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A Stirling Education: Education in Antebellum Louisiana

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A STIRLING EDUCATION:
EDUCATION IN ANTEBELLUM LOUISIANA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Education

by

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B.A., Louisiana State University, 2003
M.Ed., Louisiana State University, 2004
May 2016

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For my parents, my wife, and my children
I am the man I am today
and I owe all that I have accomplished
to the love and patience you have shown me.

Although my dad may have passed on,
he will always remain
within the hearts and memories
of the family who loves him still.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the surviving archival evidence from several 19th century prominent West Feliciana families found in the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections (LLMVC) at the LSU libraries in an effort to understand how Louisianans' value and support education. The antebellum period was chosen for study because it was arguably the last time period in which the South was not influenced or controlled by the dominant narrative of the Common School Movement, which Wayne Urban (1981) refers to as the "phenomenon of Massachusetts Myopia."¹

The archival collections containing correspondence from the immediate family of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and their extended family, the Turnbulls and the Bowmans, were chosen in part because they represented the leading families from West Feliciana Parish during the antebellum period. Their correspondence provided a broad spectrum of educational events, styles, and methods from the antebellum period from which to draw evidence supporting the claim of Louisianans long standing commitment to education. The correspondence of Rachel O'Connor, a neighbor of the Stirlings, was also analyzed in an effort to provide more information on the topic from the perspective of female education.

A combination of phenomenological, narrative, and historiographical research methods to better tease out an understanding of the value they placed on education. The archival evidence showed evidence of a wide variety of educational methods and venues, but also revealed a strong

¹ Wayne Urban and J.L. Wagoner, Jr., *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., (New York: Routledge, 2009): 136.

familial and community commitment and concern for the education of the children and youths of the family. This strong evidence of the importance placed on education challenges the current stereotype of Louisianans as poorly educated people who care little about education.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

October 17, 1830

My Dear Brother,

In writing to James always before this, as he was the oldest, I thought there was a greater probability of our hearing something from you but I find he is otherwise, and perhaps he thinks better employed, and that if we want to know how you are getting on, we must address our letters to you, in hopes that you will not think it is losing time to write us sometimes, it is now more than three months since we have got any letters, Papa says I must tell you that were it not for the newspapers, he gets from there, he would think you were both dead, and that as James will not write, you must. Mama says she was in hopes that where she got two sons there, she surely would hear once a month at least from them, but it appears to be getting worse I hope sincerely that James has some good excuse for his long silence, as Papa will be really angry if he has not, they are getting very anxious about you both, and if James knew how pleased we all are, and could see when we get a letter Mama reading it over and over, and how uneasy we are if more than a month passes without our getting one, he would not be so negligent. Papa and Mama are going in two weeks over to Attakapas to make sugar. They are going to take Ruffin and Dan with them, and I expect will stay until Christmas. Papa is in hopes of making a fine crop both in sugar and cotton.

You cannot think my Dear Brother, how much pleased we were, at your passing so good an examination, and James's too was very good. Mama at least wore the paper out reading of your pluses and pains. I see James has got the prize he was so determined on, tell him I hope to see two or three more next year—but if you both would only be as good as we wish you what paragons you would be...

Dan has been going to school until the last week, when his skillmaster [sic] was going away and as he himself was going to Attackapas, Papa has taken him home altogether...

A. M. Lobdell²

Ann "Stirling" Lobdell wrote this letter to her brother Lewis Stirling, Jr., while he attended school at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, KY. They were both children of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Catherine Turnbull Stirling, who raised their family on land near St. Francisville, LA which would eventually become known as Wakefield Plantation. Although Ann

² Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. For the sake of brevity, three paragraphs from the middle of this letter concerning the health of extended family members and a short postscript were left off of this quote.

and Lewis, Jr. represented only two out of the six Stirling children who survived into adulthood, this letter served as something of an exemplar of what education looked like and meant to the Stirling family during the Antebellum Period.

The tone of Ann's letter to her younger brother was almost motherly as she provided an example of the type of letter writing the family desired from the brothers away at school. She discussed the news on both the immediate and extended families focused especially on the education of the children and everyone's health. She wrote about Dan's education being disrupted temporarily as the entire family made what was an annual trip to Attakapas to harvest their sugar cane and process it into sugar for sale. Lewis, Jr. and James' passing of their examinations at St. Joseph's was also a topic in the letter, which showed the brothers their educations were also a priority topic within the family correspondence.

The letter also asserted pressure on the brothers to do well in school and to write through the use of guilt. Ann told Lewis, Jr. at two different points in the letter about their mother exhaustively reading and rereading any news about her two boys away at school, while she also mentioned several times how sparsely the boys had written. Ann used this same pattern when she wrote about their father. Lewis, Sr.'s interest was evidenced when Ann made known to her brother that their father had subscribed to several newspapers from the Bardstown area to keep up with his sons' local news and by extension them. She then hit her brothers with the guilt that their father was doing it all because of the anxiety from not hearing from his sons directly from their writing letters home. The whole thing was written in a tone similar to what is used by modern day parents to prod their offspring into better communication while away at school.

One final theme hinted at within this letter was the pivotal role Ann and her sister Catherine would play within the Stirling family. Ann's efforts to extensively inform her brothers about the lives of their family back home was an attempt to ensure her brothers maintained a feeling of connectedness with their family at home. This probably had a two-fold purpose of alleviating any possible homesickness that might interfere with their studies and strengthening their emotional ties with family to make the use of guilt over disappointing the family more effective. The parental tone within the letter mentioned above also helped to support the hypothesis that the sisters filled a key position within the family dynamic.

In summary, this letter revealed several important educational themes associated with the Stirling family during the Antebellum Period. Among these themes were the role of women in the education of their families, the type of schools the Stirlings attended, and the family's efforts to ensure the educational success of their children. The analysis of this letter provided an example of the possibilities associated with a microhistory of an antebellum family. Chief among these possibilities was the ability to delve deeply into the meanings associated with the lived experience of the Stirling family as they tried to educate their children.

Perceptions of Education in Louisiana

The previous letter provided but a brief glimpse into how the Stirlings experienced and valued education, but what was revealed stood in stark contrast to the stereotype normally associated with education in Louisiana and the South in the 19th century.

One of the most prominent contributors to this myth was Thomas Jefferson, who in his *Account of Louisiana* state that '[n]ot more than half of the inhabitants are supposed to be able to read and write; of whom not more than 200, perhaps are able to do it well.'"³

The stereotype associated with education in Louisiana and the South included the belief that people from both regions are unmotivated, unintelligent, and uneducated. This perception has remained relatively unchanged from the self-determination of the Antebellum Period until the modern era of Federally-mandated accountability.

In a recent survey of the intellectual performance of U.S. Southerners, Clark, Eno, and Guadagno (2011) have reported contemporary views that "southerners are unintelligent or uneducated."⁴ Reed's (1987) survey of college students' perceptions found that white southerners were seen "as traditional or conservative, exemplifying a variety of 'folk culture' traits ranging from familism [sic] to religiosity; as hospitable and polite; and as relatively lacking in ambition, energy and industry."⁵ Reed also pointed out that "white southerners, too, were less likely than in 1970 to be seen as 'intelligent' (down from 21% to 0%)."⁶

White southerners were not the only ones associated with this unflattering stereotype. In a 1958 study of Negro students in Chicago, Boylan and O'Meara asked the teachers for input. They found the following:

³ S.L. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 56. Jefferson wrote this around the end of Spanish rule in 1803.

⁴ J. Clark, C. Eno, and R. Guadagno, "Southern Discomfort: The Effects of Stereotype Threat on the Intellectual Performance of US Southerners," *Self and Identity*, 10 (2011): 249.

⁵ J.S. Reed, "Continuity and Change in the Regional Stereotypes of Southern College Students, 1970-1987," *Sociological Spectrum* 11, no. 4 (October 1991): 370.

⁶ Reed, "Continuity and Change in the Regional Stereotypes of Southern College Students, 1970-1987," 375. This particular quote supported the understanding that the strength of the stereotype may have fluctuated some depending on the specific time period in question, but the general stereotype remained relevant throughout. Reed mentioned a 1957 Gallup poll and referenced 19th century travel accounts as further support for the historical consistency of this particular stereotype.

The large number of southern-born pupils in our school was given by every teacher as the primary cause or the basic contributing cause of the retardation. The teacher opinions varied slightly. Some teachers said that moving from uncomplicated rural localities in the South to a Northern urban environment is disturbing, and results in low scores of intelligence and achievement. Other teachers held that, quite apart from the effects of changing from Southern rural to Northern urban culture, the children from the South do not measure up in native ability to children born and reared in Chicago.⁷

Even in today's current educational climate obsessed with numbers and accountability, Louisiana consistently fares poorly on most annual rankings. For example, Louisiana ranked 47th out of the 50 states in 2010 according to the American Legislative Exchange Council's (ALEC) "Report Card on American Education: State Education Rankings,"⁸ but then saw its ranking drop to 49th in the 2011 and 2013 rankings. The most current state report card and rankings from 2015 gave the state a 'D' report card rating and a ranking of forty-six out of fifty states.⁹

The historically poor perception of education in Louisiana does not fit well with the story of the Stirling family that was revealed within the letter. In contrast, the Stirling family letters provide a counter-narrative of Louisianans who demonstrated great effort in educating their children which suggests a high value being placed on education. Other researchers have also

⁷ F. Boylan and R. O'Meara, "Stereotype and Inquiry Concerning Southern Born Negro Pupils in Chicago," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 32, no. 2 (1958): 76-77.

⁸ M. Ladner and D. Myslinski, "Report Card on American Education: State Education Rankings," *American Legislative Exchange Council (2010)*, accessed on January 1, 2016, http://alec.org/docs/ReportCard_19_Edition.pdf.

⁹ M. Ladner, "Report Card on American Education: Ranking State K-12 Performance, Progress, and Reform," *American Legislative Exchange Council (2016)*, accessed on January 27, 2016, <http://www.alec.org/app/uploads/2015/11/2015alecreportcardfinalweb-151110162215-lva1-app6891.pdf>.

found evidence supporting this counter-narrative, “On average, creole New Orleanians were twice as literate as their parents or grandparents and much more likely to be able to sign their names than contemporaries in France.”¹⁰

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the archival correspondence left behind by the extended family of Lewis Stirling, Sr. from West Feliciana Parish in Antebellum Louisiana. The Stirling family raised and educated their children during the Antebellum Period (1820-1860) prior to the devastation wrought by the Civil War. What evidence of the education of their children was left behind? How did the family experience that education? What meaning did that education hold for this family?

Before tackling those questions, it became necessary to determine how the study of history would be understood for this study. “Until recently, however, curriculum history and educational research more generally has been treated common-sensically as a national affair, looking at ‘what is’ rather than what has fallen away, and refused or escaped ontologization.”¹¹ In the case of the Stirlings and Louisiana, the destruction and turmoil that resulted from the Civil War also included the ‘falling away’ of how education was experienced by them during the Antebellum Period.

The archival data was used to construct a narrative micro-history focusing on the family of Lewis Stirling, Sr. focusing on their lived experience of educating their children. In addition, the study will stretch to encompass their extended family and neighbors including Daniel

¹⁰ S.L. Dawdy, *Building the Devil’s Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*, 57.

¹¹ B. Baker, ed., *New Curriculum History*, (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2009): 29.

Turnbull, James P. Bowman, and Rachel O'Connor. This was done in part based on an observation from the work of Tyack (1974) who found that “families of a neighborhood were usually loosely organized tribe: social and economic roles were overlapping, unspecialized, familiar.”¹²

Several other family archival collections from the St. Francisville area were also explored in an effort to thicken the description of the Stirling's education. Daniel Turnbull was Lewis, Sr.'s brother-in-law. James P. Bowman was Lewis, Sr.'s nephew. Rachel O'Connor lived on a plantation neighboring the Stirlings' Wakefield Plantation.

The hope was to develop an emerging understanding of their lived experience with education to help create a deeper understanding of the history of education in Louisiana. Beginning with the family of Lewis Stirling, threads were allowed to emerge naturally. These were then followed to several other archival collections in close proximity to the initial family, both familial proximity and geographic proximity. Amongst these were the Stirlings' cousins, the Turnbulls and the Bowmans. These threads were followed in an attempt to flesh out conversations of interest from the first collection. Between the devastation and death from the Civil War and the revolutionary changes in the government and power structure imposed from without by military reconstruction after the war, it was highly probable that many Louisianans lost their lives, were displaced, or otherwise found their stories lost or buried in the chaotic swirl of time and onslaught of events. It was hoped that attempts to give voice to these people silenced by history would provide new data points from which to understand Louisiana education.

¹² D.B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974): 17.

Research Questions

The current narrative of the history of education in Louisiana tells a tale of low prioritization and neglect.¹³ Does the historical evidence support this story of continual poor performance and lack of concern? Is there evidence to support alternative perspectives? In an attempt to answer these questions, this study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. How did the Stirling family of West Feliciana educate their children?
2. Based on the archived family correspondence, what meanings did the family attach to the education of their children?
3. What evidence was there to suggest that other West Feliciana families shared the Stirlings' educational values?

Significance of the Study

Looking at the field of education in Antebellum America, things are generally seen through the dominant narrative of Horace Mann's Common School Movement, which Wayne Urban (1981) refers to as the "phenomenon of Massachusetts Myopia."¹⁴ Horace Mann was an educational reformer from Massachusetts, who became the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837. "It is generally agreed that within the common school reform movement the accomplishments of Horace Mann were the most dramatic and far-reaching."¹⁵ Mann

¹³ Ladner and Myslinski, "Report Card on American Education: State Education Rankings."

¹⁴ W. Urban, "History of Education: A Southern Exposure," *History of Education Quarterly*: 21, no. 2, (1981): 136.

¹⁵ J. Messerli, "Localism and State Control in Horace Mann's Reform of the Common Schools," *American Quarterly* 17, no. 1, (1965): 104.

believed schools should help in the democratization of society “and for that end he desired to make the public schools as good as schools could be made, so that the line dividing the rich and the poor might not necessarily be coincident with that dividing the educated and the ignorant.”¹⁶

Mann looked at the schools in Boston and several problems preventing him from accomplishing his goal. He found there was an overall lack of information about the schools, which precluded the institution of any effective reforms. He also felt the way teachers disciplined their students was brutal and needed to be reformed. Mann lacked a means of leverage over the teachers to successfully reform it. Mann found the answer to his problems in Europe. “In Prussian centralized schools he found examples of organization—supervision, graded classes, well-articulated curriculum—and humane methods of instruction which he thought Boston should emulate.”¹⁷

In order to emulate the Prussian system, Mann needed to improve the funding of schools to insure poor and rich alike could access quality education. In 1827, Massachusetts had passed legislation making “the entire support of common schools by taxation was made compulsory.”¹⁸ They went on to establish a permanent school fund in 1834, so Mann only needed to maintain public support for funding education. “Mann himself never tired of reminding the people of Massachusetts that support for education would have to begin at the local level.”¹⁹

¹⁶ B.A. Hinsdale, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States, 1837-1900*, (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1979): 119.

¹⁷ Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*, 35.

¹⁸ L.A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951): 93.

¹⁹ L.A. Cremin, *Horace Mann Lecture The Genius of American Education*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965): 90.

After a steady funding source was established, Mann pushed for information about the students' abilities, a standard curriculum for all schools, and the professionalization of teachers. First, Mann and other American educational reformers had to address the problem of curriculum, "Although there was disagreement on exactly what education was necessary for ordinary living, the conclusions of these men usually revolved around the common branches—the tools of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and then perhaps some geography, history, and grammar."²⁰ Once the general curriculum was decided on, Mann instituted a system of examinations to test students' abilities and provide him with the leverage necessary to push for the professionalization of teaching.

The professionalization of the teaching profession was a key component in Mann's desire to achieve equality through education. Much like the traditionally unequal funding of schools, poor schools also tended to have poor teachers who were less prepared. Mann believed if he could raise the number and ability of all teachers it would even the playing field some for the poor children. "He therefore campaigned insistently for those conditions that would facilitate the creation of a teaching profession: careful selection of personnel, well-designed advanced training, and increased status and authority."²¹

Although the centralization of education under the control of a state board of education and Mann's other reforms faced significant opposition, he left a lasting legacy of success. By 1850, the schools were free and common to all students which provided all students "with a

²⁰ Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*, 64.

²¹ Cremin. *Horace Mann Lecture The Genius of American Education*, 92.

minimum common educational experience.”²² Just as important for Mann’s purposes, the schools’ were controlled and supported through the common effort of the entire community, which kept the schools providing education for the benefit of all students.

Best’s Unexplained South

John Hardin Best (1996) offered his own critique of the field, “the history of education in recent years has done its job remarkably well, with one striking exception: it does not explain the South.”²³ What did Best’s critique mean? “The South as a regional culture has differed from the other regions of the United States from the seventeenth century to the present time.”²⁴ This regional difference was especially true of Louisiana with its well-established French and Spanish Creole culture and connections to Afro-Caribbean culture left over from its colonial past. These differences would then manifest themselves in the education found in the region.

Whether you subscribe to Urban’s “Massachusetts Myopia” or Best’s “unexplained south,” they both reveal the need for further study of education in the antebellum South. Educational historians must turn to archival evidence to try to fill in the gaps. While not useful for producing conclusions generalizable to the rest of the period, micro-history case studies do help tell the story of one particular individual, family, or group. Understanding the lived experience of this one particular case could provide understanding to aid later researchers conducting similar studies. It is also possible for this type of study to form the basis for arguing a counter-narrative of the history of education in the South. A narrative that tells a different story that might help expand educational agency that goes beyond the dominance of Horace Mann and the Common School Movement in New England.

²² Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*, 219.

²³ J.H. Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 36, no. 1 (1996): 44.

²⁴ Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” 39.

According to Jenkins (1995), “no historical account can (re)cover the past because the past wasn’t an account, it was events and situations.”²⁵ Following this idea, it became immediately apparent that a microhistory of one antebellum family would have only limited usefulness for generalizing to the experiences of a larger population. A historiographical micro-history case study can, however, provide in-depth information into how one particular family lived and experienced the education of their children. It can also provide specific information on how this family felt as they struggled to educate their children. The small truth of this one family’s experience can provide one thread or one way of understanding something. It can also serve as a point of comparison from which to find connections and estrangements with the small truth of someone else’s lived experience. The net positive result of conducting multiple historiographical microhistories would be a better understanding of the historical phenomenon and the how those who lived then experienced it.

Education in Louisiana

While officially part of the United States in 1803, Louisiana’s people and education were still deeply influenced by their 18th century French Catholic colonial roots.

Education meant mastery of the catechism to some, orderly behavior to others, scientific observation and classification to still others, and , less frequently than we may expect, the staples of our own educational program: reading, writing, and arithmetic.²⁶

“The Catholics of New Orleans and elsewhere in South Louisiana generally looked to the church

²⁵ K. Jenkins, *On ‘What is history’: From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White*, (London: Routledge, 1995): 11-13. Quoted in B. Baker, *New Curriculum History*, (2009): 227.

²⁶ E. Clark, “Enlightenment in the Shade: Education in French Colonial Louisiana,” *Le Journal* 25, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 1

for whatever formal education their children expected to receive.”²⁷ Included amongst these Catholic schools were “the aborted Capuchin school of the early 1720s”²⁸ for boys and the boarding school for girls established in 1727 by the Ursulines in New Orleans.

According to Clark,

The Ursulines were almost certainly responsible for a remarkable female literacy rate in French colonial New Orleans. In the early 1760s the signature literacy rate for women stood at 72%, which was actually two percentage points above the literacy rate for men.²⁹

In fact, the Ursulines work extended to free black and slave girls, which led to a separate legacy of education amongst that population. “The signatures of free women of color in the sacramental and notarial records of New Orleans attest that their education included letters.”³⁰ The Ursulines work with women of color continued through the colonial period and well into the Antebellum Period, but they were not the only ones to work on educating girls of color.

Sister Ste. Marthe Fontier left the Ursulines and established a school specifically for girls of color. This school was eventually taken over by another order of Catholic nuns, the Sisters of Mount Carmel, in 1838. The school was named the St. Claude School and operated until the 1890s, continuing to teach generations of free colored females even after it technically became illegal to teach them.³¹ They used the older girls to help teach the younger ones, which helped establish a tradition of leadership among the free women of color in New Orleans.

²⁷ R. Cline, *Education in Louisiana—History and Development*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Claitor’s Publishing Division, 1974): 9.

²⁸ Clark, “Enlightenment in the Shade: Education in French Colonial Louisiana,” 1.

²⁹ Clark, “Enlightenment in the Shade: Education in French Colonial Louisiana,” 3.

³⁰ Clark, “Enlightenment in the Shade: Education in French Colonial Louisiana,” 3.

³¹ Sister M.B. Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*. Edited by V.M. Gould and C.E. Nolan, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001): xxx.

Out of this group of colored women came Henrietta Delille and others, who formed another confraternity, the Sisters of the Holy Family.³² The women went on to buy a permanent home in 1851, where they continued the work of tending the sick and educating young black girls. “It appears that the women recognized that the continuation of their work was dependent upon their discretion.”³³ “The authorities not only excluded all black New Orleanians—free or slave—from public education, but they deliberately tried to shackle them with ignorance.”³⁴ -- “Under slavery, catechism constituted the only means of permissible instruction for Catholic missionaries.”³⁵ By using the front of basic religious instruction, the Sisters of the Holy Family were able to continue the Ursuline legacy of educating young black women even after the political atmosphere of 1850s began to harden the prohibition against teaching blacks to read or write. Despite the dominant narrative suggesting that Louisiana was disinterested in education, the example of the Ursulines, the St. Claude School, and the Sisters of the Holy Family showed that this was certainly not the case among the Franco-Creole Catholics, the free people of color, and the enslaved people of New Orleans.

³² Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxxiv.

³³ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxxv.

³⁴ D.E. Devore and J. Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, (New Orleans, LA: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991): 3.

³⁵ C.C. Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1997): 131.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical underpinnings of this study centered on using historiography as a framework to establish the particular historical questions that would drive the study. “At its simplest, history is the study of the past and historiography is the attempt to write it down.”³⁶ In this study, the post-revisionist tradition of historiography dominated because of its emphasis on “the complex, subtle and often contradictory relationship of education and society.”³⁷

The tradition of post-revisionism historiography was the field of history’s equivalent to postmodernism. “As an elusive or ambiguous term, postmodernism does not lend itself to a precise definition, as a result of which it has tended to be used differently across different disciplines.”³⁸ Yilmaz provided three reasons why postmodernism could not be precisely defined.

1. The grounding of postmodernism is considered to be contingent and unstable, so it safe to say that postmodernism in its nature is anathema to the notion of definition.
2. Postmodernism is neither a systematic theory characterized by a single coherent framework nor a unified movement but ‘an intellectual trend’ or ‘a loose alliance of intellectual perspectives’ drawing on such diverse philosophical theories and movements as post-structuralism, phenomenology, hermeneutics, semiotics, critical theory, and neo-pragmatism, many of which critique and challenge the basic assumptions of modernism about knowledge and reality.
3. None of the leading figures who contributed to the emergence and dissemination of the discourse of postmodernism such as Lyotard, Foucault, Baudrillard, Derrida, Lacan, Rorty, Kristeva, and Schrag provided a synoptic depiction of postmodernism.³⁹

³⁶ W. Pinar, W. Reynolds, P. Slattery, and P. Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004): 407.

³⁷ G. McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, (Philadelphia, PA: Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, 2000): 43.

³⁸ K. Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42, no. 7 (2010): 780.

³⁹ Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” 780.

Lyotard characterized postmodernism as an “incredulity toward metanarratives; or a skeptical stance toward master narratives of modernism.”⁴⁰ Other curriculum theorists have described postmodernism as a common attitude, a state of mind, or a condition.⁴¹ Many historians were dissatisfied with classical historiographies and the more recent revisionist traditions and their tendency to view history through metanarratives and the lens of nationalism. Postmodernism offered those dissatisfied with the status quo in the field an opportunity to conduct their research in a different direction.

Using Lyotard’s skeptical stance toward master narratives, Baker elaborated on the benefits from using that type of curriculum inquiry. Looking at things in this way encouraged the “forging of unexpected analytical pathways, uncleaving old assumptions, and offering unique foci and possibilities for the fields of both education and history.”⁴² These new ways of looking at educational history went from useful tools to necessary elements when conducting transnational educational research. By challenging the metanarratives’ understanding of truth, postmodernism “endorses the view that historical accounts neither correspond directly with what happened in the past nor can be checked against the past... those accounts can only be checked against other accounts of the past constructed by historians.”⁴³

Post-revisionists tended to focus on trans-border or international connections like the new research on Atlantic Studies or Caribbean Studies. With an emphasis on looking beyond metanarratives, postmodern historical research employed a wide-array of concepts, theories, and

⁴⁰ J. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 1984): 79, quoted in K. Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42, no. 7 (2010): 182.

⁴¹ Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” 780-781.

⁴² B. Baker, ed., *New Curriculum History*, (Boston, MA: Sense Publishers, 2009): xii.

⁴³ Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” 793.

research methods to achieve a better understanding of the complex and subtle within the relationship of education and society.⁴⁴ Post-revisionists used whatever methods worked best in the quest to achieve the type of complex understanding of history necessary to tease out previously unreported alternative possibilities.

[Postmodernism] has encouraged historians to look more closely at documents, to take their surface patina more seriously, and to think about texts and narratives in new ways. It has helped open up many new subjects and areas for research, while putting back on the agenda many topics which had previously seemed to be exhausted. It has forced historians to interrogate their own methods and procedures as never before, and in the process has made them more self-critical.⁴⁵

Taking advantage of the willingness of the post-revisionist tradition to use other methodologies, ideas from phenomenology, narrative inquiry, and textual analysis were all incorporated into the data analysis of this study. “Phenomenology is simply the study of appearances and this makes it the appropriate method to use in approaching the appearing of everyday life.”⁴⁶ According to Clandinin (2006), narrative inquiry should be looked at “as both phenomenon and method.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 43.

⁴⁵ R. Evans, *In Defense of History*, (London, Granta Books, 1993): 248, quoted in K. Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42, no. 7 (2010): 788.

⁴⁶ D. Mitchell, *Everyday Phenomenology*. (Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2012), 4. Approaching “the appearing of everyday life” meant the study of the everyday lived experience.

⁴⁷ D.J. Clandinin, J. Huber, M. Huber, M.S. Murphy, A. Murray Orr, M. Pearce, and P. Steeves, *Composing Diverse Identities: Narrative Inquiries into the Interwoven Lives of Children and Teachers*, (New York: Taylor & Francis Routledge, 2006): 21.

Overview of the Dissertation Chapters

The next chapter will focus on the methodology for analyzing the archival data and conducting the study. It will include the subjects of this particular historiographical micro-narrative. Based on a framework of the ideas, concepts, and themes pulled from the initial literature review, a textual analysis of the archival correspondence will be conducted to provide additional themes and information. These themes will then be used to develop a narrative description of the lived experience of the Stirling, Bowman, and O'Connor/Weeks families educating their children during the Antebellum Period.

The third chapter will provide an overview of the culture and demographics of Southern society during the Antebellum Period and its relation to the history of education. "This interaction of the culture of the South with southern institutions of learning created the framework essential for understanding education in the forming of the American South."⁴⁸ After discussing the southern states as a whole, the focus will be narrowed to the more specific situation in Louisiana and the Felicianas.

The fourth chapter will introduce the families focused on in this study, including the Sterlings, the Turnbolls, the Bowmans, and the O'Connor/Weeks families. Special attention will be paid to introducing key individuals and exploring their familial connections with each other. After elaborating on how each individual fits within the larger family relationship, the chapter will conclude with brief histories of the associated schools and universities.

⁴⁸ Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," 44.

The fifth chapter will engage with the education of the male children of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. Examples of what the early childhood education of the Stirling children will be explored. The rest of the chapter will then prioritize looking at the education of James L. Stirling, Lewis Stirling, Jr., and Daniel Stirling, focusing on the themes associated with their secondary and university educations.

The sixth chapter will look beyond the immediate Stirling family members and look at their cousin James P. Bowman's secondary and university educations. The next section will take a look at the guardian/ward relationship between Daniel Turnbull and John Towles as it pertains to the expectations for educating any wards placed under your care. The second half of the chapter explores the education of women and their role in educating the children in their family, through the lens of the Stirling sisters, Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford, and Rachel O'Connor.

The seventh chapter will go back and list the themes that arose from chapters four through six. Once each of the major themes is discussed, the focus will shift towards attempting to address their possible implications or meanings. The chapter will conclude with a brief review of the possible limitations associated with this study.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Our challenge as curriculum scholars is to work towards a rethinking of some of the very notions we have come to rely on intellectually—these well-worn (inevitably Anglophone, western, masculine, nation-state) grooves which provide such a seamless glide that we hardly know they are there: assumptions and boundaries around our thinking which are themselves the stuff of ideologically generated infrastructure.⁴⁹

As this study was attempting to move beyond the traditional historiographical monograph with its reliance on important people, events and countries for data, it became important to find a research methodology that would allow more flexibility in choosing the methods to be employed. “Any attempt to move away from the ‘real’ of progressive linearity requires a refracted lens, one that views historical inquiry from multiple disciplinary perspectives.”⁵⁰ Post-revisionist historical research offers the perfect refracted lens to meet the needs of this study. Post-revisionist historiography focuses on “the complex, subtle and often contradictory relationship of education and society.”⁵¹ Post-revisionist historiography also willingly draws on ideas, theories, and methodologies of the other social sciences providing the necessary methodological flexibility to approach data collection and analysis using methods that emerge if necessary from the data as it is collected.

This study used a multidisciplinary approach borrowing from phenomenology and narrative inquiry to inform the development historiographical case study to get at the lived experience of one family’s efforts to educate their children in Antebellum Louisiana. The goal for this study was to develop a deeper understanding of what becoming educated meant to the

⁴⁹ P. Hendry and A.G. Winfield, “Bringing Out the Dead: Curriculum History as Memory,” *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29, no. 1 (2013): 2.

⁵⁰ Hendry and Winfield, “Bringing Out the Dead: Curriculum History as Memory,” 2.

⁵¹ G. McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, (Philadelphia, PA: Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, 2000): 43.

Stirling, Bowman, and O'Connor/Weeks families within the context of the time period (1820-1859) and the setting in which they were educated to better understand how these families perceived the experience of being educated.

Initially, a historiographical approach was used in conjunction with textual analysis on multiple archival family records to cast as wide a net as possible to develop a list of likely themes surrounding the topic of education in the antebellum. Once a comprehensive list of important themes and ideas was brought together, further analysis of the Stirling, Bowman, and O'Connor/Weeks family data sets will be conducted using phenomenological ideas, like data triangulation and bracketing to look at the information again through different sets of eyes. The process of reanalyzing continued using narrative theory methods, like a curriculum of lives and using the concepts of social, time, and place to be able to better evaluate information using a three-dimensional space for narrative inquiry.⁵² This evaluation and reevaluation process served to help me organize my thoughts on the topic then move on to developing a deeper understanding of what I learned using data triangulation and bracketing. The end goal was to tease out alternative ways of seeing the situation in order to thicken up the data to develop multiple understandings of the available data to deepen the emerging picture of the Stirling family's educational efforts.

⁵² D.J. Clandinin and F.M. Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000): 50.

Methodology: Historiography/Archival

Historiography: A Definition

At its simplest, the *New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1992) defines history as “a record of past events” and historiography as “the writing of history.”⁵³ Good (1963) expounded on the definition in terms of academia and research “as an integrated narrative or description of past events or facts, written in the spirit of critical inquiry.”⁵⁴ Integrated narrative and critical inquiry are the key ideas that move history and historiography into the realm of a rigorous academic discipline. “To make it possible to understand an historical event or phenomenon means to show how its pieces fit together.”⁵⁵ Out of this process of fitting pieces together through trial and error comes the need for historians to use discernible and reproducible methodological steps, when engaging in their research.

The historian's task does not end, however, with the integration of the narrative. Critical inquiry requires the historian to make value-laden judgments based on available information. “Indeed, for purposes of discussion, history does not exist until it has been reconstructed and written down by the historian.”⁵⁶ Which past events and people are important enough to study? What is the importance of each in relation to the others? These are questions whose answers often require historians to make intuitive leaps in their work over the all too common gaps found

⁵³ *New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of the English Language*. s.v. “History and Historiography,” edited by Cayne, B.S., et al. Danbury, CT: Lexicon Publications, Inc, 1992.

⁵⁴ C.V. Good, *Introduction to Educational Research: Methodology of Design in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. (New York: Meredith Publishing Company, 1963): 180.

⁵⁵ G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2002): 90.

⁵⁶ Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., 97.

within the historical evidence of the past. The kind of intuitive leaps usually associated with the artistic or creative mind, rather than the step-by-step methodological approach of the hard sciences.

The mention of both a scientific methodology and artistic intuitive leaps inevitably resulted in a question. Is historiography science or is it art? Good (1966) pointed out that history was a science because of its use of critical and objective inquiry to produce knowledge accepted by trained investigators.⁵⁷ It differs from the sciences, however, “since it is not a discipline of direct observation or experimentation, but utilizes reports of observations that cannot be repeated.”⁵⁸ In the end, he concluded that historiography’s method of investigation is scientific while the presentation of its findings more closely resembles art.⁵⁹ Elton supported Good’s conclusion when he stated, “Styles and methods of expression differ and there is room for many of them in the capacious mansions of historical writing.”⁶⁰

A turning point occurred within historiography research in the Eighteenth century as a result of the Enlightenment. The next turning point for the study of history began with the Enlightenment (Eighteenth century) as Europeans began making contact with non-Western cultures. Historians began using the term civilization.⁶¹ European actions against non-Western cultures were rationalized as the proper and necessary actions of a civilized society toward those they considered less civilized.

⁵⁷ Good, *Introduction to Educational Research: Methodology of Design in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 2nd ed., 146.

⁵⁸ C.V. Good, *Essentials of Educational Research*, (New York: Meredith Publishing Company, 1966): 183.

⁵⁹ Good, *Essentials of Educational Research*, 147.

⁶⁰ Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., 97.

⁶¹ Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., 8.

In response to Enlightenment historiography, Johann Gottfried von Herder developed the idea of each culture having its own soul that he referred to as its “Volksgeist.”⁶² This soul of the people was made up of the cultural and economic traditions unique to that particular culture. The true importance of von Herder’s Volksgeist can be seen in the rise of the Nationalist tradition of history writing in the late Nineteenth century. It was at this point that history became intertwined with and a tool of the politics of nationalism.

It served to reify and celebrate the state by creating exclusionary stories about the past, stories that erased oppressions, obscured certain historical actors, and exaggerated the triumphs and talents of the winners.⁶³

Twentieth Century Educational Historiography

As it entered the twentieth century, historiography experienced conflict and change at a more rapid pace. Instead of one tradition of scholarly study following and replacing another, several competing camps came into existence and fought for supremacy. Within educational historiography, these traditions included classical, revisionism, and post-revisionism.

McCulloch (2000) referred to the first of these competing traditions as “‘Classical’ historiography in the ‘Whiggish’ tradition.”⁶⁴ This tradition was at its strongest from 1900 to the mid-1960s and included many ideas associated with positivism. Under positivism, “objective knowledge about cause and effect is attainable via objectively analyzed data.”⁶⁵ Characteristics of this classical historiography included the view of history as the gradual progressive march of civilization and the emphasis on studying the biographies of “great men.”⁶⁶

⁶² Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., 9.

⁶³ Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2nd ed., 9.

⁶⁴ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 43).

⁶⁵ M. Howell and W. Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001): 13.

⁶⁶ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 43).

In “The End of History,” Francis Fukuyama (1989) provided an excellent example of the ‘Classical’ tradition of historiography. In this article, Fukuyama grappled with the historiographical issues inherent within these conflicting historiographical traditions. Fukuyama watched the fall of the Berlin Wall and began to wonder if it represented the end of history. “The end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of human government.”⁶⁷ In Fukuyama’s view history was mankind’s ideological evolution, but it was an evolution with some eventual end point. This ontological position places Fukuyama squarely within the positivist tradition associated with McCulloch’s ‘Classical’ tradition of historiography.

The ‘Revisionism’ tradition experienced its heyday from around 1960 until the early 1980s, although it continues through today.⁶⁸ This period was described by Mertens (1998), “the field of history is now experiencing the linguistic turn.”⁶⁹ This tradition is characterized by the expansion of subjects deemed appropriate for historical examination. Shifting away from examining the lives of the ‘great men’ representing the dominant narrative of history, marginalized groups or silenced groups became the focus of this historiography.⁷⁰ Examples of these marginalized groups would include Native Americans, poor illiterate working class immigrants, and women.

The tradition of ‘post-revisionism’ began in the 1980s and 1990s and was greatly influenced by postmodernism. Post-revisionist historiography calls for incorporating methods from multiple disciplines to enable the researcher to meet the challenge of reexamining the historic moment to be studied continuously peeling away the layers of truth to reveal the

⁶⁷ F. Fukuyama, “The End of History?,” *The National Interest*, 1989, Accessed on March 15, 2014. <http://www.kropfpolisci.com/exceptionalism.fukuyama.pdf>.

⁶⁸ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 43.

⁶⁹ D. Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998): 194.

⁷⁰ Howell and Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*, 14.

complex and subtle understandings of the moment being studied. These complex and subtle understandings are normally hidden or silenced and once revealed begin to give voice to previously silenced ways of knowing or experiencing that particular historic moment or concept. Revisionism abandoned the preeminence of Nationalist historiography that examined grand narratives to justify one nation's or group's divine right to take aggressive stances towards any neighbor or different groups encountered.

Post-revisionism also abandoned the positivist framework of traditional historiography and embraced revisionism's turn towards alternative ways of understanding historic moments of interest. Post-revisionism embraced pushing beyond looking at one individual, instead exploring the connections existing within multiple individual voices or stories that were hidden until the hard work of reflecting honestly on traditional historiography's dominant narrative gets peeled away to reveal their connections. Post-revisionism often brings multiple individual historic moments or stories together to look at how they are connected and how those connections are communicated. The purpose of emphasizing the connections across national or transnational borders is to highlight global themes like Morton's (2013) study challenging the simplistic narrative binaries associated with the Catholic Church's official story of Saint Katherine Drexel and her role in founding the only black Catholic, Xavier University in New Orleans.⁷¹

These monolithic stories prevent us from analyzing a moment with the possibilities of revealing the specific strategies people of different races, genders, and places used to negotiate difference to promote educational social justice.⁷²

⁷¹ B. Morton, "History as Death and Living Ghosts: The Mislaid Memories of Saint Katharine Drexel," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29, no. 1 (2013): 117.

⁷² Morton, "History as Death and Living Ghosts: The Mislaid Memories of Saint Katharine Drexel," 117.

The other feature of post-revisionist historiography that makes it unique is the willingness to pull ideas, theories, and methodologies from the other social sciences in order to use what works to achieve the goal of finding different perspectives and highlighting the connections between historic moments being studied. The use of life histories is one example of the methods that can be used with this tradition. Morton's previously mentioned study of Saint Katherine Drexel provides an example of this in action.

The post-revisionist tradition of historiography was used in the current study because of its usefulness in peeling away the dominant narratives of history associated with nationalist and racist binaries and replacing them with more complex narratives finding the connections between individual building blocks of history revealed by the stripping away of the dominant narrative. The Antebellum South and Antebellum Louisiana being studied are associated with the following grand narratives with appropriate binaries found within Table I:

Table I. Grand Narratives and Their Associated Binaries:

Grand Narrative	Associated Binary ⁷³
Nationalist Tension	Southern vs Northern
Plight of the Slaves	Slavery, South = Evil Abolition, North = Good
Comparison of Education	North = well educated South = poorly educated
Louisiana's Education	public or private innovative or horrible Public or Private Catholic or Protestant

⁷³ This table was created by Seth Eisworth, the author of this monograph.

