. However, in 1879, the University of the South, the joint property of the dioceses of the Southern branch of the Anglo-American Church, proposed to take over the College of William and Mary and declared:

William and Mary College is virtually defunct.  
 . . . It is a college in name only, and has no  
 standard. . . .

William and Mary is virtually dead. . . .  
 Virginia has starved William and Mary College  
 to death.<sup>157</sup>

The administration of the University of the South maintained that the College of William and Mary should be preserved in its "traditional integrity as a Church of England College"

[Italics are those of the author]<sup>158</sup> and argued:

Take away its Church character and you take  
 away its idiosyncrasy. . . . William and Mary  
 is either a Church College, or it is not Wil-  
 liam and Mary. . . .

There are two ways, and two only, in which  
 William and Mary can be saved. Either the "Pro-  
 testant Episcopal Church in Virginia" must take  
 control and rejuvenate the College where it  
 stands, or the proposal of the University of  
 the South, modified, if necessary, by mutual  
 agreement, must be accepted.<sup>159</sup>

Opposition to the proposal made by the University  
 of the South, seen by some as usurpation, was strong. An

---

<sup>157</sup>William and Mary College and the University of  
 the South (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1879),  
 p. 6 in College Papers, Folder 21.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

"Alumnus" of the College of William and Mary contended that the University of the South wanted an alliance with the College "for the purpose of obtaining the remnant of her endowment and inheriting her great reputation and glories."<sup>160</sup>

Arguing against re-establishing a relationship between the College of William and Mary and the Episcopal Church, the "Alumnus" pointed out:

William and Mary owes nothing to the Church. The Church has systematically snubbed and neglected her ever since the Revolution. To that neglect the present impending downfall of William and Mary is due, and the author of her downfall should be the last one to lay claims to her remains.<sup>161</sup>

Other proposals made at this time regarding the future of the College included the proposition that the College of William and Mary become one of the colleges at the University of Virginia and that the William and Mary endowment be used to endow chairs at the college there.<sup>162</sup> As the financial support and survival of the College of William and Mary drew increasing concern, a debate regarding the future of the College was carried on in the newspapers. Eventually, opposition to the removal of the College to the University of Virginia led to the same decision which had governed other proposals to move the College: William and

---

<sup>160</sup>Article signed "Alumnus" in State (Norfolk, Va.), 5 May 1879, copy in College Papers, Folder 21.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid.

Mary could not be removed from its historical location and retain its identity as the College of William and Mary. This position received strong support from those who maintained that the College and the University were historical rivals and as such could not be combined. It was thought that to effect that combination would be to bury the College of William and Mary.<sup>163</sup>

It was again decided that the College of William and Mary was to exist in Williamsburg if it were to exist at all. Efforts to rebuild, repair, and re-establish the College were resumed. Because of extensive financial losses and the lack of operating capital, the goals of the College from 1865 to 1881 were to secure financial support and to rebuild the physical plant of the institution. After the Civil War and until the College closed in 1881, few significant curricular advances were made. Without sufficient funds to operate the College, curricular inertia proved inescapable.

In summary, the trend in the 1830s and 1840s toward more instruction in English, writing, and literature was replaced by religious observances and instruction during the administration of Johns (1849-1854) and by a renewed emphasis on the classical languages and mathematics during the administration of Ewell (1854-1881). The concentration on foreign languages and mathematics appears to have resulted from the

---

<sup>163</sup>Ibid. and Faculty Minutes, pp. 200-206.

interests and educational backgrounds of the president and faculty serving the College in the 1860s and 1870s.

Prior to the Civil War, the professors of foreign languages and mathematics outnumbered all others. In 1859 the College was staffed with a president, who was also Professor of Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and Mathematics, and with professors of Latin, Latin Literature and Romance Languages; Greek, Greek Literature and German; Moral Philosophy and Political Economy; and Law. Also included in the faculty were an Assistant Professor of Ancient Languages and Mathematics and an Adjunct Professor of Mathematics.<sup>164</sup> Although the operating capital was limited, five professorships were filled, and additional professors were employed by the College to assist in preparing students for study at the college level.

When the College was reopened in 1865, only three professors were engaged to instruct at the College; the other professors who had served the College before the war were granted a leave of absence and carried on record because there were not sufficient funds to support a complete staff.<sup>165</sup> The existence of a floating debt of nearly \$3,000 from the Building Fund of 1859 had been ascertained, and the income

---

<sup>164</sup>Catalogue, 1865-1866.

<sup>165</sup>Faculty Minutes, 4 July 1866, pp. 213-213b.

of the College for the next year was estimated to be under \$3,500.<sup>166</sup>

At first, when the College was reopened after the war, most of the instruction was given at the grammar school level until enough students could be prepared to continue their studies above the preparatory level and until the College could effect necessary re-building and repairs. Of the 23 students who matriculated when the College was reopened after the war, none "were prepared to enter any class above the Junior."<sup>167</sup> However, it was reported that those students received instruction in "all Departments of the Regular Junior Course including Ancient Languages, French, Mathematics, Chemistry and Rhetoric."<sup>168</sup>

With the object being to keep the College open while measures were taken to alleviate the debts, to repair the buildings, and to locate new sources of income, Ewell proposed to the Board of Visitors on July 4, 1866 that:

With the same number of Professors as that engaged at the College last Session [three] and with such assistance in the Department of Moral & Mental Philosophy as might, if required be obtained from some gentlemen of the Place on reasonable terms a full course of instruction could be given in the four Departments of Language Physical Science Mathematics and Moral & Mental Philosophy including

---

<sup>166</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 213.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid.

<sup>168</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 213b.



Rhetoric & English Literature. These constitute the essentials of a College course. . . .<sup>169</sup>

Further expressing his own educational philosophy, Ewell stated: "The Departments of Mathematics & Languages are the most important perhaps and they, if no other, ought to be taken care of, unless it should be determined to suspend entirely the College Exercises."<sup>170</sup> In 1867 "Classes Collegiate" were recorded for Rhetoric and English Literature,<sup>171</sup> but in 1868 only elementary instruction in the English branch was mentioned.<sup>172</sup>

From the reopening in 1865 until 1869, the institution operated with a minimum number of professors. In 1869, Ewell pointed out that changes in the staffing of the College were needed, as well as changes in the physical plant. He explained:

There is every probability now that in a short time the College Building will be prepared for students and it may be well to inquire what else is necessary to bring the Institution up to its proper position and thus secure for it a reasonable share of Public patronage.

To fill existing vacancies in the Faculty or to make an entirely new organization is as essential,

---

<sup>169</sup>Faculty Minutes, p. 214.

<sup>170</sup>Faculty Minutes, 4 July 1866, p. 218b.

<sup>171</sup>Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 1 July 1867, p. 215 in College Papers, Folder 51.

<sup>172</sup>Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 4 July 1868 in College Papers, Folder 51.

if not more so as to restore the Buildings. For such a suitable edifice to remain empty & deserted would present a more melancholy appearance than the ruins did. The interest bearing funds have been reduced one third at least. The annual expenses, including salaries of Professors, must then be proportionally reduced.<sup>173</sup>

The concern that Ewell voiced about filling the faculty vacancies resulted in the reorganization of the faculty, and when the fall session opened on October 13, 1869, all faculty positions were filled. There were professors of natural philosophy; Latin and French and Roman and French history; Greek, German, and Greek and German history; chemistry and physiology; mathematics; rhetoric and moral and mental philosophy; and a master of the grammar school.<sup>174</sup> This was the first time in eight years that the College had had more than a president and two or three professors, but the entire staff was not retained for long.

Before 1861, the average income of the College was about \$8,000.<sup>175</sup> The faculty projected in its report on July 3, 1869 that the income of the College for 1869 could not exceed \$5,500.<sup>176</sup> With \$1,000 due the bursar, there

---

<sup>173</sup>Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 3 July 1869 in College Papers, Folder 51.

<sup>174</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 3 July 1869, p. 12 in College Papers, Folder 51.

<sup>175</sup>Faculty Minutes, pp. 233b-234.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

remained only \$4,500 for the salaries of president and professors, an amount which required that salaries be reduced or fewer professors be hired.<sup>177</sup> In succeeding years, the College found it necessary to resort to both the employment of fewer professors and the reduction of salaries in order to keep the College open.<sup>178</sup> Between 1869 and 1874, curricular offerings, as well as faculty appointments, were reduced at the collegiate level and increased at the grammar school level. It was reported that in the Grammar and "Matty" Schools, scholars were taught the "usual English branches, with Latin, Greek and Mathematics, and are prepared for College."<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, on October 5, 1871, the faculty resolved:

That in consequence of the imperfect preparation of a portion of the Students, Preparatory classes, in all the Departments, be established for such students as can enter some regular College Department.<sup>180</sup>

The role of English at the college level between 1865 and the closing of the College in 1881 is not clear. It was recorded that George T. Wilmer was appointed to the Professorship of Rhetoric and Moral and Mental Philosophy in 1869

---

<sup>177</sup>Ibid.