Methodology

“The canonical way for a historian to begin a lecture or a piece of research is to ask a question of the past.”⁷⁴ Selecting the problem to research was generally seen as the first step in historiographical project.⁷⁵ In order to select a topic, Mertens (1998) suggested searching academic the field to see what’s been done and possibly find some problems worth investigating.⁷⁶ Once the problem has been selected, the researcher should carefully define the problem and make sure to narrow down any overly broad topics.⁷⁷

While some like Van Dalen (1962) included reviewing the literature within their first step of the research process, Mertens (1998) considered conducting the literature review as a completely separate step in the process. Reading the literature can help a researcher see what has already been done or the literature can provide actual historical data to be analyzed.⁷⁸

Tosh (2000) took a more pragmatic approach to how historians should fit the literature and primary sources into historical research. First, he brought up two principles which he felt would determine the direction of the research and subsequently impact the use of sources. Tosh concluded that in real world practice these approaches were usually followed in some complementary fashion, rather than as isolated methodologies.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ C. Bridenbaugh. “The Great Mutation,” *The American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (1963), 316.

⁷⁵ Bridenbaugh, “The Great Mutation”; C.V. Good, A.S. Barr, and D.E. Scates. *The Methodology of Educational Research*. (Ann Arbor, MI: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1935); D. Mertens. *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998); D.B. Van Dalen. *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962).

⁷⁶ Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*.

⁷⁷ Good, Barr, and Scates, *The Methodology of Educational Research*.

⁷⁸ Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*, 200.

⁷⁹ J. Tosh. *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2000): 56.

In the problem-oriented approach to historical research, research began with a survey of possible secondary sources to develop a driving research question. After formulating the question, the researcher began a search of the pertinent primary sources and “proceeding directly to the point where he or she can present some conclusions.”⁸⁰

The interest-oriented approach began with the foundation of one primary source or a group of sources that have sparked the researcher’s interest. The information mined from this initial source would become the catalyst for the direction of the historiography. Tosh called for “allowing the content of the source to determine the nature of the enquiry.”⁸¹

Regardless of which approach or combination of approaches in a particular project, the sources being used are of paramount importance for the overall project. Because of the possible impact on the overall project from the sources used, the final steps in the historical method involve the critical analyzation of the sources followed by interpreting and reporting the findings.

Source Materials

Primary and secondary sources are the two broad categories of source material used in historical research. Secondary sources are “summaries of information written by a person who did not directly observe the event, object, or condition.”⁸² Primary sources differ from secondary in that they were in some way directly involved in whatever event, object, or condition is being studied. For example, “the testimony of able eye and ear witnesses to past events” or “actual objects used in the past that can be examined directly.”⁸³

⁸⁰ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 56.

⁸¹ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 55-56.

⁸² Van Dalen, *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*, 162.

⁸³ Van Dalen, *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*, 162.

Historical sources encompass every kind of evidence that human beings have left of their past activities—the written word and the spoken word, the shape of the landscape and the material artefact, the fine arts as well as photography and film.⁸⁴

Bloch (1953) divided the types of sources used for historical research into two broad categories, unintentional and intentional. Garbage and other similar artifacts were included within the unintentional category, while intentional sources were referred to as narratives. Good (1963) provided a more extensive list of examples of sources appropriate for historiography:

1. physical remains: historic sites, roads, aqueducts, pyramids, etc.
2. orally transmitted material: folklore, legends, ballads, anecdotes, sagas, etc.
3. more elementary and durable kinds of representative or artistic materials: clay tablets, stamped coins, or woven tapestries
4. hand-written materials: papyrus, bricks bearing cuneiform writing, or vellum
5. printed books, papers, and literature
6. motion-picture film, microfilm, and recordings, including radio and television
7. personal observation (by the writer or the people being interviewed).⁸⁵

Tosh considered private correspondence to be especially useful as source documents for historiographical research. “There are no other sources that bring to life so clearly the family and social relationships of people in the past.”⁸⁶

As previously mentioned, this study centered on primary source documents from the following archival collections: Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; James P. Bowman and Family Papers, Mss. 1372, 1382, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, Mss. 4026, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; and Turnbull (Daniel) Family Papers, Mss. 4973, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections (LLMVC), LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA. In

⁸⁴ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 36.

⁸⁵ Good, *Introduction to Educational Research: Methodology of Design in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 2nd ed., 190-191.

⁸⁶ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 47.

addition to these directly accessed archival collections, transcribed letters from David Weeks and Family Papers, Mss. 528, 605, 1655, 1657, & 1807, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA were accessed from Webb's (1983) *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's legacy of letters 1823-1845*. These particular collections contained large amounts of personal correspondence between members of several branches of a large extended family that spanned several decades (1820-1860) that correspond to the years in which these families would have been sending their children away from Louisiana to complete their higher educations. These collections also revealed themselves to be a rich source of data on the early education of children.

Evaluating historical sources and data

In this study, the strength of any findings was completely dependent on the quality of the information pulled from the archival collections. The four evaluation variables it was necessary to address in order to evaluate the data were external criticism, internal criticism, validity, and reliability. For this study, assessing the external criticism was not as important because Louisiana State University's Special Collections Division of their library system has already gathered the materials and authenticated them. The internal criticism was much more important because you need to try and fill in all the blank spaces left in the narrative, regardless of the reason why there are holes in the information. Validity and reliability were a little harder to determine which is why interrelated archival collections were explored in hopes of locating correspondence between extended family members to complete the other half of conversations and verify what the conversation was really about. Could another researcher read the same letters and come to the same conclusions?

“A historian does not assume that remain is genuine or that a record presents as authentic account of past happenings.”⁸⁷ Determining whether a source or artifact is what it appears to be involves the process of external criticism. Through the use of external criticism a historian can establish the authorship of a primary document and ferret out any possible forgeries.⁸⁸ By answering questions about the identity of the author, the place the source was created, and the date it was written, the researcher is able to test the authenticity, or genuineness of the source.⁸⁹

Internal criticism addresses the credibility of the document’s content. “(1) What did the author mean by each word and statement? (2) Are the statements that the author made credible?”⁹⁰ According to Tosh, internal criticism requires the researcher to be fluent in the language and historical time period associated with the source.⁹¹ This knowledge enables the researcher to shed some light on the intentions and prejudices of the author, which can produce bias.

In addition to internal and external criticism, addressing the validity and reliability of the data obtained from sources was also important. The validity of a source asks “what are the relationships between constructs that can be stated and supported by empirical data.”⁹² The reliability of a source asks “can this be replicated under similar empirical conditions.”⁹³ (p. 208). Addressing these issues enables the researcher to recognize and alleviate possible limitations associated with historiographical research.

⁸⁷ Van Dalen, *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*, 165.

⁸⁸ Van Dalen, *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*, 165.

⁸⁹ Good, *Introduction to Educational Research: Methodology of Design in the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, 2nd ed., 200-201; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 58.

⁹⁰ Van Dalen, *Understanding the Educational Research: An Introduction*, 167.

⁹¹ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd ed., 60-61.

⁹² Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*, 208.

⁹³ Mertens, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology*, 208.

Limitations

The limitations usually associated with historical research center around the quality of the sources being used. Usually there is either too much or too little information available. For example, “You never find exactly what you need, on the other hand where, in the huge amount of nineteenth-century material in particular, do you start?”⁹⁴ The difficulty in finding the right sources can lead the research into time-consuming dead ends making the entire process somewhat of a test of will. For research questions involving a large number of possible sources, like the American Civil War, “some kind of sampling, whether deliberate or otherwise, is inevitable.”⁹⁵

Any use of sampling immediately brings up a multitude of questions concerning validity and reliability. Determining who saved the primary source and why, suddenly becomes as important as establishing the actual author. In addition, there are two other limitations associated with the use of small samples of primary historical sources. First, documentary sources tend to view history through the eyes of the wealthy and well-educated because they are more likely to be able and interested in writing the source documents left behind. Second, the artifacts left behind by the wealthy and well-educated tend to show events “through the eyes of the ‘winners’ of conflicts.”⁹⁶ By concentrating solely on the upper-class, these primary sources can leave out the voices of the lower-class and less educated. To counter this limitation, “historians should attempt to consult sources produced by representatives of the working class and poor and possibly distrust the absolute validity of sources produced by other social classes.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ R.G. Burgess, ed., *Strategies of Educational Research*, (London: The Falmer Press, 1985): 158.

⁹⁵ Burgess, ed., *Strategies of Educational Research*, 159.

⁹⁶ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 115.

⁹⁷ McCulloch, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 116.

This study had several possible limitations which needed consideration before interpretation of any findings. Any findings from this study were specific to the particular members of the Antebellum West Feliciana families whose correspondence was analyzed. The usefulness of any findings should not be considered generalizable to larger populations or the Antebellum Period as a whole.

Another limitation was directly concerned with the use of archival documents as sources. Archival documents can leave holes in the stories told within because of missing documents, documents written in slang or shorthand, and even literal holes torn or decayed within the documents. A possible way to lessen the negative implications of these limitations would be to research other Louisiana families and areas from the same time period.

Within the post-revisionist historiographical tradition, historiography takes priority of place within the methodology. Post-revisionism allows the use of multiple disciplines and methodologies. The specific methods to be used and when they should be used will emerge from the data as the research is conducted, so the most likely methodologies to be used will be explained individually for clarity's sake with the full acknowledgement that it doesn't mean they will be encountered in any particular order while conducting the study. Phenomenology will be the next methodology explored.

Methodology: Phenomenology

Phenomenology: A Definition

Phenomenology is defined as “form of interpretive inquiry which focuses on human perception and experience, particularly on what would characterize as the aesthetic quality of human experience.”⁹⁸ Creswell (2009) describes phenomenological research as “a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals.”⁹⁹ “Phenomenology is simply the study of appearances and this makes it the appropriate method to use in approaching the appearing of everyday life.”¹⁰⁰

It can also be broadly defined as either a philosophy or a method, depending on the scholar and the uses to which they plan to focus it on. “For Heidegger phenomenology is pre-eminent as a mode of investigation.”¹⁰¹ It is through his focus on phenomenological investigation that Heidegger provided opposition to the dominance of Cartesian positivist methods of endlessly categorizing isolated things in the name of science. It was through these methods that attempted “to turn the usual process upside down, rather than taking a ‘scientific’ approach and analyzing objects in their isolation.”¹⁰²

Edmund Husserl and the Utrecht School of “phenomenological pedagogy” are both generally associated with phenomenology through a purely philosophical tradition. Generally the German and Dutch phenomenologists were never really concerned with questions of method. In

⁹⁸ W. Pinar, W. Reynolds, P. Slattery, and P. Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004): 405.

⁹⁹ J.W. Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd ed., (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2009): 13.

¹⁰⁰ D. Mitchell. *Everyday Phenomenology*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012): 4.

¹⁰¹ Mitchell, *Everyday Phenomenology*, 4.

¹⁰² Mitchell, *Everyday Phenomenology*, 43.

fact, Husserl focused on the philosophical in an effort to “lend absolute certainty to a disintegrating civilization.”¹⁰³ This philosophical tradition within phenomenology was a direct response to “the social order of European capitalism [that] had been shaken to its roots by the traditional structures in society left behind a populace pining for meaning or certainty.

Origins of Phenomenology

Although beginning as a mathematician, Edmund Husserl would later devote himself to studying the subjective and objective that evolved into what we now call phenomenology.¹⁰⁴ “Vandenberg (1997, 11) regards Husserl as the ‘fountainhead of phenomenology in the twentieth century.’”¹⁰⁵ Pinar places his point of origin for phenomenology being introduced to curriculum studies very specifically “at the 1967 Curriculum Theory Conference held at Ohio State University” and from the hands of Dwayne Huebner.¹⁰⁶

Heidegger was a student of Husserl who helped him to develop phenomenological concepts during the early part of the twentieth century. Three key concepts in their work were as follows:

1. They were opposed to the Cartesian method, which privileges focusing on the object under study from a pseudoneutral and strictly objective stance.¹⁰⁷
2. We can only understand the world and ourselves as essentially involved or engaged in the world.¹⁰⁸
3. The fact of this kind of pre-ontological non-thematic way of understanding is prior to

¹⁰³ T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated.” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1, (2004): Article 4. Accessed December 13, 2013 from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹⁰⁴ S.M. Lavery, “Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2, no. 3 (2003): 22.

¹⁰⁵ Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” 3.

¹⁰⁶ Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, 417.

¹⁰⁷ M.L.A. Sadala and R.D.C.F. Adorno, “Phenomenology as a Method to Investigate the Experience Lived: A Perspective from Husserl and Merleau-Ponty’s Thought,” *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 37, no. 3 (2002): 282.

¹⁰⁸ Mitchell, *Everyday Phenomenology*, 40.

any explicit conceptualization that we may undertake.¹⁰⁹ Following Heidegger's work, Merleau-Ponty extended the ideas into what became known as Existential Phenomenology. His work brings forth the concept of intentionality as "something we become aware of through our *lived* experience."¹¹⁰ "Philosophy, for Merleau-Ponty thus becomes an investigation into the fragility of our existence, into the complex inter-relations between body, space and self, into what it *feels* like, and what it means to be alive."¹¹¹ He focused on space, time, and the importance of perception when studying one's lived experience. "It is not thinking but *perception* that is paradigmatic of our lived but never fully conscious experience."¹¹²

Another important historical moment for phenomenology came about during the 1970s involving one of the limitations associated with phenomenological inquiry. According to Stones (1988), phenomenology "had not yet establish[ed] itself as a viable alternative to the traditional natural scientific approach in psychological research."¹¹³ The reason was that a phenomenological praxis, a systematic and sustained way, had not yet been developed.¹¹⁴ This situation evolved in the 1970s, when phenomenological psychologists developed just such praxis, "a methodological realization of the phenomenological philosophical attitude."¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Mitchell, *Everyday Phenomenology*, 43.

¹¹⁰ J. Davidson, "A Phenomenology of Fear: Merleau-Ponty and Agoraphobic Life-Worlds," *Sociology of Health & Illness* 22, no. 5 (2000): 642.

¹¹¹ Davidson, "A Phenomenology of Fear: Merleau-Ponty and Agoraphobic Life-Worlds," 642.

¹¹² Davidson, "A Phenomenology of Fear: Merleau-Ponty and Agoraphobic Life-Worlds," 643.

¹¹³ C.R. Stone, "Research: Toward a Phenomenological Praxis," *An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology* 2 (1988), quoted in T. Groenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 5, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹¹⁴ T.A. Schwandt, *Qualitative Inquiry: A Dictionary of Terms*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), quoted in T. Groenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 5, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹¹⁵ Stone, "Research: Toward a Phenomenological Praxis," *An Introduction to*

Characterizations of Phenomenology in the Work of Max van Maanen

“From a phenomenological point of view, to do research is always to question the way we experience the world, to want to know the world in which we live as human beings.”¹¹⁶ This research studies lived experience through “the world as we immediately experience it pre-reflectively rather than as we conceptualize, categorize, or reflect on it.”¹¹⁷ The aim is to gain “a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences.”¹¹⁸ It asks questions like “What is this or that kind of experience like?”¹¹⁹

Phenomenological research maintains its difference from other types of research because the concept of pre-reflexive experience allows the researcher not to classify or abstract the experiences under study.¹²⁰ Instead, the researcher is interested only in the study of essences. “A universal or essence may only be intuited or grasped through a study of the particulars or instances as they are encountered in lived experience.”¹²¹

Phenomenological Psychology 2 (1988), quoted in T. Groenewald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 5, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹¹⁶ M. Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990): 5.

¹¹⁷ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 9.

¹¹⁸ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 9.

¹¹⁹ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 9.

¹²⁰ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 9.

¹²¹ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 10.

Van Manen describes phenomenological research as systematic, explicit, self-critical, intersubjective, whose subject matter is always the structures of meaning of the lived *human* world, while maintaining an attitude of thoughtfulness.¹²² The research is systematic because it uses specially practiced modes of questioning, reflecting, focusing, and intuiting.¹²³ It is explicit because it attempts to articulate, through the content and form of text, the structures of meaning embedded in lived experience.¹²⁴ Phenomenological research is self-critical in that it continually examines its own goals and methods in an attempt to come to terms with the strengths and shortcomings of its approach and achievements.¹²⁵ The research is also intersubjective where the researcher needs the “other” to develop a dialogic relation with the particular phenomenon under study.¹²⁶

Phenomenological research is one in which “theory enlightens practice” under the assumption “that lived human experience is always more complex than the result of any singular description, and that there is always an element of the ineffable to life.”¹²⁷ It tries making things “explicit and seeking universal meaning.”¹²⁸ The complexity inherent within this type of research when combined with the practice of thoughtfulness creates “a heedful, mindful wondering about

¹²² Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

¹²³ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

¹²⁴ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

¹²⁵ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

¹²⁶ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 11.

¹²⁷ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 15.

¹²⁸ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 19.

the project of life, of living, of what it means to live a life.”¹²⁹ The end result is a distinct research methodology which cannot be broken from the links with the results.¹³⁰ The intricacy of what this methodology attempts to accomplish makes it what is described as a poetizing activity, or an aesthetic experience.¹³¹

Characterizations of Phenomenology in the Works of Ted T. Aoki

In *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki* (Pinar & Irwin, 2005), a great deal of time was spent describing the various characteristics of three orientations of curriculum inquiry. The tables constructed using these characteristics allowed relatively easy comparisons and contrasts between these particular orientations. Although they were extremely useful for understanding Aoki’s work, the twenty or thirty pages that included these tables made them impractical to put within the confines of this monograph. These tables also gave Aoki the platform from which to easily translate his curricular work on these orientations between multiple articles to enable the ease of their use for analyzing multiple works. It was their very usefulness and translatability, which created the need for them to be examined within a separate section here.

In Aoki’s work, the phenomenological orientation towards curriculum inquiry was referred to as a Situational Interpretive Orientation.¹³² The root activity in this orientation is one of communication, which in this case is relating man to the social world. People’s way of knowing and understanding looks to the meanings people give to specific situations and the

¹²⁹ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 12.

¹³⁰ Van Maanen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 13.

¹³¹ Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, 405.

¹³² W. Pinar and R.L. Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005): 100.

knowledge of the structure of those interpretive meanings.¹³³ Through deep exploration of phenomena, researchers hope to clarify motives, common meanings and authentic experiences. Oriented phenomenologically, researchers constitute reality intersubjectively and life is seen as a mystery. Two additional factors need to be kept in mind while conducting this type of research:

1. people give personal meanings to each situation experienced.
2. people interpret the same event in different ways.¹³⁴

Curriculum Implementation: Situational Praxis

Aoki described an alternative view of implementation, which he described as being “grounded in human experiences within the classroom situation.”¹³⁵ The alternative view of phenomenological implementation grounded in human experiences will be the framework behind this study’s phenomenological methodology. This viewpoint along with the associated assumptions will be used to inform every phenomenological method used to engage with the data.

In addition, there are three basic assumptions that go along with this particular type of praxis. The first assumption goes along with phenomenology’s origins in opposition to the Cartesian separation of self and world with the dehumanizing effects which instrumentalist praxis has on teachers. Assumption two acknowledges the agency inherent within all actors in a phenomenological orientation. The third assumption is inherent within a social relational context, within which the activity of implementation is a matter of power and control.

Assumption 1: Humanization is the basic human vocation.

Assumption 2: People are capable of transforming their realities.

Assumption 3: Education is never neutral.¹³⁶

¹³³ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 100.

¹³⁴ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 103.

¹³⁵ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 116.

¹³⁶ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 120-121.

Techniques Associated with Phenomenological Research

In many cases, phenomenological researchers are hesitant or refuse to provide a list of prescribed, successful methodological techniques for this type of research.¹³⁷ “One cannot impose method on a phenomenon ‘since that would do a great injustice to the integrity of that phenomenon.’”¹³⁸ For the current study, the following mantra will be its guiding principle when considering what direction the study should go in: “The phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa).”¹³⁹

Creswell (1998) recommends “long interviews with up to 10 people” for a phenomenological study.¹⁴⁰ In addition, he described the collection of his data from three different kinds of informants in order to strengthen their information through data triangulation. The data sources for the current study prohibit performing extensive interviews to collect data, but the data triangulation method will definitely be important to data analysis in the current study.

¹³⁷ R.H. Hycener, “Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data,” Bryman, A., and R.G. Burgess, eds., *Qualitative Research* 3 (1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 6, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹³⁸ Hycener, “Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data,” Bryman, A., and R.G. Burgess, eds., *Qualitative Research* 3 (1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 6, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹³⁹ Hycener, “Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data,” Bryman, A., and R.G. Burgess, eds., *Qualitative Research* 3 (1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 8, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹⁴⁰ J.W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1998): 65 & 113.

Data triangulation is the technique of gathering data from three different individual sources or types of sources. For the current study, the individual data sources would be each individual primary source document organized via themes developed using textual analysis on each of the primary sources. Each individual source provides only a partial picture of the experience or phenomenon. By considering all of them together, all of their partial pictures overlap to provide a much more complete idea of what happened. Regardless of other possible factors, “doing phenomenology” means capturing “rich descriptions of phenomena and their settings.”¹⁴¹ Phenomenology’s capturing of rich descriptions will be extremely complementary to the efforts to delve deeper into the data using historiographical methods used initially.

“Unstructured in-depth phenomenological interviews” are often used within a phenomenological research methodology.¹⁴² The interviews tend toward being unstructured to allow dialogical freedom for the researcher and participant to allow the direction of the interview to generate its own directionality within the lived-experiences of all participants and the interview itself. Questions are usually “directed to the participant’s experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions about the theme in question.”¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*, 104.

¹⁴² J.C. Welman, and S.J. Kruger, *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*, (Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson, 1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 12, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹⁴³ Welman and Kruger, *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*, (Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson, 1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 12, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

Another methodological tool used by phenomenological researchers is Husserl's concept of bracketing. Husserl used the "Latin terms, noesis and noema to indicate the intimate relationship between intentionality as total meaning (noema) and particular acts of perception (noesis) of the object."¹⁴⁴ Out of this intimate relationship Husserl contends the researcher gleans the meaning of the object coming from multiple perspectives, instead of just one. The key to uncovering newer, deeper layers of meaning (noema) is the bracketing, or "setting aside commonsense assumptions about surface level experiencing."¹⁴⁵ The setting aside is basically a way to lessen possible sources of white noise within the researcher's own beliefs and perceptions, to allow possible access to deeper truths within the lived-experience of the phenomena. The technique of bracketing will prove useful in the current study since most of the methods to be used are all trying to get through layers of meaning to deeper understanding. Learning to remove your own baggage before encountering the data will only make it more likely that your data analysis will be insightful. "Phenomenological methodology, then, is directed toward generating knowledge about the deep structures of experience."¹⁴⁶

Participants Used in Phenomenological Research

As previously mentioned, "the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants."¹⁴⁷ Kruger (1988) described looking for participants from among those who "have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Groenwald. "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," 36.

¹⁴⁵ Groenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," 36.

¹⁴⁶ Groenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," 36.

¹⁴⁷ Hycener, "Some Guidelines for the Phenomenological Analysis of Interview Data," Bryman, A., and R.G. Burgess, eds., *Qualitative Research* 3 (1999), quoted in T. Groenwald, "A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 8, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

Limitations of Phenomenological Inquiry

The scholarship describes three basic categories within which the possible limitations associated with this particular method of research are discussed. The first category consists of possible issues impacting the research from some external source, or stimulus. Due to the technocratic orientation towards understanding praxis and education in the contemporary climate of testing and high-stakes accountability, there is a “tendency of educators to reduce the idiom of educational-evaluation to the paradigm of scientific research.”¹⁴⁹ This tendency ultimately has the potential to divide, or completely distract, the attention of the would-be researcher. The second category of possible limitations revolves around a question of application. One specific example of a problem with the application is found in the notion that there is a hermeneutic relationship between the general and the particular. A misconception posits that the “general” must be understood in a different way in each new situation.¹⁵⁰ The third category of possible limitations associated with phenomenological inquiry centers on the rigorous demands the methods place upon the researchers themselves. The intersubjective dialogue ongoing within phenomenological inquiry and the multiplicity of subjects and perspectives impacting the meaning-making are two examples of the type of rigor demanded. “Working phenomenologically is rigorous, it requires a profound sense of what is competent and practical in educational conduct, and a sense of political consequence.”¹⁵¹ In the words of van Manen, “phenomenology can only authentically be understood by ‘doing it.’”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ D. Kruger, *An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology*, 2nd ed., (Cape Town, South Africa: Juta, 1988), quoted in T. Groenewald, “A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 3, no. 1 (2004): 8-9, accessed on January 01, 2015, http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf.

¹⁴⁹ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 138.

¹⁵⁰ Pinar and Irwin, eds., *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 155.

¹⁵¹ Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, 407.

In addition to historiographical methods and the methods associated with phenomenology, the current study also incorporated some of the methods associated with Narrative Inquiry. Clandinin's (2006) curriculum of lives and three-dimensional space for narrative inquiry should both complement the other methods planned for this study. All of the methods chosen focus on getting beyond first sight or first measurement, instead they look to reveal deeper truths. The subjects for this study are all long dead, but they left behind a significant number of personal letters written back and forth that will become the narratives on which the methods of narrative inquiry can be used.

Methodology: Narrative Inquiry

In *Composing Diverse Identities* (2006), a concept was introduced which Clandinin called a curriculum of lives. "A curriculum of lives is shaped as children's and teachers' diverse lives meet in schools, in in- and out-of-classroom places."¹⁵³ Their lives in-school and out-of-school were described as "bumping against" each other, which creates tensions in their "stories to live by."¹⁵⁴ This bumping together of teachers and students opened up opportunities to delve into what truly happens in an educational setting.

¹⁵² Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum*, 407.

¹⁵³ D.J. Clandinin, J. Huber, M. Huber, M.S. Murphy, A.M. Orr, M. Pearce, and P. Steeves, *Composing Diverse Identities: Narrative Inquiries into the Interwoven Lives of Children and Teachers*, (New York: Taylor & Francis Routledge, 2006), 135, Accessed January 1, 2014, <http://web.ebscohost.com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/ehost/detail?sid=23a9b850-5bfc-4296-80a1-632e7e3b3e37%40sessionmgr12&vid=1&hid=25&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#db=nlebk&AN=157784>.

¹⁵⁴ Clandinin, et al., *Composing Diverse Identities: Narrative Inquiries into the Interwoven Lives of Children and Teachers*, 135.

A Three-dimensional Space for Narrative Inquiry

Before tackling Clandinin's (2006) curriculum of lives, it was important to find a lens through which understanding and meaning-making could be achieved. In Chapter Two, Clandinin provided such a lens, a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. Clandinin (2006) looked at "narrative as both phenomenon and method."¹⁵⁵ Narrative inquiry is both a way to do research and something to be experienced. The complexity of this viewpoint required an equally complex way of describing it. "For example, when Clandinin (1986) was working on her doctoral dissertation, at one point she realized she had, by analyzing the images emerging from her two participants' lives, lost sight of the whole of their lives."¹⁵⁶ Without the complexities revealed through this three-dimensional viewpoint of narrative inquiry, it can result in a focusing on one or two details of a person or situation and the fading into the background of the complete person or experience.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) stated their viewpoint of inquiry and their three-dimensional space "are closely associated with Dewey's theory of experience, specifically with his notions of situation, continuity, and interaction."¹⁵⁷ They actually described Dewey's work on experience as "our imaginative touchstone."¹⁵⁸ Out of Dewey's notions of situation, continuity, and interaction, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) developed their own set of terms. Personal and social took the place of interaction. Past, present, and future took the place of continuity. Lastly, place replaced Dewey's situation.

¹⁵⁵ Clandinin, et al., *Composing Diverse Identities: Narrative Inquiries into the Interwoven Lives of Children and Teachers*, 21.

¹⁵⁶ Clandinin, et al., *Composing Diverse Identities: Narrative Inquiries into the Interwoven Lives of Children and Teachers*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Clandinin and Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, 50.

¹⁵⁸ Clandinin and Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, 50.

The narrative inquirer looks at the personal-social both inwardly and outwardly. Looking inwardly means looking “toward the inward conditions, such as feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions, and moral dispositions.”¹⁵⁹ Looking outwardly means to look at the environment of the inquiry. Knowing the feelings and environment of the subject of a narrative inquiry will only make complete sense if put into the context of time. When the inquiry occurred, what happened before it, and what happened next all make up Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) past, present, and future. Their concept of place “attends to the specific concrete physical and topological boundaries of inquiry landscapes.”¹⁶⁰ For this study, the concept of place becomes all important to examine, both the South as a place and Louisiana as a place. Teasing out distinctions between the South and Louisiana will help provide evidence of innovation in education from one or other. The concept of time should also become fairly important in this study, as the Antebellum Period is merely time that has been bracketed on either side and given a name.

A Curriculum of Lives

A curriculum of lives describes the tensions created by the bumping together of all participants involved in education, including students, teachers, parents, and even society at large. In order to understand how to use a curriculum of lives to dig beneath the surface of an event you can see, it would be useful to show at least one example of the interpretation first-hand. The following description is of an event from the correspondence found within the Family Papers of Lewis Stirling, Jr.:

Event: Letter written by Lewis Stirling, Sr. to his son Lewis Stirling, Jr.

Location: Lewis Stirling, Sr. was in Louisiana and Lewis Stirling, Jr. was at Yale University

Date: October 28, 1836¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Clandinin and Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, 50.

¹⁶⁰ Clandinin and Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, 51.

¹⁶¹ Letter contained in Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections (LLMVC), LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

This letter was written in late October, so it is likely that Wakefield Plantation had already finished the harvest. Right after the harvest is one of the few brief times that a farmer or planter can experience some down time, which is probably why Lewis Stirling, Sr. has taken the time to write his son.

Lewis Stirling, Jr. is in New Haven, CT, where he is attending Yale University. He has only recently moved away from home for the second time and to the university. In his letter, the father mentions the son enrolling in college as well. It is likely this letter was prompted by two things, a proud father wanting to acknowledge his son's achievement and a worried father who just sent his son halfway across the United States to school. Another important fact that is unknown from just this one letter is that despite the large numbers of letters between Stirling family members, the father rarely wrote anyone unless something had occurred.

Lewis Stirling, Sr. mentions to his son that he knows he wrote his sister to talk to her about everything he had accomplished over his vacation. This hints at what will be revealed in subsequent letters. The two Stirling sisters were usually the go-betweens for their brothers and father. They also would take on the role of mother hen, inquiring about school, health, and letting the brothers know how everyone was doing.

The end of this letter would prove to be the most interesting part. The dad mentions a younger son, Dan Stirling. He described him as thinking too much of his gun and very little of the book. Although this was amusing at first, the letter continued. Dan was being taught at school for all the neighborhood kids at his Uncle Skillman's plantation. His teacher told his dad that he was learning very little. Lewis Stirling, Sr. said that he held out little hope. The biggest thing gleaned from this was that Dan Stirling was not a good student and this was only the beginning of a much longer narrative where the family spent money and time trying to finish his

education, only to be disappointed again and again as he quickly got bored with any new school or teacher. The dad's attitude seemed to signal resignation but he is willing to spend money to put Dan back in school after every issue.

As more and more data points become known, the researcher will be able to make more observations and inferences about what was written. As you gain more information, the researcher should revisit each letter to see if they can notice something new. Each time the researcher returns to a specific data source, they should take a few moments and make a conscious effort to empty their minds of any ongoing turmoil before engaging the data set again. This process is part of what is meant by the term "bracketing" and should be repeated after analyzing each data set as well.

The example above was only a rudimentary one, which can be expanded if there is more than one researcher. The two can meet together to discuss what they see in each letter and take notes in a small notebook. Then they take a brief break and come back to discuss things again, although this time share what they felt it all meant. Always take notes and keep coming back to give everything a fresh eye.

Subjects and Context

The subjects of this study consisted of the members of the family of Lewis Stirling, Sr., including his son-in-laws, Dr. John B. Hereford and John Little Lobdell. Lewis Stirling, Sr. was a plantation owner and farmer who lived in West Feliciana, Louisiana. He married Sarah Turnbull and Sarah Turnbull, his wife and a member of another of the leading families in West Feliciana. Together they raised a family of four boys and two girls, Ruffin Grey, Anne Matilda, Katherine Mary, James, Daniel T., and Lewis Stirling, Jr. The family lived near present-day St.

Francisville, Louisiana on Wakefield Plantation. Altogether, the raising of Lewis and Sarah's children stretched across the bulk of the antebellum period from 1830-1850. The family left behind extensive correspondence during this time period documenting their family's efforts to educate their children, especially the three boys, James, Daniel T., and Lewis, Jr.

Other subjects included James P. Bowman, Daniel Turnbull, John Towles, and Rachel O'Connor. James P. Bowman was a cousin to Lewis Stirling and his wife was the daughter of Daniel Turnbull and the niece of Lewis' wife. Daniel Turnbull was Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s brother-in-law, James P. Bowman's father-in-law, and John Towles was his ward. Daniel Turnbull founded Rosedown Plantation in 1835 and James P. Bowman and his wife inherited the plantation upon his death. Rachel O'Connor wasn't related to the Stirlings, but she was a neighbor of Lewis Stirling, Sr., from the same generation, and pretty well known in the St. Francisville area.

During the 1830s through 1850, the extended family of Stirlings, Turnbolls, and Bowmans were very much a microcosm of what was going on in West Feliciana, Louisiana, and the Southern states as a whole. Planter society was blossoming from the adolescence of frontier life and towards the mature antebellum society that would come in the 1850s. The children of these families were experiencing a similar pattern of growth from adolescent children at home with their parents towards the preparatory schools and the universities necessary to stimulate their educational growth and maturation as fully functioning adult members of society.

Data Collection

The data for this study came from primary source archival documents located in the Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; James P. Bowman and Family Papers, Mss. 1372, 1382, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, Mss. 4026, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA; and Turnbull (Daniel) Family Papers, Mss. 4973, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections (LLMVC), LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA. In addition to these directly accessed archival collections, transcribed letters from David Weeks and Family Papers, Mss. 528, 605, 1655, 1657, & 1807, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA were accessed from Webb's (1983) *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's legacy of letters 1823-1845*.

The archival collections of these families were chosen because they were all biologically interrelated or shared geographic proximity. These families also provided a broad spectrum of educational events, styles, and methods from the antebellum period to provide data for analysis. The bulk of the correspondence used as data was written during the decades of the 1830s and 1840s, which also represent the heart of the antebellum period that was the focus of this historiography.

For the Sterlings, these decades were the time period when the three youngest sons were finishing their preparatory education and leaving to pursue their higher education. James, Dan, and Lewis, Jr. leaving the state for college during this period resulted in an extensive number of pertinent letters within the archival collections.

As the data leads the direction of the study and dictates who should become new subjects of the study other data collections will be researched and be added to the study. Other archival collections from geographically close families will be browsed through to try and build up a sense of what the area was like around this particular family.

Data Analysis

Initially, the archival collections indicated for use as sources of data for this study needed to be skimmed using several textual analysis strategies, like isolating key terms for further reading, grouping individual letters by the individuals discussed in them, and searching for recurring themes within the data to identify certain passages for further study. Once a list of themes was created, it was used as the individual data sources were gone through again.

As the study narrowed down to specific members of a specific subject family, the study utilized the postmodern idea of welcoming any and all ideas and methodologies from any of the social sciences. Based on the data available after skimming the correspondence decisions were made about which of the techniques or methods might work best for each specific situation.

Ted T. Aoki's Situational Interpretative Orientation Phenomenological Framework was used to conduct an initial evaluation of each family's archival data.¹⁶² Using the methods discussed by Aoki, the individual data sources were combed through several times each. As deeper understanding and confidence in the sources was gained, judgments began to be made about the subject's actions or words. What did so-so mean when he...? What did it mean in the ...? When...? By returning multiple times to the same data with new techniques and methods,

¹⁶² Pinar and Irwin, (eds.), *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 100.

the study gained clarification into the subject's motives, identify common meanings, and isolate authentic experience. Using Aoki's framework centered the focus of the data analysis fully on communication and how a man related with his social world.¹⁶³

After the researcher became more knowledgeable about the data set and more skilled at analyzing the individual source documents, Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) curriculum of lives and three-dimensional space for narrative inquiry were added to the repertoire of methodologies to be used for deeper and deeper data analysis. The three-dimensional space involved a constant awareness of the personal and social, past, present, and future, and place when confronting and analyzing data.¹⁶⁴ The curriculum of lives asked the researcher to review the things found within the three-dimensional space and focus on the tensions created as the various participants in the three-dimensional space interacted and bounced off of each other. Using these ideas for analyzing phenomena provided useful insights to help tease out new meanings from the previously analyzed archival correspondence used as data.

¹⁶³ Pinar and Irwin, (eds.), *Curriculum in a New Key: The Collected Works of Ted T. Aoki*, 100.

¹⁶⁴ Clandinin and Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, 50.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future.¹⁶⁵

Dewey called for extracting the full meaning of each present as a way of preparing for the future. For planning education, this meant a study of the history of education must be done in order to better inform those who would do the planning for the future. Dewey's belief formed the foundational idea behind conducting this study. Here in Louisiana, we must understand where we came from educationally to really know where we need to go in the future.

This study began with an examination of the archival family correspondence of the family of Lewis Stirling, Jr., looking specifically at how they educated their children during the Antebellum Period. The archival evidence was searched for recurring concepts, ideas, or themes. Some examples of these recurring concepts included the type of schools used, where their education was obtained, and curricula taught. Emerging themes like expressions of concern and prioritizing of education were also identified and discussed. The archival collections from other families related to the Stirlings by either marriage or close proximity geography, like the Turnbull, Bowman, and O'Connor/Weeks families, were also explored in hopes of fleshing out ongoing correspondence conversations found in the original collection of Lewis Stirling, Jr.

This chapter began with a look at the literature on the southern states during the Antebellum Period. This was explored to understand the social hierarchy existing in the antebellum southern states and how it impacted education. Next, the history of education in the antebellum South was explored to gain a general understanding of how southerners from every social class viewed the education of their children. In conclusion, the focus was narrowed to look

¹⁶⁵ J. Dewey, *Experience & Education*, (New York: Touchstone, 1997): 49.

at the specifics of education in the State of Louisiana during this period. This was done to obtain a base of information with which one could compare the data from the study to better understand the lived experience of the family in the case study.

Antebellum South: Culture

The slave-owning society of the Antebellum South formed a unique regional culture where the understanding of race and one's place in society were omnipresent and inseparable. "The basic ways institutions, people, and modes of production, distribution, and consumption are organized and controlled—dominate cultural life."¹⁶⁶ Applied to the South's plantation agricultural foundation and the large slave population necessary to work it, it becomes necessary to take a more complex view of Apple's idea. The basic institutions dominated cultural life in the South, but they were greatly influenced by the culture in turn. The formal and non-formal education in the Antebellum South provide a prime example of the back and forth interaction between the South's overall culture and specific institutions.

Before delving into any discussions of social class or education in the Antebellum South, it was important to address those things which helped make the region distinctive. From the beginning, the South was an agrarian society with a widely dispersed rural population. As a result "the family became the basic organizational unit of the society."¹⁶⁷ Even more important for understanding the uniqueness of the South was an understanding of the population demographics. Unlike the North, most of the people who settled in the South were English,

¹⁶⁶ M. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd ed., (New York: Routledge, 2009): 1.

¹⁶⁷ Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," 40.

Scots, or Scotch-Irish who came with similar values, so there was not the same impetus for creating schools for the purpose of controlling disparate immigrant groups which was partially responsible for the Common School Movement in New England.¹⁶⁸

Louisiana was the one exception to the homogeneity found in most of the southern states. According to Hall (2005),

The folk culture of the Gulf South was born in the face-to-face, global villages of French Louisiana. The folk were from three continents: Africa, Europe, and North America. Theirs was an insecure, frontier world where peoples met and mingled biologically and culturally, adopting and adapting each other's technology, skills, economy, culinary arts, traditions, and cultural strengths.¹⁶⁹

A perfect Louisiana example of this blending of cultures in action would be the voodoo religion. "New Orleans voodoo," also called "créole voodoo," is an amalgamation of African ancestor worship, an honoring of the spirits of the dead, a respect for the elderly and the spiritual life, African knowledge of herbs and charms, and European elements of Catholicism."¹⁷⁰ This comingling of cultures over time has become almost synonymous with cultural uniqueness and cultural strength, but in the short term as each new culture has come in contact with Louisiana's blended culture it has often been seen as problematic. The assimilation of the new cultural entities with the existing previously blended ones has rarely been a simple or one-sided process, so it has often been identified as a source of tensions if not outright conflicts while it was ongoing.

¹⁶⁸ J. Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 4.

¹⁶⁹ G.M. Hall, "Epilogue: Historical Memory, Consciousness, and Conscience in the New Millenium," In *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, edited by B.G. Bond, (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 2005): 293.

¹⁷⁰ A. Reuber, "Voodoo Dolls, Charms, and Spells in the Classroom: Teaching, Screening, and Deconstructing the Misrepresentation of the African Religion," *Contemporary Issues in Educational Research* 4, no. 8 (Augus 2011): 7.

The period between the Pointe Coupee Conspiracy in 1795 and the final influx of Haitian refugees into Louisiana in 1809-1810 represented an intersection of pressures from the need to come together and blend more than one new culture at the same time. The number of Haitian refugees and the suddenness of their arrival meant the culture they brought with them had a greater chance of not disappearing within Louisiana's larger, well-established culture completely and leaving behind evidence of itself through cultural phenomena. Even though the Haitian culture would never achieve anything more than a subordinate status in comparison to the Franco-Catholic cultural identity in Louisiana, there was still evidence of conflict and lingering cultural markers identifiable as coming from the Haitian culture. The previously mentioned example of voodoo being one likely cultural marker whose remaining existence could be attributed at least to some degree with the influx of Haitian refugees and immigrants during the tumultuous decades of 1790-1810. Evidence of the clash of these two cultures appeared in 1796 when the black codes became more restrictive following the Pointe Coupee Conspiracy and some of the initial Haitian immigration fleeing the chaos in that land.¹⁷¹ Another instance of conflict came about in the 1840s, when "local [Louisiana] press first takes notice of voodoo in New Orleans, [and] practitioners [were] raided and arrested."¹⁷²

After the United States purchased Louisiana in 1803, there was simultaneously a large and sudden surge in immigration of the same English, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish Protestants coming from the United States searching for opportunity in the fertile Mississippi River Delta. Just like the Haitians this group was too large to simply disappear within Louisiana's established culture, but unlike the Haitians this cultural group of immigrants would continue coming in

¹⁷¹ M. Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, (New Orleans: Margaret Media, Inc., 1994): 29.

¹⁷² Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 64.

increasing numbers. The Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture would rival the French Creole culture in strength within a few decades and surpass it by mid-century through the sheer number of immigrants who would eventually arrive. “A wide consensus in both populations did indeed support the merger [Louisiana and the United States], but such realistic acceptance of a transformed political attachment hardly bespoke willingness by Louisianans to renounce their cultural identity or to submit passively to their new partner’s unilateral interpretation of their rights under the purchase agreement.”¹⁷³

The quickness in which the Franco-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant cultures came to parity in the strength of their influence in Louisiana, necessarily positioned them both to view the other as a rival for control of the direction of the state. This rivalry resulted in far more stress, tension, and even conflict as the two cultures negotiated what the final product of their blending would look like. Publishing both French-language and English-language newspapers in New Orleans was a relatively minor example of how this process would play out, although the newspapers were definitely partisan tools used by the cultural elites to lob accusations at the other side for a wide variety of complaints.¹⁷⁴ Even the free people of color began writing for *L’Abeille* using pseudonyms and published literary works pseudo-anonymously in French, like *L’Album Litteraire* in 1844 and *Les Cenelles, choix de poesies indigenes* in 1845.¹⁷⁵ It had been made illegal to publish anything favorable to slaves or free blacks, so publishing this literary works could technically lead to their arrest which is why they mostly wrote under pseudonyms or in a

¹⁷³ A.R. Hirsch, and J. Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992): 145.

¹⁷⁴ Hirsch and Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, 159-161. *La Louisiane*, *L’Abeille*, *L’Ami des Lois* were three examples of French-language newspapers published in Louisiana during the Antebellum Period.

¹⁷⁵ Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 53-54 & 70. *L’Album Litteraire* and *Les Cenelles, choix de poesies indigenes* were collections of poetry and other short literary works written by free men of color.

style that did not make it immediately obvious that they were written by a free person of color. When the Union army occupied New Orleans in 1862 it made it impossible for the local white, confederate authorities to enforce the laws restricting the lives and freedoms of the free people of color. Louis-Charles and Jean-Baptiste Roudanez, two wealthy and powerful Afro-Creole brothers living in New Orleans, jumped at the chance and founded their own French-language newspaper written for and by free people of color, *L'Union*.¹⁷⁶

There were also more extreme symptoms of this struggle between these cultures as they struggled to blend together. For example, there was a harshening of the Black Codes dealing with slaves that resulted in a large number of free people of color who emigrated out of the state.¹⁷⁷ A poignant example of all of this could be found in a letter written in the summer of 1857 by a thirteen year old free boy of color named William Green. Green wrote the letter as part of a school assignment, but its topic revealed some of what was going on with the free black community along the Gulf Coast. Green fantasized that his family had emigrated to the state of Veracruz in Mexico and he was writing a letter to one of his friends living in Mobile describing how wonderful his new free life was since he was no longer subject to the harsh black codes in

¹⁷⁶ M. Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 84. Although the newspaper was written for and by free people of color, Roudanez intended the paper's advocacy to be geared toward advocating only for the wealthy, upper class free people of color like himself.

¹⁷⁷ While work and living conditions were often harsh under the Franco-Catholic colonial regime, the French tended to live and let live where the culture of other groups was concerned. As the Anglo-Protestant Americans began gaining more control, they were increasingly obsessed with maintaining a clear delineation between the races after 1830. Free people of color responded to these changes by emigrating in protest of how they were being treated. As things really worsened after 1850, many more began leaving because they were worried about what the future held for their families.

Louisiana. The class assignment and Green's letter revealed two significant tensions between the three cultural groups mentioned above who were struggling to avoid open conflicts while finding some way to peacefully blend their cultures without losing their separate cultural identities:

1. The assignment reflected, in part, the radical politics of the Catholic Institution's leaders, who were French-speaking, intellectual free men of color inspired by the ideals of both the French and the Haitian revolutions.
2. With their letters, William Green and his schoolmates revealed the aspirations of the Afro-Creoles of New Orleans—transatlantic dreams of freedom drawn from political desire, racial identity, and economic ambition, as well as their sense of belonging to a broad Atlantic and Caribbean community of which the American South was only a part.¹⁷⁸

The spaces created by the conflict and tension between the Franco-Catholic, Anglo-Puritan, and Afro-Creole cultures became opportunities to understand the cultural conversation going on between them as they struggled towards synthesis and the goal of a blended culture. This deeper understanding offered access into the same multi-faceted views necessary to delve into a complex concept like education. The areas of cultural conflict that were unique to Louisiana highlighted the difference in values and priorities that made it different from the other southern states. Those values and priorities were needed before one could grapple phenomenologically with the lived experience of education for those same Louisianans.

The struggle for spiritual leadership of the colony between the Capuchins and the Jesuits was the first example of conflict disrupting education in Louisiana. The Ursulines' education of Negroes and Indians was a second example of this tension. The Pointe Coupee Conspiracy in 1795 and the influx of several waves of refugees from Haiti after slaves successfully revolted from the French in 1804 were another source of educational tension for Louisiana. After the United States bought Louisiana from France in 1803, Louisiana experienced an influx of

¹⁷⁸ M.N. Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future after Slavery*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008): 12.

thousands of Protestant English-speaking settlers with different priorities and values into the Roman Catholic former French/Spanish colony created the best example of the kind of conflict that resulted from this process of cultural mixing and blending. This list was by no means comprehensive and many more examples that could be on this list will be covered later in this literature review.

Louisiana had a long colonial tradition of public education associated with the Roman Catholic Church, beginning in 1723 with the arrival of the first Capuchin monks.¹⁷⁹ “Father Raphael, the Capuchin superior in New Orleans, had immediately realized the need for a school in the colony to educate the youth.”¹⁸⁰ He went to Sieur de Lery and Sieur de La Freniere, two influential local men, and the three of them jointly bought a house and founded a school for boys at a total cost of around three thousand livres.¹⁸¹ The Capuchin interest in education in Louisiana continued and a plan to expand the school was drawn up by Father Peter, Father Raphael’s successor, but it was never implemented and eventually annulled on January 5, 1744 ending the expansion of education for males in the colony for the foreseeable future.¹⁸² As a result, the wealthier Louisianans began to explore alternative privately-funded educational options.

¹⁷⁹ M.G. Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, (Lafayette, LA: The Center for Louisiana Studies, 1999): 10.

¹⁸⁰ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 10. Father Raphael bought a house to use as a school that was between what today would be Chartres and Royal Streets that was conveniently located near the church.

¹⁸¹ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 10. This sharing of the costs marked the beginning of publicly funded education in Louisiana. The men believed they would be reimbursed by the Company of the Indies, who owned the rights to the colony, but this proved to be untrue.

¹⁸² Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 16. The reason for the expansion plan’s failure is unknown, although it was speculated that it might be attributed to a Jesuit being appointed as vicar-general in New Orleans in 1741.

Female education in New Orleans began soon after the arrival of ten Ursuline nuns on August 6, 1727.¹⁸³ They were brought to New Orleans under the auspices of running the hospital, but the Ursuline Order had a long tradition of educating women in France which they planned to continue in Louisiana. They began educating young girls immediately from their temporary quarters at Bienville's house.¹⁸⁴ The Ursuline Academy had the honorable distinction of being the first girls' school in what is now the continental United States. The difficulties between the Capuchins and Jesuits spilled over to impact the Ursulines, as "they found themselves cut off from their spiritual directors, the Jesuits."¹⁸⁵ We also know from letters that Sister Marie Magdeline Hachard St. Stanislas, one of the youngest of the Ursulines in New Orleans, wrote to her father that the nuns were also educating Negro and Indian girls during the afternoons.¹⁸⁶ Educating girls who were perceived as inferior in class to the daughters of white colonists provided opportunities for class tension. In the case of the Ursulines education of slave girls, the tension could easily cross over into violation of the Code Noir which required the nuns to be careful what they taught to them and how they were seen doing it by the public.

¹⁸³ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 19.

¹⁸⁴ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 20. Bienville had returned to France to face charges made against him.

¹⁸⁵ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 25.

¹⁸⁶ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 21. Sister Marie mentioned teaching Negro and Indian girls in a letter dated January 1, 1728, so their education began around the same time as the regular school. In another letter dated April 24, 1728, Sister Marie explained to her father that the education of the slave girls consisted of religious education to prepare for Baptism and First Communion.

The struggles experienced by the Capuchin and Ursuline schools were compounded throughout the rest of the Colonial Period as the wealthier colonists hired private tutors to teach their children and sent them abroad to finish their educations.¹⁸⁷ The phenomenon of the wealthy educating their children privately tended to further stratify the population of Louisiana where publicly-funded education became associated with the Catholic Church and the poor, which created tension over who would fund it and who would utilize it. This continued well into the 19th century.

The slaves in Haiti revolted from the French in 1791 beginning a twelve year conflict that ended with the slaves successfully winning their independence from France. Once the fighting began, it sparked an initial wave of white Haitian refugees who fled to Louisiana along with their slaves. Since they left on their own with much of their property, these slave-owning refugees fit well into the culture of the French-speaking Spanish colony of Louisiana. It was feared that their slaves might have been tainted by the revolutionary ideals from Haiti that began creating issues, because it was feared that revolution would spread like a disease to Louisiana.

The Pointe Coupee Conspiracy (1795) was an attempted slave revolt involving several hundred slaves. It began on the plantation of Julian Poydras in Pointe Coupee Parish, where a large group of slaves formed a plan to rise up and march on New Orleans to try and gain their freedom.¹⁸⁸ “Joseph Boyavel, a teacher and tailor who lived and worked on an estate in Pointe Coupee, read to the slaves from the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man.’”¹⁸⁹ The slaves killed several whites before marching on New Orleans, but were stopped short of the city by a hastily

¹⁸⁷ Louisiana became Spanish in 1762; It was returned to France in 1800, who sold it to the US.

¹⁸⁸ M. Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 45.

¹⁸⁹ G.M. Hall, “Epilogue: Historical Memory, Consciousness, and Conscience in the New Millennium,” In *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*: 305.

gathered white militia. A few white abolitionists were found guilty of aiding the slaves and deported. Many of the slaves were convicted and put to death, while the rest were flogged and set to harsh labor.

Fear of slave insurrection spread throughout the colony like a wildfire. Around the same time, the Haitian Revolution began to escalate and became more violent. As chaos ensued in Haiti, desperate refugees began fleeing in ever larger numbers bringing with them horror stories of the violent retribution being meted out by revolting slaves on their former masters creating an atmosphere of paranoia in Louisiana. In the final years of the Haitian revolt, a large wave of immigrants fled, first to Cuba, then later to Louisiana and the United States. This larger group of refugees consisted of large numbers of free black Haitians and whites with less money who were more likely to be sympathetic to the revolution.

The United States bought Louisiana from France in 1803, the Haitian Revolution ended in 1804, and the last large group of refugees arrived from Cuba in 1809. The confluence of these three events created an atmosphere in Louisiana that was extremely hostile to the idea of educating both free blacks and slaves, which made the Ursulines' efforts to continue providing education for slave girls and the daughters of the free black Afro-creole community under the thin veil of catechism instruction stand out even more.

The arrival of the refugees from St. Domingue, white colonists espousing and teaching the Enlightenment ideals of equality for all and the idea of popular government to slaves and free blacks, and slaves arriving from Haiti able to give firsthand accounts of slaves rising up successfully overthrowing a European regime quickly resulted in unrest followed by the Pointe Coupee Conspiracy (1795). "During the 1790's, the French and Haitian Revolutions radicalized much of Louisiana's population, including its slaves. Louisiana slaves, even in remote, rural

areas, were well informed about Toussaint ‘Ouverture and the destruction of slavery in Haiti.’”¹⁹⁰

After the Conspiracy was broken up, there were several other incidents of slave unrest. An overwhelming fear of insurrection and paranoia settled over most of the slave-owning colonists in Louisiana. They feared if the slaves were allowed freedoms or their discipline was allowed to become lax, it would result in a bloody overthrow of the entire colony. In response, the Spanish governor began strictly following the current Black Codes which the French tended to be lackadaisical about enforcing. Once the Americans took over in 1803 with their entirely different and harsher philosophy of slavery, the restrictions placed on the Afro-Creole community became even more draconian.¹⁹¹

The heterogeneity of Louisiana’s people resulted in the formation of an American faction, a French-Spanish faction, and a wealthy group of free black creoles, each of them with their own beliefs, prejudices, and ideas for governing the territory and educating her children. The differing values between these groups often resulted in conflict over how education should be provided and to whom it should be provided. As long as the Afro-Creole, Franco-Catholic, and Anglo-Protestant cultures remained in the process of becoming blended, tensions and conflicts continued to arise within Louisiana’s efforts at education. Each of the three cultures had different ideas and goals about what education should be and do and each of them was also vying for control of the direction of Louisiana’s society. The end result was many areas of contention routinely popped up that often resulted in one group gaining enough power to subsequently the pull the proverbial rug out from under one of the educational coups of one of the other two cultures. A good example of this in practice would be when the legislature pulled the funding for

¹⁹⁰ G.M. Hall, “Epilogue: Historical Memory, Consciousness, and Conscience in the New Millenium,” In *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, edited by B.G. Bond, (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 2005): 305.

¹⁹¹ M. Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 51.

the College of Orleans in 1825 which caused the school to dissolve for lack of funds. American Governor W.C.C. Claiborne had championed the creation of the College of Orleans (1805-1825) not long after he arrived in Louisiana, but the Franco-Catholics still held some amount of power within the state legislature which killed the college by defunding it and passing another education bill to create a different system.. This starting, stopping, and reversing of schools in Louisiana would continue until the 1840's and 1850's when the sheer number of Americans who had immigrated to Louisiana made it numerically impossible for the Franco-Catholic community to continue successfully holding on to some degree of real political power.

The Racial Divide in Southern Culture

“The enshrined principle of white supremacy, based on violence and the fear of violence, was oppressive to both the powerless and those in power.”¹⁹² This principle pervaded every aspect of the culture resulting in a great social divide between the races made necessary by the fear of uprising resulting in a strict racial hierarchy. “No matter how high your status or income, racism is still a problem.”¹⁹³ Thus, this strict racial divide necessitates the inclusion of blacks as a distinct class within any discussion of the education of the social classes.

In *Liberty and Slavery*, Cooper (2000) described the situation as a “socially and geographically mobile white society dominated by a small planter class living in the midst of a large, landowning yeomanry.”¹⁹⁴ Land ownership was the key to wealth and status. During most of this period, land was abundant to the west, which led to a mobile population whose fortunes and status could also be quite fluid. This geographic outlet for surplus population seeking land and success helped increase the ease of social mobility between classes. Hard-working poor men

¹⁹² Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” 40.

¹⁹³ Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 3rd ed., 109.

¹⁹⁴ W. Cooper, *Liberty and Slavery*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000): 3.

or yeoman could move westward and soon find themselves amongst the planter elite. “The pervasive ownership of land, along with a working social mobility ... muted the potential for class conflict.”¹⁹⁵

James Henry Hammond was a perfect example of how an ambitious white man could ascend to the planter class from humble beginnings. Born the son of a teacher, his father spent time as a professor at South Carolina College and as principal of Mount Bethel School in an effort to expose his son to the right people and opportunities. Hammond gained notoriety through his debating skills in the Euphradian Society, while obtaining his degree from South Carolina College.¹⁹⁶ At the advice of his father he took a position as a tutor for the Pegue family, specifically to allow him extra downtime to allow him to study the law.¹⁹⁷ Once he passed the bar, the young lawyer began practicing in Columbia to be in close proximity to the center of power in South Carolina. He went on to establish a political newspaper, which gained him the political patronage of the state’s leaders. Having established his fame as a leading lawyer and rising politician, Hammond searched out and married a wealthy heiress. Catherine Fitzsimmons brought Hammond control of a very large plantation with over a hundred slaves, which effectively solidified his position as one of the planter elite in South Carolina.

Another example of an ambitious man who rose to prominence from humble beginnings was Andre Dunford of Louisiana. Dunford was a free black man whose early life was obscured, except that he was educated in English and French, taught arithmetic, and learned to practice

¹⁹⁵ Cooper, *Liberty and Slavery*, 7.

¹⁹⁶ D.G. Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*, ed. William Cooper, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982): 17.

¹⁹⁷ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*, 31.

medicine.¹⁹⁸ He used his education as an avenue to gain enough money to buy himself a sugar plantation in Louisiana, which in turn made him one of the wealthiest black men in Antebellum Louisiana. Even after achieving success as a planter, Dunford continued to pursue his education informally by reading newspapers, journals, and books.¹⁹⁹

Antebellum South: Social Classes

Breaking down the various social classes coexisting in the Antebellum South served as the basis for a horizontal description of education at the time. As previously discussed, the principle of white supremacy and the fear of blacks uprising created a rigid social divide between the races. Understanding this racial split became the key to understanding social class in Antebellum Southern culture.

Southern society was first and foremost split into white and black based on skin color. The second most important factor in determining someone's social position was personal or family wealth, usually determined by land ownership or ownership of slaves. For the purposes of this monograph, the broad social categories framed by black and white were subdivided further based on wealth. In addition, the often distinct position and treatment of women regardless of their family's social position made it easier to examine their education separately.

Whites made up the top three social classes, the wealthy planters, the yeoman farmers, and the lower class poor. Blacks made up their own social classes that were rigidly separated and inferior to those of their white counterparts. The top black social class consisted of free people of color planters whose wealth could even rival the wealthy white planters. The majority of free

¹⁹⁸ D.O. Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995): 5.

¹⁹⁹ Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South*, 119.

people of color held often tenuous positions within society as unskilled workers. Below these free people of color was the slave class. These slaves made up the vast majority of blacks living in the United States, but without any status beyond that of valuable property.

Since class is determined not by bread alone, blacks—whether slave or free and regardless of how much individuals among them managed to accumulate—were universally relegated to the lowest levels of the social structure, scorned even by white vagrants and frequently unemployed workers, urban and rural, who constituted America's equivalent of a propertyless proletariat.²⁰⁰

Louisiana was similar to other southern states, except it had historical and cultural influences associated with its time as both a French (1699-1769, 1803) and Spanish colony (1769-1803). On one side there were wealthy whites Protestants who immigrated from America and on the other side were the wealthy French and Spanish Catholic Creole inhabitants whose families had been living in Louisiana since 1699, when Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville established a settlement near present-day Biloxi. The tension created by their opposition to each other served only to exacerbate an already awkward situation dealing with the extremely poor treatment of black slaves in Americanized Protestant states, while black slaves in areas historically French or Spanish Catholic colonies were usually seen from the Catholic church's philosophy of educating and converting as many people as possible, regardless of race or personal conduct. Suddenly both these groups of slaves were thrust into the same area under the same circumstances, but from opposite ends of the spectrum on what they considered "normal punishment," so comparisons of circumstances and treatment by society happened quickly resulting in tensions as debates began.

²⁰⁰ E. Pessen, "How Different from each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," *American Historical Review*, 85, no. 5 (1980), 1129.

The Americans began immigrating in great numbers after 1803, but failed to gain complete political control until the 1840s and 1850s. “Although the Americans had far greater experience with democratic government, the creoles retained superior voting strength in Louisiana until the 1830s.”²⁰¹ Even after losing numerical superiority, “the French-speaking voters managed to keep control of state and city government... through a manipulation of constitutional devices and legislative gerrymandering; they maintained control of state government until the mid-1840s.”²⁰²

Southern Population Demographics

When the original thirteen colonies first broke away from Great Britain there were approximately 2.3 million white colonists and five hundred thousand slaves living in the new country.²⁰³ By 1850, the country’s population had increased to 23.1 million total inhabitants with 434,495 free people of color and 3,284,313 slaves.²⁰⁴ According to the 1850 Census, the vast majority of the male population (over fifteen years of age) were employed in occupations like farming (2,363,958), laborers (909,786), carpenters (184,671), cordwainers (130,473), clerks (101,325), merchants (100,752), black and white smiths (98,703), and physicians (40,564).²⁰⁵

The large area covered by the southern states combined with the relatively small overall population resulted in a widely dispersed pattern of settlement across much of the area (Urban, 2009, p. 141). “In truth, large parts of the South were still in a semifrontier condition on the eve

²⁰¹ A.R. Hirsch, and J. Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, 92.

²⁰² A.R. Hirsch, and J. Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, 92.

²⁰³ J.D.B. Debow, *US Census of 1850*. (Washington, D.C.: Beverley Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854). Accessed on January 4, 2014, <http://census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

²⁰⁴ Debow, *US Census of 1850*, 40.

²⁰⁵ Debow, *US Census of 1850*, 126-128.

of the Civil War.”²⁰⁶ For example, the states of Florida (47,203), Texas (154,034), and Arkansas (162,180) each had populations that were less than one-fifteenth the population of the largest state, New York (3,048,325).²⁰⁷

The vast majority of the slave population lived in the Southern states, concentrated in the areas dependent on labor-intensive plantation agriculture.²⁰⁸ The free colored population in 1850, mainly lived in the states bordering the Mason-Dixon Line.²⁰⁹ Louisiana was the exception to that rule of thumb about where free people of color lived, since it was geographically in the Deep South but because of its long history with a more racially tolerant French and Spanish form of slave-master and slave-territory relationships.

On the eve of the war, the South had half of the total population of the North. There were approximately four million blacks in the South making up close to one-third of the total population with ninety-five percent of them being slaves.²¹⁰ The richest one percent owned twenty-seven percent of real and personal property and “slave ownership was confined to between 20 and 25 percent of white families.”²¹¹

Wealthy Planters in the Antebellum South

The plantation owners formed the core of the wealthiest class, along with leading lawyers and merchants. The membership of these three groups often overlapped when wealthy lawyers or merchants also owned large plantations. In addition to ownership of large plantations, these people were also the major slaveholders in the South.

²⁰⁶ C. Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1940), 42.

²⁰⁷ Debow, *US Census of 1850*, 45.

²⁰⁸ Debow, *US Census of 1850*, 82.

²⁰⁹ Debow, *US Census of 1850*, 63.

²¹⁰ Pessen, “How Different from each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?,” 1121.

²¹¹ Pessen, “How Different from each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?,” 1130-1131.

Planters, conventionally defined as the owners of twenty slaves or more, clustered in the coastal regions or fertile river bottoms which were variously known as black belts, tidewater, or low country, depending on the locality.²¹²

Although wealthy and powerful beyond their actual numbers, this group actually consisted of only a tiny minority of slave holders, 1,733 out of a total of 347,525.²¹³ “It was the tradition for the leading families to provide the political representatives of the county and the state.”²¹⁴

In Louisiana, this tradition of the leading families and the political leaders coming from the same subset of the population was also true up to a certain point. While leading French and Spanish families did produce much of the political leadership for the early colony, the Catholic Church was an important component of the early colony that people looked to for guidance or blessings. As Americans began arriving and later bought the entire colony, the leading families continued to provide some political leadership. As new immigrants arrived in large enough numbers they also began the process of determining their place within the social order. The Catholic Church continued to have some leadership influence whenever they got involved. As the religious lives of Louisianans slowly evolved from an all-inclusive, one religion and one church, society embracing the French and Spanish traditions of the Catholic Church, larger and larger numbers of Louisianans began turning to Protestant faiths that were being spread far and wide by circuit-riders, travelling evangelical preachers.

Yeomen in the Antebellum South

Beneath the planter elite in social importance, there was a second class of whites called yeoman. This group was significantly larger in numbers than the planter elite, but with far less wealth or political power. “Since only one-quarter of white heads of household in 1860 owned

²¹² H.L. Watson, “Conflict and Collaboration: Yeomen, Slaveholders, and Politics in the Antebellum South,” *Social History* 10, no. 3 (1985), 274.

²¹³ DeBow, *US Census of 1850*, 95.

²¹⁴ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 5.

slaves, that meant that three-fourths of whites did not, and of this number, some six million, only a minority were landless.”²¹⁵ This group was made up of small farmers and their families who owned and worked their land with their own hands. Slave ownership was limited or non-existent within this group. They usually lived in areas where commercial plantation agriculture could not thrive, these people grew their own food and bartered for anything they could not produce themselves. “They owned their own capital, owed very little money, and supported themselves by their own labor.”²¹⁶

Poor Whites in the Antebellum South

The remaining white population who did not own either symbol of prosperity, land or slaves, made up the lowest social class amongst white southerners. These landless whites made up somewhere between thirty to fifty percent of the white population prior to the Civil War. They were usually concentrated within the Appalachian or Ozark highland areas or the Piney Woods regions in Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. Their lack of wealth or property separated this group from the planters and yeomen of mainstream society, but they remained connected through kinship ties, religion, and race.²¹⁷

Usually pigeonholed into the stereotypical role of “shoeless dirt farmers,” a better understanding of the members of this group was developed once several factors were considered:²¹⁸

²¹⁵ U.B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 1929): xxiv.

²¹⁶ Watson, “Conflict and Collaboration: Yeomen, Slaveholders, and Politics in the Antebellum South,” 280.

²¹⁷ C.C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 51.

²¹⁸ Cooper and Thomas, *The American South: A history*.

1. Scarcity of written evidence compared to the planter class.²¹⁹
2. The kind of evidence available tends to distort the picture of these people.²²⁰
3. The need to consider many from this group within the proper frontier context.²²¹

Black Population in the Antebellum South

Beginning as rough colonies, the individual southern states grew in wealth and population over the almost 100 years from their founding until 1860. The black population of the southern states grew as well. This was due to the increasing dependence on slave labor to power the agricultural engine, which would later be called King Cotton. In addition to producing the crops, slaves had also become a symbol of wealth similar to that of land ownership. Despite making the importation of slaves into the United States illegal in 1807, the total slave population in the United States tripled between 1810 and 1850.²²² “By 1860, the United States had achieved the dubious distinction of becoming the largest slaveholding nation in the world, with more than four million slaves.”²²³

Over time, some of these African slaves began to gain their freedom through manumission. By 1800, the number of free people of color had grown to 108,395, although mostly confined to the Upper South states of Virginia and Maryland.²²⁴ The combination of their rapidly increasing numbers and several high profile slave insurrections resulted in a backlash of

²¹⁹ F. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), xxv.

²²⁰ Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*, 1.

²²¹ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 49.

²²² DeBow, *US Census of 1850*, 82.

²²³ M.J. Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing up Enslaved in the Antebellum South*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 6.

²²⁴ DeBow, *US Census of 1850*, 63.

laws and societal expectations began to be directed towards this free black population. “Laws governing the activities, movements, and all interpersonal relations of free blacks with others reflected the determination of whites to keep them in a position of subordination.”²²⁵

As previously mentioned, the free black population in the South had grown to over 400,000 by 1850.²²⁶ The 1850’s were witness to a hardening of the political and cultural positions on the issue of slavery, which resulted in harsher slave laws being passed and a worsening position in society for free blacks. The result of these conditions was that by 1860, the total free black population had collapsed back down to 262,000 with almost all of them located within the border areas of the Upper South. The lone exception in the Deep South was Louisiana with its well established Afro-creole communities.²²⁷ Although free blacks were defined as “lesser” by both legislative and societal laws, their freedom and the opportunities it implied did elevate them slightly above the level of the common black slave.

Free Blacks in the Antebellum South

As a class of people, free-people of color stood apart from the class of slaves and from all white southerners regardless of circumstances. “Most free Negroes, like most Southerners, lived in the countryside and earned their living working the land.”²²⁸ Despite the poor conditions the majority of free blacks lived under, “in each state of the South one could find numerous examples of free Negroes who achieved a condition of well-being that could have been the envy of many whites.”²²⁹

²²⁵ Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A black sugar planter in the Antebellum South*, xxi.

²²⁶ DeBow, *US Census of 1850*, 63.

²²⁷ DeBow, *US Census of 1850*, 63.

²²⁸ I. Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, (New York: The New Press, 1974), 218.

²²⁹ Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South*, xxi.

Many free people of color were the children of white men who were helped by their fathers. “During the eighteenth century, free Negroes moved into many of the skilled trades.”²³⁰

Many of these skilled free people of color tended to congregate in the larger cities.

Another group of New Orleanians came to use the word *Creole*. These were the free, mixed-blood, French-speaking descendants of immigrants from Haiti. Thousands of these persons were living in New Orleans and they objected to associating on equal terms with other blacks. The phrase ‘Creoles of color’ was used by those people, who were proud of their part-Latin heritage, to set themselves apart from the ordinary American blacks.²³¹

Another example of free blacks placing themselves above other blacks was William Johnson, the patriarch of one of Natchez, Mississippi’s wealthiest and most influential free black families. He was the leading barber in Natchez, which was one of the careers open to free black people in the South. In addition, Johnson was also a landlord, moneylender, slave owner, and small farmer. Johnson left behind an extensive diary that provided a good picture of the life of a free black man in one of the busiest inland trade cities in the Antebellum South. In his diary, William Johnson said, “Free people of color had their own aristocracy.”²³²

William Ellison was another example of a wealthy free black man in the South whose life was sufficiently documented for posterity to allow historians to derive conclusions about his beliefs and views on his society. He was born a slave in rural South Carolina, which normally wouldn’t have presented him with many opportunities for advancement. Ellison’s master who was most likely his father had him trained to build and care for cotton gins and later freed him to make his way in the world. He became such a wealthy and respectable member of South Carolina Society that he was even accepted by his white-gentry neighbors in uplands South

²³⁰ Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, 113.

²³¹ R.L. Desdunes, *Our People and Our History: Fifty Creole Portraits*, ed. and trans. Sister D.O. McCants, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1973): xxii.

²³² W.R. Hogan and E.A. Davis, eds., *William Johnson’s Natchez: The Antebellum Diary of a Free Negro*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 11.

Carolina.²³³ Ellison eventually owned a group of slaves and bought a cotton plantation, where he earned the reputation of being an even harder taskmaster than most whites with comparable slave property. In Ellison's case, he was very cognizant of the precariousness of his position within society that was totally dependent on how his wealthy white neighbors perceived his own actions and position within society.

Slave Class in the Antebellum South

By 1860, slaves made up approximately one-third of the total population in the southern states. The vast majority of slaves were owned by the planter class. Slaves were seen as a source of moveable wealth and a symbol of upward social mobility. It was the combination of the opportunity slave ownership represented and the threat of their sheer numbers should they rise up in rebellion, which created the conditions under which the slave class lived their daily lives.

Slaves made up the bottom rung on the social ladder and were usually responsible for most of the labor. For the majority of slaves working the large plantations, the daily agricultural work could be back-breaking. Plantation work usually consisted of a wide variety of tasks, including plowing, harvesting, clearing land, digging ditches, and caring for animals. The household slaves were usually given much lighter tasks in the direct vicinity of the main plantation house. Their closer proximity to the master and his family usually resulted in their benefitting from some extra privileges. For example, Solomon Northup²³⁴ was given a violin for pleasing his master, which he was then given extra privileges of practice time, allowing him out of the fields to go play his violin at neighborhood parties and earn his own private money.

²³³ M.P. Johnson and J.L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South*, (United States of America: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986).

²³⁴ Northup, S., *Twelve Years a Slave*, 2009, Digireads.com. Kindle.

Women in the Antebellum South

Although women were technically members of whichever social class their families, fathers, or husbands belonged, the unwritten cultural rules of honor and paternalism effectively changed things. Women were consistently told by antebellum society that their highest possible aspiration was to fulfill their role as wives and mothers.²³⁵ A woman's world consisted of "home, church, and society."²³⁶ "Society overwhelmingly expected schools to prepare a woman to fulfill the role of wife or accommodating companion to a reasonable man, regardless of her social standing."²³⁷

In addition, southern men viewed themselves as being honor-bound to paternalistically watch over women and slaves, which effectively created a situation for women where they were worshipped on a pedestal while being treated as a helpless child in need of guidance. The resulting situation placed women simultaneously as both a part of a social class and yet without any real agency to make their own decisions. Because of this unique position within the antebellum hierarchy, this dissertation examined the education of women as a distinct social group.

²³⁵ A. Jabour, "'Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated': Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family," *The Journal of Southern History* 64, no. 1: 24.

²³⁶ Jabour, "'Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated': Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family," 43.

²³⁷ L.B. Miles, "Forgotten Scholars: Female Secondary Education in Three Antebellum Deep South States," (PhD diss., Mississippi State University, 2003), 64, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses.

Antebellum Education Broadly Defined

The six groups just described will each serve to provide a different narrative voice describing different ways in which education in the Antebellum South was experienced via the organizational lens of social status. The discussion was divided in this way to provide the opportunity to hear the voices of groups who for one reason or another traditionally slip through the cracks into the unknown and oblivion. “For the most part, the life stories of antebellum small planters, farmers, poor whites, and free men of color have been lost in a haze of historical uncertainty.”²³⁸ In order to adequately achieve this goal, some attention was necessarily focused on the diaries and papers of individual stakeholders within each social class.

Louisiana’s transition from one of the wealthier and culturally diverse areas in the country pre-Civil War into one of the poorest states in the nation post-Civil War unable to even be allowed to govern itself made it the perfect place to search for voices and stories silenced by time and history. It is a state better known for being the birthplace of the separate but equal doctrine, institutionalized segregation of the races, and rampant political corruption, than as an up and coming state focused on education and innovations.

In the following section, each group’s narrative will begin with educational opportunities available to the group during early childhood. The focus will then shift to secondary, or college preparatory, education, followed by their experiences with colleges or universities. Lastly, post-graduate educational opportunities will be discussed for those groups and individuals for whom they were available.

²³⁸ Hogan and Davis, *William Johnson’s Natchez: The Antebellum Diary of a Free Negro*, 1.

Educating the Wealthy Planters during the Antebellum Period

The largest plantation owners were part of the preeminent social class in the Antebellum South. Their wealth was able to provide their children with the best education possible, but it also served as an example to others. The planter class usually also made up the leadership class, which put them in the position of being responsible for the care and direction of their non-aristocratic neighbors and having the resources at hand to begin to provide the necessary example. "Populations were thinly dispersed over the land ...; hence, the family became the basic organizational unit of the society."²³⁹ How these plantation families educated their children was important, for both their children and those of the neighboring yeoman and tenant farmers.

During their early childhood, the children of these aristocratic families usually experienced their first schooling in their homes. A planter child's first teacher was often their mother or some other close adult relative. In most cases, these classes could only cover the basics of rudimentary reading, writing, and arithmetic. "The glimpses we have of home schooling reveals it to have been indeed a slow business directed by family routine rather than intellectual goals."²⁴⁰ This direct familial teaching was usually for short periods of time in an emergency or until a better teacher could be obtained.

Generally, a planter family would either hire a private tutor to live with them and educate their children or several families would get together to pay the expenses for a private teacher to create a school somewhere nearby and educate all of the white children in the neighboring area.

²³⁹ Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," 40.

²⁴⁰ S. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

James Henry Hammond worked in both of those situations as a teacher right after graduating from South Carolina College.²⁴¹ “Very wealthy planters hired learned tutors to train their sons and frequently their daughters as well.”²⁴²

In the antebellum South, teaching was not a highly respected or well-paid occupation. Some ambitious and talented Southerners from the yeoman or lower class, like John Henry Hammond, used teaching as a stepping stone to success, but most avoided the profession. “In general, few young people clearly intended to teach as a career.”²⁴³ “Consequently, southern parents hired the many young, well-educated northerners who flocked to the South seeking employment as teachers and private instructors.”²⁴⁴

According to Green, “the quality of the Yankee teachers was high ... nearly all the tutors and governesses in the homes of the wealthy planters were New England Yankees.”²⁴⁵ Many of them were also ministers and worked for local churches.²⁴⁶

The purpose of the tutors was, in most cases, to prepare the young men of wealthy parentage for entrance to the Eastern and European colleges, where they usually went for their college education.²⁴⁷

In order to ensure the quality of these teaching recruits, many would arrive with letters of

²⁴¹ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery.*, ed. W. Cooper, 23 & 26.

²⁴² J. Pulliam and J. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 7th ed., (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1999), 57.

²⁴³ Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, 135.

²⁴⁴ M.T. Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

²⁴⁵ F.M. Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1972), 39.

²⁴⁶ Pulliam and Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 7th ed; T. Harris, *The Story of Public Education in Louisiana*, (New Orleans, LA: Printing Department of Delgado Trades School).