<sup>178</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 18 June 1872.

<sup>179</sup>Faculty Minutes, 5 October 1871.

<sup>180</sup>History of the College of William and Mary, 1693 to 1870 (Baltimore, Md.: John Murphy and Co., 1870), p. 151 in College Papers, Folder 64.

when the curriculum was reorganized and the professorships filled.<sup>181</sup> Then in 1873, one of the commencement addresses was delivered by a student in the Belles Lettres course taught by Wilmer. The student reported that Wilmer's course covered rhetoric and composition and was unique in the sense that: "In this branch there was no such course at the University [of Virginia] at that time."<sup>182</sup>

It is apparent from the lists of faculty positions and departments in the College during the decade 1870 to 1880 that language study and mathematics were emphasized. In 1874, the College consisted of departments of Latin, Greek, Modern Languages, Belles Lettres, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry.<sup>183</sup> Consonant with departmental offerings, the requirements in 1874 for the M.A. degree included a proficiency in two modern languages, the advanced metaphysics course, English literature, analytical geometry, differential and integral calculus, and mixed math.<sup>184</sup>

The commencement addresses in 1875 also supported the emphasis on language at the College. Appropriately, one

---

<sup>181</sup>Faculty Report to the Board of Visitors, 3 July 1869 in College Papers, Folder 51.

<sup>182</sup>Robert M. Hughes, Sixty Years Ago, Baccalaureate Address at the College of William and Mary, Final Day, June 12, 1933, p. 5 in College Papers.

<sup>183</sup>History, 1660-1874.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

address was entitled "The Study of Language" and dealt with the origin of language and the advantages derived from the study of language, particularly the study of the classics.<sup>185</sup> The second address, expressing a similar concern, explored the advantages of literature.<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately, the emphasis on language in general did not extend to the specific study of the English language. However, written compositions in English had become a requirement as "Every candidate for a degree shall at least thirty days before commencement, hand to the President an essay prepared to be spoken in public."<sup>187</sup> The only other mention of English in the College records before the College was closed in 1881 was found on a postcard dated "circa 1877." A notation on the card showed English to be a prerequisite to other studies. It read: "Candidates must be well grounded in English study. A partial knowledge of Latin and Greek is required to enter the classical course."<sup>189</sup>

Between 1865 and 1881, the mounting debts and reduced income of the College forced the Board of Visitors and faculty to focus their attentions on finances and enrollments

---

<sup>185</sup> Charles Selden Scott, "The Study of Languages," Commencement Address, 5 July 1875 in College Papers.

<sup>186</sup> John Allen Watts, "Advantages of Literature," Commencement Address, 5 July 1875 in College Papers.

<sup>187</sup> History, 1660-1874, p. 173.

<sup>188</sup> Postcard circa 1877 in College Papers, Folder 21.

and not on curricular development, especially as enrollments dropped precipitously from 86 students in 1876 to 35 students in 1878 to 12 students in 1881.<sup>189</sup>

As the prognosis for the College of William and Mary worsened, there was increasing concern about the financial condition of the College and a growing opposition to depleting the endowment. A worried member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors, P. Montagu Thompson, wrote to Warner T. Jones, another member of the Board, on December 31, 1875:

. . . I am certain that the financial affairs of the College are daily getting worse, and that it is only a question of a few years when the College must be closed, unless something be speedily done for its relief. I hope that the Board of Visitors at their next meeting will take some decisive action, and not suffer it to go to destruction. I do not think it right that the endowment given for all future generations should be expended entirely to benefit the present one.<sup>190</sup>

President Ewell wanted to keep the College open, but others argued more successfully that attempting to run the College on \$600 per year would cause the College to be ridiculed. Therefore, the College was closed in May 1881 so that the public would recognize the desperate straits the College had been reduced to; would see that William and Mary

---

<sup>189</sup>Goodwin, p. 191.

<sup>190</sup>Letter from P. M. Thompson, Williamsburg, Va., to Warner T. Jones about the financial condition at William and Mary, 31 December 1875 in College Papers, Box 1, Folder 122.

needed saving, not just enriching; and would realize that financially, William and Mary faced a life and death situation. It was also considered that it would be better for the College to reopen with the "eclat of resurrection" than to "be found eking out a miserable existence, with a small corps of ill-paid professors and a corporal's guard of students."<sup>191</sup>

Closing the College did not immediately produce the results that were hoped for. The financial condition of the College did not improve. Therefore, on August 7, 1884, the Board of Visitors resolved that the president be requested to sell the College Hotel and lot, the Saunders house and lot, the 106 acres of land in Prince George County, and lots adjoining the Matty School house and lot and to apply the proceeds to the liquidation of the debts due by the College.<sup>192</sup>

Still the financial condition of the institution remained unimproved, and on July 20, 1885, ten years after a similar correspondence, P. M. Thompson again wrote to W. T. Jones, stating:

. . . I am anxious to consult with you in regard to the College. . . . Suffice it to say that its affairs are daily growing worse, and

---

<sup>191</sup>Summary of positions of Ewell and others regarding the closing of the College in May 1881 in College Papers, Folder 22.

<sup>192</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 7 August 1884.

some rigorous action must be taken to save it from bankruptcy and that without delay.<sup>193</sup>

On November 26, 1885, Ewell presented to the Board of Visitors his analysis of the options available to the College:

With respect to the future of the College, there are it seems to me but two lines of action. The one is to turn it over to the State, and the other is to continue it in its present condition paying off its debts and taking all possible care of the College property. It is my conviction that its restoration will in time be effected.<sup>194</sup>

The future existence of the College was placed in jeopardy, and around the country, educators and observers alike voiced concern for the institution. An article appearing in the Richmond Whig on September 23, 1886, stated:

. . . It is, indeed, a pity that an institution with such a history and such association should be allowed to perish. . . . We trust that its friends and the friends of education will consult together and devise some means of rescuing it from the sad fate which now overshadows it.<sup>195</sup>

In a report on the lecture given by Edwin D. Meade on the "Old South" and published in the Boston Christian Register

---

<sup>193</sup>Letter from P. M. Thompson to Warner T. Jones, 20 July 1885 in College Papers, Box 2, Folder 157.

<sup>194</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 26 November 1885, p. 243.

<sup>195</sup>An extract from the Richmond Whig concerning a speech by Edwin B. Meade, in Boston, in which he refers to the condition of William and Mary College, collected in Letters, etc. relating to the College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, V.: Benjamin Long, [1887]), p. 6 in College Papers, Folder 22.



it was pointed out that:

It is a pity, when one considers the educational needs of the South, that something should not be done to perpetuate this old college. . . . Such great traditions as those of W&MC [sic] are themselves of the highest utility in education, and ought not to be wasted. . . . W&MC [sic], mutilated, poor and forlorn, hears no longer the voices of students. . . .<sup>196</sup>

Overall, William and Mary was perceived as a "mass of ruins."<sup>197</sup>

Although the committee appointed by the Board of Visitors on January 28, 1886<sup>198</sup> had been successful in its pursuit of an agreement for State aid to establish a program of teacher education,<sup>199</sup> there were still some who had doubts about the future of the College. As late as August 2, 1888, one committee member expressed concern over the affairs of the College. Noting that few applications for the office of president had been received, P. M. Thompson advised other Board members:

Let me earnestly impress upon you the importance of getting a person thoroughly qualified to discharge the duties of the office both in regard

---

<sup>196</sup>An extract from the Boston Christian Register, 23 September 1886, from the speech of Edwin B. Meade, collected in Letters, etc. relating to the College of William and Mary, p. 6.

<sup>197</sup>Letter from P. M. Thompson to Warner T. Jones, 13 August 1888, regarding repairs to buildings and selection of President for the College of William and Mary in College Papers, Folder 215.

<sup>198</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 28 January 1886.

<sup>199</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 7 March 1888.

to requirements and executive ability. Upon him [the president] will mainly depend the Success of the School. . . . It would be well to have regard to the Sectarian aspect of the case if you can do so without sacrificing fitness to policy.<sup>200</sup>

But the College no longer sought to be affiliated with the Episcopal Church or to enlist aid from the diocese. Perhaps the foundation of an increasing number of state institutions<sup>201</sup> and the emphasis being placed on higher education at both the national and state levels of government<sup>202</sup> were influences in the decision of the College to seek aid from the Commonwealth once again. The previous attempts of the College to secure State support had failed primarily because of the historical association of the College of William and Mary with the English Crown and the Episcopal Church.

Finally in 1888, over a century after the American Revolution and virtual invalidation of the royal charter of the College, the College of William and Mary was able to overcome the handicap of those former affiliations and to make an agreement with the Commonwealth of Virginia. The public discussion which resulted from that agreement prompted Lyon G. Tyler, the newly elected president of the institution

---

<sup>200</sup>Letter from P. M. Thompson, 2 August 1888, regarding building repairs and financial affairs of William and Mary in College Papers, Folder 211.

<sup>201</sup>Rudolph, p. 284.

<sup>202</sup>Good and Teller, pp. 512-13.

to declare publicly that the College of William and Mary was not a denominational college. He argued that when the College was chartered to furnish the Church of Virginia with ministers, the Colony of Virginia recognized the King of England as its head and that both the obligation of the College and the allegiance of the Colony to the Crown ended with the Revolutionary War.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, Tyler vowed, "I take my stand with the father of the republic and hold that in matter of religion the State and the Church must be kept for ever apart!"<sup>204</sup>

The agreement made between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia on March 5, 1888 was a financial-curricular arrangement whereby the State would provide the financial support necessary for the College to be reopened and the College would establish a program of teacher education.<sup>205</sup> A systemized study of English was then included in the William and Mary curriculum because English was a vital part of teacher education.

In summary, English did not become a legitimate

---

<sup>203</sup>Letter from the Hon. Lyon G. Tyler, president of the College of William and Mary, "The Plan of Reorganization and the Special Work Proposed--Reasons Why William and Mary Was Selected as the Site for a Normal School" (Williamsburg, Va.: B. Long, 1 January 1889), p. 5. (Hereafter referred to as "Plan of Reorganization.")

<sup>204</sup>Ibid.

<sup>205</sup>Bulletin--1913, p. 141.

course in the William and Mary curriculum before 1888 because curricular developments in general suffered from the poor financial condition of the institution during the nineteenth century and because English was not perceived as a subject which was necessary or which would enhance the financial condition of the College. Throughout the nineteenth century financial exigencies limited the curriculum while the values and philosophies of the various presidents and faculties determined the curricular emphases, including the attention or lack of attention given a study of the English language. For instance, Dew favored the inclusion of English-related studies, the administration of Bishop Johns emphasized religion, and Ewell maintained that the study of mathematics and the classical languages was most important.

The maintenance of the classical curriculum as the only curriculum at the College of William and Mary during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributed to the financial problems of the College because student enrollment was an important determinant of the income of the institution and more popular curricular programs were being offered elsewhere. It was not until 1888 that the William and Mary curriculum was reorganized to provide a practical program of instruction in addition to the classical program. When the curriculum was reorganized to provide teacher education, English was included as an important part of the program of

teacher education and became an accepted study in the standard collegiate course as well.

Therefore, in 1888 English studies were incorporated as a distinct and legitimate discipline in the William and Mary curriculum because of the role of English in the program of teacher education which was introduced to improve the financial condition of the College. Furthermore, the organization of subjects relating to the study of the English language and the development of a professorship of English at the College of William and Mary were direct results of State funding for teacher education at the College of William and Mary in 1888.

The focus in the following chapter is on the establishment of the first professorship of English at the College of William and Mary. Included in the chapter are an examination of the agreement between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia; a study of the program of teacher education which was introduced in 1888; an outline of the first systemized course of English at the College; and a descriptive sketch of John Lesslie Hall, the first Professor of English at the College of William and Mary.

## CHAPTER IV

### TEACHER EDUCATION AND THE FIRST PROFESSORSHIP OF ENGLISH AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

The chronological review of the nineteenth-century curriculum at William and Mary, which was presented in Chapter III, was conducted to find out: (1) those specific subjects and requirements which pertained to a study of the English language and were included in the curriculum; (2) when and in what manner English-related subjects were incorporated into the curriculum; (3) individual attempts which were made to include English in the William and Mary curriculum; (4) the curricular emphases at the College; (5) those factors which influenced and governed the William and Mary curriculum; and (6) the financial condition and concerns of the College during the nineteenth century. The primary purpose of the study was to determine why studies in English were not incorporated as a standard part of the William and Mary curriculum before the College closed in 1881. It was ascertained that the financial condition of the College during the nineteenth century was a major deterrent to curricular developments in general and was a primary reason for the slow development of English studies.

Furthermore, it was concluded that a systemized study of English did not develop at William and Mary before 1888 because the study of English as a distinct and separate language was perceived neither as a necessary part of the traditional curriculum nor as a curricular offering which would improve the financial health of the College.

This portion of the study was designed to discover reasons for the development of English and the means by which the study of English came to be introduced as a discipline equal in importance to the study of mathematics, science, Latin, Greek, French, and German--all elements of the traditional nineteenth-century curriculum at the College of William and Mary. It was concluded that English became a systemized and legitimate field of study when the College reopened in 1888 because a program of teacher education requiring a study of the English language was developed by the College in order to secure financial support from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Although the College of William and Mary was closed in 1881 because of insufficient operating funds, the Board of Visitors continued to meet annually to discuss the finances of the College. The financial condition of the College did not improve while the College was closed, and numerous persons around the country sympathized with the "painful and mortifying" position of the College authorities and

expressed hope that the "garden without water" would be watered; that the "faded oak leaf" would not die;<sup>1</sup> and that the old institution would "rise from its ashes."<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Ewell, president of the College when it closed in 1881, continued to solicit monetary aid for the College from the Commonwealth and from the federal government, from private funds and charities, and from the public at large; but none of his pleas elicited the needed monetary support to reopen the College.

Public perceptions of the College as an historical seminary of the Episcopal Church and as the alma mater of many early statesmen did not insure adequate sustenance for the College. Ultimately, the survival of the College depended on the improvement of its financial condition, which in turn depended on the ability of the College to demonstrate its current usefulness to society. Accordingly, it was necessary that the College determine how it might best serve society and be remunerated for its services.

At the November 27, 1885 convocation of the Board

---

<sup>1</sup>Letter to Charles F. Richardson, Secretary of Phi Beta Kappa Society at Dartmouth College, 22 June 1887, in Letters, etc., relating to the College of William and Mary, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Letter to Col. B. S. Ewell, from H. N. R. Dawson, Commissioner, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1887, in Letters, etc., Relating to the College of William and Mary, p. 1.



of Visitors of the College, it was resolved that a

Committee be appointed by the Rector to submit to the General Assembly of Virginia a plan by which an annual appropriation may be secured to the College for that body on such condition as the said Committee shall deem expedient and proper.

. . .<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, the Board of Visitors had determined that the College had been closed for a length of time sufficient to indicate to the public and government that the College needed financial aid to survive. The Visitors also decided to initiate specific measures to secure funding since general solicitations had failed to produce the monetary aid needed and it was likely that the College might remain closed as a result of inadequate operating capital.

Having previously decided not to seek aid from the Episcopal Church,<sup>4</sup> the Board of Visitors resolved to renew their efforts to secure from the Commonwealth the financial support necessary to allow the College to be reopened. A committee was appointed by the Board of Visitors in November 1885 and was charged with devising a plan by which the College could be aided annually by the State. The Visitors of the College of William and Mary observed that the Commonwealth of Virginia needed teachers and also institutions where teachers could be trained for the public schools. The

---

<sup>3</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 27 November 1885.

<sup>4</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 1 July 1874.

Board of Visitors sought to capitalize on these needs as a means of improving the financial condition of the College and thus enabling the institution to be reopened. Before the College's pursuit of State funding is discussed further, a brief review of public education in Virginia is given to facilitate an understanding of the proposal that William and Mary establish a program of teacher education as a means of securing financial support for the College.

The intellectual and emotional climate of the United States became more favorable to public education after the Revolution. The promotion of citizenship, pride in the institutions of the new country, and emphasis on a national language encouraged the extension of education through the common school. As early as 1779, it was pointed out that Virginia needed a system of public education, and several plans were suggested. Worthy of note is the plan for public education proposed by Thomas Jefferson and reported to the Virginia General Assembly in June 1779. Among other concerns, Jefferson's belief that an informed electorate and educated leaders were essential to the success of democracy led to his proposal of the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, which included provisions both for public schools and for public school teachers. Jefferson also proposed that teachers be "drawn from the best minds of the grammar schools and given six years of education at public

expense. From this group the outstanding students were to be sent to the College of William and Mary."<sup>5</sup> Although Jefferson's plan for a system of public education in Virginia was not adopted, it did claim the attention of leaders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and in 1796 the Virginia General Assembly passed "an act to establish public schools."<sup>6</sup> The act, however, became an optional law, and little was accomplished in initiating a system of public education in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

In 1810 another act was passed. This act established the Literary Fund, which provided a financial base for a system of public education. Certain escheats, penalties, and forfeitures were to be appropriated to the Literary Fund as a measure designed to encourage learning.<sup>7</sup> It is reported that by 1816 the Literary Fund had grown to \$1 million as a result of the large sums owed and paid the Commonwealth of Virginia by the national government.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in 1818 a bill establishing a system of primary schools and

---

<sup>5</sup>Kremer J. Hoke, "Education at William and Mary," The Alumni Gazette: The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 8, 1 (October 1949), 8.