²⁴⁷ Harris, *The Story of Public Education in Louisiana*, 3.

recommendation from someone connected with the family who personally met the recruit. Once the prospective educators arrived in the South, the family or families hiring them would also conduct some form of testing to make sure they met their requirements.²⁴⁸

Seargent Smith Prentiss was a good example of one of these New England Yankees who were recruited to be private tutors for the southern planter elite. Born in Maine, he went to Bowdoin College at the age of sixteen. He earned his degree in 1826 and began studying law under Judge Pierce immediately. Travelling west, Prentiss met and was recruited to be a tutor for the Shields family's children in Natchez, Mississippi. While tutoring for the family, he eagerly took advantage of the private law library to continue his legal studies. Prentiss experienced a common problem reported by the teachers of the young planter aristocracy. He continued to have regular problems with student rowdiness and discipline, which eventually resulted in his getting physical with them.²⁴⁹

In conclusion, the family was seen as the basic unit of organization for understanding education in the Antebellum South, so wealthy and powerful families trying to educate their kids and continue their legacy of wealth and power had a tendency to emphasis curriculum and schools that would provide a focus on keeping tradition and the status quo. Based on this understanding, it became clear the wealthiest of these families would simply hire a tutor or teacher from the North and later send their children to Europe to finish their educations. Tutors and teachers from the North were perceived as far superior to anyone that could be found in the South. As he was building New Orleans's first public school system in the Second Municipality, Joshua Baldwin reflected on the process of staffing this new system and concluded, "The new

²⁴⁸ J. Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*, (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1883),

²⁴⁹ Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*, 26.

system was dependent on the north for school teachers.”²⁵⁰ In general, teachers were not well respected or paid very well during the Antebellum Period. This really became problematic as “low salaries paid teachers forced many prospective instructors into more lucrative fields.”²⁵¹

Informal Schooling

In addition to this private tutoring in the plantation home, many of the larger plantations could also boast large private libraries to aid in the family’s informal education. The Pegue family mentioned by James Henry Hammond had their own private law library, which Hammond was allowed to access and use in his studies.²⁵² A planter by the name of “Councillor” Carter had a library at Nomini Hall, his Virginia plantation that contained more than 1500 books and a large collection of musical instruments.²⁵³ Seargent Smith Prentiss’ employers also had a large library including a private law library at Rokeby plantation, located near Yazoo, Mississippi. Access to this private law library was described as a turning-point in Prentiss’ life.²⁵⁴

Other types of informal education included debate societies, widespread periodical literature, and individual scientific study and experimentation. James Henry Hammond described meetings of the Clariosophic Society and the Euphradian Society, two debating clubs where young men would work on their oratory skills by discussing scientific topics.²⁵⁵ There was also

²⁵⁰ Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*, 15.

²⁵¹ R.A. Suarez, “Chronicle of a Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana,” *Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 12, no. 2 (1971): 120.

²⁵² Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. ed. W. Cooper, 26.

²⁵³ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the old South*, 7.

²⁵⁴ Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*, 16.

²⁵⁵ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*, ed. W. Cooper, 19.

an “expansion of public libraries in the South from 1850—1860,” which provided opportunities for learning outside of traditional schools.²⁵⁶ Newspapers, journals, and magazines were widely circulated across the South providing plantation owners access to current scientific literature.²⁵⁷

Probably the most important informal education came through the families and society at large. During his time at South Carolina College, James Henry Hammond “had gained not only a college degree but also a rudimentary education in the techniques and substance of southern politics and in the comportment and attitudes befitting a member of Carolina’s ruling class.”²⁵⁸ According to Spring (1994), the family served as “the decisive agency of deliberate cultural transmission.”²⁵⁹ “Song, story, and myth have been richly effective in defining and sustaining what is southern.”²⁶⁰

In addition to log cabin academies and the private academies and tutors funded by the wealthy, antebellum educational opportunities could be obtained from some unexpected ways. One of the more important ways students could informally “hack” their own education to speed it up and claim agency over the direction of their own studies was to tutor or teach for one of the wealthiest plantation owners in the area and convince him to allow access to any private libraries or collections he may own or have access to on a regular basis and take advantage of every possible minute reading within these libraries. Several other avenues of informally educating people were activities auxiliary to studying on campus, like joining a debate society or

²⁵⁶ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 79.

²⁵⁷ P.D. Beidler, *First Books: The Printed Word and Cultural Formation in Early Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2012). Accessed on January 4, 2014. <http://web.ebscohost.com.libezp.lib.lsu.edu/ehost/detail?sid=bd36b5b1-b14c-44bd-a0aa-eb2f03d891%40sessionmgr111&vid=1&hid=123&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbG12ZSZzY29wZT1aXR1#db=nlebk&AN47507>.

²⁵⁸ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. ed. W. Cooper, 21.

²⁵⁹ Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 3rd ed., 24.

²⁶⁰ Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” 41.

subscribing to some of the widespread periodical literature being published at the time on a wide range of topics from politics, to agricultural science, medical experiments, and discussion of various topics of interest from a cultural perspective. Probably the most critical informal education for southern society was the transmission of the values, priorities, and norms by watching social interaction between various groups and peers that helped define and solidify what it meant to be a southerner.

Southern Academies

These private tutors and schools usually concentrated on preparing students for a university. The education was primarily for boys and the coursework commonly taught included subjects typical of a classical education, like Latin, Greek, Algebra, Euclid, English, Grammar, Geography, and Ancient History.²⁶¹ “In 1850 the South led the nation in the number of academies it possessed.”²⁶² These academies served as secondary schools and college preparatory schools.

The teachers and administrators of these academies were basically the same group of people being recruited south to become private tutors. “Many of the teachers in the Southern academies were Yankees, and in most of the girls’ academies some, if not all, of the teachers were women.”²⁶³ Both Seargent Smith Prentiss and James Henry Hammond worked as both private tutors for wealthy families and as teachers for academies.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ C.W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 49.

²⁶² Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 72.

²⁶³ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 57.

²⁶⁴ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*, ed. W. Cooper; Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*.

These academies were generally private and funded through tuition paid by the wealthy students' families.²⁶⁵ Some money was provided for scholarships for poor children who showed promise.²⁶⁶ Many of these academies were founded either by their teachers or the families of the students themselves.

Overall, the quality of these academy teachers was usually pretty high with the teachers often moving on to bigger and better things.²⁶⁷ Abner Johnson Leavenworth began as a chaplain of Young Ladies Seminary in North Carolina, but went on to establish a Collegiate Seminary for Young Ladies and the Virginia Educational Foundation. Emily Pillsbury Burke, a New England girl, moved to Georgia to work first as a tutor, then a teacher in a girls' academy. She later became the lady principal of Oberlin, the first coed college of the United States. Norman Pinney, a Connecticut native, moved to Mobile, Alabama becoming the headmaster of the Mobile Institute for Boys (1836-1862). He went on to write French textbooks that were widely used in colleges and academies.

"Some of these academies attained a wide and well-deserved reputation for training eminent men."²⁶⁸ Jefferson Davis, the eventual President of the Confederate States of America, attended one of these academies in Natchez, Mississippi and another one in Kentucky. "Like many ambitious Americans at the time, the youngest Davis believed that advanced education could improve his prospects."²⁶⁹ James Henry Hammond, a future governor of South Carolina, was another example of an eminent men trained by one of these southern academies.

²⁶⁵ L.W. Jordan, "Education for Community: C.G. Memminger and the Origination of Common Schools in Antebellum Charleston," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 83, no. 2 (1982): 99-115.

²⁶⁶ Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 49.

²⁶⁷ Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 58-59.

²⁶⁸ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 71.

²⁶⁹ Cooper and Thomas, *The American South: A History*, xxiii.

Once these male heirs to the upper-crust of southern society graduated from their college-preparatory programs, traditionally they would attend university overseas in Europe or go to one of the elite Ivy League schools in New England. “Every planter who could afford it wished to send his son to Oxford or Cambridge Universities or Inns of Court (London law schools) for training.”²⁷⁰ According to the 1860 Census, there were 25,882 students enrolled in Southern colleges and large number of Southern students enrolled in Northern colleges.²⁷¹

Louisiana’s colleges and universities tended to be a varied mixture of location, quality, funding, and type of students. This was due in large part to the factions vying for power constantly defunding schools or changing the organizational plan for the state’s overall education, often concluding with firing of educational leaders along with their offices. It made for somewhat of a chaotic result.

Higher Education

“If college attendance is any test of an educated people, the South had more educated men and women in proportion to population than the North, or any other part of the world.”²⁷² During the colonial period, the College of William and Mary was the only university in the South. Before the Civil War began, this situation had completely changed. “Before 1860, most southern states could boast of a state-supported college.”²⁷³ Religious institutions of higher learning also sprang up across the South.

By far the greater number of colleges were established in the Southeastern states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama and in the Mississippi Valley states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Pulliam and Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 7th ed; T. Harris, *The Story of Public Education in Louisiana*, 56.

²⁷¹ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 147.

²⁷² Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 147.

²⁷³ Cooper and Thomas, *The American South: A History*, 246.

²⁷⁴ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 50. (Also see Appendix A)

Best (1996) explained the situation,

As one would expect, education and other institutions in the South have differed from those in other regions of the United States. These differences appear both in nonformal education, defined broadly as the transmission of culture, and in formal education in schools and colleges. Non-formal education and formal institutions were a product of the larger culture of the South, but they in turn influenced and sustained this distinctive culture. This interaction of the culture of the South with southern institutions of learning created the framework essential for understanding education in the forming of the American South.²⁷⁵

Louisiana it could be argued was one of the most inefficient at building the educational infrastructure necessary to successfully build a system and schools from ground zero. The issue was never a lack of ability or students wanting to take advantage of an education. The haphazard series of laws, constitutions, and organizational plans employed during the antebellum period were supposed to create and successfully operate a system of schools to meet the needs of Louisiana's students. Instead, the starting and stopping, changing plans completely, and funding then defunding only succeeded in consistently pulling defeat right out of the jaws of victory by causing every success story to get crushed by a bureaucrat made critical error.

Southerners Educated Outside the South

During the colonial era, wealthy Southerners traditionally sent their children abroad to obtain their university education, in both Europe and New England. This tradition continued throughout the antebellum period with large numbers of southerners gaining their college educations in the most prestigious universities.²⁷⁶ The Perrys of Greenville, provided a perfect

²⁷⁵ Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," 39.

²⁷⁶ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 229; Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*, ed. W. Cooper, 157 & 230; J.H. Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," *Journal of Mississippi History* 61, no. 3 (1999): 252.

example of this tradition.²⁷⁷ A widowed mother left to raise her children alone packed up the entire family and moved them to New Haven, Connecticut to allow them to further their educations. William, the son, went to Yale, while his sisters all attended Miss Peter's Academy in New Haven. In addition, two nephews also moved north to attend college at Yale.²⁷⁸

This trend of sending the children north for college was hardly isolated to just the Perry family. Nearly twenty percent of the graduates of the law school in Litchfield, Connecticut were from Southern states.²⁷⁹ More than half of the students at the University of Pennsylvania in 1846 were from the South.²⁸⁰ The number of southerners educated in the Ivy League schools continued to grow throughout the antebellum period, despite the growing sectional tensions (Table II).

Table II: Southern Students Attending Three Ivy League Schools²⁸¹

	1830 (# of Southern Students)	1840 (# of Southern Students)	1850 (# of Southern Students)
Harvard	16	65	63
Yale	69	72	33
Princeton	17	115	113

²⁷⁷ C.K. Bleser, "The Perrys of Greenville," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, & Education*, eds. W.J. Fraser, R.F. Saunders, & J.L. Wakelyn (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 74.

²⁷⁸ Bleser, "The Perrys of Greenville," 74.

²⁷⁹ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 229.

²⁸⁰ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought struggle in the Old South*, 229.

²⁸¹ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought struggle in the Old South*, 231-232. This chart was created by Seth Eisworth using the information from Eaton's book.

State Universities in the South

“Southern states were pioneer leaders in establishing state-supported universities.”²⁸² The reasons behind the formation of state universities in the South are best understood through Social Reproduction Theory discussed by Spring (1998) and Apple’s (2009) concept of hegemony. “Social reproduction means that schools reproduce the social-class structure of society.”²⁸³ The concept of hegemony “presupposes an idea of conscious manipulation of schooling by a very small number of people with power.”²⁸⁴ The plantation class’s desire to maintain leadership positions within society and their need to maintain the authority of white supremacy over blacks led many leaders to call for the creation of their own colleges as a means to help preserve their culture.

Thinking of schools as mechanisms of cultural distribution is important, since, as the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci noted, a critical element in enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes is the control of the knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society.²⁸⁵

“Realizing the need for training leaders, the Southern States were the first to establish state universities.”²⁸⁶ The first two states to charter their own universities were Georgia and North Carolina in 1785 and 1789 respectively. As many as seventy-five pre-Civil War Southern colleges are still in existence.²⁸⁷

²⁸² Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 39.

²⁸³ Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 3rd ed., 98.

²⁸⁴ Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd ed., 2.

²⁸⁵ Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd ed., 25.

²⁸⁶ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 217.

²⁸⁷ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 50.

These universities taught a continuation of the classical curriculum focused on in the academies. For example, the proposed curriculum for the University of New Orleans (1805) included classical languages, French, Spanish, science, philosophy, and literature.²⁸⁸ “The freshman and sophomore years in most Southern colleges were devoted almost exclusively to the classics and mathematics.”²⁸⁹

Science was also becoming increasingly important, both as a formal part of the curriculum and informally through scientific experiments and projects. In 1856, the University of Virginia had one hundred ninety-one chemistry students and one hundred forty-three natural philosophy students.²⁹⁰ The University of North Carolina erected the first observatory at any American University in 1830.²⁹¹ Michael Tuomey, a professor at the University of Alabama, was involved in geological surveys and was credited with making the first exact atomic weight ever made in America. “His report on the finding of the atomic weight of lithium was published in the *American Journal of Science* in 1856.”²⁹²

According to Green (1972), most of these universities and colleges were staffed and run by Northerners. “The University of Georgia, like that of North Carolina, was throughout the antebellum period almost constantly under the control of New England Yankees.”²⁹³ The University of Tennessee “had been controlled by New England Yankees throughout most of the period from 1794-1860.”²⁹⁴

²⁸⁸ Suarez, “Chronicle of a Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana,” 109-122.

²⁸⁹ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 217.

²⁹⁰ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 218.

²⁹¹ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 39-40.

²⁹² Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 44.

²⁹³ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 42.

²⁹⁴ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 48.

According to the census of 1860, Virginia had twenty-three colleges with an enrollment of 2,824 students. Georgia had thirty-two colleges with 3,302 students, while New York had only seventeen colleges with an enrollment of 2,970 students, and Massachusetts eight institutions of higher learning with 1,733 students.²⁹⁵

The cultural and regional differences between these New England Yankee professors and their Southern aristocratic students contributed greatly to relatively common occurrence of friction and discipline issues. John Henry Hammond's time at South Carolina College was described in the following way, "Most of this education took place outside the classroom, and much of it in spite of the faculty, who were continually frustrated in their efforts to control the students' unruly behavior."²⁹⁶ Another example of this came in a March 31, 1837 letter Ann Lobdell wrote to her brother Lewis, Jr., "There was another story we heard about the Southern boys having whipt [sic] an Abolition preacher or one of the professors of the college. I have forgotten which, and we were expecting every day to see you at home."²⁹⁷

Louisiana had a strong Catholic tradition, which greatly influenced how schools and education were approached in terms of public policy. "The Catholics of New Orleans and elsewhere in South Louisiana generally looked to the church for whatever formal education their children were expected to receive."²⁹⁸ This influence began to wane once the colony became a territory of the United States (1803), then later a state (1812). Beginning when Louisiana's first territorial governor W.C.C. Claiborne took office and immediately prioritized establishing a school system for the area. The College of Orleans (1805) was established by legislative act to serve as a central university for the territory located in New Orleans. The college was funded by

²⁹⁵ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 216.

²⁹⁶ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. ed. W. Cooper, 17.

²⁹⁷ Ann M. Lobdell to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

²⁹⁸ R. Cline, *Education in Louisiana—History and Development*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1974), 9.

a state-sanctioned lottery franchise. Included in the same legislative act were provisions calling for a public library and schools for boys in every county and a school for girls wherever it was felt necessary.²⁹⁹ “This is one of the earliest instances of state legislation in behalf of the education of women.”³⁰⁰

The state legislature voted to abolish the college in 1826 and replace it with a central school and two primary schools all located in New Orleans.³⁰¹ In addition to the three schools in New Orleans, the state legislature had previously embarked on a policy of funding private schools in return for educating certain numbers of impoverished children. The Education Act of 1811 ushered in this policy of supporting private schools with public money, officially known as the “Beneficiary Period.”³⁰² “Significantly, for the first time in the history of the state, police juries were empowered to tax land and slaves for the support of education.”³⁰³ Despite these innovations, by 1845 the state legislature viewed the system of funding private schools for a public purpose as a failure and discontinued all support in 1845.³⁰⁴

In summary, southern states founded and built an impressive number of state universities (Appendix A), easily capable of challenging the assumed notion that there was no southern education worth comparing to that found in the northern states. Even though thousands of

²⁹⁹ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 53.

³⁰⁰ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 55.

³⁰¹ J.L. Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial Days*, (Lafayette, LA: Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1948), 4.

³⁰² Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 66.

³⁰³ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 67.

³⁰⁴ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial Days*, 7. They provided some amount of public taxpayer dollars to lower level schools, academies, colleges, and universities that was similar to what the school-choice/private school voucher movement in contemporary education.

southern students travelled north to eagerly attend universities, many still encountered problems while there especially with the southerners' aristocratic attitude on one side and the northerners' arrogant certainty of their own superiority. The friction resulting from this irresistible force versus immovable object scenario often resulted in frustration followed by aggressive action or even bullying, resulting in disciplinary action. In Louisiana, the problem of building or funding colleges and universities was approached first from a purely publicly funded and run perspective, then later from the perspective of privately run institutions getting public funding to educate the poor. Several important milestones were accomplished, for example the call for the state to provide education for girls and women. But after considerable political squabbling amongst factions, public funding was cut in 1845 and many schools closed which then exposed large gaps in the plan for education in Louisiana.³⁰⁵

Religious and Private Universities in the South

During the early 1800's, America experienced a dramatic increase in people's interest in religion and morality called the Second Great Awakening. The renewed interest in religion and evangelism would eventually impact every section of the country and segment of the population. For Southerners, it began to change the way they viewed their relationship with their slaves. Another major change in the South resulting from the Second Great Awakening was the swift spread of the Baptist and Methodist denominations of the Protestant church, which eventually resulted in the founding of religiously-affiliated universities across the South and West.

³⁰⁵ This information came from Fletcher on page 94.

Transylvania University located in Lexington, Kentucky was one of the better known Southern universities with close ties to the Christian church.³⁰⁶ In 1818, Horace Holley became president of the university and he aspired to make it the focus of intellectual life in the West.³⁰⁷ While Holley was president, the university became “one of the outstanding education institutions in the United States with its schools of law and medicine, in addition to the College of Arts and Sciences.”³⁰⁸ The university grew to rival the enrollment of well-established Ivy League universities, like Harvard and Yale.³⁰⁹

Oglethorpe University in Georgia and Baylor University in Texas were two more religious universities founded in the South during the antebellum period. Oglethorpe was chartered in 1835. It originated from the Georgia Educational Society and was the first church-related university in Georgia.³¹⁰ Baylor University is affiliated with the Baptist Church and its charter was established in 1845.³¹¹ Both these universities continue to educate students to this day.

Beginning as both a French and Spanish colony, Louisiana’s first schools were associated with religion and the Catholic Church. In fact, many of these colleges and universities were founded by and run by priests or nuns. The College of St. Charles (1835) was founded in Grand Coteau by Archbishop Blanc.³¹² The College of Immaculate Conception (1835) was founded in New Orleans by Archbishop Blanc and eventually given its full university status by the state in 1856.³¹³

³⁰⁶ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 50.

³⁰⁷ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 27.

³⁰⁸ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 50.

³⁰⁹ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 50.

³¹⁰ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 54.

³¹¹ Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*, 56.

³¹² Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 9.

As the population of Louisiana began to become more “Americanized” after the Louisiana Purchase (1803), Protestant faiths began to have an increasingly more significant presence within the state. The increase in the presence of various Protestant denominations was reflected by Protestant denominational colleges and universities being founded during the antebellum. Centenary College in Jackson, Louisiana was founded in 1845 when the Methodist Church purchased the site that previously held the College of Louisiana (1825) at Jackson, Louisiana.³¹⁴ The Baptist denomination founded Keatchie Female College (1851) in DeSoto Parish and Mt. Lebanon University (1852) in Pineville, Louisiana.³¹⁵ Mt. Lebanon University eventually merged with another school to form Louisiana College at Pineville.³¹⁶ The Presbytery of Louisiana founded Silliman College (1852), a private school for girls, in Clinton, Louisiana.³¹⁷

Educating the Yeoman

Yeomen generally had much less wealth and fewer if any slaves than their planter counterparts in antebellum society. This resulted in the yeomen farmers spending a great deal more of their time working the land themselves, which meant they had less time to prioritize literary and educational pursuits. The lives of yeomen class women and children were impacted to a greater degree than the men. Unlike the planter’s women and children, they were needed to maintain the family farms.³¹⁸ This tended to negatively impact their educational opportunities.

³¹³ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 9.

³¹⁴ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 5.

³¹⁵ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 9.

³¹⁶ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 9.

³¹⁷ Fletcher, *Louisiana Education since Colonial days*, 9.

³¹⁸ T.J. Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South*, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007), 170.

Despite these differences, yeomen still tended to emulate upper class planters by placing a high value on obtaining an education. They viewed education as an opportunity to rise above their birth. “Outside the older states, individuals were constantly rising from the farmer to the planter class.”³¹⁹ The life histories of those who successfully rose followed a pattern.

1. Poor but educated parents instilled respect for education.
2. Sons who felt ambition used all opportunities to obtain an education.
3. After obtaining an education, they would teach school or clerk to save money.
4. Once they saved enough money, they attended an academy or college.
5. After finishing college, they would go on to prepare for a profession, like the law, medicine, or the ministry.³²⁰

Unable to afford the private tutors often hired by planters, the children of yeomen were educated in field schools or local academies. “Private academies became the dominant formal institutions for children of middle- and upper-class families during the post-Revolutionary decades.”³²¹ “Throughout the entire South in 1860, there were reported to be 2,445 academies in operation.”³²² As the antebellum period wore on opportunities to attend publicly-funded schools became more prevalent.

The field schools, or private academies, could vary widely in the quality of their physical buildings and the education provided within them. “A precise uniformly applicable definition of ‘academy’ ... is almost impossible to provide.”³²³ The stereotype associated with the southern field school consisted of an old cabin, usually windowless. The teachers were often of questionable quality and there were often periods without any teachers available at all.

³¹⁹ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 142.

³²⁰ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 143.

³²¹ W.J. Urban and J.L. Wagoner, Jr. *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., (New York: Routledge, 2009), 141.

³²² Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 142.

³²³ Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 141.

Attendance was intermittent at best with the greatest attendance occurring in the winter, when the children were not needed to work their parents' fields. The school and teachers were paid through tuition fees from the local farmers.³²⁴

Most teachers "were men of modest means who hoped eventually to move up in the social and economic ladder."³²⁵ James Henry Hammond, who eventually became the Governor of South Carolina, was an example of a southerner of modest means teaching while attempting to move up socially.³²⁶ Other teachers came from the North for many of the same reasons. These men were educated in the North, and then recruited to move south where they taught school. Seargent Smith Prentiss was an example of one of these Yankee teachers who emigrated south in order to find employment as teachers or private tutors for the children of the wealthy plantation families.³²⁷

The curriculum of these academies varied along with the quality of the teacher or school. All these schools provided instruction in basic English and math. "Children learned 4 R's of reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, and religion."³²⁸ The higher-end academies and field schools usually taught a classical curriculum just like that taught to the planter class children. They taught courses in algebra, geography, history, Latin, and Greek.³²⁹ These classical studies were seen as a characteristic of the upper-class planters, so naturally they became the focus of ambitious yeomen wanting to join the planter class. "The classics were vital for giving a young man the air of cultivation that members of the elite found so important."³³⁰

³²⁴ Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South*, 170.

³²⁵ Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South*, 254.

³²⁶ Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery*. ed. W. Cooper.

³²⁷ Shields, *Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss*.

³²⁸ Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 141.

³²⁹ Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 49.

³³⁰ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 252.

On the other hand, many schools recognized that their students needed educations to prepare them for future jobs. These schools tended to teach a more practical curriculum, offering more practical science and business courses.³³¹ For example, Orlando Adams, a student who went to school in Clinton, Mississippi, focused his studies on math, surveying, and bookkeeping, while leaving out the study of Greek associated with the classical curriculum taught to most planters' children.³³² Regardless of which type of curriculum an academy embraced, these academies served dual needs. They provided a useful education to their students, while helping to transmit the culture required for their entrance into the middle class of antebellum southern society.³³³

During the later antebellum period, the idea of public education finally began to bear fruit. Although these public schools and publicly-funded private schools did serve to educate the children of the yeomen, they are more closely associated with the education of the lowest class of poor whites. Because of this association, discussion of those themes will come in the section discussing the education of the poor.

Educating the Poor: Public Schools and Pauper Education

Before 1845, a family's choices to educate their children were generally limited to either a private tutor or one of the private academies. Both of these options were relatively expensive, so "only children of the affluent could obtain an education."³³⁴ There were exceptions to this, but overall, the children of the poor, landless whites received very little education outside of that provided by their families. "Children, especially those born into slavery or poverty, learned little or nothing from books and much from the hard lessons of life."³³⁵

³³¹ Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 142.

³³² Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 253.

³³³ Spring, *The American School: 1642-1993*, 3rd ed., 21.

³³⁴ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 241.

The majority were destined to become laborers and farmers, so they only needed the most rudimentary formal education. The knowledge and skills they would need were typically acquired through apprenticeships and watching their fathers perform the work.

Daily association demonstrated that ‘pa’ knew the seasons, the habits and peculiarities of the crops; gems of the chase and many other fascinating matters that only long experience and reflection could teach.³³⁶

This more practical view of the educational needs of the children of the poor meant very little priority was ever placed on the more traditional classical curriculum used in most secondary schools of the day.

According to educational reformer Joseph Caldwell, “illiterate parents saw no need for literate children.”³³⁷ The low priority placed on traditional schooling in combination with the stark economic necessity of child labor in most of these families led to attendance problems. The children missed long periods of schooling during planting season, harvest time, or other times where the families simply needed their work just to subsist. “For example, Jesse Knott, the son of a day laborer from Forsyth County in North Carolina, had attended the public schools in his county a total of only six months by the time he reached the age of fifteen.”³³⁸

Louisiana’s efforts to educate the children of the poor had historically been the concern of the Catholic Church. Most of the creole French-speaking Catholic natives continued to balk at the state taking any action on an issue they saw as a church responsibility, especially when they would be expected to help pay for the intervention in the form of taxes.

³³⁵ Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 141.

³³⁶ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 95.

³³⁷ H.L. Watson, “The Man with the Dirty Black Beard: Race, Class, and Schools in the Antebellum South,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 32 (Spring 2012): 12. The Reverend Joseph Caldwell was the first president of the University of North Carolina. He spent most of his life trying to improve the university and reform the state of North Carolina.

³³⁸ C.C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994): 55.

The Beneficiary Period began with the Education Act of 1811 and continued through January 1, 1843, when most support for state-aided institutions was ended.³³⁹ During the Beneficiary Period (1811-1843), private academies were paid to accept a certain number of poor students but parents often refused to send their kids to school because they did not want the stigma of being a charity case to be attached to their child. Another problem for creating public education in Louisiana was the scarcity and expense of male teachers, which was multiplied many times over by Louisiana's need for bilingual education and "deeply rooted Catholic traditions calling for separate education of boys and girls."³⁴⁰ In addition, the struggle for control in the state by ethnic factions was ongoing with public education being seen as one of the battlefields to be fought over. Ever since the Louisiana Purchase (1803) there had been ongoing tension between the Americans who saw public education as a path to assimilation and good citizenship for Louisianans and the French-speaking creole natives of Louisiana who wanted to keep their culture, their language, and their traditions and saw public education as a threat to everything they valued. "Claiborne, as well as subsequent leaders of Louisiana, failed to create a workable system of public education... Their efforts floundered because a deep rivalry over power led to a paralyzing conflict about the goals of public education."³⁴¹

³³⁹ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 68-69.

³⁴⁰ D.E. Devore and J. Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, (New Orleans, LA: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991): 24.

³⁴¹ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 91.

Public Schools

Unfortunately, the perceived connection between public schools and charity for the helpless would become a major stumbling block preventing the implementation of public schooling in the South. “Where the free schools existed many poor people refused to send their children to places with the tag of ‘charity’.”³⁴² The need for charity was seen as synonymous with slavery in the eyes of the honor-obsessed southern whites, which cast a definite pallor over their usefulness.

Another major problem with the institution of a public school system in the South was the lack of incentive among the upper-class leadership. The planter elite had too much to lose in the way of their political hegemony and very little to gain from creating a public school system to educate the lower classes.³⁴³ Lacking incentive to act, “this (sic) elite often resisted programs that invested in human capital, such as schooling or healthcare.”³⁴⁴ Even when funds were appropriated for the schools, like South Carolina’s Free School Act (1811), misappropriation and corruption would hamper the functionality of the schools.³⁴⁵

Despite these difficulties, many states or large cities in the South had established public school systems before the Civil War. In New Orleans, Joshua Baldwin, the recorder for the Second Municipality, developed a friendship with Henry Barnard, superintendent of education in

³⁴² Lockley, *Welfare and Charity in the Antebellum South*, 177-178

³⁴³ Urban and Wagoner, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed., 148.

³⁴⁴ B. Eelman, “‘An Educated and Intelligent People cannot be Enslaved’: The Struggle for Common Schools in Antebellum Spartanburg, South Carolina,” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2004): 252.

³⁴⁵ Eelman, “‘An Educated and Intelligent People cannot be Enslaved’: The Struggle for Common Schools in Antebellum Spartanburg, South Carolina,” 254-255.

Connecticut. Barnard sent a design for a new school system based on Horace Mann's Common School in 1839.³⁴⁶ John A. Shaw was chosen to come to Louisiana to launch the new system of public education.

Other areas of the South also developed public school systems. Louisville had developed a well-managed system of public schools before 1840.³⁴⁷ By 1860, Memphis's system of public schools had expanded to include twenty-one schools. Among the state-wide systems, North Carolina had become the leader in developing a common school system.

"Louisiana's first authentic public schools had their origin in New Orleans in 1841."³⁴⁸ In 1836, the Louisiana state legislature divided New Orleans into three ethnically-distinct municipalities.

The First Municipality covered what was essentially the old colonial city, the area between Esplanade and Canal; the Second Municipality, largely American in makeup, included everything above Canal Street; and the Third extended below (or downriver) from Esplanade. Each municipality had its own council as well as a powerful executive and judicial officer called a recorder, and each enclave conducted its own affairs, virtually as an independent city.³⁴⁹

This allowed the English-speaking Americans to create their own school system free of the creole opposition from Louisiana's French-speaking natives who still looked to the Catholic Church to provide education. The Second Municipality opened New Orleans first public school on January 3, 1842 under the political leadership of Joshua Baldwin, the recorder for the Second Municipality, and the educational leadership of John Angier Shaw, an educator from Connecticut who modelled the new school system after the ideas of Horace Mann and the schools of

³⁴⁶ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 92-93.

³⁴⁷ Eaton, *The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South*, 76-77.

³⁴⁸ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 68.

³⁴⁹ Wade, ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 92.

Boston.³⁵⁰ Although the school system was only a single primary school with twenty-six students, it ballooned into several schools educating over one thousand students within the first year.³⁵¹ A high school for boys was added in 1844 with a high school for girls to follow a year later. Both of these high schools followed the same classical curriculum found in the Boston Latin School, including Greek, Latin, and mathematics.³⁵²

This Antebellum New Orleans public school experiment initiated several policies and reforms which began to get national attention. Shaw knew his fledgling school system needed an influx of teachers to keep up with the growth, but couldn't afford to hire northern men who were too costly despite the fact that they were seen as being the highest quality teaching recruits. In anticipation of the school system's needs, Shaw expanded the system to provide classes to train women to be teachers. These women could be paid less than male recruits and being local trained made them easier to hire and already acclimated to the area and its student population. By 1850, eighty percent of hires for the Second Municipality of New Orleans public schools were women.³⁵³ Shaw also introduced a program to give students free textbooks that was the first of its kind in the nation. Evening schools were set up to allow working young people and adults to continue their educations without disrupting their jobs. Free public libraries were created for the system's students and teachers, which eventually evolved into the public library system of New Orleans. Shaw even hired a full-time music instructor, Professor F.F. Mueller. In a time when New England was considered the epicenter of educational innovation, New Orleans public

³⁵⁰ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 15.

³⁵¹ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 19.

³⁵² Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 20.

³⁵³ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 21.

schools managed to draw praise from New England educators, “who normally scoffed at the educational backwardness of the South.”³⁵⁴ In fact, “Shaw’s public school model may well be considered the mother of public education in much of the Deep South.”³⁵⁵

Following the initial success of the New Orleans public schools, a new state constitution was written in 1845 that specifically called for the state to create a public school system that would provide free public education for white children in Louisiana.³⁵⁶ The Louisiana State Constitution of 1845 also created the office of the State Superintendent of Education to provide centralized leadership for the new system of public education. In 1847, Alexander Dimitry became Louisiana’s first state superintendent of public instruction. Dimitry’s appointment represented the culmination of what was Louisiana’s “first attempt to provide official leadership at the state level for public education.”³⁵⁷ Unfortunately for public education in Louisiana, “political concerns during the 1850s resulted in a rise in conservative thought, which stalled further developments of public education at the state level.”³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 22.

³⁵⁵ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 23.

³⁵⁶ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 23.

³⁵⁷ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 2.

³⁵⁸ Devore and Logsdon, *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans, 1841-1991*, 33.

The Desire to Learn: Black Education in the Antebellum South

As previously discussed, the black population of the pre-Civil War South was divided into two distinct social groups before any exploration of themes began. These two groups consisted of free people of color and slaves. Although neither group was entirely homogenous, the broadly-defined groupings were useful for exploring the educational experiences of both of these segments of the population.

Slaves

Slaves in the antebellum period occupied a position within Southern society, both rigid and ironic. The slave's position was rigid because their color offered few opportunities to rise up from the permanent subordinate status thrust on them by white society. The slaves were subjugated as inferiors, but at the same time their strength should they rise up was the source of fear that drove most racial interactions in the South. This paradoxical situation became of paramount importance in the examination of slave education.

Before surveying the modes of education available, the question of meaning needed addressing. What value did slaves place on education? Simply put, the slave community valued the education of its individual members very highly. "The very act of learning to read and write ... created a private life for those who were owned by others."³⁵⁹ This threatened societal ideas of people's proper roles within society as a whole. As slave literacy became illegal it began to be a skill that symbolized a contradiction to their status as slaves.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ H.A. Williams, *Self-taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 8.

³⁶⁰ H.G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1759-1925*, (New York: Pantheon, 1976), 16.

During the Revolutionary Period, educating slaves was viewed as the responsibility of each individual slave owner. This feeling of responsibility was directly tied to religion and the need to convert the Africans to assimilate them into Christianity and American society. It was after the major slave insurrection in Haiti against Napoleon and several other North American slave revolts that fear caused a wave of laws to be passed making it illegal to teach slaves to read and write.

In 1830, Louisiana passed two laws that severely curtailed the freedoms allowed slaves and free people of color. The first was designed to make it more difficult to free slaves and prohibited free people of color from immigrating to Louisiana. The second made it illegal to publish anything considered positive towards free people of color. In addition, free people of color could no longer testify against whites in court and it became illegal to educate slaves.³⁶¹

Famous abolitionist, Frederick Douglass often described how his own education began with his master's wife, Mrs. Auld teaching him to read and write. Once her husband found out what she was doing, he angrily ordered it to cease. He told her that learning to read and write would only ruin a slave by making them think above their station. During the 1850's, this belief became ingrained within the psyche of the southern slave master serving as one of the foundational pillars used to justify the South's unique institution.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, most southern states enacted legislation making it illegal to teach slaves to read or write.³⁶² The extent to which these laws were enforced varied based on geographical location, individual masters, and the historians reporting the information. States with a large population of slaves like South Carolina tended to

³⁶¹ M. Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 66-67.

³⁶² J.D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

pass harsher laws that were more strictly enforced.³⁶³ Other states, like North Carolina, strictly forbade writing but permitted teaching slaves arithmetic for the purpose of trade.³⁶⁴ The most lenient state was Missouri, which never made any significant changes in the laws concerning slave education. In fact, “the abundance of evidence suggests blacks and whites waged a holy war against black illiteracy throughout the antebellum era in Missouri.”³⁶⁵ Considered as a whole, “it seems the laws existed only to insure that all instruction should be by Southerners who were in sympathy with Southern institutions.”³⁶⁶

Generally, a slave risked serious punishment if caught. Epps, one of Solomon Northup’s more brutal masters, figured out that he could read and write some and immediately threatened to whip him with a hundred lashes if he ever caught him doing it.³⁶⁷ Other possible punishments included “being sold south” or being put to death in the most egregious cases. During the antebellum period, “being sold south” was understood to mean harder work, a harsher climate, and worse living conditions, being permanently removed from all your family and friends, and the extinguishing of faint hopes of one day being free in the North. Amongst the slaves, it was tantamount to a slow, agonizing death sentence. This perception was the reason why Clem Ray was “wholly overcome” the night before Northup and the slaves he was initially grouped with

³⁶³ J.D. Cornelius. *When I Can Read my Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 37.

³⁶⁴ Williams, *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom*, 15.

³⁶⁵ D.D. Bellamy. “The Education of Blacks in Missouri prior to 1861,” *The Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 2 (1974): 144.

³⁶⁶ C.V. Bruner. “An Abstract of the Religious Instruction of the Slaves in the Antebellum South,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 11, no. 3 (1933): 120.

³⁶⁷ Northup, S., *Twelve Years a Slave*, 2009, Digireads.com. Kindle.

were to be shipped South.³⁶⁸ Eliza's separation from her children at the slave auction in New Orleans and her subsequent despair and death was a perfect example of the scenario every slave associated with "being sold south."³⁶⁹

The majority of slave literacy training was done in secret with many interruptions during the process. "Black education represented a community effort, often organized through the churches."³⁷⁰ The communal aspect of the slave's philosophy of education represented a connection to the importance of community within the African cultures from which the slaves were initially obtained. This communal educational endeavor was often organized and often concealed through the churches, including missionary efforts of white churches and the efforts of African American churches.³⁷¹ "Few Southern churches lacked a Sunday school for Negroes, free and slave."³⁷²

Educating in Secret

Described by Anderson (1988) as "stealin the meetin," the secret meetings to teach literacy skills to slaves could vary quite widely.³⁷³ These sessions were described as being held at night within the slave quarters and often taught by free blacks or literate slaves. Williams (2005)

³⁶⁸ Northup, S., *Twelve Years a Slave*, Digireads.com. Kindle.

³⁶⁹ Northup, S., *Twelve Years a Slave*, Digireads.com. Kindle.

³⁷⁰ O.V. Burton. "The Effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Coming of Age of Southern Males, Edgefield County, South Carolina," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*. W.J. Fraser, R.F. Saunders, and J.L. Wakelyn, eds. (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 207.

³⁷¹ Burton, "The Effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Coming of Age of Southern Males, Edgefield County, South Carolina," 207.

³⁷² I. Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. (New York: The New Press, 1974), 306.

³⁷³ Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 17.

provided several more drastic examples of the efforts “stealin the meetin” might involve.

“Mandy Jones knew of a young man who learned to read and write in a cave ... She also recalled that there were ‘pit schools’ near her Mississippi plantation.”³⁷⁴

Most of the time, the secrecy being employed to gain an education was much more routine and mundane than his examples. Some slowly picked up bits and pieces of knowledge simply by watching whites read or write, while the slave mastered the ability to watch without being seen as watching. Most slave children had some opportunity for education in their often unsupervised daily interactions with their master’s children. Before they were old enough to begin laboring in the fields, slave children often spent a great deal of their time as close companions and childhood best friends to their masters’ children. A great deal of informal child-to-child indirect education would occur as the white students returned from school excited to demonstrate the skills and knowledge newly obtained in school that day.³⁷⁵

The childhood interactions between master’s son and slave’s child were merely the initial salvos in a slave’s battle for literacy. A better understanding of what a slave experienced attempting to gain rudimentary literacy was eventually obtained by interviewing former slaves and gathering their personal recollections and insights into the process. Several commonalities stood out across the majority of their stories:

1. Most slaves began the process of learning to read and write as children.
2. It often took years to master the ability because the opportunity was hit or miss.
3. The slave rarely had any classroom time or teacher face-time.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Williams. *Self-taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*, 20.