<sup>6</sup>Good and Teller, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup>Morrison, Public Education in Virginia, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Good and Teller, p. 252.

a university was passed.<sup>9</sup> It has been estimated that in 1820 the Literary Fund provided schooling for only half of the indigent children of the Commonwealth,<sup>10</sup> while between 1786 and 1825, 150 boys pursued college studies in Virginia.<sup>11</sup>

The need for teachers for the public schools and for institutions to train teachers grew as the complexities of an industrialized society developed. In the Literary Fund Report of 1820, Governor Thomas M. Randolph made specific reference to the University (University of Virginia) as a future source for teachers,<sup>12</sup> but it was pointed out in the Literary Fund Report in 1830 that a "school in each county to furnish better trained and moral teachers" was needed.<sup>13</sup> Even without financial aid from the State, some of the colleges in Virginia began in the 1830s to offer some courses in teacher education. As has been noted previously, both Hampden-Sydney College in 1831 and Randolph-Macon College in 1839 expressed an interest in helping to solve the problem of teacher education in Virginia, Hampden-Sydney with the establishment of an Institute of Education<sup>14</sup> and

---

<sup>9</sup>Morrison, Public Education in Virginia, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Good and Teller, p. 252.

<sup>11</sup>Morrison, Public Education in Virginia, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

Randolph-Macon with its proposal for a Normal Department.<sup>15</sup>

In 1842, Washington College offered a course specifically designed for "English teachers," i.e., teachers of the common school.<sup>16</sup>

The growing need both for public school teachers and for institutions to train teachers was recognized in the 1840s by the Commonwealth and the colleges of the State. In 1842 a law was passed by the legislature directing that all cadets who attended the Virginia Military Institute for two years should teach two years in some school in the Commonwealth after leaving the institution.<sup>17</sup> Recognizing that providing teacher education was a means by which the colleges could increase both their enrollments and operating capital, the independent colleges of the State--William and Mary, Hampden-Sydney, Randolph-Macon, Washington, Emory and Henry, and Richmond--held a convention in Richmond for the purpose of petitioning the legislature for aid from the Literary Fund.<sup>18</sup> They sought to obtain an appropriation of money from the Commonwealth of Virginia for the purpose of educating students who would then be expected to teach in the public

---

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>16</sup>Bell, p. 352.

<sup>17</sup>Hoke, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup>Faculty Minutes, 4 January 1844 and Hoke, pp. 34-37.

schools of the State for a designated period of time. But the petition by the colleges failed in the General Assembly, and the colleges received no appropriation at that time. Although different in terms and outcomes, the 1844 petition of the College of William and Mary for an appropriation of money from the Commonwealth for teacher education provided a precedent for the proposal made by the Board of Visitors in 1888.

In 1846, shortly after the petition of the colleges failed, the Virginia legislature passed a third law which was intended to provide free education for all poor white boys in schools which were to be supported by the Literary Fund and a county tax. But this law was optional, too, and only nine counties in Virginia accepted this law.<sup>19</sup> Although public education developed slowly in Virginia, there was still a shortage of teachers and institutions for training teachers for the public schools of the Commonwealth.

One reason for the failure of the independent colleges to receive aid from the Commonwealth for teacher education was that the State preferred direct aid to future teachers as a means of reducing the cost of their education. It had been difficult to induce competent persons to accept the poorly paid teaching positions in the public schools, and the Commonwealth planned to establish normal schools as

---

<sup>19</sup>Good and Teller, p. 252.

a means of reducing the educational expenses of teachers and therefore making the cost of teacher education more compatible with the salary paid teachers in the public schools.<sup>20</sup>

The founding of normal schools began in the United States before 1865 and increased at the rate of 25 new schools each decade to the end of the century,<sup>21</sup> but for several reasons the Commonwealth of Virginia was relatively slow to carry out its plans to establish normal schools. The Commonwealth had suffered considerable destruction during the Civil War, and the subsequent process of rebuilding and development in the State was generally slow and expensive. Also, the cost of establishing new schools to provide normal instruction was relatively high. The sum of \$150,000, an expenditure of major proportions for those times, had been spent by the State for building purposes alone at the Petersburg Colored College.<sup>22</sup>

It was reasoned that because the cost of establishing new institutions was so high, the State would profit financially by setting up its teacher training programs at existing colleges.<sup>23</sup> By appropriating money to support teacher education at institutions that were already established, the

---

<sup>20</sup>Tyler, "Plan of Reorganization," p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Good and Teller, p. 311.

<sup>22</sup>Tyler, "Plan of Reorganization," p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

State could save large sums in investments for buildings alone. A reciprocal arrangement between the State and a college willing to provide teacher education could benefit both the State and the college. Therefore, it is not surprising that repeated attempts were made by the colleges to obtain State aid for teacher education.

On July 13, 1871, a letter from R. W. Hughes to the Honorable Charles Porter regarding aid for rebuilding the College of William and Mary was published as an "Appeal on Behalf of Jefferson's Alma Mater--With One Exception the Oldest Institution of Learning in America." Pointing out that the College of William and Mary needed financial support and that the State needed public school teachers, Hughes contended:

There has been no period in the history of the State in which the cause of education has so largely as at present engrossed the thoughts of our people: in which the necessity of making education as universal as the suffrage was more generally acknowledged, more apparent or more urgent. . . .

We are not only wanting in pecuniary means, but we are especially wanting in teachers. These latter can only be supplied by our colleges, and the endowments of our colleges were either lost altogether or greatly diminished during the war.<sup>24</sup>

But again the requests for financial aid for the College of William and Mary failed, and the College continued to need

---

<sup>24</sup>Letter from R. W. Hughes to the Hon. Charles H. Porter, 16 January 1871 in College Papers, Box 20.



financial support while the Commonwealth continued to need teachers and institutions to train teachers.

On January 28, 1886, another attempt was made to coordinate and satisfy the needs of both the College and the Commonwealth. The William and Mary Board of Visitors appointed a committee of three persons: William B. Taliaferro, Warren T. Jones, and P. Montagu Thompson to pursue the passage of: "An act to aid the College of William and Mary in establishing a system of normal instruction and training within the College for the purpose of preparing white male teachers for the free schools of the Commonwealth."<sup>25</sup>

After an investigation of the best means for obtaining State support for their proposal to train teachers, the Board of Visitors resolved on March 16, 1887:

That the committee appointed at the last meeting to press upon the attention of the Legislature the bill to establish in connection with the College a system of normal instruction, be continued with powers heretofore conferred upon them.<sup>26</sup>

Subsequently, the proposal presented to the State Senate became Senate Bill No. 53, "To establish a Male Normal School at the College of William and Mary in connection with the collegiate course." Efforts were made to secure

---

<sup>25</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 28 January 1886.

<sup>26</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 16 March 1887.

the passage of the bill, and on February 14, 1888, J. N. Stubbs addressed the Senate on behalf of the College. He pointed out that the State would benefit financially from utilizing the physical plant of the College, which included the College Building with seven lecture rooms, two literary halls, a laboratory, a chapel, and a library; boarding and dwelling houses; and the Matty School. Furthermore, Stubbs reported that the property owned by the College of William and Mary was valued at not less than \$75,000 and that the College received an additional annual income of \$2,000 from its investments. Stubbs emphasized that the Commonwealth had an unsupplied demand for male normal schools and further explained that the College of William and Mary would educate prospective teachers for less than the fees charged by the other institutions of the State.<sup>27</sup>

Efforts to secure financial aid for the College of William and Mary finally came to fruition on March 5, 1888, when the General Assembly of Virginia approved "An ACT to establish a normal school at William and Mary College in connection with its collegiate course."<sup>28</sup> It was decided

---

<sup>27</sup>Speech of J. N. Stubbs in the Senate of Virginia, 14 February 1888, on the passage of Senate Bill No. 53, "To establish a Male Normal School at the College of William and Mary in connection with the collegiate course" in College Papers.