³⁷⁵ J.D. Cornelius, *When I can Read my Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*, 76.

³⁷⁶ Williams. *Self-taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*, 61.

After reviewing the slave recollections, Cornelius (1991) concluded, “most slaves who learned to read and write had some relationship with whites which made it possible.”³⁷⁷ This pattern of events held true, whether it was an intentional act of education by a master or evangelical group, the unintentional education through childhood companionship, or a more aggressive act of a slave seizing their education through some form of direct subterfuge to obtain the knowledge. Each slave having some relationship with whites to enable their opportunity to learn did not mean these slaves were passive vessels waiting to have knowledge poured in them, as in Freire’s (1968) banking concept of education.³⁷⁸ They were all active participants engaging in an illegal and potentially deadly enterprise, both knowingly and willingly. Each in their own way, they were all grasping at the agency represented by the choice to do something forbidden them. It was not an easy choice, one with the possibility of choosing on impulse with the hope it would not be discovered. Choosing to learn to read and write, even for the fastest learner under the best circumstances represented a rigorous marathon-style race. In order to succeed, it required slaves to repeatedly choose to take the more rigorous path, despite the risks, over a considerable amount of time. Even if these slaves never used their literacy to become free or better their lives in any way, each of them had seized some measure of their humanity and freedom as people capable of directing their own lives based on their own decisions. Truly, their struggle for literacy, both as individuals and as a community, was also the key to retaking ownership of themselves from their slave masters.

³⁷⁷ Cornelius, “When I Can Read my Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South,” 61.

³⁷⁸ P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1968), 71.

In antebellum era New Orleans, the slave's drive and need for literacy as a symbol of agency met with one of the largest populations of free people of color in the country and together they gave birth to a free black literary tradition unlike any other place in the United States.³⁷⁹ This movement was influenced by the French Romantic Movement. Armand Lanusse, the leader of this literary movement, "emphasized the value of education as a 'shield against the spiteful and calumnious arrows shot at us.'"³⁸⁰ This movement produced publications, like *L'Album litteraire: Journal des jeunes gens, amateurs de literature* (1843). This journal was filled with political writings and offered free people of color a place where they could write under pseudonyms with less chance of repercussions from the white establishment.³⁸¹

In 1841, the Second Municipality established New Orleans' first tax-funded free public school system. Free people of color were taxed to pay for the school system, but their children were not allowed to attend. Determined to do something about the injustice, "Afro-Creole intellectuals advocated education as a means to counteract damaging effects of an increasingly oppressive social and political order."³⁸² By seizing what was being unfairly denied them (their education), slaves and free people of color were seizing a bit of agency over their lives which in a slave society was being taken from them. Newspapers and *L'Album litteraire: Journal des jeunes gens, amateurs de literature* allowed free people of color to publish political writings

³⁷⁹ Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*. 1718-1868, 105.

³⁸⁰ Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*. 1718-1868, 115.

³⁸¹ Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*. 1718-1868, 105.

³⁸² Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*. 1718-1868, 133.

anonymously. This was an opportunity for them to establish a free black literary tradition which would allow them to protest the increasingly restrictive slave society. “In some instances, members of the city’s free black intelligentsia conducted clandestine ‘schools’ for slaves.”³⁸³

Free people of color and black slaves were facing similar obstacles designed to prevent them from achieving their desired goal of literacy. The key to understanding the resistance against allowing slaves to learn to read and write was the perception that slaves were somehow less than or inferior to whites. Attributed characteristics described as animalistic and sub-human, which then justified the moral imperative held by the whites in society to subjugate these lesser beings for their own good. While ludicrous and illogical from the perception of today’s society, the wealth and power of the plantation class hinged completely on maintaining the illusion of the slave class in the position as a permanently helpless subservient sub-humans incapable of being a member of a civilized society without the altruistic imposition of what their betters knew was best for them.

Slaves and free people of color were easily identified as being different simply by seeing the color of their skin. The ubiquitous presence of brown skin throughout the South was a constant reminder to white southerners of the precariousness of their social position should their slave underclass rise up. Free people of color created an awkward problem for society because their skin color permanently connected them with slaves. It was feared that education for free people of color would make them dissatisfied with their place within society and provide a bad example for slaves.

³⁸³ Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana. 1718-1868*, 127.

“Like whites, free Negroes believed education was a means of bettering themselves.”³⁸⁴

Some free people of color had white parents who circumvented prohibitions against education by providing for apprenticeship training in a skilled trade. William Ellison’s white father quietly provided for him to be trained to make and repair cotton gins that allowed him to become quite wealthy in South Carolina.³⁸⁵

Attempts to educate slaves and free blacks began in Louisiana almost from its founding as a French colony. When twelve Ursuline nuns came to New Orleans in 1727, they began educating girls of all races almost immediately. Although they came to New Orleans to build a boarding school for the daughters of the colony’s elite, the nuns also enrolled students into a day school where they taught slaves and free people of color. The nuns used the existence of a provision in the French *Code Noir* (1720) requiring masters to instruct all of their slaves in the Catholic faith as legal justification for bringing slaves and free people of color into their school.³⁸⁶ Once enrolled in the school under the auspices of learning the catechism, the nuns taught the slaves and free people of color rudimentary literacy skills. Usually a girl’s Ursuline education began around ten years old and lasted about two years, although some women stayed much longer.³⁸⁷

In 1730, a small group of wealthy laywomen in New Orleans asked the Ursulines to start a confraternity.³⁸⁸ The Ladies Congregation of the Children of Mary was formed and their mission was to aid the Ursulines in educating girls and women and spreading the Catholic faith.

³⁸⁴ Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, 303.

³⁸⁵ Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South*.

³⁸⁶ Sister M.B. Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, V.M. Gould and C.E. Nolan, eds. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), xxv.

³⁸⁷ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxv.

³⁸⁸ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxvii.

Sister Ste. Marthe Fontiere left the Ursulines to establish a school for girls of color in 1824, known as the St. Claude School.³⁸⁹ The girls were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and religion with the older girls helping to teach the younger ones.³⁹⁰

Part of the legacy of this school was the families of educated free women of color who formed another confraternity, the Sisters of the Holy Family, under the leadership of Henriette Delille.³⁹¹ The confraternity bought a house in 1851 that served as their permanent home and base of operations for the purpose of ministering to the sick, teaching catechism, and educating young girls.³⁹² Educating slaves became illegal in Louisiana in 1830, but the Sisters were able to continue their efforts to educate women of color. “Under slavery, catechism constituted the only means of permissible instruction for Catholic missionaries.”³⁹³ Like the Ursulines before them, the Sisters of the Holy Family used teaching about Catholicism as a thin veil over their illegal real mission of educating slaves and free women of color. “It appears that the women recognized that the continuation of their work was dependent upon their discretion.”³⁹⁴

The Ursuline nuns and the Sisters of the Holy Family continued to educate the daughters of slaves and free people of color well past the point when the Civil War and Reconstruction had already freed them. “By the end of the French period, the Ursulines’ influence revealed itself in high female literacy rates and a vibrant Afro-Catholic community.”³⁹⁵ The Sisters of the Holy

³⁸⁹ D. Porche-Frilot and P.M. Hendry, “‘Whatever Diversity of Shade May Appear’: Catholic Women Religious Educators in Louisiana, 1727-1862,” *Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture* 21 (2010): 46.

³⁹⁰ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxx.

³⁹¹ Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction*, 76.

³⁹² Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxxiv.

³⁹³ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, 131.

³⁹⁴ Deggs, *No Cross, No Crown*, xxxv.

³⁹⁵ E. Clark. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 3.

Family also took up the mission to educate slave women and free women of color, resulting in a significant population of literate free people of color in New Orleans who were ready and able to get involved in government during Reconstruction.

Educated on a Pedestal: Female Education in the Antebellum South

“Society overwhelmingly expected schools to prepare a woman to fulfill the role of wife or accommodating companion to a reasonable man, regardless of her social standing.”³⁹⁶ While female education began similarly to males, usually within the family, the curriculum soon began to diverge. Unfortunately, there was lack of information available on the education of women.

Most of the information about women’s education (1825-1860) came from studies and doctrines centered on the North.³⁹⁷ “The failure to obtain adequate information about the educational experiences of most women is due primarily to historians’ reliance on literate sources.”³⁹⁸ Even more so than the men, women from the lower social classes were unlikely to leave any diaries or letters describing their daily lives. According to Fox-Genovese (1988), these women from the lower classes usually received only minimal education “from the ubiquitous education in the antebellum concentrates on either the planter class or educational institutions like the Charleston Orphan House.”³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ L.B. Miles. *Forgotten Scholars: Female Secondary Education in Three Antebellum Deep South States*. (Mississippi State, MS: unpublished dissertation), 64.

³⁹⁷ S. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, 90.

³⁹⁸ M.A. Vinovskis and R.M. Bernard. “Beyond Catherine Beecher: Female Education in the Antebellum Period,” *Signs* 3, no. 4 (1978): 856.

³⁹⁹ E. Fox-Genovese. *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 269.

The youngest girls were taught in the home by either family members or private tutors. For example, the children of “the Perrys of Greenville” were taught by their mother in their South Carolina home where she taught them their letters and some spelling, before they started attending the local school around the ages of five or six.⁴⁰⁰

The Wirts family of Virginia provided a comprehensive example of how one antebellum family changed the way they educated their daughters during the early Antebellum Period. The oldest daughters were taught an extremely rigorous classical curriculum that included subjects like science, philosophy, Latin, and French. Their father William Wirts was responsible for overseeing their education. He expounded on his theories of female education under the alias “The Old Bachelor” by writing in several Richmond, Virginia newspapers. As the elder Wirts’s girls reached their twenties while remaining unmarried, the Wirts’s decided their daughters’ rigorous education unintentionally resulted in the girls becoming intimidating to prospective husbands. This caused the family to switch the teacher and the focus of the curriculum for the education of the younger girls.

The Wirts family pattern of educating their daughters eventually formed the framework of most of the later antebellum female academies and colleges.⁴⁰¹ This pattern involved the shifting of the responsibility of educating daughters from the father to the mother and shifting the emphasis of female education from a classical curriculum identical to that taught to boys and towards a curriculum considered more conducive to feminine interests like embroidery.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Bleser, C.K., “The Perrys of Greenville,” 78.

⁴⁰¹ A. Jabour. “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” *The Journal of Southern History* 64, no. 1 (February 1998): 24.

⁴⁰² Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” 24.

Elizabeth Wirts was the matriarch of the family and she oversaw the educational plan for the younger girls. She also taught her youngest children herself, although she centered their education on religious instruction.⁴⁰³

Once antebellum southern girls reached five or six years old, they would often be sent either to a local academy or away to a boarding school. In these schools, girls would receive a more formal education. The curriculum included classical subjects like English, French, basic math, and geography⁴⁰⁴ Tuition varied depending on the school. For example, the Natchez Female Institute charged twenty dollars per quarter in 1838; the Wilmarth Female College charged fifty dollars for a ten-month academic year; and Haller Nutt paid two hundred dollars a month to send each of her daughters to a female academy in Philadelphia.⁴⁰⁵ Other expenses could include piano lessons or drawing lessons, which the Natchez Female Institute charged fifteen dollars and ten dollars respectively.⁴⁰⁶ Dinah Postelthwaite's school charged extra for books, stationery, clothing, and the use of the piano for practicing.⁴⁰⁷

Most teachers or professors were male, but there were also a number of women. Those women who did teach tended to be either single or widows. "The profession served as a way for widows to support themselves and their families."⁴⁰⁸ The female teachers were usually in charge of the younger students and taught the easier subjects.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰³ Jabour, "'Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated': Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family," 58.

⁴⁰⁴ Jabour, "'Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated': Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family," 27.

⁴⁰⁵ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 240 & 251.

⁴⁰⁶ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 240.

⁴⁰⁷ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 240.

⁴⁰⁸ Nguyen, "The Value of Learning Education and Class in Antebellum Natchez," 255.

⁴⁰⁹ Vinovskis and Bernard, "Beyond Catherine Beecher: Female Education in the Antebellum Period," 864.

In addition to the formal classical curriculum, young women would also learn a more informal curriculum. “A girl’s sense of her sex and social place were subtly woven into the routine and rules of academy life.”⁴¹⁰ After overseeing the majority of their daughters’ educations, the Wirts family sent them to a female academy to finish their schooling in an environment with other young women of their social class.⁴¹¹ Included within this informal curriculum were skills like proper domesticity, piety, and charity work.⁴¹²

“Young planter-class women commonly received their principal direction from other women, especially their own mothers, who socialized them into their role as southern women.”⁴¹³ Whether they were taught by the women in their family or from the women at the academy, young women were taught skills they would need to take their places in society. There was also an importance placed on the girls developing the ability and habit to write proper letters to family and friends.

Educating Poor Females

Although women from lower socioeconomic classes did not leave behind the extensive archival letter collections like the planter class women, some information could be gleaned from the records of institutions that educated them. For example, the Charleston Orphan House was set up to care for orphans and the children of the poor who could not care for them. The curriculum established by the Committee on Discipline of the Charleston Orphan House, included training in the skills society felt were necessary for marriage and domestic work.

⁴¹⁰ Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, 92.

⁴¹¹ Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” 34.

⁴¹² Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” 64.

⁴¹³ Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” 34.

Initially the girls were taught elementary skills, like basic literacy and math. Once these basic skills were mastered, their formal education ended and instruction in work-related skills like sewing and laundry began. Once they reached fourteen to sixteen years old, the girls would become apprenticed where they received room and board in exchange for working to learn a skill. Bellows (1985) described the curriculum as one “perpetuating dependence and servility.”⁴¹⁴

Schools that were run within or by various church denominations provided another example of the attempts to educate the daughters from the lower socio-economic classes, including slaves and free people of color. As previously discussed under the education of slaves and free people of color, most churches ran some form of Sunday school. The first priority for these church schools was to provide religious training for the white children, especially the daughters of the yeoman and plain folk families. These church schools also tried to provide a basic education for the daughters of slaves and free people of color, often under the guise of *religious education*⁴¹⁵

In Louisiana, efforts to educate poor girls began as early as 1727 with the arrival of the Ursuline nuns to New Orleans.⁴¹⁶ The priority placed on educating girls continued into statehood as evidenced by Governor W.C.C. Claiborne’s plan calling for the establishment of schools for girls wherever necessary in the state.⁴¹⁷ Plantation schools created by wealthy families usually

⁴¹⁴ B.L. Bellows. “My Children, Gentlemen, are my Own,” in *The Web of Southern Relations: Women, Family, & Education*. W.J. Fraser, R.F. Saunders, and J.L. Wakelyn, eds. (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 59.

⁴¹⁵ D.D. Bellamy. “The Education of Blacks in Missouri prior to 1861,” *The Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 2 (1974): 147 & 149; Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*, 304-305.

⁴¹⁶ The arrival of the Ursulines in New Orleans and their foundation of a girls’ school was discussed previously in this chapter.

⁴¹⁷ Suarez, “Chronicle of a Failure: Public Education in Antebellum Louisiana,” 109.

educated any poor white children who lived in the same area. During the Beneficiary Period in Louisiana, academies sprang up all over Louisiana and received funding if they agreed to educate poor white children.⁴¹⁸ Following the Beneficiary Period, Louisiana began developing public school systems founded on the belief that all white children, including poor children, be educated for free. Until after the Civil War, all efforts to educate children of color were private or connected with the Catholic Church.⁴¹⁹

Overall, the education of most girls during this period ended after the rudimentary education just described. The daughters of the planter class and the few women who actually entered the religious orders were generally the only exceptions. The labor of women and children occupying the lower socio-economic rungs in society was necessary for their families' survival. Extended time away from the fields or caring for the house was simply not an option. Even for the wealthier girls, their education ended at the academies and seminaries that provided only a secondary education. Only the tiniest fraction of girls was ever given the opportunity to gain a college or university education.

Dominant Narrative

Whether you subscribed to Urban's (1981) "Massachusetts Myopia"⁴²⁰ or Best's (1996) "unexplained south,"⁴²¹ they both revealed a perception of education in the Antebellum South as lacking in some way and its people assumed as ignorant or less than their counterparts in the

⁴¹⁸ Wade, M.G., ed., *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana history: Volume XVIII Education in Louisiana*, 76-77.

⁴¹⁹ The Ursulines, St. Claude School, and Sisters of the Holy Family were all Catholic organizations connected with educating free children of color discussed earlier in this chapter.

⁴²⁰ W. Urban. "History of Education: A Southern Exposure," *History of Education Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1981).

⁴²¹ Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South."

North. This perception was one that survived until today as the contemporary narrative of education in Louisiana has continued to telling a tale marred by low achievement and neglect.⁴²²

This perception was one that survived through today as the contemporary narrative of education in Louisiana has continued to telling a tale marred by low achievement and neglect.⁴²³

Louisiana has suffered from these perceptions more than most. Even works that are considered seminal in the field of American educational history often sparsely addressed or completely ignored Antebellum Louisiana's accomplishments. Cremin, the president of Columbia University's Teachers College, wrote a trilogy of books entitled *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783*, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, and *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* that were widely accepted as foundational works to read when studying educational history. Cremin won the Pulitzer Prize in 1981 for *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, the book he wrote about the history of education in America during the Antebellum Period.⁴²⁴

In his discussion of "Church Systems of Education," Cremin acknowledged "The fastest growing and best organized of the church systems was the Roman Catholic."⁴²⁵ This was at a time when Catholicism was "dominating the religious landscape in Louisiana and parts of

⁴²² Ladner and Myslinski, "Report Card on American Education: State Education Rankings," accessed on January 1, 2016, http://alec.org/docs/ReportCard_19_Edition.pdf.

⁴²³ Ladner and Myslinski, "Report Card on American Education: State Education Rankings," accessed on January 1, 2016, http://alec.org/docs/ReportCard_19_Edition.pdf.

⁴²⁴ G. Fowler, "Obituary; Lawrence Cremin, 64, Educator and Prize-winning Historian," *New York Times*, September 5, 1990, US edition, Accessed on February 18, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/09/05/nyregion/obituary-lawrence-cremin-64-educator-and-a-prize-winning-historian.html>. The fact that Cremin won the Pulitzer Prize for his work exploring education in during the Antebellum Period supports the assertion that his book *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* was a seminal work in the field.

⁴²⁵ L.A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980): 166.

Florida and assuming an English accent in Maryland.”⁴²⁶ Despite acknowledging the importance of the Catholic religion both in the country and in Louisiana, Cremin failed to provide much in the way of information on how the fastest growing and best organized religion played out in a state with one of the largest and oldest Catholic populations. Instead, he focused almost exclusively on the New York City Catholic schools leaving the lack of Louisiana Catholic schools in the narrative as the only information. This left the unspoken impression that nothing important concerning Catholic schools and Louisiana existed.

Farrelly did offer another possibility for this absence of any rural or southern examples of the impact this fast and organized Catholic growth might have had on education. While acknowledging the regional primacy of the Catholic Church in the Early Republic United States, “Nevertheless, the religious history of the South—be it colonial, antebellum, Reconstruction, or Civil Rights-era—has been an almost exclusively Protestant and evangelical story.”⁴²⁷

Immigration to cities like New York, Boston, Cincinnati, and Chicago was the driving force behind the growth of the Catholic Church in America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is not surprising, then, that so much of the scholarship on American Catholic history has focused on urban centers in the Northeast and Midwest—and on the process of “Americanization” that Catholicism experienced following its nineteenth-century incarnation as an immigrant church.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ M.J. Farrelly, “Catholicism in the Early South,” *Journal of Southern Religion* 14 (2012): accessed on February 18, 2016, <http://jsr.fsu.edu/issues/vol14/farrelly.html>.

⁴²⁷ Farrelly, “Catholicism in the Early South,” accessed on February 18, 2016, <http://jsr.fsu.edu/issues/vol14/farrelly.html>.

⁴²⁸ Farrelly, “Catholicism in the Early South,” accessed on February 18, 2016, <http://jsr.fsu.edu/issues/vol14/farrelly.html>.

Cremin attributed what public school success there was in the South to Northerners helping out, whom he called “friends of education.”⁴²⁹ These “friends” included many of the northeastern advocates of public education and the common school movement, like Horace Mann.

In effect, they [friends of education] spearheaded the public school movement, articulating its ideals, publicizing its goals, and instructing one another in its political techniques; indeed, in the absence of a national ministry of education, it was their articulating, publicizing, and mutual instruction in politics that accounted for the spread of public education across the country.⁴³⁰

Although these “friends” were successful at spreading and positively impacting public schooling, Cremin noted two states in particular where they failed, “as witness pre-Civil War North Carolina and Louisiana.”⁴³¹ “Indeed, the very ‘northernness’ of public schooling made it increasingly suspect in the South during the 1850’s and 1860’s.”⁴³² While Cremin’s assertion that the “northernness” of public schooling and the lack of local support was what sabotaged the efforts to spread was definitely supported by available evidence, he accepted that as the complete story. At least in the case of Louisiana, it can be argued that Cremin was too shallow with his assessment of the factors impeding education in the state. Cremin compiled data showing each state’s aggregate population, its aggregate population 5-19, the number of schools, the number of

⁴²⁹ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 177. Among these “friends” were other important educators like William Fowle helped edit the *Common School Movement* with Horace Mann and Henry Barnard who edited both the *Connecticut Common School Journal* and the *American Journal of Education*.

⁴³⁰ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 176.

⁴³¹ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 177.

⁴³² Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 177.

teachers, the number of pupils, its total income, the income from endowment, the income from public funds, and the income from other sources.⁴³³ Comparing these categories made it possible to determine there might be something missing from Cremin's narrative.

Cremin's narrative placed all the southern states together in one monolithic category where education was unsupported and a failure and glossing over the specifics of any individual state. Knowing there was something missing made it easier to look at things with a fresh eye to search for a counter-narrative. Applying simple statistics procedures to Cremin's data would provide the necessary information to argue there was a need for more complex qualitative analysis of education in the Antebellum South. Comparing the total number of students in the state to the aggregate number of children 5-19 determined the number of students being educated in the state at state expense as a percentage of the total possible children who might be educated.⁴³⁴ Dividing the number of students in the state by the total income of the schools from all three categories of funding, calculated the amount spent per student in the state.⁴³⁵ On its own, the total school income from public funds gave a rough indication of the amount of public support. Dividing the number of students into the total public funds produced the amount of public funds spent per student.⁴³⁶ Dividing the total school income by the total aggregate population of each state, calculated the amount of money spent per person living in the state.⁴³⁷

⁴³³ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 182-183. Cremin put all the data into charts based on decades and just sort of tacked it all on the end of chapter 5 without any significant attempt to analyze the data or talk about any of it all.

⁴³⁴ This percentage did not account for students being educated outside of the state.

⁴³⁵ This calculation provided data that would increase the ease at which state-to-state funding support comparisons could be made.

⁴³⁶ The amount of public funds spent per pupil provided another very useful tool to make comparisons between the individual states of the amount of public support each state had.

⁴³⁷ Calculating this measure allowed some state-to-state comparison of the relative burden being placed on each individual within the state's population.

The following is a partial rendering of Cremin's Table II only reporting data from the top six states based on total income for their schools (Tables III and IV):

Table III: Schooling 1850⁴³⁸

State	Total Population	Pop. 5-19	Students	Total \$	\$ - endowment	\$ - public funds	\$ - other sources
NY	3,097,394	1,053,585	727,156	2,431,247	73,178	1,384,929	973,140
PA	2,311,786	842,766	440,743	2,164,578	189,184	1,367,959	607,435
MA	994,514	306,562	190,292	1,424,873	88,599	977,630	358,644
OH	1,980,329	767,267	502,826	1,018,258	50,985	631,197	336,076
VA	1,421,661	552,667	77,764	708,787	49,525	194,802	464,460
LA	517,762	170,556	30,843	619,006	74,000	316,397	228,609

Table IV: Calculations: Schooling 1850⁴³⁹

State	% of Pop. 5-19 who were students	amount spent per student (\$)	public funds spent per student	amount spent per person (total pop.)
	Column A	Column B	Column C	Column D
NY	0.6902	3.34	1.90	0.78
PA	0.5230	4.91	3.10	0.94
MA	0.6207	7.49	5.14	1.43
OH	0.6553	2.03	1.26	0.51
VA	0.1407	9.11	2.51	0.50
LA	0.1808	20.07	10.26	1.20

Looking at the calculations from Column A, Virginia and Louisiana stood out as different from the other top four states. Both of the southern states had a tradition of sending large numbers of their children out of state or across the Atlantic to be schooled in Europe. This tradition explained at least in part why both southern states had a similar deficit in the percentage of their children attending schools in the state.

⁴³⁸ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*: 182-183. The purpose of analyzing this chart was to compare the quantitative data for Louisiana schools and the schools from the top five states for total educational income. The total educational income of the schools from all sources was taken for some indication of the overall support for education in that state. Spending money did not provide a perfect picture of support, but it was well suited for a quick snapshot of the most common characteristic associated with supporting schools.

⁴³⁹ This table was the results of the calculations described previously.

By comparing the results of Columns B-D, a rough hypothesis could be made about the probable strength of support within each state for providing education to their children. Side-by-side comparison of the results from each state provided an opportunity to look for statistics that stood out from the others which indicated the need to focus efforts on each anomaly. Each anomaly indicated the possibility for finding something Cremin failed to account for in his description or analysis.

The one western state of Ohio showed a significant drop in the per student expenditures in all three categories. If other western states were calculated and compared and were found to have similar drops, it would indicate a need to look at conditions in those states again and try to determine what differences unique to those states might provide a reason for the phenomenon. In this case, the difference in expenditures was probably related to the frontier nature of Ohio. Frontier families tend to have more children because of the inherently higher risks associated with living further away from neighbors and medical treatment and the need for the children's contributions around the house and on the farm. It was probable that Ohio had to pay to educate more students with their support funds, than the better established northeastern states.

A second anomaly was a higher level of funding per student in both southern states relative to all of the others, regardless of region. Virginia and Louisiana were not uniformly higher than the others which made the probability of any findings unreliable without more information. The one thing that was certain was that Louisiana's expenditures per student were so much higher than the other states that even with uncertainties it was still very likely that Cremin's assertion that public education efforts in Louisiana failed from a lack of support was probably flawed. Further in-depth qualitative data was necessary in order to develop a counter-narrative to Cremin that Louisiana's antebellum attempts at public education did not fail from a

lack of public support for their creation. In order to do this, qualitative methods were employed combing through archival correspondence in search of the high quality qualitative data necessary to begin to understand how education was lived and experienced by the people of Louisiana.

The population of the entire state was too large and varied to be practical, so the microhistory focused specifically on one family in West Feliciana, the Stirlings. They were well-established residents with significant connections to other families in the area. This helped provide more correspondence to analyze and provided the ability to understand more about the family's home environment and how they interacted within it. Richer data sources provided better understandings, which increased the ability to tease out new perspectives and meanings with each time the data was revisited.

As each new meaning was added to the overall understanding, the image became increasingly sharp. As the overall picture became clearer, it in turn opened up more new possibilities and perspectives. The process fed off of itself with each new addition of archival data. Patterns of behavior began to appear that would begin to serve as the foundations for determining which repetitions of behaviors were indications of themes with some deeper meaning and which were unlikely to be more than the result of simple chance.

Out of all this, several things emerged as being important to understanding what educating their children meant to the Stirling family and what that might mean. First, there is strong evidence to support the counter-narrative to Cremin's charge that public education failed in Louisiana failed because there was no support for providing it. There was also a great deal of data to confidently craft a picture of the specific kinds of difficulties and obstacles that might interfere with the ability of their family's students to graduate. Intimately knowing the possible problems that might prevent the successful completion of their college and university degrees

provided the opportunity for the next student the family sent away might be able to avoid those problems before they arise. Family support, both emotional and financial, was given a priority. Family members at home and away at school expected and often demanded support from the other family members in order to accomplish their educational goals. The Stirlings had a communal understanding of “family” and its obligations. Another recurring theme was the achievement of academic success and the pride with which it was communicated to other family members. One last important theme was the idea that the family believed it both necessary and possible to find and support a variety of local education opportunities, including private tutors living and working on the plantation, family schools at Uncle Skillman’s, private schools in town, private schools for the entire local area and supported by several families.

CHAPTER FOUR: EARLY PROTESTANT FAMILIES IN WEST FELICIANA

Before beginning any analysis of the archival records, it was necessary to provide an understanding of the familial connections of the individuals whose correspondence would be examined. The main focus for this study was the family of Lewis Stirling, Jr., so this chapter started with an extensive exploration of the Stirling family tree [See Appendix B]. In addition to the Stirlings, it was also necessary to explore several other important interrelated West Feliciana families. The Turnbull, Bowman, and Lyons families were all important citizens of West Feliciana who were related to each other and the Stirlings. These families offered the opportunity for archival evidence directly relevant to the Stirlings and more general information useful for providing a baseline of educational information in West Feliciana.

The Stirlings of the Felicianas

The Stirling family was an important family of planters residing mostly in West Feliciana Parish (see Appendix B). They also owned plantations in West Baton Rouge and St. Mary Parishes and waterfront property in Pascagoula, Mississippi. They generally cultivated cotton and sugar on their plantations. The family was descended from Alexander Stirling, Sr., a Scottish immigrant to Spanish Louisiana who was born near Farfar Angushire, Scotland circa 1753. He immigrated to Louisiana between his birth and the American Revolution (1777). In Scotland, he left behind his brother Peter Stirling and his four children Janet, Frederick, Alexander, and John

Stirling.⁴⁴⁰ Arriving in Louisiana, Alexander served in the Spanish military under Spanish Governor Galvez. After the American Revolution, Alexander settled in the Felicianas where he received three grants of land and became a cotton and sugar planter.

Although the specifics of his education remain shrouded in history, it can be assumed that he was well educated. In a letter dated March 15, 1792, Monsieur Anselme Blanchard, a Spanish colonial official, suggested Alexander Stirling by name to be given a commission as an officer in the colonial militia. Within this letter, Blanchard described Stirling as being a “man of good education.”⁴⁴¹ Another possible indication of Alexander’s education came from his running of a store early in his marriage with Ann Alston, which would require mathematics and accounting skills.⁴⁴²

Alexander married Ann Alston (b. 1767), daughter of John Alston. They met in 1781 on the plantation of Dr. Benjamin Farrar in Pointe Coupee, where Alexander was working as an overseer. Ann’s father, John Alston was one of the leaders of a revolt against the Spanish colonial government at Fort Panmure near Natchez. Sometime after the revolt failed, Alston was captured and imprisoned for his part in the revolt, so his children were sent to Dr. Farrar’s plantation for protection. Alexander and Ann eventually married in 1784.

⁴⁴⁰ These family members were all mentioned in Alexander Stirling’s will. A.A.S. Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, St. Francisville, LA: A.A.S. Weller, 1999: 489.

⁴⁴¹ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 6.

⁴⁴² Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 5.

Alexander received three Spanish land grants in 1787 totaling about six hundred arpents of land near Thompson's Creek, where he settled his family and built a store.⁴⁴³

The original tract descriptions were by Spanish and French surveyors using arpents of 10 square Parisian perches of 18 French feet per perch and 12.8 English inches per French foot. Therefore one such arpent equals 0.846 acre.⁴⁴⁴

By the time of the 1793 Census of New Feliciana (translated from the Spanish by Ann D. Riffel), Alexander and Ann were already established with three boys of their own, fourteen male slaves, and fifteen female slaves.⁴⁴⁵ Alexander Stirling would obtain another eight hundred arpents of land west of Alexander's Creek in 1795, which he called "Beechwood." Although the exact location was uncertain, descriptions suggest that Alexander built his final home on this property.

Alexander and Ann Stirling had seven children, Henry Stirling (6/5/1785—9/1/1827), Lewis Stirling, Sr. (11/9/1786—4/3/1858), Alexander Stirling, Jr. (6/23/1791—11/3/1819), William Stirling (8/17/1792—1842), Ruffin Gray (4/5/1795—7/17/1854), Anne Stirling (11/27/1797—3/3/1888), John Stirling (9/19/1799—8/27/1829). This first generation of Louisiana Stirlings married and formed connections with the Bowman, Haynie, Skillman, and Turnbull families, who were all wealthy planters from the area.

Henry Stirling was the oldest of Alexander and Ann's children. He was born June 5, 1785 and died September 1, 1827. He married Mary Bowman, the daughter of Jacob Bowman, on August 2, 1810. They had six children, James A. Stirling, Harriet Stirling, Isabella Stirling, J. Bowman Stirling, Louise Stirling, and William H. Stirling.

⁴⁴³ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 5.

⁴⁴⁵ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 1.

Alexander Stirling, Jr. was the third oldest child. He was born June 23, 1791 and died on November 3, 1819. He married Alice Lackie. No evidence of any children was found in the records.

William Stirling was Alexander and Ann's fourth child. He was born on August 17, 1792 and died in 1842. No record of a wife or children has been found.

Ruffin Gray Stirling, Sr. was the fifth child of Alexander and Ann. He was born April 5, 1795 and died on July 17, 1854. He married Mary C. Cobb. They had eight children Lewis Gray (b. 4/30/1831), Sarah M. (b. 7/4/1833), Stephen C. (b. 1847), William R. (b. 4/27/1850), Henry (b. 2/14/1853), Ruffin Gray, Jr. (b. unknown), Clarence (b. unknown), Mary (b. unknown). Ruffin Gray and Mary bought a plantation in 1834 and renamed it The Myrtles.

Anne Stirling was the sixth child and only girl. She was born November 27, 1797 and died March 3, 1888. She was married first to Martin Haynie, then to Andrew Skillman. Andrew Skillman was referred to as Uncle Skillman in the correspondence between Lewis Stirling, Sr. and his children. Her children were Ann Elizabeth Skillman, J.J. Skillman, Frank Skillman, Sarah Skillman, and Louise Isabella Skillman.

John Stirling was the youngest of Alexander and Ann's children. He was born on September 19, 1799 and died on August 27, 1829. He married Edith Lilly. They had three children, Eunice, Sarah Edith, and John Stirling.

According to the terms of Alexander's will, he wanted his debts and funeral expenses paid off as quickly as possible. He then stipulated "that my children may be educated in as ample a manner as possible, and that the expenses of such as may be abroad, as well as those at home is

to be charged to the estate, until they attain the age of twenty-one.”⁴⁴⁶ “It is my further will and desire that whenever any of my sons shall attain the age of twenty-one years, they shall be equally entitled to their shares of the lands, and the proportion which the yearly revenues admit or not exceeding Sixteen Thousand Dollars.”⁴⁴⁷ In addition, the will stated a specific set of conditions elaborating on the how the slaves and other inherited property were to be split up amongst the heirs.

It is my will and desire that after my decease an inventory and estimation be made of the whole of the land and movable property, negroes excepted, I may die possessed of, by persons whom my executors may appoint for that purpose, valuing all the land and uncultivated wood lands. The negroes are to remain together undivided until my youngest child named John shall be twenty-one years of age at which time an estimation of them shall take place, and each of my seven children as mentioned in the second clause shall have their respective shares without separating the negro families except by their own consent, so as my aforementioned children shall be accountable to each other for whatever may be over or less than their respective shares by estimation.⁴⁴⁸

Lewis, Sr. and Henry Stirling, Alexander’s two adult male children, were assigned as executors of the estate to oversee the fair distribution of the estate. The youngest sibling, John Stirling did not turn twenty-one years old until September 19, 1820, which explained why the final resolution of the inheritance did not happen until long after Alexander’s actual death.

Lewis Stirling, Sr.

Lewis Stirling, Sr. was the second child of Alexander and Ann Stirling. He was born November 9, 1786 here in Louisiana and died on April 3, 1858. Lewis, Sr. married Sarah Turnbull (1789-12/21/1875), the daughter of John Turnbull and Catherine “Caty” Rucker

⁴⁴⁶ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 489.

⁴⁴⁷ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 489.

⁴⁴⁸ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 489.

Turnbull. The young couple married on July 14, 1807 and moved into a log cabin on property adjacent to his father's plantation. Alexander Stirling, his father, died the next year leaving Lewis to inherit the rest of the land that would become Wakefield Plantation in West Feliciana Parish. The family also owned Arbroath Plantation in West Baton Rouge Parish and Solitude Plantation in St. Mary Parish. During the hot summer months the family stayed at a waterfront home in Pascagoula, MS. Lewis Stirling also co-owned Attakapas Plantation in St. Mary Parish with his brother Henry Stirling and Jacob Bowman, Henry's father-in-law.

Lewis and Sarah began raising their family in the log cabin on the West Feliciana property. They had six children Catherine, Ann, James, Lewis, Jr., Daniel, and Ruffin. The two girls, Catherine "Kitty" Stirling (1809-1895) and Ann Mathilda Stirling (1/2/1811-8/8/1990) were the two oldest. James Stirling (1812-1860) was born soon after, followed by a seven year break during which time Lewis, Sr. finally inherited full title to his inheritance from his father. The youngest three Stirling boys were born as the family became more financially secure. Lewis, Jr (1819-1901) was next, then Daniel (1821-1864), and finally Ruffin Gray (8/11/1827-9/9/1881) was born.

The birth order of the two girls and the significant age difference between them and their youngest siblings impacted the roles they both played in the family. Throughout the archival correspondence, both sisters seemed to take a prominent almost motherly role as the ones responsible for checking on everyone's well-being and making sure the brothers wrote letters and kept in contact. Both of the sisters were married and had begun their own families while their three youngest brothers, Lewis, Jr., Daniel, and Ruffin Gray, were all under the age of ten, which no doubt impacted their roles within the extended family dynamic.

Ann and Catherine were both married on December 18, 1828 in a double wedding ceremony. Ann was married to John Little Lobdell and Catherine “Kitty” married Dr. John B. Hereford. The Stirlings were a close-knit family, as evidenced by their correspondence. Once Lobdell and Hereford married into the family, the familial closeness extended to include both of them. Both John Lobdell and Dr. John Hereford wrote multiple letters to their new brothers-in-law and they were also often discussed within the correspondence of other family members. Catherine and Dr. Hereford’s children were Robert F. Hereford, Sarah Hereford, Lewis Hereford, Anne Mathilda Hereford, John B. Hereford, James Hereford, Catharine Mary Hereford, and Isabelle Hereford. Ann and John Lobdell’s children were Ann Lobdell, Lewis Stirling Lobdell, Mary Lobdell, Catherine H. Lobdell, Sarah Turnbull Lobdell, and John Little Lobdell, Jr.

American Annexation and Military Service

Although most of Louisiana became part of the United States with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, West Feliciana would remain under Spanish rule and the Stirling family found themselves once again citizens of Spain. As more Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans settled this area of rich farmland, there was increasing agitation from the settlers to separate from their distant Catholic rulers. Eventually declaring their independence from Spain as the Bonnie Blue Republic of West Florida in 1810, the area was almost immediately annexed into the United States falling under the territorial governorship of William C.C. Claiborne. According to Weller (1999), it was in the log cabin of Lewis Stirling, Sr. that the first open convention was held that resulted in the taking of Baton Rouge and the declaration of independence from Spain.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 112.

The hostility between Great Britain and the United States that had smoldered since the American Revolution of Alexander Stirling's day, once again burst into the flames of war in 1812. Lewis Stirling, Sr. followed in his father's footsteps and volunteered to help fight the British. William C.C. Claiborne, the American governor of the Louisiana territory, made Lewis a Lieutenant and Quartermaster where he helped supply the army fighting the British. "For his military service, he was entitled to 160 acres of land from the Department of the Interior, Office of the Commissioner of Pensions."⁴⁵⁰ Lewis' actual commission papers were found in the archives.⁴⁵¹

As the Stirling family's plantations prospered, they continued intermarrying with the wealthiest and most powerful families in the regions. By 1850, the Stirling family was one of the richest and most powerfully connected families in West Feliciana Parish (See Appendix B: Family Trees). Lewis Stirling, Sr. was reported in the 1850 Census of Agriculture for Louisiana as owning "2069 acres with a cash value of \$41,900."⁴⁵² Two other Stirlings, Mary and Ruffin G., were both major landholders in West Feliciana Parish each with "2000 acres" worth "\$45,000 and \$20,000" respectively.⁴⁵³ Mary Stirling was most likely Mary Bowman Stirling, the widow of Henry Stirling and Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s sister-in-law. Ruffin G. Stirling was most likely the brother of Lewis Stirling, Sr.