<sup>28</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 7 March 1888.

that the Commonwealth was "desirous to establish a State Normal School" and to avail itself of the buildings and endowment fund of the College of William and Mary. Because the William and Mary assets were very valuable but could not be utilized without financial aid, an agreement between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia was made, and the following explanation was given for the annual appropriation of money:

Whereas it is represented that the College of William and Mary is desirous of establishing, in connection with the collegiate course, a system of normal instruction and training, so as to prepare white male teachers for the public free schools of the commonwealth, and is unable to do so because of the inadequacy of its resources; therefore, to aid the said College in the purposes aforesaid, but subject to such conditions and restrictions as are hereinafter mentioned. . . .<sup>29</sup>

Pursuant to this agreement, the College of William and Mary would receive an annual State appropriation of \$10,000 to establish a normal school and instruct teachers for the public schools of Virginia. It was agreed that the College of William and Mary would admit a number of State students equal to the number admitted free of tuition at the State Female Normal School at Farmville and would charge exceptionally small tuition fees for State students without scholarships. To oversee this new endeavor a joint board of governors was created with ten members appointed by the governor

---

<sup>29</sup>Bulletin--1913, p. 41.

of the Commonwealth and ten by the College, thus establishing in theory an equal partnership between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia.<sup>30</sup>

Committed to the new enterprise, the joint Board of Visitors met on May 10, 1888. At this meeting, a curriculum committee of seven persons was designated and charged with developing a plan for the reorganization of the William and Mary curriculum. On May 11, 1888, the committee submitted the following outline for the reorganization of the curriculum:

Whereas it is provided in an Act of Assembly approved March 5, 1888, That the College shall establish in connection with the collegiate course a system of normal instruction and training for the purpose of Educating and training white male teachers for the public free schools. Therefore it is recommended that the following or Departments of instruction be established.

First--English Language and Literature and History[,\_] English[;\_] Grammar, Analysis, Rhetoric, Literary History of the United States and General History, Methods

Second--Mathematics, Arithmetic[;\_] Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Civic [sic] Engineering--Methods--

Third--Latin, French, German[,\_] Greek (optional)

Fourth--Natural Science--Geography, Civil and physical[,\_] Physics, Chemistry, Phiseology [sic], Botany[,\_] Zoology

Fifth[-]Normal Science, Psychology--Ethics[,\_] History and Philosophy of Education, School Economy--

Sixth--A model school and school of practice.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>Tyler, "Plan of Reorganization," p. 1.

<sup>31</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 10 May 1888.

In response to a public need and with financial support from the Commonwealth, the College directly incorporated into the William and Mary curriculum a program of teacher education and training. The establishment of a program of teacher education created a parallel course of study at the College and therefore provided William and Mary students an alternative to the traditional, classical course. While most of the traditional studies were retained, some new subjects, including the study of English as a distinct discipline, were added to the standard curriculum in support of teacher education.

The development of a program of teacher education at the College of William and Mary led to the development of English as a field of study at the College. Subject matter was organized into specific courses, and these courses were then sequentially ordered and incorporated into both the collegiate course and the normal course. For purposes of this study, it is significant that English was recognized as a legitimate subject and given a distinct place in the William and Mary curriculum only when the curriculum was explicitly reorganized to include studies necessary for the education of public school teachers.

No discussion pertaining expressly to the establishment of a course in English or a professorship of English

can be found in the William and Mary records prior to the 1888 proposal that the College provide teacher education. However, after plans for a program of teacher education were projected, the Board of Visitors received numerous applications for the newly-established professorship of English. It is reported that on May 10, 1888, John Lesslie Hall was selected to be the first professor of English at the College of William and Mary,<sup>32</sup> but no correspondence providing the details of Hall's election could be found. It is not known whether Hall applied for the position or whether the Board of Visitors invited him to be the first professor of English at William and Mary. Certainly, Hall's educational background and teaching experience contributed to his qualifications for the position and prepared him for a key role in helping the College to provide teacher education. A brief biographical sketch of Professor John Lesslie Hall is helpful to an explanation of curricular change at William and Mary because Hall had a considerable impact on the changes made in the William and Mary curriculum in 1888.

John Lesslie Hall was born in Richmond, Virginia, on March 2, 1856, and was educated at the University School in Richmond. He attended Randolph-Macon College for two years and the University of Virginia for a short while. At both

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

institutions Hall studied English under his cousin Thomas R. Price, who was a pioneer in the field of English instruction in Virginia. From 1881 to 1885, Hall taught in Virginia schools. Then in 1885 Hall entered Johns Hopkins University in order to continue his studies of the English language and literature. In 1892, while serving as professor of English at William and Mary, Hall received the Ph.D. degree in English Language and Literature from Johns Hopkins University.<sup>33</sup>

Prior to the reopening of the College, Hall and the other newly-elected faculty members met on September 8, 1888 to draw up a plan of instruction and course of study "having the normal feature as the cornerstone."<sup>34</sup> The Department of Methods and Pedagogics was established and a course of instruction leading to the degree of Licentiate of Instruction (L.I. or teacher's degree) was organized. The philosophy undergirding the program of teacher education which was to be offered at William and Mary was explained as follows:

Under this degree, the 6 elementary studies required by law to be taught in every common school

---

<sup>33</sup>Howard W. Wiseman, The Seven Wise Men (New York: Jacques and Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 21-23 and "Sketch of Life of John Lesslie Hall," Flat Hat (College of William and Mary), 2 March 1928, pp. 4-5.

<sup>34</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary and State Male Normal School, 1888-1889 (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1888), p. 16. (Hereafter referred to as Catalogue, 1888-1889.)

are thoroughly reviewed in the department of Methods and Pedagogics, first, to make sure of their mastery as ordinary branches of knowledge; secondly, to develop the philosophical principles underlying the facts, rules, and definitions of each of these studies; thirdly, to expound and illustrate the best ways of teaching each study and every part of each study; and fourthly, to require the students themselves to prepare teaching exercises and exhibit them in the actual instruction of subordinate classes. Besides this standard line of professional work, there is marked out for the degree in the other classes a system of study quite as necessary for the practical teacher. It is not sufficient that he must know as much as children are expected to acquire, but he should know a great deal more.<sup>35</sup>

Although Hugh Stockdale Bird was appointed as professor of Methods and Pedagogics, Hall assisted in the education and training of teachers. Attention was called to Hall's knowledge and experience as a teacher and his role at the College with the following statement:

The instructor [Hall], having taught in the public school, and having also taught many of the teachers of the State, knows the wants of the schools of the commonwealth, and strives to meet them as far as possible.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, in the Catalogue of 1888-1889 under "Department of English," one finds that the following explanation directly links teacher training to English and Professor Hall:

---

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>36</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1889-1890 (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1889), p. 46. (Hereafter referred to as Catalogue, 1889-1890.)



Systematic training in the art of teaching is also given in this department [the department of English]. The professor of English thus gives material aid to the special professor of Methods and Pedagogics. State students are, from time to time, put in charge of elementary classes, and, while learning how to teach, solidify their own knowledge by using it continually.<sup>37</sup>

Professor of English, John Lesslie Hall, explained the role and plan of English studies in normal instruction as follows:

Every normal student begins with a thorough review of the elements of English grammar. He spends several weeks in reviewing the parts of speech, their relative value and importance, their functions, their classification. Then he takes up word-groups, treating them under various forms as verb-phrases, prepositional phrases, and clauses. . . . Great attention is paid also to punctuation and to sentence-structure, and weekly compositions are required. To train the class in rapid writing, dictation exercises are given and off-hand compositions are required.

Along with this very practical work, courses in literature are given, to develop and train the imagination. . . . The class hears . . . lectures on the history of English literature, so as to know something about most of the great writers of all periods.<sup>38</sup>

The pamphlet announcing the reopening of the College on October 4, 1888 showed the following arrangement of English studies in "THE NORMAL COURSE":

FIRST YEAR--JUNIOR CLASSES.

1. English Language and History--History of

---

<sup>37</sup>Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 25.

<sup>38</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1897-1898 (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1898), p. 28.

Virginia, supplemented by Lectures, Analytic and Synthetic Grammar, Modern English Literature with parallel reading; weekly compositions.

.....

SECOND YEAR--INTERMEDIATE CLASSES.

1. English Language and History--American History, Rhetoric, Composition and Literature. .39

.....

It is to be noted that English was the first subject listed for both classes in the plan for normal instruction. Thus English was obviously considered a study of primary importance in teacher education. But the study of English was not limited to the program for prospective teachers. The recognition and necessary incorporation of English as an essential element of teacher education led to the acceptance and inclusion of the following systemized study of English in the "COLLEGIATE COURSE":

1--ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND HISTORY.

SENIOR CLASS.

Division A--Anglo-Saxon Prose, Modern English, Prose Classics with parallel reading, Essays, Outlines of General History, History of England.

Division B--Anglo-Saxon Poetry with parallel reading, Middle English, Selections from Standard English poets, parallel reading, History of Rome, History of Greece.<sup>40</sup>

As the first professor of English at William and

---

<sup>39</sup>Announcement: College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1888, 6-page pamphlet relating to the reopening of the College, 4 October 1888, p. 5 in College Papers, Folder 23.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

Mary, John Lesslie Hall triumphantly declared, "English has been put upon an equality with the humanities."<sup>41</sup> At last the study of the English language, literature, and history was given a distinct place in the college curriculum alongside and of equal importance to the study of the Latin and Greek languages and literature and natural, mental, and moral philosophy. Since the founding of the College of William and Mary in 1693, the classical curriculum, which emphasized the classical languages, had prevailed. As both the mother tongue of most nineteenth-century Americans and the vehicle for classroom instruction, English was finally recognized in 1888 as a legitimate field of study at William and Mary.

English was then organized as a discipline according to the philosophy and plan which Hall explained as follows:

It [English] is taught from both a scientific and a literary point of view. The old theory of studying English syntax in Latin grammars is not held in the institution. English grammar is studied in and for itself. . . .

Parallel with the study of analytic and synthetic grammar run courses in historical English grammar. The history of the language, in its various phases of development, is carefully studied. . . .

While pursuing the courses outlined above, the student is becoming intimately acquainted

---

<sup>41</sup>"Annual Report of the College of William and Mary for Year ending June 30, 1890," letter from President Lyon G. Tyler to the Hon. John E. Massey, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Richmond, Va., 4 July 1890, p. 3. (Hereafter referred to as "Annual Report, 1890.")

with one or more of the works of the great English authors. He reads and criticises [sic] with the aid of the instructor. Classwork is confined, of course, to selected poems or essays of the author studied; but a parallel course of reading in the same author is prescribed.

In the advanced classes of [sic] Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) is taught, and the student learns English grammar at its sources.

In all the classes the scientific and the literary sides of the subject are carefully equalized and balanced.<sup>42</sup>

For the first time in the history of the College, the study of English commanded a professorship. Studies related to the English language and literature became an organized discipline and were taught by a specialist in that field of study, John Lesslie Hall. Hall's scholarly treatment and teaching of English contributed to his international recognition as an authority on Anglo-Saxon language and literature, as an excellent lecturer, as a "strict-marker," and as a popular professor.<sup>43</sup> A publication in the Flat Hat in later years memorialized Hall for having

. . . introduced hundreds of students to the field of English philology in which he was an outstanding pioneer. To even larger numbers he interpreted great figures in literature whom he studied with remarkable thoroughness and penetration. In his zeal for the training of teachers in English, he rendered a service to education in Virginia. . . .<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup>"Annual Report, 1890," p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>Wiseman, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup>"Faculty and Students Draw Up Resolutions on Death of Dr. J. Lesslie Hall Last Week," Flat Hat, 2 March 1928 in College Papers, John Lesslie Hall Folder.

Hall gave lectures, led discussions, and assigned weekly compositions on English poets, playwrights, novelists, and essayists. His students studied essays, drama, poetry, and novels in addition to Whitney's Essentials of English Grammar. The textbooks Hall used contained works by Shakespeare, Chaucer, Milton, Wordsworth, Spenser, Goldsmith, and other noted English and American authors.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps the only real difference, if indeed there is any difference, between Hall's instruction and that offered in college English classes today was that Hall's courses were "adapted especially for applicants for the licentiate's degree."<sup>46</sup> The degree of Licentiate of Instruction (L.I.) was established to be conferred on students satisfactorily passing exams in the Junior and Intermediate Classes of English Language and History, Mathematics, Latin, Methods or Pedagogics, and the Junior Class in Natural Science and Moral Science. The Latin language requirement had not been omitted, but it seems significant to note that a study of the English language and literature was considered to be at least as important. The L.I. degree was added to the usual B.A. and M.A. degrees, which were still offered by the College. The B.A. was awarded for graduation in any of the

---

<sup>45</sup>Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 25.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

five departments, while the M.A. was conferred for graduation in all five collegiate departments: English Language and History, Mathematics, Ancient and Modern Languages, Natural Science, and Moral Science.<sup>47</sup>

Lyon G. Tyler, the newly-elected president of the College, explained how the program of teacher education, which led to the L.I. degree, was incorporated into the William and Mary curriculum, noting especially that:

The normal course was made by the faculty to consist of not one school but of all the schools of the college inclusive of the chair of pedagogics, but exclusive of French, German, and Greek, which are independent schools. Upon this normal course, which is carried through the junior and intermediate classes of the schools of moral science, natural science, English, mathematics, Latin and pedagogics, are reared the senior classes necessary for the collegiate degrees of B.A. and M.A., to the advantages of which every normal student is fully entitled, under the act, free of charge, if, desirous of pursuing his studies so far.<sup>48</sup>

Tyler contended that many persons were convinced "that the great prestige of William and Mary would give success to the normal features . . . by continually attracting from many quarters patronage, bequest, and endowment."<sup>49</sup> In support of his contention, Tyler pointed out that:

---

<sup>47</sup>Douglas Gordon, "John Lesslie Hall," Ledger-Dispatch (Norfolk, Va.), 24 February 1928, p. 8 in College Papers, John Lesslie Hall Folder.

<sup>48</sup>Tyler, "Plan of Reorganization," p. 4.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

In spite of the brief time allowed for the organization of the institution, and the difficulty of at once reaching the public in time for the opening of the college, the result has shown that the Legislature did not miscalculate the needs of the times.<sup>50</sup>

When the College of William and Mary was reopened in 1888, 102 students enrolled, and in 1889-1890, the enrollment was 187 students--114 or sixty per cent of whom planned to teach in the public schools.<sup>51</sup> The establishment of a normal school at the College of William and Mary thus proved to be a profitable enterprise for both the College and the Commonwealth.

Along with these changes in the financial condition and curriculum of the College came the permanent establishment of English at William and Mary. The establishment of a professorship of English and the organization of English courses had indeed put the study of English on an equal basis with the traditional subjects of the classical curriculum. A comparison was made of the number of hours of classroom instruction listed for English language and literature and the number of hours of instruction allotted the traditional studies. The "Lecture Schedule" in the Catalogue of 1894-1895 showed that 12 hours of instruction in English Language and Literature were provided weekly, a

---

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>51</sup>Board of Visitors Minutes, 4 July 1890.

number which compared favorably with 15 hours each of mathematics and Latin, 14 hours of natural science, and 13 hours of Greek--all subjects of long standing in the William and Mary curriculum.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, John Lesslie Hall was justified in continuing to proclaim: "English has been put upon an equality with 'the humanities.'"<sup>53</sup>

In conclusion, after a period of seven years (1881-1888), the Commonwealth of Virginia granted the financial support necessary for the Board of Visitors to reopen the College of William and Mary. In direct response to the College's need for financial support and the State's need for more teachers and institutions to train teachers, the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia made an agreement whereby the College established a program of teacher education in connection with the collegiate course in return for an annual appropriation of money from the State. The William and Mary curriculum was then reorganized to provide a course of instruction for teachers, and a study of the English language and literature was included as an essential part of teacher education. English was then recognized as a necessary and legitimate study, and a professorship of English was established. John Lesslie

---

<sup>52</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1894-1895 (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1895), p. 68.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 44.



Hall, a scholar of the English language and literature and an experienced teacher as well, was appointed as the first professor of English at William and Mary. English studies were organized as a distinct discipline and included in the collegiate course, as well as in the program of teacher education. Hence, English became an integral part of the William and Mary curriculum when the College was reopened in 1888 because the Commonwealth of Virginia provided financial support for the development of a program of teacher education at the College.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROFESSORSHIP OF ENGLISH

#### AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

When the College of William and Mary was established in 1693 to furnish the Colony of Virginia with an institution for training ministers and educating the gentlemen of Virginia, the classical curriculum was adopted. This curriculum remained unchanged until after the American Revolution. Thomas Jefferson made several proposals to modify the purposes of the College, but even then tradition prevailed, and only minimal changes were effected in the William and Mary curriculum in 1779. Furthermore, despite the many political, social, and economic changes that took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the classical curriculum was generally maintained as the only curriculum at the College of William and Mary.

English was not a subject in the traditional, classical curriculum. However, in reviewing the curricular offerings of the College of William and Mary from 1693 to 1888, some references to the study of English were found. At first, only the mention of English grammar and the writing and delivery of compositions was noted. Later in the period,

a course in English literature was mentioned as a requirement for graduation, but there was no systemized study of English as an organized discipline. Furthermore, before the College was closed in 1888, the study of English was still not recognized as part of the William and Mary curriculum. But when the College was reopened in 1888, English was established as a discipline of primary importance. The purpose of this study was to determine why the treatment of English changed.

In order to assess reasons for the unprecedented consideration given English studies at William and Mary in 1888, it was necessary to examine what English courses existed in nineteenth-century American college education and why they were included. It was found that throughout the Colonial period and much of the nineteenth century, the general adherence of American colleges to the classical curriculum often made the curricular introduction of new subjects such as English a difficult endeavor. Frequently, English courses were incorporated into college curricula as a preparatory and support course for the study of other languages, as a basic course in a practical education, and as an essential course in teacher education. It was noted first that English was often studied in American colleges because some knowledge of the native language (especially grammar and sentence structure) was a prerequisite to the study of

the classical languages. Secondly, English was introduced into the curricula of some colleges in connection with the study of practical subjects which were often included in a parallel program that was designed as an alternative to the classical course. Sometimes a study of English was found in curricula which offered so-called "modern language" study. Generally, teacher education courses provided some instruction in the English language, and the labeling of common school teachers as "English teachers" implied that a knowledge of English was a necessary accomplishment.