⁴⁵⁰ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 113.

⁴⁵¹ Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

⁴⁵² Louisiana Historical Association, "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 26, no. 4 (Autumn 1985): 398.

⁴⁵³ Louisiana Historical Association, (Autumn 1985), "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850," 398.

Another indication of the growing economic and political importance the Stirlings in the region was the West Feliciana Railroad (1831), built between Woodville, MS and the port at Bayou Sarah in West Feliciana. Although the railroad's only real purpose was to help the area's wealthiest planters haul their cotton for sale and it would eventually go bankrupt, the railroad did enjoy "the endorsement of the political and economic elite of West Feliciana."⁴⁵⁴ Considering the railroad's endorsement by West Feliciana's elite, Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s leadership role as one of the commissioners of the fledgling railroad should certainly be seen as an indication of his own position in the community relative to those very same elites.

Catherine "Kitty" Stirling Hereford and Ann Mathilda Stirling

Catherine Stirling (1809-1895) and Ann Mathilda Stirling were the oldest children and only daughters of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. Catherine married Dr. John B. Hereford and Ann married John Little Lobdell. Although little is known about where and how they were educated, several things could be deduced from the letters they wrote to their brothers during this period. Their handwriting and the vocabulary used within the letters indicate they both had at least a basic level of education. In the letters, there are also indications that the women took up responsibility for teaching their children while a school or private tutor was unavailable. There are also individual letters mentioning subjects the girls were studying, like French and Latin that point towards a classical education similar to that provided to the boys.

⁴⁵⁴ E. Dart. "Working on the Railroad: The West Feliciana, 1828-1842," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25, no. 1 (1984): 36.

James Stirling

James Stirling (1812-1860) was the third child and oldest son of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. Although the specifics of his early education were sketchy, he did complete his studies at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, KY. After completing his degree at St. Joseph's College, went first to New York to study the law under the tutelage of a lawyer. A letter written by Ann Lobdell on May 29, 1835 provided some proof of this since it was written "care of James L. Stirling student with P.A. Jay Esq. in New York."⁴⁵⁵ James would finish his studies in New York and head back to Louisiana where he would have to go before the Louisiana Supreme Court to take the bar examination. "Your Brother James and myself contemplated starting for New Orleans on Wednesday next. And when down there he will endeavor to pass the ordeal of Examinations before the Supreme Judges."⁴⁵⁶

Lewis Stirling, Jr.

Lewis Stirling, Jr. (1819-1901) was the fourth child and second son of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. Lewis, Jr. was sent off to boarding school at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, KY for his secondary education and to prepare for his university entrance exams. After completing his degree at St. Joseph's College, he moved to New Haven, CT to prepare for the entrance exams to Yale University. At some point during his program at Yale, Lewis, Jr. found himself expelled from school. With his parents help, he stayed in New Haven under the

⁴⁵⁵ Ann M. Lobdell to Lewis Stirling, Sr. c/o James L. Stirling, May 29, 1835, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁴⁵⁶ John L. Lobdell to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 16, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

private tutelage of a professor until he could gain reentry into the university. He eventually graduated from Yale and returned to Louisiana; where he would go on to serve as an officer in the Confederate army.

Daniel Stirling

Daniel “Dan” Stirling (1821-1864) was the fifth child and third son of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. Dan struggled during his early education, resulting in a wide array of schools, private tutors, and family tutors being employed near Wakefield, the family plantation. Eventually, Dan followed in his brothers’ footsteps and enrolled at St. Joseph’s College in Bardstown, KY. Although he was not academically inclined, Dan did eventually complete his education and return home. Unfortunately, Dan died while still a relatively young man during the Civil War.⁴⁵⁷

Ruffin Gray Stirling

Ruffin Gray Stirling (1827-1881) was the sixth and youngest child of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling. There was little information found concerning Ruffin Gray’s education. There was only one letter, a tuition bill from Augusta College dated January 12, 1846, that mentioned Ruffin by name.⁴⁵⁸ It is possible that the Augusta College from the letter is the same as the one currently in Georgia that first opened in 1783. In the letter, the professor E.N. Eliot mentions lecturing on Chemistry and Astronomy that were probably classes also taken by

⁴⁵⁷ No specific information was found detailing his death, but it was assumed to be associated to his military service in the Civil War.

⁴⁵⁸ Bill from Augusta College to Lewis Stirling, Sr., January 12, 1846, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Ruffin. Despite the lack of specific institutions or curricula, Ruffin did eventually become a medical doctor. The level of education he attained could be discerned from his achieving that terminal degree.

Brief History of St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky

St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky was a Catholic college run by the Jesuits. The college was located in Nelson County southeast of Louisville, Kentucky. "St. Joseph's College dated from 1819 when a small day-school was opened in the basement of the diocesan seminary in Bardstown."⁴⁵⁹ They began accepting boarders sometime the next year. Eventually, St. Joseph's developed a connection with families from Louisiana and Mississippi, which resulted in many students of the college coming from those states.

In May 1825, Father M Martial arrived at Bardstown from Louisiana with fifty young men whom he entered as students in St. Joseph's College. The institution they had been attending had suspended classes and Father Martial was authorized by their parents to bring them to Bardstown. This was the beginning of the steady and widespread patronage which the college thereafter enjoyed from Mississippi and Louisiana.⁴⁶⁰

It was likely this established Louisiana to St. Joseph's pipeline for students was the reason three of the Stirling children found themselves enrolled at St. Joseph's College.⁴⁶¹

Eventually, Bishop Flaget of the diocese sold the school to the Jesuit Order. Under the terms of the transfer, the Jesuits took possession of the school grounds in trust for educational purposes only and in return they took up twenty-two thousand dollars of debt associated with the school.

⁴⁵⁹ G. Garraghan, 1938, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, American Press: 293. Accessed March 15, 2014. <http://www.jesuitmissouri.org/files/arch/vg/chap36.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁰ Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 293. Based on the 1825 year, it was likely the College of Orleans that had closed down in Louisiana but no definitive evidence was found.

⁴⁶¹ It can be assumed that some of these students from South Louisiana were Catholic, but the only students specifically mentioned in the correspondence were Stirlings, who were Episcopalian.

All which property, lands and estates herein described are to be held, owned, used and occupied by the party of the second part, their heirs and assigns, in trust however, forever, or so long as the same may be used for or devoted to educational purposes, but should the said college and its property hereafter, at any time, be diverted from the purposes of education, then it is fully understood and hereby provided for, that the same together with all the appurtenances now thereunto pertaining, shall fall to and be invested in the Right Rev Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Louisville, State of KY and his successors in the Bishopric of said diocese.⁴⁶²

The Jesuits assumed control with the opening of the school session for 1848-1849 under the leadership of Father Verhaegen. “Most of the boarders coming from Louisiana and Mississippi Southern patronage continued as before to be the main prop of the institution.”⁴⁶³ The student body was made up mainly of Catholic students, although the Protestant minority appear to have exercised at times an ascendancy over the latter and in fact to have determined more or less the morale of the entire student-body.”⁴⁶⁴

The College continued uninterrupted instruction until the Civil War began. Once fighting broke out, classes were suspended and the students all went to fight in the war. The college itself served as a military hospital for both sides during the brief time of conflict in Kentucky.⁴⁶⁵

The curriculum at St. Joseph’s during the Antebellum Period was similar to the classical curriculum found in academies and colleges throughout the South at the time. Based on Lewis Stirling, Jr.’s report card for the period from September 15, 1828 through December 25, 1828, the following courses were being taught at St. Joseph’s College:

⁴⁶² Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 296.

⁴⁶³ Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 299.

⁴⁶⁴ Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 304.

⁴⁶⁵ St. Joseph’s College, 2015, “Our History.” Accessed January 01, 2015. <http://www.bardstown.com/~stjoeprep/more.htm>.

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Algebra | 6. French | 11. Latin | 16. Rhetorick |
| 2. Arithmetick | 7. Geography | 12. Logick | 17. Writing ⁴⁶⁶ |
| 3. English | 8. Geometry | 13. Physics | |
| 4. English Grammar | 9. Greek | 14. Reading | |
| 5. Ethics | 10. History | 15. Religion | |

James Stirling mentioned “I have a whole book of history to prepare for an examination three days from this.”⁴⁶⁷ Dan Stirling also provided information on the curriculum at St. Joseph’s once he began going there. “I have but 4 classes, Euclid, French, Arithmetic, and book-keeping. This is all that I am now studying but I intend to study Globes and good many other things about the latter part of the year.”⁴⁶⁸

Brief History of Yale University: 1830—1850

Yale University had its beginnings in the early 1700s, although it didn’t change to its present name until 1718. By the antebellum period covered in this study, Yale had expanded beyond the bounds of a simple college. “The Yale School of Medicine was chartered in 1810, followed by the Divinity School in 1822, the Law School in 1824, and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1847.”⁴⁶⁹

During the time period from 1830-1850, Yale University gave out 1855 Bachelor’s degrees, 855 Master’s degrees, 317 Medical degrees, and 59 Law degrees. Lewis Stirling, Jr. was one of those awarded with a Bachelor’s degree. On average during this same time period, 10.88% of the degrees awarded were given to students from the Southern region of the United

⁴⁶⁶ St. Joseph’s College report card for Lewis Stirling, Jr., December 25, 1828, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁴⁶⁷ James Stirling letter to his brother Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 5, 1832, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. This corroborated the presence of History in the curriculum.

⁴⁶⁸ Daniel Stirling letter to his brother Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 10, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁴⁶⁹ Yale University. 2015. “About Yale/History.” Accessed January 01, 2015. <http://www.yale.edu/about/history.html>.

States.⁴⁷⁰ In a geographic distribution of living Yale graduates (1796-1871) taken in 1872, 7.41% of the living Yale graduates came from southern states with thirty-three of them living in Louisiana.⁴⁷¹ These numbers were despite the fact that since the Civil War (1861-65), very few southerners had either the means or desire to attend an elite northern university. The estimated total necessary expenses for a year at Yale from 1833-1849 during the time Lewis Stirling, Jr. attended Yale was approximately \$150-210 per year.⁴⁷²

During the Antebellum Period, Yale University followed a classical education curriculum similar to most secondary and higher education schools of the time. Completion of the degree generally took four years with certain courses prescribed for each. The freshman year entailed reviewing and strengthening the students' skills in the subjects taught in their secondary schools. Language courses, like Greek, Latin, and English Grammar, and mathematics courses, like Arithmetic and Algebra, tended to dominate the year with some emphasis also being placed on social science courses, Roman Antiquities and Geography.⁴⁷³ The sophomore year continued in the same vein, but moving on to more complex mathematics like Geometry. One new subject that was added during that year was Rhetoric, persuasive speaking or writing, which ultimately fed into the campus debating societies that were very popular at the time.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁰ G. Pierson, 1983. *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University 1701-1976*. Office of Institutional Research. A-2.4. Accessed March 15, 2014. <http://oir.yale.edu/1701-1976-yale-book-numbers>.

⁴⁷¹ Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, E-2.2.

⁴⁷² Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, F-2.6.

⁴⁷³ Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, C-1.3.

⁴⁷⁴ Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, C-1.3.

Instruction in Greek and Latin continued into the junior year, but instruction in elective languages, French, Spanish, or Hebrew, was also added to the curriculum. The mathematics courses focused on Trigonometry. At this point, more new subjects like Natural Philosophy and Astronomy were also added to the curriculum.⁴⁷⁵

In the senior year, the curriculum focused on developing the skills useful for public debate and concentrating on the sciences. Courses in Rhetoric, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy all helped the student to learn how to explore topics deeply in order to develop stronger, more cogent arguments to then debate publicly against others. Among the science courses offered during the senior year were Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, and Natural Philosophy.⁴⁷⁶

The Turnbells

Lewis Stirling, Sr. married Sarah Turnbull on July 14, 1807. Their marriage helped to tie two of the Felicianas' more prominent families together. Once joined, the intermingled families were connected with all of the leading families in the area making their archival records a useful source for data.

John Turnbull, Sarah Turnbull Stirling's father, was the progenitor of the Turnbull family living in the Felicianas (see Appendix C). He was born in Scotland around 1736 and immigrated to Mobile with his parents, a brother, and a sister.⁴⁷⁷ Unfortunately for the Turnbells, John's

⁴⁷⁵ Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, C-1.3.

⁴⁷⁶ Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976*, C-1.3.

⁴⁷⁷ The exact year of his emigration is unknown, but he and his brother took oaths to the colonial Spanish government in March of 1780, so he had to have emigrated by that time.

father and sister both died soon after they arrived, leaving John and his brother Walter to make their way in the Spanish colony. “On 17 March 1780, John and his brother, Walter Turnbull, took oaths of allegiance to the Spanish government.”⁴⁷⁸

John Turnbull joined the Mather & Strother Company that traded with the Indians living in the Mobile area. Turnbull eventually received a Spanish land grant of 1600 acres near the present day site of Tupelo, Mississippi in 1778. He used the land to establish a trading post and began trading with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians in the area. He went on to form a trading partnership with John Joyce.

During his time trading with the Indians, John Turnbull was married to three different Indian women, although the legitimacy of these marriages was put into doubt in his will. Turnbull’s will stated, “I give and bequeath unto George, William, & Sylvia, my three illegitimate children three thousand dollars each.”⁴⁷⁹ This would indicate Turnbull’s belief that whatever previous relationships he had with Indian women he did not view them as binding marriages in the eyes of the Catholic Church

Eventually, Turnbull met a teenaged Catherine Rucker at his commissary in Alabama. Almost 30 years younger than John, Catherine would become his “fourth” wife and became the matriarch of the Turnbulls of West Feliciana. The couple was married around June 1784.⁴⁸⁰ They would go on to have eight children. John died August 24, 1799, in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. Catherine Rucker Turnbull’s tombstone at “Inheritance” plantation cemetery in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana stated the following,

⁴⁷⁸ Anders, 1997, as cited in Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 519.

⁴⁷⁹ Anders, 1997, as cited in Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 522.

⁴⁸⁰ Anders, 1997, as cited in Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 519.

Catherine Turnbull
Who Departed This Life
April the 6th 1832
Age 63 years⁴⁸¹

John and Catherine's eldest child Isabella Turnbull was born March 1, 1785. She married Robert Semple on January 19, 1804. Catherine mentioned Robert Semple being deceased and Isabella "now residing at Pinckneyville in the County of Wilkinson & State of Mississippi."⁴⁸² According to her tombstone at "Desert" plantation cemetery, Mississippi, "Mrs. Isabella Turnbull Semple died April 19, A.D. 1873."⁴⁸³

Their second child was John Turnbull. His birthdate remains unknown, but he and his sister were both baptized in 1789 in the Catholic Diocese of Baton Rouge.⁴⁸⁴ He died sometime before 1832, when his mother Catherine Rucker Turnbull mentioned in her will that he was already dead. He had at least one son, John Turnbull, who was also mentioned in Catherine's will.⁴⁸⁵ The younger John was still a minor child at the time and a ward of his Aunt Sarah and Uncle Lewis Stirling.

⁴⁸¹ H. Anders. *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*. (Calera, OK: Bryan County Heritage ASSN., Inc., 1997), 519.

⁴⁸² Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 523.

⁴⁸³ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 519.

⁴⁸⁴ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 522.

⁴⁸⁵ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 523.

Their third child was the previously mentioned Sarah Turnbull who married Lewis Stirling, Sr. Walter Turnbull was the fourth born child. He later married Matilda Anderson. Maria Turnbull was born in 1792 as the fifth child, although she died two years later in 1794. Susannah Turnbull was next born on May 16, 1793. She married Dr. John Towles and eventually moved to St. Mary Parish where she was buried.

Daniel Hickey Turnbull was the sixth child in the family. He was born on June 5, 1796. He married Martha Barrow, a member of another important West Feliciana family, on November 13, 1828. They were the couple who built Rosedown Plantation in St. Francisville, LA, which is now on the list of historic sites for the State of Louisiana. Their daughter Sarah Turnbull married James Pirrie Bowman, who was the son of Eliza Pirrie Barrow Bowman and the Reverend William Robert Bowman. Rosedown Plantation was inherited by them.

John and Catherine's last child was James Turnbull. His birthdate is uncertain, but he died in 1829. Due to his dying before his mother, his name was not mentioned in her will, but it was assumed that he was buried at her Inheritance Plantation.

Other Familial Connections

In addition to the Stirlings and Turnbells, there was a web of familial connections tying the two families together in multiple ways (see Appendix C). Beginning with Lucretia (Lucy) Alston, the sister of Alexander Stirling's wife, Ann Alston Stirling, she was married twice. Her first marriage was to Ruffin Gray who owned Oakley Plantation. They had two children, Ruffin Gray, Jr. and Mary Anna Gray. Lucy's second marriage was to James Pirrie, another wealthy planter. They had a daughter, Eliza Pirrie.

Eliza Pirrie was married three times. Her first marriage was to Robert Hilliard Barrow, a wealthy planter who owned Greenwood Plantation. Robert (b. 1795) died six weeks after the couple married in 1823. They did have one son, Robert Hilliard Barrow, Jr. who was born in 1824.

Eliza Pirrie's second marriage was to William R. Bowman, who was the Rector of Grace Episcopal Church in St. Francisville. The church was the center of planter society in West Feliciana. They had two children, Isabelle Bowman and James Pirrie Bowman.

Eliza Pirrie's third marriage was to a wealthy lawyer from Philadelphia, Henry E. Lyons. They had three daughters, Cora Lyons, Lucie Lyons, and Eliza Lyons. Eliza Pirrie died in 1851 and the youngest three girls were raised by their half-sister Isabel. After his wife's death, Henry E. Lyons moved to San Francisco where he eventually became one of the first three judges on the California State Supreme Court.⁴⁸⁶

James P. Bowman

James Pirrie Bowman was a planter who was born and raised in West Feliciana during the Antebellum Period. His father was the pastor of the local Episcopal Church and his mother was the heir to the Pirrie family fortune, one of the richest families in the area. He is the cousin of the Stirling and Turnbull families in this study through Eliza Pirrie, his mother, and Sarah Turnbull, who was the daughter of Daniel Turnbull and his wife. In addition, he was also related to the Barrow family, another wealthy and powerful Feliciana family, through his mother's first marriage and his wife's parents.

⁴⁸⁶ Bowman-Turnbull Family Papers, Mss. 5059, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

James spent several years at St. James College in Maryland, an Episcopal boarding school where he obtained what roughly equated to the finishing touches on his secondary education and the beginning of his higher education degree. Based on the dates of the letters from the archival correspondence, James' time at St. James College corresponded roughly with the period from September 1850 through the final months of 1851. During his time there, his mother died, followed soon after by his closest friends leaving St. James.

James soon became unhappy with St. James and began looking to transfer somewhere he could complete his degree. Eventually he settled on Trinity College, an Episcopalian school in Connecticut where his friend Henry Drane had also decided to go. The time of his attendance at Trinity was from the end of 1851 until roughly November or December of 1853.

Brief History of St. James College in Maryland

The College of St. James was founded in 1842 with the support of the Episcopal Church. The campus is "located in central Maryland on a 100-acre campus surrounded by 690 acres of school-owned farmland, approximately 5 miles south of Hagerstown and about 70 miles from both Washington, DC and Baltimore."⁴⁸⁷ It was built as part of the efforts of the Reverend A. B. Lyman and the Right Reverend William Robinson Whittingham, the Bishop of Maryland, to establish a series of Episcopal Church schools in the United States. "For its model the college had drawn upon the tradition of the English 'Public Schools' system and the example of St. Paul's School at College Point, New York."⁴⁸⁸ John Barret Kerrfoot was the rector of the college

⁴⁸⁷ St. James College. 2015. "At a Glance." Accessed January 01, 2015. http://www.stjames.edu/RelId/622352/ISvars/default/At_a_Glance.htm.

⁴⁸⁸ R.R. Duncan. "The College of St. James and the Civil War: A Casualty of War," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 39, no. 3 (1970): 265.

from its founding until the school closed down in 1864 because of the Civil War. During the Antebellum Period, the student body consisted of boys who followed either a secondary school curriculum or a university preparatory curriculum.

During the Antebellum Period, St. James College followed a traditional classical curriculum. James' friend W.H. Burke provided some information on the curriculum. "There I would have had my head full of a pack of Latin & Greek nonsense which never would have benefitted me."⁴⁸⁹ Henry Drane revealed that French was part of the curriculum at Trinity University and at St. James College when he wrote, "The class have not studied I believe as much French as you have."⁴⁹⁰ Another key component to the curriculum was mathematics education.⁴⁹¹ Both Algebra and Geometry were mentioned specifically in one of James P. Bowman's letters.⁴⁹² In addition to the central subjects of the curriculum, St. James also provided courses in Rhetoric⁴⁹³ and Drawing.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁹ W.H. Burke letter to James P. Bowman, February 1, 1853, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

⁴⁹⁰ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, January 18, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁴⁹¹ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, January 18, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁴⁹² W.H. Burke letter to James P. Bowman, September 2, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁴⁹³ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 9, 1857, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁴⁹⁴ St. James College bill for James P. Bowman's college expenses, March 6, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

At some point after the war, the school opened back up under the name of the Saint James School, a name under which it continues to operate to this day. The modern Saint James School is currently “a coeducational boarding school with a smaller day student program.”⁴⁹⁵ The school still touts its “rich spiritual tradition that is inclusive of all religions” and it’s “to preparing students for college.”⁴⁹⁶

Brief History of Trinity College (Hartford, CT)

On June 3, 1819, Thomas Church Brownell was elected the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut. As a former teacher at Union College and the General Seminary, Brownell’s rise to the Bishopric made him “the one man in the Diocese of Connecticut who could bring an Episcopal college into being.”⁴⁹⁷

“Founded in the spring of 1823 as Washington College (the name was changed in 1845), Trinity was only the second college in Connecticut.”⁴⁹⁸ Brownell was appointed the first President of the college by the Board of Trustees. Under the college’s charter, there was a prohibition on “the imposition of religious standards on any student, faculty members or other members of the college, consistent with the forces of religious diversity and toleration in force at the time.”⁴⁹⁹ The prohibition was partially responsible for the college’s attraction of a diverse student body, including southerners.

⁴⁹⁵ St. James College. 2015. “At a Glance.” Accessed January 01, 2015.
http://www.stjames.edu/RelId/622352/ISvars/default/At_a_Glance.htm.

⁴⁹⁶ D.S. Dunnan, 2015. “From the Headmaster.” Accessed January 01, 2015.
http://www.stjames.edu/RelId/622350/ISvars/default/From_the_Headmaster.htm.

⁴⁹⁷ G. Weaver. *The History of Trinity College*, vol. 1. (Hartford, CT: The Trinity College Press, 1967), 13.

⁴⁹⁸ Trinity College. 2015. History. Accessed January 01, 2015.
<http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx>.

⁴⁹⁹ Trinity College. 2015. History. Accessed January 01, 2015.
<http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx>.

The college was scheduled to begin classes on September 23, 1824, although it had to do so using temporary accommodations because the official buildings had not been completed yet. The initial student body consisted of nine students, but it would grow and eventually stabilize around one hundred students. “The minimum age which the Trustees had set for admission was 15 for the regular course and 14 for the ‘Partial Course.’”⁵⁰⁰

By 1830, the student body had grown to eighty-six students. While most of the students were from the New England area, almost a third came from outside the region with two of them calling Louisiana home. Altogether, there were twenty southern students enrolled at the time. According to Weaver (1967), “Washington College was considered ‘safe’ by the southerners who feared an Abolitionist influence at the New England Congregationalist colleges.”⁵⁰¹

The original curriculum for the college included Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry in the first two years. At the end of the second year, “Sophomores were also exposed to Natural Theology, and in the course in Logic they were given opportunity to write literary composition.”⁵⁰² The Junior year included various upper level mathematics courses, “Trigonometry, Solid Geometry, Spherical Trigonometry, Descriptive Geometry, Differential and Integral Calculus, and Conic Sections. Indeed, except for Moral and Natural Philosophy and Greek, that year was to be devoted almost entirely to Mathematics.”⁵⁰³ The senior year focused on science with courses in “Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, and Botany.”⁵⁰⁴

At the time James P. Bowman was matriculating in the early 1850s, the curriculum remained focused on many of the same courses. Henry Drane, a college friend of James P.

⁵⁰⁰ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College* (vol. 1), 33.

⁵⁰¹ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College* (vol. 1), 50.

⁵⁰² Weaver, *The History of Trinity College* (vol. 1), 32.

⁵⁰³ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College* (vol. 1), 32.

⁵⁰⁴ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College* (vol. 1), 32.

Bowman, described Trinity University's curriculum, "In fact Jim when you get through college here you have not only a knowledge of Greek, Latin, Mathematics."⁵⁰⁵ In his letter of January 18, 1852, Drane talked about Greek and Mathematics again, but also mentioned classes in French and Optics.⁵⁰⁶

Trinity's original campus was located at the "College Hill" location in the City of Hartford. It contained two Greek Revival-style buildings with a dormitory, a chapel, a library, and lecture rooms.

In 1872 an important step toward the future was taken when the trustees sold the "College Hill" campus to the City of Hartford as the site for a new State Capitol. Six years later, the College moved to its present 100 acres location.⁵⁰⁷

As Trinity evolved into a modern university during the 20th century, it remained a liberal arts college while expanding its enrollment to its current 2,200 students.

Daily Activities at Trinity College

By combining information from Weaver's history of the school and from several of the archival letters pertaining to James P. Bowman, it was possible to piece together a reasonable description of students' daily lives. "We rise in the morning at 6 o'clock by the ringing of a bell."⁵⁰⁸ Upon waking, both faculty and students attended the first of three daily recitations followed by prayer.

⁵⁰⁵ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, August 11, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC).

⁵⁰⁶ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, January 18, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC).

⁵⁰⁷ Trinity College. 2015. History. Accessed January 01, 2015.

<http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/mission/Pages/History.aspx>.

⁵⁰⁸ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC).

The services here are, at first the Lord's Prayer, then the anthem 'O Come Let Us Sing Unto the Lord Ye', then the first lesson in the bible according to the calendar, then another anthem, the creed and a few prayers when the service is concluded the whole taking about fifteen minutes.⁵⁰⁹

According to Weaver, the first classes met right after the recitation, followed by breakfast then a study period and a second recitation. This pattern of activities was repeated after the lunch meal break. "At five we go to chapel again when about the same services are performed and afterwards go to tea."⁵¹⁰ "From 6:00 P.M. until 'lights out' at 10:00 P.M. students were to be in their rooms, and the Faculty were to be available in their studies in the College for personal help."⁵¹¹

Rachel O'Connor

Although not as closely related as the other individuals included in this study, Rachel O'Connor offered an interesting perspective in which to see another side of education in the pre-Civil War Felicianas, the education of women. Rachel emigrated to the Felicianas from Scotland as a four year old child in 1778, while Louisiana was still mainly a pioneer society. She lived until 1846, so her life spanned West Feliciana's transition from pioneer society to that of a wealthy plantation society during the antebellum. Very little information was available about the specifics of her formal education, but her extensive correspondence with her extended family members revealed a hearty picture of how educated she had become. Also of particular interest was Rachel's unusual status as the head mistress of Evergreen Plantation with sole decision-

⁵⁰⁹ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC).

⁵¹⁰ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC).

⁵¹¹ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College (vol. 1)*, 34.

making power, where her decisions and accomplishments helped provide information about her educational interests and abilities. She left behind over one hundred and fifty letters now found in the David Weeks and Family Papers (Mss. 528, 605, 1655, 1657, 1695, & 1807, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA).

Rachel Swayze was born on March 13, 1774 in the Attakapas region of the colony of Louisiana.⁵¹² Her parents were Rachel Hopkins Swayze and Stephen Swayze and she had an older brother William Swayze. Her father died sometime before she was four years old, but her mother quickly remarried an English immigrant named William Weeks. In 1778, soon after marrying Rachel's mother, Weeks moved his new family to the Felicianas where he had obtained a Spanish land grant similar to those obtained by Alexander Stirling and John Turnbull, Sr. making all of them among the original families to settle the region. Rachel and William Swayze went on to have three children of their own, Pamela, Caleb, and David Weeks.⁵¹³ David was particularly beloved by his older half-sister Rachel and most of the surviving correspondence was either written to David or about him.

Rachel Swayze Bell O'Connor was married twice, but outlived both husbands. Her first husband was Richard Bell, but he died soon after in 1792. Rachel and Richard had one child, Stephen Bell (1790-1821). After her husband died, Rachel moved back to her step-father's plantation to help him raise her youngest half-siblings after her mother died around 1790.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² A.B.W. Webb, ed. *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), xxi.

⁵¹³ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxii.

⁵¹⁴ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxiv.

After being a widow for five years, Rachel met and married her second husband Hercules O'Connor in the spring of 1797.⁵¹⁵ He was a recent immigrant to the area from Ireland. They had a son, named James, in 1807.

“In 1798 Rachel was granted in her own name 276 arpents of land in Feliciana by the Spanish governor, Manuel Gayoso.”⁵¹⁶ They built a cabin on their land and soon bought enough to have a total estate of nearly one thousand acres located near the Oakley Plantation. Oakley Plantation became famous as the home of John James Audubon, who painted pictures of Louisiana’s birds. Audubon arrived in Louisiana in June 1821 because he had taken the “job of tutoring Eliza Pirrie, daughter of James Pirrie of Oakley Plantation.”⁵¹⁷ Eliza Pirrie was also the mother of the James P. Bowman from this study, so Rachel O'Connor was in extremely close proximity to the other individuals being studied.

The couple continued to prosper economically, increasing both their land holdings and their ability to increase their profits. Unfortunately for Rachel, her husband began drinking corn whiskey heavily. He finally died in 1820. When his neighbor Audubon was called to attend him, “Audubon stated that Hercules had literally drunk himself to death.”⁵¹⁸ Even worse for Rachel,

⁵¹⁵ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxiv.

⁵¹⁶ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxiv.

⁵¹⁷ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxiv.

⁵¹⁸ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxv.

her son James quickly developed an addiction of his own to corn whiskey. James followed in his father's footsteps and died from alcohol on July 30, 1822 when he was barely fifteen years old.⁵¹⁹

Meanwhile, her other son Stephen Bell found himself floundering his way through several economic ventures. First, he tried a partnership with Rachel's youngest half-brother David Weeks. The pair bought interest in land on Grand Cote Island and began trying to establish a profitable plantation, but Stephen couldn't stand the irritations associated with living and working around South Louisiana swamps. He sold his interest to David and decided to become a store owner. His first attempt was a mercantile in New Orleans, but quickly abandoned it in favor of opening a general store in St. Francisville. As each attempt floundered, his debts rose and his health failed. When he eventually died in 1821, his estate owed several thousand dollars to William Flower, a New Orleans merchant and the brother-in-law of Rachel's half-sister Pamela Weeks.

Her son's debt to Flowers resulted in a nasty lawsuit, which caused Rachel to become overwhelmed and unable to maintain her plantation. She was forced to sell her property to her brother David Weeks. David bought the property, and then arranged for Rachel to become the manager of the plantation for the rest of her life. In return, David also assumed responsibility for Stephen Bell's debts from Rachel. Rachel O'Connor spent the rest of her life managing and caring for a plantation and slaves that actually belonged to someone else.

William Swayze (b. unknown), Rachel's only full sibling, first married Melissa Smith. The two of them had three daughters and one son, Julia Ann, Charlotte, Clarissa, and William S. Swayze, Jr. Although not mentioned specifically, it can be assumed that Melissa died because

⁵¹⁹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxv.

William Swayze, Sr. went on to remarry Maria Jefferson and had two more children, Stephen Courtland and Love Swayze. William Swayze, Sr. died sometime in 1820 leaving Rachel Weeks without any full siblings.

Rachel's half-sister, Pamela Weeks married Henry Flower and together they had five sons and three daughters. James Weeks was the oldest of the children. He studied law in New Orleans and eventually worked as a lawyer in St. Francisville. The other Flower children were William, Maria, Harriet, Sidney, David, Louisa, and Stephen all born in that order. "William, the second son, attended the newly established (1826) College of Louisiana at Jackson, Louisiana."⁵²⁰ Only a little specific information was mentioned concerning how Pamela and Henry Flower educated their younger children, but it did cover some important widely used methods. Just like many other wealthy southern families did during the antebellum, "Pamela and Henry hired a tutor to teach young Sidney and David at home until they were also old enough to enter the College of Louisiana."⁵²¹ Unlike her brothers who were initially taught at home, "Even as a child, little Louisa Flower was sent to a boarding school at Jackson conducted by a Miss Anders."⁵²² Unfortunately, nothing was mentioned concerning the curriculum of either the College of Louisiana or Miss Anders' boarding school.

⁵²⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxii.

⁵²¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxii.

⁵²² Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxii.

Very little information remained on Rachel's half-brother Caleb Weeks. It was known that he married, but the wife's name was unknown. The couple had two children, William D. and Anne Weeks. Other than an estimated 1798 year of death, nothing else was known about Caleb or his children.⁵²³

Last but certainly not least in his half-sister Rachel's eyes, David Weeks was born to Rachel Swayze Weeks and William Weeks in 1786. He married Mary Clara Conrad, who would eventually inherit one of the largest family fortunes in the area, on December 31, 1818.⁵²⁴ David died sometime in 1834, but his wife lived on until the height of the Civil War in 1863. Mary remarried later to Judge John Moore, another important local leader. Despite no remaining biological ties, Rachel and Mary remained relatively close until Rachel's death as seen in Rachel's Last Will and Testament dated November 27, 1845:

First, I give and bequeath unto my beloved sister-in-law, Mary C. Conrad, widow of my late brother, David Weeks, deceased, ... seven undivided twelfths (7/12) of all my property, real or personal, consisting of the plantation on which I reside, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging, all the slaves, movable property, etc.⁵²⁵

At the time of her death, Mary C. Conrad ended up with ownership of six more plantations besides the large portion of Evergreen Plantation left to her by Rachel. Amongst these additional properties were Parc Perdu, Rickahoe, Cypermort, Town Farm, Grand Cote Island, and Weeks Island. Altogether these lands helped make Mary Conrad one of the wealthiest women in Louisiana prior to the Civil War.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, 289.

⁵²⁴ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxvii.

⁵²⁵ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, 281.

⁵²⁶ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxvii.

David and Mary had eight children, although two of them died in infancy.⁵²⁷ Only three of the children were mentioned by name in the family genealogy. The three named children from oldest to youngest were Frances (1820-1856), Harriet (1824-1894), and William (b. 1825).⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, xxvii.

⁵²⁸ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*, 289.

CHAPTER FIVE: EDUCATION OF WAKEFIELD

Dear Lewis,

Your letter of May 2nd came to hand some time since I was much gratified to hear from you of your good health improvement. I believe your papa intends to comply with your desire to visit us next summer. I need not add that we will all be very glad to see you. Your resolution to study hard I hope will continue. In the future will amply repay you for your present labour. I can assure you there is no part of past life one ever can recur to with more pleasure than the time we have spent in study. The French language you will find very useful as at present almost every well-educated man understands it. I am pleased to hear you have been making considerable progress in it. Although the Latin and Greek ought to be understood by a man who undertakes the study of a professor. The French is of more valued than either of them and will pay you for the trouble of learning it...

Your friend truly
John B. Hereford⁵²⁹

This letter revealed several important aspects of education for the Sterling family. John B. Hereford was married to Lewis, Jr.'s sister, Catherine and writing to his brother-in-laws away at school hinted at the family's communal approach to education. In the Stirling family, it was not just the duty of the parents to support and encourage the children, instead members of the extended family also regularly wrote letters to aid the Stirlings away at school. Hereford's assertion that nothing would be looked on with more pleasure than Lewis, Jr.'s time at school revealed his own deep appreciation of obtaining an education. Lastly, Hereford revealed curricular information when he brought up French, Latin, and Greek. Especially interesting was Hereford describing the difference between the languages with French being what every well-educated man should learn, while Latin and Greek were more in the purview of someone studying to be a professor. The French language enjoyed a significant level of popularity in Classical school curricula throughout the Antebellum South, but for the Stirlings who lived and

⁵²⁹ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 13, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. John B. Hereford was Lewis, Jr.'s brother-in-law.

worked in Louisiana that was still inhabited by a large number of French-speaking Creoles learning the language offered opportunities beyond those available to someone from another part of the South.

Flexibility Was the Key: Stirling Family Early Childhood Education

During the period from 1800-1830, Louisiana underwent a significant amount of change. It began this period as a sparsely populated backwater pioneer colony belonging to the Spanish, then the French, before it finally ended in the hands of the English-speaking United States. As the United States took control of Louisiana, American settlers began to flood the area to settle.

The three oldest Stirling children, Catherine, Ann, and James, were all born before Louisiana became a state in 1812. Lewis, Jr. was born a few years later in 1819. Most likely due to the pioneer conditions under which the oldest Stirlings grew up, only one or two letters from this time period survived to find their way to the family's archival collection. This means that almost no information remained specifically describing the early education of the oldest four Stirling children.⁵³⁰

Extended Family Shows Interest

The first documented indications of the Stirling brothers' early education were found in two letters from 1830. On March 27, 1830, the boy's cousin Mary Jane Skillman wrote a letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr. while he was away at St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, KY. This letter set the pattern for the many letters to follow, where even extended family members and in-laws would regularly write to the older brothers to ask about their educations and to let them know about the schooling of the younger family members. Although specific details were omitted,

⁵³⁰ Because the early education of the older children was missing, when this dissertation looks at early childhood education it will concentration on the younger Stirlings.

Mary Jane did mention that nine year old Dan “wants to go to school with you very much.”⁵³¹

Other examples of extended family members being interested or involved in the younger Stirlings’ education were easily found throughout the correspondence. Dr. John Hereford, husband of Catherine Stirling Hereford, wrote a letter to Lewis, Jr. on June 13, 1831 where he took the time to keep Lewis, Jr. aware of his nieces and nephews attempts to learn how to talk. “They are a couple of little fellows & send you & James many kisses. They run everywhere & say or try to say many words.”⁵³²

The other letter written in 1830 was from October seventeenth and came from Lewis, Jr.’s sister Ann Lobdell. This represented another important family dynamic where the Stirling sisters, Ann and Catherine, would often go beyond their own role as parents to their own children and begin to take on a similar role when it came to the education of their younger brothers. In this particular letter, Ann passed along a message from their mother designed to guilt Lewis, Jr. and James into writing home more often which is a pretty typical complaint for families with kids away at school even today. “Mama says she was in hopes that where she got two sons there, she surely would hear once a month at least from them, but it appears to be getting worse.”⁵³³

Seasonal Geographic Disruptions

Ann also told Lewis, Jr. that their parents were moving to the family’s land in Attakapas to harvest and make sugar. Their brothers, Dan and Ruffin were going with their parents. She thought they would probably remain there until Christmas. Educationally, the importance of this

⁵³¹ Mary Jane Skillman letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 27, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³² John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 13, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³³ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 27, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

three month change in address was that it represented a disruption in schooling for Dan. “Dan has been going to school until the last week, when his skillmaster was going away and as he himself was going to Attakapas, Papa has taken him home altogether.”⁵³⁴

Although these unavoidable seasonal disruptions seemed to be welcomed by Daniel as he was “delighted with the sugar making.”⁵³⁵ As a ten year old, Daniel most likely spent his time following the adults, watching all the action, and asking endless questions of the adults. While endlessly entertaining for a young boy, this time would only serve as a distraction from his formal education. The family was well aware of the potential negative impact of these seasonal disruptions on the Dan’s education.

Later correspondence revealed other examples of the same type of extended disruption while the family moved elsewhere temporarily. On July 7, Ann Lobdell wrote to her father Lewis, Sr. while he was away in New York on a trip to buy furniture for his new home Wakefield Plantation. She described a situation where most of the extended family had been sick and moved to the family’s summer residence in Pascagoula, MS. In this particular instance, Ann talked about taking up the role of the school mistress for all of the family’s youngest kids to help prevent their educations from being completely put on hold.⁵³⁶

During the next summer, the family made arrangements to allow Dan to stay at Dr. Hereford’s during the family’s vacation to Pascagoula. John Hereford first wrote of this plan to maintain Dan’s schooling without any breaks in a letter to Lewis, Jr. on April 13, 1837.

⁵³⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³⁵ Catherine Mary Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³⁶ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Sr., July 7, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Dan will remain with us & go to school. He is [growing] so very fast that he finds it necessary (or rather his Papa for him) to continue his, [studies], or be a school boy after he has attained the height of six feet four inches, which will be the case in two or [three] years.⁵³⁷

In a second letter on July 22, 1837, Dr. Hereford confirmed that “Dan remained with us [here], all summer.”⁵³⁸ He also mentioned Dan taking a short break, but he would resume his study in a few more days.

The following year, Lewis, Sr. and his two son-in-laws, Mr. Lobdell and Dr. Hereford, joined together to hire Mr. Tompkins, the teacher who previously taught at Uncle Skillman’s plantation school.⁵³⁹ Although little other information about Uncle Skillman’s plantation school was available, it fit the mold of neighbors in rural areas pooling their resources to start a school for all of their children at one of their plantations. The hiring of Mr. Tompkins represented the family taking complete control of the early childhood education of their youngest. It also revealed the extended family’s solution for continuing that education during their summer vacations in Pascagoula. Ann Lobdell wrote about the men of the family planning to return to West Feliciana to get involved in an election. “Mama and I would then be left for two weeks with only Mr. Tomkins in the house with us.”⁵⁴⁰ The amount of effort and expense the family gradually expanded over time to combat these disruptions, represented their willingness to make the early education of their children a priority.

⁵³⁷ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 13, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³⁸ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 22, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵³⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 01, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. Little else is known about Mr. Tompkins other than what is revealed here.

⁵⁴⁰ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Daniel's Early Schooling

It was the family's efforts to overcome Dan's early struggles with schooling that would reveal the most about how much the family valued educating their children. Dan was only two years younger than Lewis, Jr., but he was significantly slower in getting prepared to go away for his secondary education. Catherine "Kitty" Stirling, the eldest Stirling sibling, spoke about their father's feelings on the matter, "He has no idea of sending Dan for several years yet, he went to school all last summer to Mr. Bradford, but I do not believe that he learnt anything except how to climb trees and swim which Mr. Bradford thinks very necessary."⁵⁴¹

On May 15, 1831, Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. that Dan was now living with her and her husband so he could go to school in town [St. Francisville].⁵⁴² She described Dan as "the same wildly thoughtly [sic] generous boy you left."⁵⁴³ She neglected to mention anything about the curriculum Dan was studying. She did mention that Dan had learned to play marbles at school, although he was losing most of his own. Dan also came home and taught Lewis S. Lobdell, his nephew, how to play marbles as well.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴¹ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁴² The name of this school was not mentioned.

⁵⁴³ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁴⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

In a letter dated September 4, 1834, James L. Stirling wrote to Lewis, Jr. and asked him to make Dan write to him while he was studying law in New York. He also requested that Lewis, Jr. write him about Dan's schooling. "In your next tell me how poor little Uncle [Dan] gets on at his school?"⁵⁴⁵ This letter provided another example of how involved the entire family was in educating the youngest members of the family.

Two letters written in October 1836 between Lewis, Sr. and his son Lewis, Jr. touched again on Dan's trouble with school and his father's attempts to find schooling that would work. Despite Lewis, Jr.'s recent arrival at New Haven, Lewis, Sr. had enlisted his aid in obtaining a new teacher for the family in Louisiana. "At any rate you must write immediately ... all about how you are getting on, and if Professor Silliman has succeeded in procuring a teacher for me and if so when I may expect him."⁵⁴⁶ Professor Silliman was listed in the "Yale University: University Catalogue, 1836" as the "Professor of Chemistry, Pharmacy, Mineralogy and Geology."⁵⁴⁷ He was most likely one of the professors that Lewis, Jr. was most familiar. This search for a teacher in Connecticut represented both the effort and the expense that the family was willing to go to in order to provide their children a good start to their education.

⁵⁴⁵ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 04, 1834, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁴⁶ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 07, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁴⁷ Yale University, "Yale University. University Catalogue, 1836" *Yale University Catalogue*, 22 (1836), 3, accessed on January 1, 2015, http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/yale_catalogue/22.

Lewis, Sr.'s letter of October 28, 1836, provided information about why he needed to find a new teacher, "your poor Dan still thinks too much of his gun and I am afraid not much more of his Book than he used to do."⁵⁴⁸ Dan was still going to school at Uncle Skillman's where he had been going since the family returned from Pascagoula, "but his teacher tells me he is learning very little ... he is so wild that I have very little hope of his ever learning much."⁵⁴⁹

During the spring of 1837, Dan experienced more struggles with his schooling. "I am afraid Dan is not learning a great deal. He is now going to school to a Brother of our neighbor Parson Montgomery."⁵⁵⁰ Less than a week later, John Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr.,

The boys are now all at home. Dan having fallen out with Mr. Montgomery [teacher], he ordered him to quit the school and we have taken all the others away. They are learning at home. Dan employs himself with his gun—Mr. Montgomery was wrong in the matter.⁵⁵¹

By the end of the month, Dan was reenrolled in his third school. "Dan is going to school to Uncle Skillman's [husband of Aunt Ann Stirling] and will be left to home or rather at the Dr.'s, as he and Kitty [Catherine Hereford] think they will not go [to Pascagoula]."⁵⁵²

By November 17, 1837, Dan was back in school with Mr. Tomkins [teacher from Uncle Skillman's plantation].⁵⁵³ As previously mentioned, the Stirlings, Lobdells, and Herefords took a step further and hired Mr. Tomkins to come teach all of their children at Wakefield Plantation.

⁵⁴⁸ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 28, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁴⁹ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 28, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵⁰ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 07, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵¹ John Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 15, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵² Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵³ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

According to a letter from Ann Lobdell, “he will have one of the rooms upstairs until Papa can have a house put up for him. He comes for 480 dollars a year.”⁵⁵⁴ From Ann’s letter, it could also be assumed that the female children would be learning from Mr. Tomkins too. “Poor Mary [Ann’s daughter] I expect she will be so frightened that she will not learn for a long time she thinks that School Masters are very bad creatures, and we could not get her to speak to Mr. Tomkins when he was here.”⁵⁵⁵

Following the Stirling’s early efforts to educate Dan revealed how the family responded to adversity in their children’s education. The multitude of schools and teachers engaged revealed how education was seen as so important that no possibility would be left unexplored, even when facing a child facing motivational issues to the extent that Dan revealed. The expenses were paid, despite the economic issues experienced across the South during the 1830s when the price of cotton collapsed globally.

In addition to Dan’s issues, the family correspondence also revealed other difficulties the family experienced finding skilled educators to teach their other children as well. Ann Lobdell took over the job being the school mistress for the youngest children on several occasions. In Pascagoula in July 7, 1836, she acted as the school mistress for all the younger children because the family had no private teacher or tutor at the time.⁵⁵⁶ Ann mentioned teaching the younger

⁵⁵⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 01, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 01, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵⁶ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 07, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

children again in November 17, 1837, while Mr. Tomkins was teaching Dan in his school at Uncle Skillman's plantation.⁵⁵⁷ Dr. Hereford's kids were taught at home during the same time period that Dan Stirling was living with his sister's family to continue his schooling during the Summer of 1837.⁵⁵⁸ Sarah and Stirling Hereford also sent word to Lewis, Jr. through their father's letter bragging about what they had learned in spelling.

Even after Dan had moved on to St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, KY, the family obtained another new teacher in April 05, 1839 to teach the children at Dr. Hereford's home.

Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr.,

We have at last got a teacher for the children, he teaches at the Dr.'s [Hereford], they are all delighted with him and he with them. He told them that he never whipt [sic] children and he sings comic songs for them and [allows] them to talk a great deal.⁵⁵⁹

Catherine Hereford confirmed the information in Ann's letter a few days later. "We have got a Teacher at last for our children. The poor little things were very much distressed at first but became reconciled in a few days."⁵⁶⁰ The fact that these instances happened after Dan had gone on to a boarding school and involved only the Hereford and Lobdell children revealed that the high value put on educating children was multigenerational and not limited to the children of Lewis Stirling, Sr.

⁵⁵⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵⁸ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 13, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁵⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶⁰ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Educating Abroad: Stirling Boys Secondary Education

As exemplified previously, the year 1830 served as somewhat of a demarcation line between pioneer era Louisiana and antebellum era Louisiana. Pioneer era Louisiana was characterized by a sparse, rural population with little economic power, while antebellum era Louisiana's population had become significantly denser with the growth of New Orleans and towns like Baton Rouge and St. Francisville and their subsequent increase in economic importance as cotton spread westward and trade developed along the Mississippi River. Due to their ages, the older Stirling boys left behind more letters and evidence revealing the time they spent away from Louisiana completing their secondary educations preparing them for university and beyond. James, Lewis, Jr., and Daniel Stirling all went to St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, KY during this critical time period, so their secondary education became the focus for this section of this study.

James Stirling: Secondary Education

James Stirling, born in 1812, was the eldest of the Stirling boys by a significant margin. Lewis Stirling, Sr. did not fully establish his family until after 1820, so the earlier parts of James' education are cloudy. The first mention of James' schooling did not show up in the correspondence until October 6, 1830, when he was already at St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky obtaining his secondary education. The distance the family was willing to send James for school was remarkable, especially considering the school was Catholic and the family was Episcopalian.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶¹ James could have gone to Louisiana College which was very close in Jackson, LA and founded in 1825 and the College of Jefferson founded in 1831 would have also been much closer.

In a letter written by his Uncle Andrew Skillman dated October 6, 1830, he tells Lewis Stirling, Jr. to “present us all to your Brother James & Robert Semple [cousin from Isabella Turnbull].”⁵⁶² Since the letter was mailed to Lewis, Jr. at St. Joseph’s College in Bardstown, KY and asked Lewis, Jr. to speak to James and Robert, it was assumed that all three boys were attending the same school. Later correspondence corroborated that James attended St. Joseph’s College with Lewis, Jr.⁵⁶³

Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. on October 17, 1830, where she mentioned getting the good news of Lewis, Jr. and James both “passing so good an examination ... Mama at least wore the paper out reading of your pluses and [pains].”⁵⁶⁴ Although none of the surviving letters were written by or to Sarah Turnbull Stirling, the matriarch of the family, there is evidence of her interest in their education. The description above of her wearing out the paper rereading her son’s good grades really showed how interested and happy she was with their successes at school.

Sarah Turnbull Stirling often sent messages through other family members pushing to hear from her children away at school more often. For example in the letter currently being discussed, Ann passed along a message from their Mama [Sarah Turnbull Sterling], “Mama says she was in hopes that where she got two sons there, she surely would hear once a month at least

⁵⁶² Andrew Skillman letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 06, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶³ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

from them, but it appears to be getting worse.”⁵⁶⁵ This would become a consistent pattern of multiple family members sending messages designed to guilt the Stirling boys to write home more often.

President Elder from St. Joseph’s College Visits the Stirlings

Another important episode in James’ education at St. Joseph’s actually happened back in Louisiana at his parents’ home. Catherine Mary “Kitty” Hereford, Lewis and James’ sister, wrote to Lewis, Jr. on January 18, 1831 to tell him that President Elder of St. Joseph’s College had been staying with the Stirlings in West Feliciana.⁵⁶⁶ The letter never explained how the president of St. Joseph’s College came to be staying with the Stirlings in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. Considering the history of a connection between the college and south Louisiana discussed in the history of the college in Chapter Four, it was likely that he was visiting alumnae in the area recruiting prospective students for the college. Regardless of his reasons for being there, Catherine wrote to her brother, “We were delighted to hear him give a favourable [sic] account of you both [Lewis, Jr. and James].”⁵⁶⁷

Ann Lobdell also wrote to Lewis, Jr. and mentioned Mr. Elder’s visit. “Mr. Elder has been here and has made us all happy telling us about you and James. Keep on that course my dear brothers and you will be the pride of your brothers’ heart.”⁵⁶⁸ While the initial report was glowing, Ann also brought up some slightly more worrisome news specific to James’ behavior.

⁵⁶⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶⁶ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶⁷ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁶⁸ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

“Mr. Elder says you [James] can’t pass anyone without giving him a pull and if you do not happen to touch him, you run after him, no living with sober people has not sobered you.”⁵⁶⁹ Ann went so far as to call James’ behavior wild.

James Stirling also wrote to his father, Lewis, Sr. about Mr. Elder’s visit at the family’s home. James seemed pretty anxious for his father to come visit St. Joseph’s later in the year, but he never really explained why. James also brought up and denied some of the wild behavior that his sister Ann had mentioned in her letter on February 15, 1831. “You might conclude from what I have said that I have been getting into difficulties with persons in town or the like, but you may make yourself easy on that score.—nor must you think that I misled to get married.”⁵⁷⁰

This whole series of letters concerning the visit of Mr. Elders revealed several important things about the role of the family in the education of the children even after they had left home to go to school. First, the fact that the president of the college had a close enough relationship with the Stirlings to stay with them in their home while traveling from Kentucky to Louisiana indicated the parents probably had an extensive involvement in their children’s secondary education. Second, the number of family members who took the time to write a letter concerning the visit shows again how the entire extended family took interest in the education of the rest of the family. Lastly, the comments about James’ behavior from Ann, followed by his writing a letter to Lewis, Sr. dismissing the claims of wildness, revealed a bit more about the family’s dynamic with the older sisters taking on the role of a pseudo-parent to their younger siblings.

⁵⁶⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷⁰ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

James Finishes at St. Joseph's

In a letter dated May 5, 1831, Ann asked Lewis, Jr. to get James to write a letter home.⁵⁷¹ Although any letter James wrote in response was missing, John L. Lobdell's next letter to Lewis, Jr. provided a clue to the gravity of James' subject. "James' letter had the effect of determining your Papa to go immediately to Bardstown and to bring both of you to Louisiana."⁵⁷²

Regardless of the specific regulations that represented such a problem for Lewis, Sr., James remained at St. Joseph's while Lewis, Jr. returned home for a while as a result. James staying at school was confirmed in a letter he wrote to Lewis, Jr. on September 20, 1831 back in St. Francisville. In it James said, "I can only tell you that if you were here & in my place you would be obliged to study with all your strength whether you would or not."⁵⁷³

James' final letter written from Bardstown, KY came to Lewis, Jr. at St. Francisville on February 5, 1832. He mentioned to Lewis, Jr. that John Towles, a ward of their Uncle Daniel Turnbull, was coming to St. Joseph's College.

I dare say he will be heartily glad of having a little respite from going 'from place to place.' I suppose that they are all satisfied that it is not a case of necessity, that all who come here are to be [made]—Catholics, & so I expect that [John] will make this his stopping place for some time.⁵⁷⁴

Although no information remained to illuminate the reasons why this Episcopalian family from Louisiana began sending their children to a Catholic college in Kentucky, once the tradition was established it became the reason for sending the younger family members like Daniel

⁵⁷¹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 05, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷² John Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 07, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷³ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 20, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷⁴ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 05, 1832, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Sterling and John Towles there. Most likely one or more extended family members were in the first group of fifty from the area to follow Father M Martiel north from Louisiana and Mississippi to attend the school in May 1825.⁵⁷⁵

James also mentioned James A. Stirling, their cousin, had returned home early from college like Lewis, Jr. “I have understood that his college in Ohio is broken up, on account of the disagreement of its professors”⁵⁷⁶ James wished that their cousin James would get over his discomfort with the idea of going to a Catholic school, so he could finish college with him at St. Joseph’s.

He finished the letter by apologizing for his bad handwriting. “I have a whole book of history to prepare for an examination three days from this (i.e.) on Thursday next.”⁵⁷⁷ He then pleaded with Lewis, Jr. not to let their dad see his poor handwriting, “for he might say that it is not worth the postage.”⁵⁷⁸ This last comment was one of several found within the archival collection that indicated the importance placed on learning beautiful handwriting by the Stirlings. A second example was found in Lewis, Jr.’s report card from St. Joseph’s from September 15—December 25, 1828 showed he took writing as a graded subject in his curriculum.⁵⁷⁹ One last

⁵⁷⁵ Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 293.

⁵⁷⁶ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 5, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. The school in Louisiana that closed down is never named, but based on the year it closed it was probably the College of Orleans.

⁵⁷⁷ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 5, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷⁸ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 5, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁷⁹ St. Joseph’s College report card for Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 15—December 25, 1828, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

example was in a letter Lewis Stirling, Sr. wrote to his son where he addressed the issue head on, “We were all very much pleased to find you so much improved as to be able to write so pretty a letter...”⁵⁸⁰

The next letter written by James came nearly two years later on September 4, 1834. James had apparently graduated from St. Joseph’s in the meantime, because he was living in New York at the time he wrote this letter. He was in New York to study the law or complete a legal internship. He would subsequently return home to Louisiana where he would study to pass the bar exam.⁵⁸¹

Lewis Stirling, Jr.: Secondary Education

The earliest evidence of Lewis Stirling, Jr.’s secondary education at St. Joseph’s College at Bardstown, Kentucky was found in his report card for the period from September 15, 1828 through December 25, 1828. This artifact provided the earliest definitive evidence of Lewis, Jr. being a student at St. Joseph’s in 1828, which would make him around nine years old and already pursuing his secondary education away from home. It also provided an extensive list of subjects being taught in the St. Joseph’s College curriculum. Lewis, Jr.’s report card included grades for “religion, conduct, reading, writing, English Grammar, Geography, History, Arithmetick [sic], Latin, Greek, English, French, Rhetorick [sic], Logick [sic], Ethics, Physics (with experiments), Geometry, and Algebra.”⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 8, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸¹ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 04, 1834, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸² St. Joseph’s College report card for Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 15—December 25, 1828, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Beginning with Mary Jane Skillman's letter telling Lewis, Jr. about his younger brother's schooling on March 27, 1830, the next twenty four months of Lewis Jr.'s time at St. Joseph's College saw nearly a dozen other letters written by a wide variety of the members of the Stirling's extended family. As previously discussed, Uncle Andrew Skillman wrote to Lewis, Jr. and mentioned James and their cousin Robert Semple both being at the same school.⁵⁸³ The next five letters from October 17, 1830 through May 8, 1831 involved the family discussion of the visit of President Elder of St. Joseph's College to the Stirling home in West Feliciana already explored in the earlier section dealing with James' secondary education.

In a letter dated May 15, 1831, Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. and discussed his interest in taking up an elective not typically associated with the traditional classical curriculum, like playing a musical instrument. At some point earlier, Lewis, Jr. had apparently written home to gain his father's blessing to take up a musical instrument. According to Ann, papa "he had no objections to you learning to play on the violin and that he could be very much pleased that you should learn if you wished it."⁵⁸⁴ This particular letter really showed the extent to which the members of the Stirling family became actively involved in influencing each other's educational decisions.

⁵⁸³ Andrew Skillman letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 06, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

During the next few months, the events surrounding James' final months at St. Joseph's happened. The College passed some new regulations that angered Lewis, Sr. and led to Lewis, Jr. returning home.⁵⁸⁵ Although it was a bit unclear whether Lewis, Jr. graduated from St. Joseph's College before returning home or not, his brief return home represented a demarcation line between his secondary (university prep) education and his terminal university education.

Daniel Stirling: Secondary Education

Although Dan's early efforts at education exhibited a propensity towards difficulties and failures, Lewis Stirling, Sr. continued planning and pushing him towards the same type of classical preparatory curriculum that his brothers enjoyed. Once Lewis, Jr. had become established at Yale University in New Haven, CT, Lewis, Sr. began employing his son to aid his efforts to educate Dan.

I have an idea of sending him to New Haven next year not that I think of his being able to enter college by that time but I think if he was near you he might be stimulated to some greater exertions. Is there any Preparatory School at or near New Haven that I could get him in at?⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁵ John Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 7, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 20, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 05, 1832, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸⁶ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 07, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Events would occur that would prevent Lewis, Sr.'s plan to send Dan to school near Lewis, Jr., but it did lead to Lewis, Jr. telling Dan all sorts of stories about life away at college. Just like older siblings from modern times, picking with or playing tricks on their younger siblings, "Dan is somewhat alarmed at the account that you give of the tricks that are played upon [freshmen] strangers in your college."⁵⁸⁷

In her June 3, 1838 letter to Lewis, Jr., Ann Lobdell informed her brother that Dan had finally gone away to school to begin his secondary education. Dan followed the paths of his two older brothers and enrolled in St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, KY.⁵⁸⁸ Daniel managed to get accepted to St. Joseph's and enroll, but it did not mean the end of his struggles with schooling or the end of his family's efforts to help him overcome those struggles. Less than a month after Lewis, Jr. received notification that Dan was enrolled at St. Joseph's, Dan wrote his brother about his struggles. "I had some thoughts of quitting college and going to the Rocky Mountains but I gave it out and believe I'll stay here until I finish my course of studies, but I don't much like it for I feel as if there was not much use in my staying here."⁵⁸⁹ On July 4, 1838, Catherine Hereford wrote to Lewis, Jr. about Dan complaining of the food at St. Joseph's College, which meant that Dan had already written complaints to two of his siblings within the first month of being away at college.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 29, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸⁸ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁸⁹ Daniel Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 02, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹⁰ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 04, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

On September 10, 1838, Dan wrote to Lewis, Jr. complaining about another student who “has taken a dislike to me [Dan] and so have I to him.”⁵⁹¹ He wrote about several run-ins the two of them had already had with each other. “I cursed him here about a week or two ago about breaking a glass. And then he tried to cheat me out of a Dollar and told two of the biggest kind of lies about it and proved them on himself.”⁵⁹² Overall, the stresses from their poor relationship made Dan tell his brother, “I am very tired of this place and I wish now that I never came here...”⁵⁹³

The family responded to these early complaints through intensive communication with each other by writing letters. In addition to the two letters at the beginning of July just mentioned, Catherine Hereford’s letter on the 4th mentioned Dan’s writing. “I believe that he has written to nearly every member of the family and says that he feels as if he ought to be writing all the time.”⁵⁹⁴ Ann Lobdell also wrote to Lewis, Jr. in July to talk about all of the letter writing between Dan and the family.

We have all written to Dan and he has disappointed us all. He is fonder of writing letters than any of the family. He said in one of his letters that he expected we would all be very much surprised to see the letters pouring in on us every week. We were indeed, but very agreeably.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Daniel Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 10, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹² Daniel Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 10, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹³ Daniel Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 10, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹⁴ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 04, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 22, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

The family used letter writing as a way to support the individuals who were away at school, as both a way to keep them informed of home and to allow family members to offer support and pressure for them to do well at school.

After only a few months of being at St. Joseph's and receiving letters, Dan's outlook on school had already begun to change. In the same letter in which he complained to Lewis, Jr. about having an enemy at St. Joseph's, he also wrote something to his brother that indicated a significant change in how he would view his education. He wrote to Lewis, Jr. about his vacation from school ending the week before. "I got very tired of it [vacation] before it was out for I did nothing but [think] about the college."⁵⁹⁶ For the first time in any of the correspondence, Dan wrote about the classes he was taking (Euclid, French, Arithmetic, and Book-keeping) and what he intended to study later in the year (Globes). Both of these things represented an important change in the way Dan approached his own education.

These changes in Dan's outlook on education would continue to play out over the next several months and letters. On April 5, 1839, Ann wrote to Lewis, Jr. to tell him that Dan had recently written to her "as if he had determined to go to hard study."⁵⁹⁷ Ann also mentioned their parents were traveling north to Kentucky to visit and support Dan in a few weeks. She said their dad was also trying to talk John Turnbull, their cousin and their father's ward, into traveling to Bardstown with him to hopefully get him acquainted with the school and Dan. This revealed the amount of trouble and expense the family was willing to go through to support a child away from

⁵⁹⁶ Daniel Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 10, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

school. It also showed how far people would go in meeting their obligations to their wards. The Stirlings were preparing to help their ward obtain the same exact education they had provided for their own sons.

Catherine wrote to Lewis, Jr. on April 8, 1839, “I suppose that you have heard of the great change that has taken place in Dan, he has determined to give up all his idle habits and attend closely to his studies for the next three or perhaps five years if necessary.”⁵⁹⁸ She also talked about their mama and papa planning their trip to Kentucky. “Papa determined when Dan left home that he would visit him the next year to see how he was situated and we have prevailed on Mama to accompany him.”⁵⁹⁹ Dan was not the only child they were making plans to go visit. Catherine wrote to Lewis, Jr. and told him “You must prepare yourself as they are speaking very strongly of going next year to see you graduate.”⁶⁰⁰

Education After College

Daniel Stirling

After Dan finished at St. Joseph’s College, he returned home to West Feliciana. He never attempted any further education. Instead Dan pursued the outdoor life of a farmer that he had always preferred. Unfortunately for him, the Civil War erupted and he died before it would end.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁵⁹⁹ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰⁰ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰¹ Daniel served in the military and died during the Civil War, but no definitive evidence of how or where he died was found.

Ruffin Stirling

Being the youngest of the Stirling children, Ruffin grew up and went to school significantly later than his other siblings. Due to the gap between his own education and that of his siblings, there was not any archival correspondence available to explore Ruffin's secondary or post-secondary education. The one thing that could be determined was that he had completed medical school and become a doctor. Although it was minimal information, the mere existence of his medical degree added another example to support the assertion that his family placed a high value on educating their children.

James L. Stirling

James Stirling, the oldest of the boys, graduated from St. Joseph's College somewhere between writing his last letter from Bardstown on February 5, 1832 and when he wrote his first letter from New York on September 4, 1834. After he finished school in Kentucky, James Stirling had moved to New York City where he had a legal internship and began studying the law. Ann Lobdell confirmed James' status in a letter she wrote to Lewis, Jr. on May 29, 1836 that she sent "c/o Mr. James L. Stirling student with P.A. Jay, Esq. in New York."⁶⁰² Although this addressing of the letter was of secondary importance to Ann Lobdell, it revealed his continuing status as a student and his being placed under the tutelage of a man with esquire after his name, an indicator of a lawyer.

James was likely following in the footsteps of his brother-in-law, John Little Lobdell, Esq. who obtained his license as a lawyer from the State of New York. His American Legal Association license was found within the oversized items of the Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons

⁶⁰² Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 29, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Family Papers, Mss. 4026, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA. Back in Louisiana, John L. Lobdell also served as the attorney of record representing the heirs for the estate of John and Catherine Turnbull.⁶⁰³

A few months later in a letter James wrote to his father while he was in New York, he told his father about the status of his studies. “I have seen Mr. Jay [his teacher] and he thinks that I will be able to get an examination in July.”⁶⁰⁴ Since the first letter indicating James was studying the law in New York was written on September 4, 1834 and the September 23, 1836 letter indicated that his studies would be completed and he would be ready to take his final licensing examination in July 1837, James’ study of the law for the New York Bar covered around two and half years of studying.

John L. Lobdell wrote a letter to Lewis, Jr. on March 15, 1837. In this letter, Lobdell mentioned that James Stirling had arrived back in Louisiana and he was preparing to go before the Louisiana Supreme Court to stand for his Louisiana Bar Examination.

Your Brother James is making preparation to get his examination, which I hope and trust will be accomplished within two or three weeks. Your Pa and Ma are now in New Orleans, and as soon as they return James and myself calculated to go down.⁶⁰⁵

As of March 31, 1837 in Ann Lobdell’s next letter to Lewis, Jr., James still had not gone to New Orleans to get his license. James was still talking about going in another “two weeks with Mr. Lobdell when he expects to take his examination.”⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 415-16.

⁶⁰⁴ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Sr., September 23, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰⁵ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 15, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰⁶ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Another month and a half went by without James traveling to New Orleans to complete his bar examination. John L. Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. in early June 1837 and provided him with the detailed plan of James' intentions. "Your Brother James and myself contemplated starting for New Orleans on Wednesday next. And when down there he will endeavor to pass the ordeal of Examinations before the Supreme Judges."⁶⁰⁷ In July 22, 1837, James' passing of his law examination was finally completed. "James has obtained license to practice law."⁶⁰⁸

Lewis Stirling, Jr.

After returning home from St. Joseph's College, Lewis, Jr. would eventually leave again and go to New Haven, CT where he would pursue his final education at Yale University. The first indication that Lewis, Jr. had arrived in New Haven came when James Stirling sent him "2 pairs of pantaloons and four silk pocket handkerchiefs" addressed to him at New Haven, CT.⁶⁰⁹ Catherine Hereford wrote to Lewis, Jr. in August 15, 1836 and verified his new home in New Haven, "I am very glad to hear that you are pleased with your new situation you have got amongst so many Churches and Colledges [sic] that you can't help becoming very learned and pious."⁶¹⁰ His father also wrote to him in New Haven in October 7, 1836 to ask him about school work. "At any rate you must write immediately on receipt of this and let me know if you done all the work that was laid out for you during vacation."⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁷ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰⁸ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁰⁹ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 26, 1835, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹⁰ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., August 15, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹¹ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 7, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

As of the October 7th letter, it was unclear whether Lewis, Jr. had enrolled in Yale University yet or not, but that would change before the end of the month. At some point in October, Lewis, Jr. had written to his sister Ann “informing of your [Lewis, Jr.] having accomplished all that was required of you during vacation.”⁶¹² According to the Yale University Catalogue, 1836, incoming freshmen students were responsible for the following before they

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, are examined in Cicero’s Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel’s Collectanea Graeca Minora, Adam’s, or Andrews and Stoddard’s Latin Grammar, Goodrich’s Greek Grammar, Latin Prosody, Writing Latin, Barnard’s or Adam’s Arithmetic,

Webster’s or Murray’s English Grammar, and Morse’s, Worcester’s, or Woodbridge’s Geography. Jacobs’ Greek Reader and the four gospels, are admitted as substitute for Graeca Minora and the Greek Testament.

No one can be admitted to the Freshman Class, till he has completed his fourteenth year, nor to an advanced standing without a proportional increase of age.

Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required; and those who are admitted from other colleges must produce certificates of dismissal [sic] in good standing. The students are not considered as regular members of the College, till, after a residence of at least six months, they have been admitted to matriculation, on satisfactory evidence of an unblemished moral character. Before this they are only students on probation.⁶¹³

In the same letter, Lewis, Sr. congratulated his son on getting into Yale. “And that you had got admitted into College without any difficulty, which was very pleasing.”⁶¹⁴ Since his father did not congratulate him on enrolling until the letter on the 28th, it can be assumed that

⁶¹² Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 28, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹³ Yale University, “Yale University, University Catalogue, 1836,” *Yale University Catalogue* 22 (1836), 25-26, accessed on December 27, 2015, http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/yale_catalogue/22.

⁶¹⁴ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 28, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

prior to that time Lewis, Jr. was in New Haven working to prepare himself for the entrance examinations for Yale University. Soon after, Ann Lobdell also wrote to Lewis, Jr., “I am very much pleased to hear that you were found far enough advanced to enter college.”⁶¹⁵

Communal Support: The McCrindells

Lewis, Jr.’s time at Yale University provided evidence of how involved extended families could become in the educational lives of children. His cousin Harriet McCrindell and her husband became involved both personally and in a banking capacity. Harriet’s husband provided Lewis, Jr. advice about things like his suspension from Yale and curtailing his personal expenditures. Mr. McCrindell acted as a go between for Lewis, Sr.’s bank in New Orleans and his own bank in New York, so Lewis could pay his school expenses.

On a personal level, the McCrindell’s reached out to Lewis, Jr. to get him to visit during his vacation. Ann Lobdell mentioned them doing this in her letter from December 2, 1836 and Lewis, Sr. confirmed it when he wrote, “I got a letter from Mr. McCrindell a few days ago in which he mentions your [sic] having been with them during the vacation.”⁶¹⁶ In another instance, the family had been worried about Lewis, Jr. getting restless with school, but according to Ann Lobdell “Mr. [McCrindell] mentioned that you [Lewis, Jr.] were well satisfied and as you do not say anything about it, we hope that you are so.”⁶¹⁷ The closeness of Lewis, Jr. and Mr.

⁶¹⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹⁶ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 07, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

McCrindell really came to light in January 3, 1838, when McCrindell wrote a letter giving the first indication of Lewis, Jr. having a problem at Yale. “I would have gone to New Haven tomorrow to see you try to get you out of your scrape.”⁶¹⁸

In a banking capacity, Mr. McCrindell acted as the banking go between for Lewis, Sr. and his son to provide cash and a line of credit for him while away at school. Lewis, Sr.’s use of Mr. McCrindell for banking purposes seems to have begun around the time of Lewis, Jr.’s problems getting suspended from Yale University around January, 1838 for drinking. It was likely that the switch to using McCrindell for banking coincided with the possibility of family embarrassment over Lewis, Jr. being suspended from school.

On January 3, 1838, McCrindell wrote to Lewis, Jr., “I send you a certified check on the Chemical Bank of this city for one thousand & fifty dollars as you requested.”⁶¹⁹ On February 27, 1838, McCrindell relays a message from Lewis, Sr. to his son, “he will forward me a [check] for some money & requesting me to supply you with such amounts as you may require for your necessities from time to time.”⁶²⁰ McCrindell sent another check with a letter on March 3, 1838 in the amount of eighty dollars.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁸ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶¹⁹ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁰ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 27, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²¹ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Lewis, Jr.'s College Problems

Just like college students before and after him, Lewis, Jr. experienced difficulties during his time away at college. The first issue Lewis, Jr. struggled with was his spending habits. A second issue involved problems that other Southern students were having in Northern schools. The last issue that Lewis, Jr. struggled with was an event that occurred over several months involving his suspension from Yale University.

Money Problems

Like many college students both before and after him, Lewis, Jr. struggled with money and spending during his time at college. On May 7, 1837, Lewis, Jr. received a letter from a banker enclosing a three hundred dollar check from his father to help him pay expenses.⁶²² John L. Lobdell wrote Lewis, Jr. in June, 1837 and talked about how all Southerners were struggling economically.⁶²³ This economic information was important in order to explain why Lewis, Jr.'s spending habits became such a big deal to his father.

A letter Lewis, Sr. wrote to his son on August 10, 1837 really brought the money and spending issues to the forefront. It began with typical pleasantries about hearing from his son recently, but the tone quickly changed.

Yet I am sorry to say it contained information that was not satisfactory, I procured you a letter of credit from Miss Brown's Brothers & Co. of New York for \$600 a year for your expenses while you would remain in New Haven, not that I thought you would require so much, but to insure you always having plenty.⁶²⁴

⁶²² Bank of America, NY letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 7, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²³ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁴ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., August 10, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Lewis, Sr. then mentioned that he told his son to contact a Mr. Fisk if he had any money emergencies. “You did find yourself in difficulty it seems and did receive relief from Mr. Fisk, not because the gentleman from whom you had a Letter of Credit had failed.”⁶²⁵ Lewis, Sr. went on to hypothesize that the only way his son could have used all of the money made available to him so quickly was if he lent it out to other students who could not pay him back. Lewis, Sr. finished his letter with a scathing retort,

For I had entrusted you with the management of your own expenses at New Haven with the most implicit confidence in your doing it with proper discretion, and it is distressing to find myself disappointed, particularly in one I loved so much and hoped so much from.⁶²⁶

As previously mentioned, Mr. McCrindell sent Lewis, Jr. a check for one thousand and fifty dollars from his father to pay his expenses on January 3, 1838.⁶²⁷ McCrindell sent another check on February 27, 1838⁶²⁸ and scolded Lewis, Jr. on March 3, 1838 for paying his tutor in full ahead of time.⁶²⁹ Lewis, Sr. sent another check for three hundred dollars in January 21, 1839,⁶³⁰ followed by a two hundred dollar check on June 24, 1839 to help pay for Lewis, Jr. to travel to Kentucky to see Dan.⁶³¹

⁶²⁵ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., August 10, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁶ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., August 10, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁷ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁸ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 27, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶²⁹ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶³⁰ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 21, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶³¹ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 24, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

In a December 4, 1840 letter Lewis, Jr. wrote to an old college friend named Bob and reminisced over old times. In the letter, Lewis, Jr. joked to Bob about how their debts in college were now forcing all of them to get jobs.⁶³² This letter revealed a lot about Lewis, Jr.'s spending habits being almost willful and also pretty widespread amongst other college students from the South.

What about Other Southern Students?

On March 31, 1837, Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. and asked about a rumor or story she had heard. "There was another story we heard about the Southern boys having whipt [sic] an Abolition preacher or one of the professors of the college. I have forgotten which, and we were expecting every day to see you at home."⁶³³ This story revealed some of the tensions southerners going to school in the north had to face on a regular basis. Other examples of southern students experiencing difficulties while away at college included their cousin, Bowman Stirling, who wrote his brother complaining of the treatment he received at St. James College. "He says that he is half-starved, imposed on by the boys, and indeed they are too strict there for him altogether, and that he can't stand it."⁶³⁴ Catherine also mentioned, "Col. Hamilton's son ran away the day before he wrote and he says that he will do so too if his mother does not send after him."⁶³⁵

⁶³² College friend named Bob letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., December 4, 1840, Turnbull-Allain Papers, MSS 4261, LLMVC.

⁶³³ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶³⁴ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 23, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶³⁵ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 23, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

During this time period, institutes of higher education usually had direct ties to religious denominations and many of the professors were also trained as ministers. At the time of Lewis, Jr.'s entrance into Yale, there were four reverends among the seventeen faculty and instructors listed, including the following:

Rev. Jeremiah Day, S. T. D. LL. D. – President
Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, S. T. D. – Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology
Rev. Eleazar T. Fitch, S. T. D. – Livingston Professor of Divinity
Rev. Chauncey A. Goodrich, S. T. D. – Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory⁶³⁶

The end result was often that ministers/professors would often use their lecterns to preach their abolitionist message, while their southern slave-owning students felt like their entire lifestyles were being attacked. Evidence of this was seen in Ann Lobdell's previously mentioned March 31, 1837 letter where she wrote, "There was another story we heard about the Southern boys having whipt [sic] an Abolition preacher or one of the professors of the college."⁶³⁷ More support for this assertion that problems with abolitionist professors were a growing concern for southern students was also found in Weaver's (1967) history of Trinity College where he wrote, "Washington College [later became Trinity College] was considered 'safe' by the southerners who feared an Abolitionist influence at the New England Congregationalist colleges."⁶³⁸

As Lewis, Jr. passed into his sophomore year at Yale University, John L. Lobdell wrote about the way the classes of students interacted with each other. Specifically, he wrote about Freshmen "who are by right, and station, the Butt and jest of the more Exalted and

⁶³⁶ Yale University, "Yale University, University Catalogue, 1836," 3, accessed on December 27, 2015, http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/yale_catalogue/22.

⁶³⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶³⁸ Weaver, *The History of Trinity College*, vol. 1, 50.