Many colleges around the country made curricular changes which often included the study of English as either an entrance or a graduation requirement, but the William and Mary faculty and Board of Visitors were more concerned with the finances of the College than with curricular changes. While the deteriorating financial condition of the College drew increasing attention during the nineteenth century, the development of the William and Mary curriculum generally depended on the educational background and interests of the president and professors who were employed at the College at a particular time. To a large extent during the nineteenth century, the College of William and Mary evinced what one might call curricula inertia. Only a few small curricular changes, mainly in the requirements for graduation or in the addition of religious emphases, were made at

William and Mary.

In an attempt to determine why English was not recognized as a legitimate course of instruction at the College of William and Mary until 1888 and to ascertain what led to the incorporation of English as a course of study when the College was reopened, the existence and character of English studies at William and Mary during the nineteenth century were investigated and documented. It was concluded that a systemized study of English did not develop at William and Mary before 1888 because the study of English as a distinct and separate language was perceived neither as a necessary part of the traditional, classical curriculum nor as a curricular offering which would improve the financial health of the institution.

Why then did English become a field of study equal in importance to the study of mathematics, science, Latin, and Greek--all elements of the traditional nineteenth-century curriculum at the College of William and Mary? The data supported the hypothesis that English became a systemized and legitimate field of study when the College was reopened in 1888 basically because a program of teacher education requiring a study of the English language was developed by the College in order to secure financial support from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

After making numerous pleas for financial support

and proposing to expand the mission of the College, the William and Mary Board of Visitors reopened the College in 1888, primarily on the assurance of a forthcoming appropriation for teacher education. Subsequent to an agreement and financial arrangement between the College of William and Mary and the Commonwealth of Virginia, the William and Mary curriculum was reorganized in 1888 to provide a program of teacher training, in addition to the regular course of studies at the College. Because a knowledge of English was vital to the education of teachers, English was accepted as a necessary and profitable course at William and Mary.

When the College was reopened, the treatment of English in the William and Mary curriculum was radically different from the previous incidental inclusions of a study of English. The significant attention given English in the reorganized curriculum of 1888 was directly related to measures taken to secure the necessary financial support for the College by the establishment of a teacher training program. The recognition of English as a necessary and legitimate study led to the establishment of a professorship of English and to an organization of English studies. Therefore, English became a systemized, legitimate, and permanent course of study in the William and Mary curriculum as a result of the agreement whereby the College was to train teachers for the public schools of Virginia in return for

financial aid from the State.

The decision to introduce an alternative program in addition to the traditional collegiate course at the College of William and Mary was precipitated by the financial condition of the College rather than by the specific desire of the College to relate the William and Mary curriculum to societal needs. It follows that the establishment of English as a discipline at William and Mary occurred only because the finances of the institution, not the demands of society, dictated the need for curricular change. Hence, curricular change, including the establishment of English as a discipline, is attributed to the impact of finances on the William and Mary curriculum.

Numerous recommendations can be made for the further study of English as a subject in collegiate curricula. There is a need to examine (1) whether English remained primarily a servant to practical studies, (2) the role and emphasis of English studies in current programs of teacher education, and (3) the pattern of development and relative importance of English-related studies in the curricula of American colleges in the twentieth century. Two comparative studies are also suggested as contributions to the study of curricular developments and trends in higher education. The development of English might be compared to the development and acceptance into the college curriculum of other subjects

which were not included in the classical curriculum, such as history, music, art, health, architecture, engineering, finance, accounting, and marketing. A comparative study might also be made of the requirements for English studies and the requirements for classical and modern language study at American institutions of higher learning in the twentieth century.



## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Charles Kendall. Washington and the Higher Education. Ithaca, New York: Andrus and Church, 1888.
- Adams, Herbert Baxter. The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education with Suggestions for its National Promotion. Bureau of Education Circular of Information, No. 1--1887. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887.
- "Alumnus." Norfolk (Va.) State, 5 May 1879. College Papers. Folder 21.
- Announcement: College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1888. College Papers.
- Annual Report of the College of William and Mary for the Year Ending June 30, 1890. Richmond, Va.: Everett Waddey Co., 1891.
- Barber, Charles [Laurence]. Early Modern English. London: André Deutsch, Ltd., 1976.
- Bell, Sadie. The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia. Philadelphia: Science Publishing Co., 1930.
- Best, John Hardin, and Sidwell, Robert T., eds. The American Legacy of Learning: Readings in the History of Education. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967.
- Boone, Richard G. Education in the United States: Its History from the Earliest Settlements. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1889, reprint ed. 1971.
- Briggs, Thomas H. Formal English Grammar as a Discipline. New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1913.
- Bruce, Philip Alexander. History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1899, vol. 3. New York: Macmillan Co., 1921.
- Bryan, John Stewart. "Thomas Roderick Dew--Address Delivered April 3, 1839." Bulletin of the College of William and Mary 33, 5(June 1939): 5-14.

- Bulletin of the College of William and Mary. Virginia Educational Conference Edition. 2, 4(November 1908).
- Bulletin of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia: The Charter, The Transfer, Acts 1888, 1906 6, 3(January 1913).
- Bulletin: The College of William and Mary in Virginia-- Catalogue of Alumni and Alumnae for the Years, 1866-1932. Williamsburg, Va. 16, 2(1932).
- Buck, J. L. Blair. The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952. Richmond, Va.: State Board of Education. 35, 1(July 1952).
- Bureau of Education Circular. Washington, D.C., 1873. College Papers. Folder 20.
- Calhoun, Daniel, ed. The Educating of Americans: A Documentary History. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969.
- Catalogues of the College of William and Mary. Williamsburg, Va., 1836-1895.
- Catalogue of the College of William and Mary and State Male Normal School, 1888-1889. Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1889.
- Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia: From its Foundation to the Present Time, 1859. Catalogues and Courses, No. 3. College Papers. Folder 48.
- Chapman, Anne W. "The College of William and Mary, 1849-1859: The Memoirs of Silas Totten." Master's thesis, History Department, The College of William and Mary, 1978.
- Crane, Theodore Rawson. The Colleges and the Public, 1787-1862. New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1963.
- Davis, Richard Beale. Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.
- , Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763, vol. 1. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978.

- Dawson, William. Letter to the Bishop of London, 12 November 1736 in Virginia Gazette. College Papers. Folder 12.
- Denbo, Marilou. "The Nineteenth Century Presidents of the College of William and Mary." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974.
- Dew, Thomas R. An Address Delivered Before the Students of William and Mary, at the Opening of the College, on Monday, October 10th, 1836. Richmond, Va.: T. W. White, 1836.
- Dexter, Edwin Grant. A History of Education in the United States. New York: Burt Franklin, 1906, reprint edition 1971.
- "Dr. Thomas Roderick Dew." Alumni Gazette (The College of William and Mary) 6, 4(May), 1939. College Papers. Thomas Roderick Dew Folder.
- "Faculty and Students Draw Up Resolutions on Death of Dr. J. Lesslie Hall Last Week." Flat Hat (The College of William and Mary), 2 March 1928. College Papers. Box 1. John Lesslie Hall Folder.
- Good, Harry G., and Teller, James D. A History of American Education. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1973.
- Goodwin, Mary R. M. Historical Notes on the College of William and Mary. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1954.
- Gordon, Douglas. "John Lesslie Hall." Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Dispatch, 24 February 1928. College Papers. Box 1. John Lesslie Hall Folder.
- "Governor Gooch's Message Concerning the College, February 20, 1745." William and Mary Quarterly 7, 2(October 1898): 2, 125.
- "Grammar School Closed at William and Mary." Virginia Gazette, 17 December 1779. College Papers. Folder 49.
- Grigsby, Hugh Blair. Oration Delivered Before Students of William and Mary College, July 4, 1859. College Papers. Folder 17.

- Gross, Carl H., and Chandler, Charles C. The History of American Education: Through Readings. Boston: Heath and Co., 1964.
- Hall, John Lesslie. Letter to R. W. Morecock, Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, 16 August 1888. College Papers. Box 1. John Lesslie Hall Folder.
- History of the College of William and Mary from its Foundation, 1660-1874. Richmond, Va.: R. W. Randolph and English, 1874.
- History of the College of William and Mary, 1693-1870. Baltimore, Md.: John Murphy and Co., 1870. College Papers. Folder 64.
- Hofstadter, Richard, and Smith, Wilson, eds. American Higher Education: A Documentary History. 2 vols. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Hoke, Kremer J. "Education at William and Mary." Alumni Gazette (The College of William and Mary) 8, 1(October 1940): 8-9, 34-47.
- Hughes, Robert M. Sixty Years Ago. 12 June 1933. College Papers.
- Hughes, R. W. Letter to the Hon. Charles H. Porter. 16 January 1871. College Papers. Box 20.
- Irby, Richard. History of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia. Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, [1897?].
- Jackson, Jess Hamilton. "English at William and Mary." Alumni Gazette (The College of William and Mary) 8, 3(March 1941): 8-9, 30-32.
- Jefferson, Thomas. Letter to William Short. Monticello, 9 November 1813. College Papers.
- The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 1781-1784, vol. 8. Edited by Paul Leicester Ford. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894.
- Jenkins, William A. "Changing Patterns in Teacher Education." National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, pt. 1. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1977.

- Jones, Hugh. The Present State of Virginia: From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina. Edited by Richard L. Morton. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- Jones, W. Melville. A President and Six Masters. Williamsburg, Va.: The College of William and Mary, 1961.
- "Journals of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College." William and Mary Quarterly (1st series) 1, 1(1892-1893): 130-37, 214, 220; 2(1893-1894): 50-59, 122-27, 208-10, 256-59; 3(1894-1895): 60-63, 128-32, 195-97, 262-65.
- Kerr, Elizabeth M., and Aderman, Ralph M. Aspects of American English, 2d ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1963, 1971.
- Knight, Edgar W. Reconstruction and Education in Virginia. Reprint from South Atlantic Quarterly 15, 1 and 2 (January and April 1916).
- Laird, Charlton [Grant]. Language in America. New York and Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1970.
- Land, Robert Hunt. "Thomas Roderick Dew." Alumni Gazette (The College of William and Mary) 6, 4(May 1939): 9-10.
- Landrum, Grace W. "The First Colonial Grammar in English." William and Mary Quarterly (2d series) 19, 3(July 1939): 272-85.
- "Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary in Virginia." Reprint ed. Petersburg, Va.: Farmer's Register, 1837.
- Letters, etc. relating to the College of William and Mary. Williamsburg, Va.: Benjamin Long, [1887]. College Papers. Folder 22.
- "Letters of the Rev. James Madison, President of William and Mary College, to Thomas Jefferson." William and Mary Quarterly 5, 3(July 1925).
- Levine, Arthur. Handbook on Undergraduate Curriculum. San Francisco and London: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978.
- Madsen, David. Early National Education, 1776-1830. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974.

- Mansfield, Stephen. "Thomas Roderick Dew at William and Mary: A Main Prop of that Venerable Institution." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 75, 4 (October 1967): 429-42.
- Mencken, Henry Louis. The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. New York: Knopf, 1952.
- Minutes of the Meetings of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1729-2784, 1818-1830, 1830-1836, 1836-1846, 1846-1861, 1861-1883. College Archives.
- Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., 1856-1902. College Archives.
- Mitchie, Samuel L. Letter to Gov. Nicholas. New York, 16 July 1816. College Papers. Folder 14.
- Morrison, Alfred James. The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860: Study of Secondary Schools in Relation to the State Literary Fund. Richmond, Va.: Davis Bottom, 1917.
- "Four Revolutions and Virginia Education." Texas Review (University of Texas) 4, 2: 120-40.
- Morpugo, Jack E. Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Washington, D.C.: Hennage Creative Printers, 1976.
- Postcard circa 1877. College Papers. Folder 21.
- "Printed Address of Board of Visitors at their Convocation, 4 July 1815." William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine 26, 4 (April 1917).
- Report of the Committee on the connexion [sic] of the College with the Protestant Episcopal Church. George Woodbridge and Charles Minnigerode to the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary. Williamsburg, Va., 1 July 1874. College Papers. Folder 52A.
- Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund to the General Assembly, December 1816. College Papers. Folder 14.

Reports of the president and faculty to the Board of Visitors of The College of William and Mary. College Papers. Folders 57 and 58.

"Roll of the grammar school for the term commencing the first of October 1826 and terminating the last of July 1827." Matriculation Book, 1827-1881. College Papers. Folder 144B.

Rouse, Park, Jr. Cows on the Campus: Williamsburg in Bygone Days. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1973.

Rudolph, Frederick. The American College and University: A History. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

Scott, Charles Seldon. "The Study of Languages." 5 July 1875. College Papers.

Scott, E. S. E. "Ewell's efforts to keep the College open, 1881." College Papers. Folder 21.

"Sketch of John Lesslie Hall." Flat Hat (The College of William and Mary), 2 March 1928. College Papers. John Lesslie Hall Folder.

"Speeches of the Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May Day 1699." William and Mary Quarterly 2, 10 (1930): 323-37.

Squire, James R., ed. The Teaching of English: The Seventy-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, pt. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

"Statement of the annual number of students attending the College of William and Mary, from the year 1786, to the year 1823, taken from the book of Matriculation by Robert M'candlish, Chairman of town meeting." College Papers. Folder 144.

Thompson, P. M. Letter to Warner T. Jones. Williamsburg, Va., 31 December 1875. College Papers. Box 1. Folder 122.

-----. Letter to Warner T. Jones. 20 July 1885. College Papers. Box 2. Folder 157.

-----. Letter to Warner T. Jones. 13 August 1888. College Papers. Folder 215.

----- . Personal letter, 2 August 1888. College Papers.  
Folder 211.

Tyler, Lyon G. Early Courses and Professors. Address, 5  
December 1904. College Papers.

----- . "Early Presidents of the College of William and  
Mary." College Papers.

----- . "Education in Colonial Virginia, Part III: Free  
Schools." William and Mary College Quarterly His-  
torical Magazine 6, 2 (October 1897): 71-86.

----- . "Education in Colonial Virginia, Part III: The  
Higher Education." William and Mary College Quar-  
terly Historical Magazine 6, 3 (January 1898): 171-  
87.

----- . The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its  
History and Work, 1693-1907. Richmond, Va.: Whittet  
and Shepperson, 1907.

----- . The College of William and Mary: Its Work, Disci-  
pline, and History, from Its Foundation to the Pre-  
sent Time. Bulletin of the College of William and  
Mary. 10, 4 (May 1917): 31-38.

----- . President of the College of William and Mary.  
Annual Report, 30 June 1890. Letter to Hon. John E.  
Massey, Superintendent of Public Education. Rich-  
mond, Va., 4 July 1890.

----- . President of the College of William and Mary.  
Printed letter of 1 January 1889. "The Plan of Re-  
organization and the Special Work Proposed--Reasons  
Why William and Mary Was Selected as the Site for a  
Normal School." Williamsburg, Va.: B. Long, 1889.  
College Papers. Folder 116.

Vital Facts: A Chronology of the College of William and Mary.  
Williamsburg, Va.: The College of William and Mary,  
Swem Library Contributions, 1978.

Watts, John Allen. "Advantages of Literature." 5 July 1875.  
College Papers.

William and Mary College and the University of the South.  
Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1879. College  
Papers. Folder 21.



Wiseman, Howard W. The Seven Wise Men. New York: Jacques and Co., Inc., 1948.

Woody, Thomas, ed. Educational Views of Benjamin Franklin. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931.

## Vita

Jane Thomasia Agnew Brown

Birthdate: November 22, 1948

Birthplace: Anderson, South Carolina

### Education

1978-1982 The College of William and Mary in Virginia  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study in Education  
Doctor of Education

1977-1978 The George Washington University  
Washington, D.C.  
Master of Arts in Education

1977 The College of William and Mary in Virginia  
Williamsburg, Virginia

1971-1972 Furman University  
Greenville, South Carolina  
Bachelor of Arts

1969-1970 The University of Maryland  
European Division: Stuttgart, Germany

1966-1968 Furman University  
Greenville, South Carolina

## Abstract

### A STUDY OF ENGLISH AS A SUBJECT IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

Jane Agnew Brown, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, May 1982

Chairman: Professor Clifton F. Conrad

The purpose of this study was to determine the factors that led to the incorporation of English as an organized discipline at the College of William and Mary.

In order to assess reasons for the unprecedented consideration given the study of English in 1888, it was necessary to examine the English-related studies in the predominantly classical curriculum at William and Mary during the nineteenth century. An attempt was made to determine first why English was not recognized as a subject in the curriculum before the College was closed in 1881 and then why English was established as a discipline when the College was reopened in 1888. It was concluded that a systemized study of English did not develop at the College of William and Mary before 1888 because the study of English as a distinct and separate language was perceived neither as a necessary part of the traditional curriculum nor as a curricular offering which would improve the financial health of the institution.

It was hypothesized that a professorship of English was established and a systemized study of English was inaugurated at the College of William and Mary in 1888 because the Commonwealth of Virginia appropriated funds for a program of teacher education at the College.

The data support the hypothesis that English became an organized field of study in 1888 primarily because the College developed a program of teacher education, which required a study of the English language, in order to secure financial support from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Further study is needed to examine: (1) whether English remained primarily a servant to practical studies, (2) the role and emphasis on English in current programs of teacher education, and (3) the pattern of development and relative emphasis on English-related studies in the twentieth-century curricula of American colleges.