Experienced.”⁶³⁹ John also implied that it was the southern students who were more likely to indulge in hazing and bullying behavior. “I think the Southern students, with enough from the Middle States, will keep up the ancient chivalry of [Yale].”⁶⁴⁰

Another common problem experienced by southern students involved their own heavy drinking. H. Dudley, an old friend of Lewis, Jr. from St. Joseph’s College, wrote to him in January of 1838. He talked about his new school at Chapel Hill, NC. “I have been drunk from the day I started from here and have continued so until the present moment.”⁶⁴¹

In two letters he wrote to his old college buddy Bob, Lewis, Jr. also brought up similar stories of binge drinking. In the December 4, 1840 letter, Lewis, Jr. reminisced with Bob about the drinking they used to do while going to school with their other friends, Bully, Bones, Bug, and Ivey.⁶⁴² Despite all of their drinking, Bob was already a lawyer and Bully was currently studying to become a lawyer at Cambridge. In the second letter, he tells a story of southern college students getting drunk and actually hitting some of the faculty from their northern university.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁹ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 20, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴⁰ John L. Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 20, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴¹ H. Dudley letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴² College friend named Bob letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., December 4, 1840, Turnbull-Allain Papers, MSS 4261, LLMVC.

⁶⁴³ College friend named Bob letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 07, 1841, Turnbull-Allain Papers, MSS 4261, LLMVC.

Suspension from Yale: A Family Rallies

The most interesting episode in Lewis, Jr.'s education began in January, 1838. Lewis, Jr. found himself suspended from Yale University. He would spend the next six months trying to resolve the situation. Lewis, Jr. resolved the situation around July, 1838 at which time he was successfully reenrolled in Yale University.

Mr. McCrindell was the first to write about Lewis, Jr.'s suspension. He never mentioned any details in his January 3, 1838 letter, but he did offer to travel "to New Haven tomorrow to see you [Lewis, Jr.] try to get you out of your scrape."⁶⁴⁴ McCrindell ended his letter by offering Lewis, Jr. some advice.

P.S. I shall not write anything respecting the scrape to LA, but think you had better write your father and give him all the particulars with respect to B.B. & Co. [bank where the enclosed check was written]. Would advise you to wait until you hear from your father—also write him about [his suspension].⁶⁴⁵

The first real clue as to what might have caused Lewis, Jr.'s suspension came from H. Dudley's, Lewis, Jr.'s college friend in Chapel Hill, NC, letter. In the letter, H. Dudley brings up a mutual friend named Blair. "Blair has just arrived here two or three days ago, he told that you and him besides a great many more were sent off on account of raising the very dead at Yale, but I hope you have got back in college by this time."⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁴ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴⁵ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴⁶ H. Dudley letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

It took a few weeks for news to arrive in LA and for Lewis, Sr. to respond. His expressed “both surprise and sorrow, surprise that you [Lewis, Jr.] should have been guilty of any act however innocent that was expressly Prohibitive and Sorrow for the consequences.”⁶⁴⁷ Lewis, Sr. revealed that he had already received a letter from Mr. A. Emerson from Yale University giving him the details of his dismissal, but he also took the time to let him know that Lewis, Jr. had a good reputation with the college that might in the end allow him to become reenrolled. Mr. Emerson described Lewis, Jr. as, “So diligent, so respectful, so studious, so satisfactory in every respect had been his conduct and deportment, that it was with extreme regret and almost incredulity that he record the intelligence now communicated.”⁶⁴⁸ Lewis, Sr.’s final response to discovering his son had been suspended from school revealed quite a lot about the value the Stirlings placed on their children’s education. He finished his letter by reaffirming that he would provide whatever money Lewis, Jr. might need through Mr. McCrindell and telling his son that he was planning on visiting him in the spring.

A few weeks after their father had weighed in on how he felt about the suspension, Ann Lobdell also wrote to Lewis, Jr. concerning his trouble. She first gave her condolences to her brother for his suspension from Yale. Then her letter took a more positive outlook on the situation when she wrote, “I feel confident from your studious habits that you will keep up with your class and soon be reinstated.”⁶⁴⁹ A small but important change was seen in this letter; Lewis, Jr.’s address had changed from New Haven, CT to nearby Waterbury, CT. The explanation for this change did not become apparent until after reading Lewis, Sr.’s next letter.

⁶⁴⁷ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 26, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴⁸ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 26, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁴⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 01, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

February 23, 1838, Lewis, Sr. wrote to his son in Waterbury, CT. He brought up the fact that Lewis, Jr. had spoken to both of his sisters already about his suspension from Yale. This was further confirmation of how the Stirlings came together as a family to support each other's educations. Lewis, Jr.'s move to Waterbury was explained to his father,

Waterbury where you had gone by the advice of Professor Silliman to pursue your studies with a view of being restored to your Class in Yale again after a while on Certain Conditions, which conditions I thought you would be able to comply with and that you would be reinstated and that all would be right again in a short time.⁶⁵⁰

Lewis, Jr. had been told by one of his professors to move to nearby Waterbury, CT and continue studying under a private tutor so he would not fall behind his classmates should he be reinstated. Mr. McCrindell scolded Lewis, Jr. about paying this tutor fully in advance and told him "You must look out for the Yankees."⁶⁵¹

Several months went by before this entire episode came to its conclusion. Catherine Hereford wrote to her brother in early July, where she acknowledged to him that he had successfully reenrolled at Yale University.⁶⁵² Ann Lobdell, Lewis, Jr.'s other sister, also wrote to him in July to acknowledge the positive change in his situation. "I was very much pleased to hear that you had been admitted into college so easily, and feel very safe about you getting through."⁶⁵³

⁶⁵⁰ Lewis Stirling, Sr. letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 23, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁵¹ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁵² Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 04, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁵³ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 22, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

The episode of Lewis Stirling, Jr.'s suspension from Yale University revealed several key things. It provided a better understanding of the kind of trouble, like Lewis' drinking and the problems some had with abolitionist professors, which southern students were likely to get into, while attending northern universities. The flurry of letters from both immediate and extended family members asking questions and offering support provided evidence of the value placed on education by the family. Other evidence of this also came from the willingness to pay for Lewis, Jr. to move and obtain the services of a private tutor of an extended period of time.

In conclusion, the Stirlings approached the education of their children with a communal spirit. When a child encountered an obstacle or struggled with their schooling, extended family members would rally around them to make sure they were supported and encouraged to get past the problem. In Dan's case, the family went through extensive effort to keep him in school, including having Lewis, Jr. reach out to Professor Silliman at Yale University to help find another teacher to send to Wakefield Plantation. It was also notable that James, Lewis, Jr., and Dan all went to St. Joseph's College, despite it being a Catholic school and a long distance from home. The fact that the president of the college spent some time visiting Wakefield indicated a close relationship between the family and the college. Sending James to New York to study the law and Lewis, Jr. to get his degree at Yale University provided more evidence of the effort the family was willing to go through to educate their children. The episode where Lewis, Jr. was suspended from Yale showed the large amount of money his parents were willing to spend to make sure he could complete his education. The suspension was also a good example of the family's communal efforts to overcome a disruption, since he received supportive letters during this time from his father, both sisters, their cousin's husband, and even a message from his mom passed along by one of his sisters.

CHAPTER SIX: TWO STIRLING COUSINS AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

We had heard that you were getting dissatisfied and wished to leave the college, ... but even if you do get dissatisfied, unless it is from some outrageous cause, I hope my dear brother that you will try to bear with it.⁶⁵⁴

This quote hints that Lewis, Jr. had become dissatisfied with college and there was a danger of him leaving college. In response to this possible problem, Ann Lobdell was writing to support her brother. She was also trying to encourage him, so he would remain in college. This showed a significant family dynamic, where the Stirling sisters often took on an almost parental role with their brothers.

This chapter was divided into two main sections based on the gender of the individuals concentrated on within each one. The first half focused on expanding the story begun in Chapter Five with the education of the Stirling brothers. The story of the male Stirling's education was expanded by focusing on two branches of the extended family, Daniel Turnbull, his ward John Towles, and the Stirling cousin James Pirrie Bowman. The second half of this chapter turned its focus towards the women and explored what educational opportunities were made available to them and what role they played within the family as it pertained to the education of their male siblings and any small children.

Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford, the two Stirling sisters, took on a key role within the family dynamic. This focus was based more on the happenstance of what correspondence survived the passage of time than anything else. The Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC contained numerous letters written by the two sisters, but unfortunately none

⁶⁵⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

written by their mother Sarah Turnbull Stirling. There were a few secondary messages from Sarah passed between the siblings along with specific examples of schoolwork for some of the granddaughters.

Once the education and role of the Stirling women was explored, the final portion of this chapter expanded to Rachel O'Connor, a widowed neighbor of the Stirlings who not only ran her own plantation but also served as the Weeks family gossip and wise aunt who left behind a large amount of correspondence to be used as data. Her voice was preserved within the David Weeks and Family Papers, MSS. 528, 605, 1655, 1657, 1695, & 1807, LLMVC and her family's story was transcribed into *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation*.⁶⁵⁵

James Pirrie Bowman, a Stirling Cousin

James Pirrie Bowman was a close cousin of the Stirling children discussed in the last chapter. Archival evidence of James' education was found in the Bowman (James P.) and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC and Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC. Unlike the Stirling children's education, there was no evidence of James' early education found within the archival collection and very little correspondence between him and other family members. The majority of James' relevant archival correspondence came from letters between James and several of his former college friends. Due to the limitations associated with these sources, this chapter focused on James' time at St. James College (Maryland) and Trinity College (Hartford, CT). His time at St. James College revealed James Bowman's secondary education, while his time at Trinity College revealed his university education.

⁶⁵⁵ Webb, *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters, 1823-1845*.

Importance of Friends

The story of the Stirlings' education revealed the importance that family held within the sphere of the Antebellum South. James P. Bowman's educational story moves beyond the family to reveal the importance of friend relationships made along the way. James P. Bowman was born in 1832 to Eliza Pirrie and William R. Bowman.⁶⁵⁶ His father died in 1837 and his mother in 1851. The archival correspondence began with a September 13, 1850 letter and his mother died a few months later on April 20, 1851. The archival evidence continued through 1860 with several magazine subscriptions and book receipts. Since both parents were deceased during the majority of the time covered in the archival correspondence, James P. Bowman's educational story was told through the lens of the correspondence with several school friendships while he was away at college.

James P. Bowman at St. James College

James' secondary/university preparatory education was obtained from an Episcopalian school in Maryland called St. James College. The earliest mention of his attendance was found in a letter written to him from W. R. Burke on September 13, 1850.⁶⁵⁷ Burke was a friend who had previously attended St. James College with James. Burke's mother had died while he was away at school, so he decided to return home to his family. At the time of the letter, he was currently working at a counting house in New Orleans. In the letter, Burke was asking James' advice about whether he should stay at home to help his father or try to return to "prison." In this case, the "prison" he was referring to was St. James College, the school they had previously attended together.

⁶⁵⁶ Eliza Pirrie was a first cousin of Lewis Stirling, Jr. and William R. Bowman was the rector of the local St. Francisville Episcopal church that the Stirlings attended.

⁶⁵⁷ W.R. Burke letter to James P. Bowman, September 13, 1850, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

A better understanding of James' daily life while at St. James was formed through a close examination of two letters written to him by Henry Drane, March 23, 1851 and August 11, 1851.⁶⁵⁸ Drane was a former student at St. James College who had become friends with James before moving on to attend Trinity College in Connecticut. In his letters, Henry was trying to convince James to leave St. James College and come to Trinity College. His strategy for achieving that goal was to compare his daily life at Trinity in a positive light with what he remembered of his time at St. James.

Comparison of Trinity and St. James

Drane began by describing his own daily life at Trinity College, which consisted of waking at six a.m. to the ringing of a bell followed by multiple periods separated by the ringing of bells. These periods were used for meals, recitation of prayers, classes, and studying. The one thing that stood out was for Drane was an increased level of freedom the school allowed the students. "We retire when we please ... You are left entirely to yourself that your own sense of propriety may direct your conduct."⁶⁵⁹ More than just an increase in personal freedom, Drane felt there was something more meaningful associated with it. "The President and faculty look upon you as a man and treat you as a gentleman and not as a child."⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁸ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC; Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, August 11, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁵⁹ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶⁰ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, March 23, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

In his August 11, 1851 letter, Drane stepped up his efforts to put Trinity College in a good light for James Bowman. This time instead of concentrating solely on touting the virtues of Trinity, Drane began connecting them to the benefits of James' education from St. James College. He started by bragging about the amount of studying being done by students at Trinity being comparable to that required at St. James.

Drane went on to focus on the character benefits available to students of both St. James and Trinity. Trinity was described as a place to find "more morality, true religion, upright conduct, steady behavior, and general [sic] deportment than you can find in any other college in the country."⁶⁶¹ Meanwhile at St. James, a young man would learn right from wrong, punctuality, and how to be attentive to his work. In Drane's opinion, the two schools were a perfect complement to each other. "St. James and Trinity together work admirably and form a reasonable perfect character while either one separately I confess is defective."⁶⁶²

In the end, Drane's efforts to convince James P. Bowman to leave St. James College and switch to Trinity College with him were successful. A letter written to James Bowman on December 7, 1851 indicated that James had made the decision to leave St. James and posited that he would be happy in the end with his decision to do so.⁶⁶³ The name of the writer was illegible, but it was postmarked from Trinity College in Hartford, CT where Henry Drane was going to school and it was written by an old college friend. Based on that evidence, it was deduced that Henry was probably the writer.

⁶⁶¹ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, August 11, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶² Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, August 11, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶³ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, December 07, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

James' Mother Dies

On April 20, 1851, James P. Baldwin's world would be shaken by news from home. A letter arrived at St. James addressed to Reverend John B. Kerfoot, the head of the school. The letter was written by R. G. Stirling, most likely Ruffin Stirling. In the letter, R. G. Stirling informed Rev. Kerfoot that James' mother had passed away and asked him to tell James the news before giving him a second personal letter informing him of the tragedy. James' older half-brother, Robert H. Barrow requested, "that James should come home until after the next vacation as he thinks James would not for the present be capable of attending to his studies."⁶⁶⁴ In the second letter, R. G. Stirling informed James that his mother Eliza had "died yesterday morning after a painful illness of 14 days, leaving an infant daughter 15 days old."⁶⁶⁵

When examined within the context of James' friend W. R. Burke's own experience being called home from school because of the death of his mother, these letters revealed several things. First, many Southern women died early from the rigors of childbirth and it impacted the entire family.⁶⁶⁶ Second, it reinforced the assertion that education and child-rearing were family affairs where multiple family members would come together to help during times of crisis like the Stirlings did when Lewis, Jr. was expelled from school. In this particular instance, R. G. Stirling was only distantly related and Robert H. Barrow was a grown half-brother, but both were concerned and intimately involved in helping James P. Baldwin maintain his status at school while coming home to deal with the tragedy of his mother's death.

⁶⁶⁴ R.G. Stirling letter to Rev. John B. Kerfoot, April 20, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶⁵ R.G. Stirling letter to Rev. John B. Kerfoot, April 20, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶⁶ S.G. McMillen. *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infant Rearing*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

Hot-tempered Stereotype

As previously mentioned in the literature review in chapter two, there was a pervasive stereotype of southern students as difficult for their teachers to properly discipline. This was due to hot tempers, an overblown sense of self-importance, and a tendency to play around performing pranks on each other and their teachers. The analysis of the Stirlings' correspondence corroborated this particular stereotype with stories from all three sons, James, Dan, and Lewis, Jr. Further corroboration of this stereotype was also found in James P. Baldwin's correspondence.

In a letter dated December 7, 1851, a friend of James, believed to be Henry Drane, spoke about the difference in the temperaments of southern and northern students. He focused on their temperaments as they pertained to accepting "places of honour [sic] in Society, and College."⁶⁶⁷ Drane described southerners' reaction to the possibility of gaining an honor thus, "Now among Southerners you will find no regard to this matter... why let it come. He does not try to get it but Northerners do and this one thing I do not like among them."⁶⁶⁸ In this talk of honors and awards, Drane brought up an important item that will be discussed later, the role of Literacy Societies and Secret Societies in Antebellum universities.

A second letter dated March 18, 1852, revealed a humorous episode where another southern student experienced a discipline issue associated with a vice among university students then and now, alcohol and drunkenness. The handwriting on the letter was difficult to decipher in places, but the writer's name appeared to be Haze and the drunken student he wrote about was named Younker. The story went as follows:

⁶⁶⁷ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, December 07, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁶⁸ Henry Drane letter to James P. Bowman, December 07, 1851, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

Last Tuesday at noon service I went up into chapel & found old Younker sitting down as usual, presently I heard a violent belch, & another, & another, I looked round to him with a smile, & of course expected a grin in return, but none was visible on his stupid face, he looked horribly. He hiccupped again & again without the least effort to restrain himself. I knew in a moment his situation & was frightened, but I recollected having heard a gentleman play sublimely on the violin when tipsy, so I determined to let old Younker take his chance. Accordingly when the lesson was read, I bow to him to commence, he balked, people all turned round & I felt miserably, however, with sundry punches I got him under way, he played horribly of course I got the blame as no one could believe him capable of playing roughly. The Seniors & two or three others were standing on the steps, just after chapel & we espied old Younker staggering actually staggering to his room, he went to sleep then & did not until that night.⁶⁶⁹

Used to the poor quality of drinking water back home, southern students were already used to drinking alcohol before leaving the watchful eyes of their families so they took to heavy drinking easily once surrounded by their peers with much less supervision. As one would expect, this heavy drinking often resulted in threats to their success at school.

While heavy drinking often carried with it heavy consequences like Lewis Stirling, Jr.'s expulsion from Yale, southern students were also known for less serious disruptions like pranking each other and their teachers on occasion. A typical prank could consist of something like when W. R. Burke's expressed a desire to get freshmen or sophomores from Trinity University starting a snowball fight on the senior class.⁶⁷⁰ W. R. Burke also wrote to James about another college student prank or ritual that involved burying their textbooks. In the same letter dated September 2, 1852, Burke embellished on the original prank adding his own desired flourish,

I have frequently heard of the burials of mathematical books by name [sic] at colleges but never have I had the ineffable pleasure of officiating in so delectable a duty. My country! but I should have been willing to lose a finger could I have had the pleasure of burning or burying, (immaterial which) that confounded old Loomis' Algebra & more

⁶⁶⁹ College friend's letter to James P. Bowman, March 18, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁷⁰ W.R. Burke letter to James P. Bowman, September 02, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

confounded Geometry, which were the torments of my Coll. days. And then you might have taken another finger, giving me in exchange the pleasure of in witnessing Old Cook's countenance during the ceremony. Wouldn't he have sworn till his ('pati'?) got 'worse than red'?⁶⁷¹

In his letter from February 10, 1853, B. B. Kirkpatrick described another incident that revealed the temperament of the southern student away at college. Kirkpatrick described an altercation he had with another student who lived in the dorm room below him. Kirkpatrick and his friends would go to his dorm room during their free time and start singing loudly. The other student living below them would get angry and begin knocking on the wall to complain. From the tone of Kirkpatrick's letter, it was obvious that he relished aggravating the other student.⁶⁷²

Daniel Turnbull and John Towles

Daniel Turnbull was the uncle of Lewis Stirling, Jr. and the father-in-law of James P. Bowman. John Towles was his ward. Of importance for this work were Daniel's efforts to send John Towles to attend the University of Virginia. Although the archival evidence of Towle's time at the University of Virginia only consisted of three letters from the university, they did provide more evidence of the behavioral struggles of Southern students in the classroom. In addition, these missives revealed significant amounts of information about the rules and expectations Southern students faced when they went to a university. Lastly, these letters provided an important example of how seriously Southerners viewed the responsibility of being a surrogate parent after the death of a child's parent.

⁶⁷¹ W.R. Burke letter to James P. Bowman, September 02, 1852, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

⁶⁷² B.B. Kirkpatrick letter to James P. Bowman, February 10, 1853, Turnbull-Bowman-Lyons Family Papers, MSS 4026, LLMVC.

Southerners during the Antebellum Period often left extensive and specific wills that went beyond detailing the dispensation of property. Much like today when minor children are involved, their wills would break down their desires about who should raise their children. Unlike the modern era, these provisions often as not listed a committee of trusted adults to act as surrogate parents with legal custody of the children as their wards until they reached maturity.

Alexander Stirling's last will and testament was written well ahead of time, so he could not be sure what ages his children would be at the time of his death.⁶⁷³ Because of that uncertainty, Alexander's will appointed his adult sons, Lewis and Alexander A. Stirling, and trusted family friends, Brian McDermot and John H. Johnson, as executors of the will and joint guardians of the minor children. Alexander's wife, Ann Alston Stirling died prior to Alexander, so this committee made up of immediate family members and friends became surrogate parents to the youngest children until they reached majority and inherited. The truly remarkable thing about this situation was that this guardianship committee remained actively involved in the younger Stirling's lives for a span of seventeen years "between 1808 when Alexander Stirling died, and 1825 when his estate was finally settled."⁶⁷⁴ By 1825 when everything was finally settled, "two of his executors, John H. Johnston and Bryan McDermott, had died and so had Alexander's son, Alexander A. Stirling."⁶⁷⁵ Seventeen years actively involved in raising someone else's children and caring for their inheritance represented an amazing commitment that evidenced the high priority Southerners placed on insuring the futures of their children.

⁶⁷³ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 6.

⁶⁷⁴ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 6.

⁶⁷⁵ Weller, *Alexander Stirling and Ann Alston in Spanish Feliciana: Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families*, 6.

Another key point about this custom was the wills often set aside specific sums of money and specific instructions about the education of their children. A letter between a local Feliciana lawyer Nath Cox and a Madam Semple dated January 8, 1828 provided a good example of this custom in action. Madam Semple was most likely Isabella Semple, the widow of Robert Semple, who was designated a co-heir of Catherine Rucker Turnbull along with Lewis Stirling's wife Sarah.⁶⁷⁶ According to the letter, Madam Semple's son had died leaving a minor child under the care of his mother and Mr. Stirling, probably Lewis, Sr.

Mr. Stirling has informed me of the arrangement made with respect to the Estate of your deceased son, and amount allowed to the child and I concluded the tutor receipt would be to you a very desirable document, which would at once close the transaction between yourself & the maternal parents of the infant you have therefore permission to value in use for the sum of fourteen thousand dollars at any sight agreed upon between yourself & Mr. Stirling. (Madam Semple letter, January 8, 1828, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC)

This one sentence indicated multiple care-givers appointed in the will and a sum of money specifically set aside to pay for the child's education. In addition, the large amount of money set aside for the child's education provided evidence to support the claim that educating their children was a high priority for antebellum Southern families.

This not only stood out in comparison to modern wills, it was also extremely relevant to this historiographical study of education in the Antebellum South. The amount of time and forethought parents put into taking care of their children's well-being and education after they died revealed the relatively high priority that these families placed on education. Evidence of the community reciprocating those same values was shown in the archival correspondence, where evidence was easily found of multiple surrogate/ward relationships that went well beyond merely providing room and board for the ward until maturity.

⁶⁷⁶ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 426.

Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s relationship with his nephew and ward John Turnbull was a perfect example of both this type of surrogate parent relationship and how it often extended into the realm of education. John Turnbull was the nephew of Lewis' wife Sarah through her brother John. John's father died while he was still a child, so his grandmother Catherine Turnbull had been caring for him. Catherine died April 6, 1832 while John was still a minor. In court proceedings from January 11, 1833, two minor children, John Turnbull and John T. Towles, were mentioned as being co-heirs to Catherine's inheritance and the responsibility of the adult co-heirs.⁶⁷⁷ In later correspondence it became more readily apparent that the Turnbull child lived with Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah T. Stirling and John T. Towles went to live with his uncle, Daniel Turnbull.

Ann Lobdell confirmed that John Turnbull had gone to live with Lewis, Sr. and became the main responsibility of his uncle and aunt in a letter she wrote to her brother Lewis, Jr. on April 5, 1839. She described a trip her father was planning to take to Kentucky to see their younger brother Dan at St. Joseph's College. "Papa wants to get John [Turnbull] to go with him to Bardstown and to get acquainted with him [Dan] before they start."⁶⁷⁸ The fact that Lewis, Sr. intended to send his ward John Turnbull to the same college his own sons attended was notable, since it hinted that the priority placed on education extended beyond their own immediate family at least to extended family.

⁶⁷⁷ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 426.

⁶⁷⁸ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

John T. Towles

As mentioned above, Daniel Turnbull became the main guardian for the minor child John T. Towles by the time of Catherine Rucker Turnbull's death in 1832. While all of the co-heirs were to some degree responsible for his well-being, John Towles eventually went to live with the family of Daniel Turnbull. Little evidence remains of the young Towles' early education. Three official letters from the University of Virginia written in late 1834 did reveal some important information about how seriously Daniel Turnbull took being appointed guardianship over the younger Towles.

Although Towles was probably close to adulthood at the time these letters were written, Daniel Turnbull enrolled him into the university at his own expense anyway. At the time of Towles initial enrollment in August, 1834, the university reported receiving and depositing a check for six hundred dollars. The university's semester charges added up to four hundred dollars and Towles requested the remainder to pay his expenses incurred prior to his official enrollment. "For this object [paying prior expenses] he required \$200, which exceeded the sum I was instructed to pay over to him..."⁶⁷⁹ This brief exchange provided evidence of the large amount Southerners were willing to spend to educate their children and wards. Unfortunately for Daniel Turnbull's bank account, it also provided another supporting example of how similar antebellum college students were to the modern student stereotype of the wasteful spendthrift. The university was not only aware of this particular danger; the letter provided Daniel Turnbull with a listing of their responsibilities in relation to student spending.

⁶⁷⁹ University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, November 01, 1834, James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

Experience proves that the morality and proficiency of the student, and the prosperity of the institution, will be alike promoted by imposing moderation and uniformity of expenditure.⁶⁸⁰

The other two letters from the University of Virginia provided more information about the university's policies towards student matriculation. The first letter was undated [most likely early November 1834] and it addressed what the university's attendance policy was for students. The university had a policy that required the Chairman of the Faculty to send a notice every month to the parent or guardian of each student "a list containing the number of times that his Son or Ward has been absent from the Lectures which he is bound to attend."⁶⁸¹

In this particular instance, John Towles had violated the university's policy and this letter was informing Daniel Turnbull of his punishment. "Mr. Towles having twice absented himself without leave, for period of three and four days, the Faculty resolved that he should be suspended for one month."⁶⁸² Despite this punishment, Towles' attendance struggles continued into December when another letter was sent to his guardian expounding on the seriousness of his situation. In addition to the previous month's absences, John Towles violated the rules on early rising and appearing in uniform. "Professor Blaettermann of Modern Languages reported John T. Towles as being 'always' absent from class."⁶⁸³

Towles previous punishment for his absences was a one month suspension [from the undated letter], so this second indiscretion resulted in a harsher sentence. His immediate punishment was to have all of his extra funds frozen where he could no longer access them. Most

⁶⁸⁰ University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, November 01, 1834, James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

⁶⁸¹ University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, Undated [probably November, 1834], James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

⁶⁸² University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, Undated [probably November, 1834], James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

⁶⁸³ University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, December 4, 1834, James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

likely, the rest of his punishment would have entailed another longer suspension. Before the faculty could impose a further suspension, John Towles “requested permission to withdraw from the Institution for the purpose of returning home”⁶⁸⁴ The faculty went ahead and took the extraordinary step of withdrawing him from the university without first contacting his guardian.

Although brief, this interlude with Daniel Turnbull and John T. Towles at the University of Virginia was important for several reasons. Turnbull and Towles’ relationship helped provide supporting evidence to the importance Southerner’s placed on the care and education of their children even beyond the bounds of their own mortality. The University of Virginia’s letters concerning Towles time there as a student also provided a useful look at the type of expectations and policies that universities’ had for their students. Finally, this particular episode added data to flesh out a more thorough description of the behavior of Southern students while in school.

The Role of the Stirling Women

Although little evidence has survived of their formal education, the Stirling women did provide some key insights into the how women and education came together in the Antebellum South. Sarah Turnbull Stirling was the matriarch of the branch of the Stirling family studied within this monograph, but unfortunately no correspondence written by her was found in the family’s archival collection. Due to this fact, the focus fell on her two daughters, Anne Stirling Lobdell and Catherine Stirling Hereford, to try and begin to tell the story of the Stirling women and education during the Antebellum Period. In addition, other evidence of female education was also found in reference to female Stirling cousins and the female children of the Stirling sisters.

⁶⁸⁴ University of Virginia official paperwork written to Daniel Turnbull, December 4, 1834, James P. Bowman and Family Papers, MSS 1372, 1382, LLMVC.

A majority of the correspondence from the Stirling family papers discussing education were either written to or from Anne or Catherine, so they both provided valuable information pertaining to the education of antebellum Southern women and their role in the education of others. Although neither of the Stirling sisters, Anne and Catherine, went away to college, they both played an integral part in the education of the Stirling family members.

Both women served several roles within the education of the Stirling children. First, they served as sort of familial communication hubs that kept up with their brothers while they were away at school and encouraged their efforts, while also keeping the brothers updated on the younger Stirlings' educations at home and the local gossip from the St. Francisville area. Second, the sisters served a more direct role in educating the youngest children by filling in as substitute teachers during the periods when their father was forced to seek out a new teacher or new school for his children and grandchildren.

Interspersed within the correspondence were a few letters written by or about other Stirling family women that revealed key bits of information about women and education in the South. Among these was a letter written by Mary Jane Skillman, a cousin of Lewis, Jr., and another letter written to Sarah Turnbull Stirling, the matriarch of the family. There were also examples of Latin homework completed by the daughter of Daniel Turnbull and wife of James P. Bowman, Sarah Turnbull. Lastly, the early educations of several Stirling granddaughters, Mary Lobdell and Sarah and Anne Hereford, were briefly mentioned in several different letters written by both Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford.

As mentioned above, Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford filled a special multifaceted role in the educational lives of their extended families. These multiple facets were best exemplified within a series of twenty-one letters that focused specifically on the topics of school

and education written between 1830 and 1856. Out of this group of letters, thirteen were written by or about Ann Lobdell and six were written by or about Catherine Hereford. The final two letters were written by Mary Jane Skillman, a female Stirling cousin, and one written to the Stirling matriarch Catherine Turnbull Stirling. The fact that Ann and Catherine initiated most of their letters combined with the percentage their letters made up of the overall number of education letters supported the assertion that the two sisters played a major part in whatever those letters revealed. So what did the letters reveal?

Ann and Catherine's letters were mostly written in the conversational tone of an older sister writing to a younger brother away at school. Many of the letters either made comments about the last time their sibling had written home or requested that they write home soon or more often. For example, Ann wrote to Lewis, Jr. at St. Joseph's, "Mama says she was in hopes that where she got two sons there, she surely would hear once a month at least from them, but it appears to be getting worse."⁶⁸⁵ Similarly Catherine wrote to Lewis, Jr. on January 18, 1831, "Give my love to James, you must both write very often no matter how short they will be always acceptable."⁶⁸⁶ Messages such as these two were key components in the development of the family's close-knit communication they would need to help and keep tabs on their sons while sending them away to gain their educations.

⁶⁸⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁸⁶ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

The sisters spent a good deal of time encouraging their brothers' to strive for educational achievement, while also insuring they always kept in mind that failing to achieve would also be noticed. Ann mentioned Lewis, Jr.'s successes in school in October 17, 1830, and November 17, 1836, July 22, 1838 letters.⁶⁸⁷

She also added some parental guilt motivation toward her brother Lewis while still praising his efforts. "You cannot think My Dear Brother, how much pleased we were, at your passing so good an examination, ... Mama at least wore the paper out reading of your pluses and pains."⁶⁸⁸ Ann also spent a good deal of time praising both James and Dan in much the same way in letters to Lewis, Jr. on October 17, 1830, February 15, 1831, March 31, 1837, and April 5, 1839.⁶⁸⁹

This phenomenon of praising or complaining to one brother about another brother revealed another educational benefit to the family's development of close-knit communication with each other. When a problem arose with one child at school, the family could expect multiple shows of support and instances of chastisement to make sure their children could navigate any problem successfully. Catherine Hereford also used this same tactic in her correspondence with

⁶⁸⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 22, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC. These quotes have been used in other parts of this dissertation, so they were not repeated here. They are only being mentioned here to show the number of times she wrote to her brothers about their successes.

⁶⁸⁸ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁸⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

her brothers. “You may be sure it [Dan’s recent improvement in school] was a great relief to us all but more particularly to our Father and Mother that always appear to feel the least misconduct of their children so sensibly.”⁶⁹⁰

Catherine’s other letters also followed a similar pattern to Ann’s correspondence. She wrote several letters beaming about Lewis, Jr.’s educational successes on January 1, 1831, August 15, 1836, and July 4, 1838.⁶⁹¹ “Your new President Mr. Elder [of St. Joseph’s College] is with us and we were delighted to hear him give a favourable [sic] account of you both [Lewis, Jr. and his older brother James].”⁶⁹² In addition to praising Lewis, Jr.’s success, Catherine also praised her other brothers James and Dan much like Ann was also doing.⁶⁹³ The most conspicuous of these was her missive to Lewis, Jr. on April 8, 1839 praising Dan, “I supposed that you have heard of the great change that has taken place in Dan, he has determined to give up all his idle habits and attend closely to his studies for the next 3 or perhaps five years if necessary.”⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁰ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹¹ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., August 15, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., July 04, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹² Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 18, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹³ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., October 17, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC; Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹⁴ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

If taken as a whole, all of these patterns or trends found within Ann and Catherine's letters to their brothers away at school created a virtual web of crisscrossing communications. While it was possible that the similarities in content within both of their letters were just from happenstance, if viewed through a different lens those things began to take on a different meaning. The similarity in style and content, along with the overlapping of letters from both sisters began to look more like a purposeful campaign of redundant positive and negative stimuli designed to motivate and aid the brothers' educational achievement, while simultaneously keeping tabs on what they were doing while away from the family. Seen in this manner, the two sisters took on pivotal roles within the family as the linchpins that insured their brothers were successfully educated while also maintaining the familial connections they would need to be successful as planters and civic leaders back home in St. Francisville.

In addition to the pivotal role just discussed, the Stirling family correspondence also provided evidence of another important role that Southern women filled for their families, as educators involved in the direct education of the family's children. Because of the rural/agricultural aspects of antebellum Southern society, the young children from plantation families were often isolated and widely dispersed from both each other and the nearest towns and schools. As mentioned in Chapter Two, these geographical problems often resulted in a need for families to find ways to provide for the education of their youngest children at home or in close proximity. The Stirlings during this period were willing to hire private teachers or jointly utilize small schools in the vicinity where relatives and neighbors would pool their resources to meet their educational needs, but they often found themselves without a teacher or leaving a school because of Dan's struggles in school.

It was during these times that the Stirling women stepped in to fill the void. Ann and Catherine served as teachers for the Stirling children who were still too young to attend any formal kind of school and also helped substitute when there was an interruption in continuity created by the loss of a teacher or the change in schools. There was a great deal of fluidity with the early education of the children of the family. At times, the group of children Ann and Catherine were responsible for educating would be limited to their own personal children. While in other instances, the group would grow to include all of the Stirling grandchildren and their own younger siblings Dan and Ruffin.

On May 15, 1831, Ann Lobdell wrote to Lewis, Jr. while he was away at St. Joseph's College. While discussing family gossip with her brother, Ann revealed some pertinent information to him. As summer was approaching and most of the family was going to stay in Pascagoula, Ann and her husband planned to remain at their home plantation with their brother Dan for the whole season. "Dan is staying with us and goes to school in town, in my next letter I will try and get him to write a postscript to you."⁶⁹⁵ Dan was struggling in school and his father felt it was necessary to keep him in school the extra time to help him catch up. Although not teaching Dan herself, this arrangement did provide her temporary responsibility for him again showed how the extended family regularly worked together to see that all of them received an education.

In the postscript of the same letter, Lewis Lobdell, Ann's son, scribbled a few lines meant to be a message for his uncle, Lewis, Jr. Below the scribbles Ann wrote, "You see what a scholar Lewis has got to be already although it was as much as I could do to make him hold the pen

⁶⁹⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

while he write those two lines.”⁶⁹⁶ While hardly evidence of providing a classical education, this postscript did show that Ann had taken the responsibility of providing her children with their earliest forms of education, like learning to write. Ann again mentioned Lewis Lobdell learning to write in a later letter telling her brother who was now at Yale University, “he is studying hard and thinks he will soon be able to write when he does he means to send you a letter.”⁶⁹⁷

In March of 1837, Ann and Catherine were both once again teaching the youngest Stirlings. The boys had all been pulled from the school being run by Mr. Montgomery and only Dan was able to enroll in the school being run at their Uncle Skillman’s plantation. “She [Catherine] and I both teach our children, since the boys left Mr. Montgomery’s we have kept the little ones at home.”⁶⁹⁸ They continued teaching the youngest children at least through November when Ann wrote, “I try to keep the little boys from forgetting all they have learnt by hearing them say a few lessons a day.”⁶⁹⁹ While the sisters were certainly not trained as teachers, evidence from the correspondence definitely supported the idea that educating their children was important enough for individual family members to do whatever they need to do to accomplish it.

In April of 1839, both Ann and Catherine wrote Lewis, Jr. to happily report the Stirlings had retained another teacher for the children. While it remained uncertain if the family had been without a teacher for the entire two years since the first mention of needing one, Ann’s letter on April 5, 1839 and Catherine’s letter on April 8, 1839 both showed a relatively uniform high level

⁶⁹⁶ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., May 15, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹⁷ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹⁸ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 31, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁶⁹⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., November 17, 1837, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

of concern and excitement about the topic. Ann wrote, “We have at last got a teacher for the children.”⁷⁰⁰ Catherine wrote the almost identical, “We have got a Teacher at last for our Children.”⁷⁰¹ After hiring this new teacher, Ann indicated all of the children were now being taught at Catherine’s plantation.

Sarah Turnbull Stirling, the matriarch of the family, received a letter from L.B. Haynie, a cousin-in-law. The letter explained that the widow of one of their mutual cousins, John H. Done, was moving up North in an attempt to be able to better educate her three sons. “His widow has moved to Princeton, N. Jersey to educate her three boys.”⁷⁰² Although outside of their immediate family, this letter provided further evidence of the important place women held in the education of children.

Educating the Stirling Girls

Having discussed the roles that women played within the scope of education in the Stirling family, what type of formal education was available to these women as they grew up? This was a tougher question to answer because the archival data on this topic was sparse. There was some Stirling family specific evidence found to support what secondary sources had already revealed about the education of females in the antebellum South. There was no primary source information available to determine what level or type of education Catherine Turnbull Stirling, Ann Lobdell, or Catherine Hereford were able to obtain.

⁷⁰⁰ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁰¹ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 08, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁰² L.B. Haynie letter to Sarah Turnbull Stirling, June 15, 1835, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

In order to fill in the void left by that lack of data, it became necessary to cast a wider net and look for letters concerned with the education of female Stirling cousins or the Stirling granddaughters in Ann and Catherine's own families. In a letter written to her cousin Lewis, Jr., Mary Jane Skillman mentioned leaving her home to attend school. "I still continue going to school to the Miss Calders and I am very much pleased with the English."⁷⁰³ The "Miss" in her teacher's name supported the assertion from the secondary sources used in Chapter Two that female teachers during the Antebellum Period were usually young, single women who quit teaching once they got married. Although minimally revealing, Mary Jane's letter did mention specifically that her curriculum at the school included English, which she enjoyed.

Ann Lobdell mentioned Dr. Smith and his family of girls in a letter she wrote to her brother Lewis at Yale University. "They went down last Saturday to put the girls to school."⁷⁰⁴ When she said "went down" Ann was referring to the city of New Orleans, which was the closest major metropolis to their home parish of West Feliciana. "Putting the girls to school" referenced enrolling them into a boarding school, which most likely was the Ursuline Academy, an all-girls school in New Orleans founded by the Ursuline nuns in 1727.

Mary Lobdell's, daughter of Ann Lobdell, feelings about school masters were revealed in a letter written by her mother to her Uncle Lewis. "Poor Mary I expect she will be so frightened that she will not learn for a long time she thinks that School Masters are very bad creatures, and we could not get her to speak to Mr. Tomkins when he was here."⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰³ Mary Jane Skillman letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., March 27, 1830, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁰⁴ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., December 02, 1836, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁰⁵ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., February 1, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Beyond revealing Mary's rather poor opinion of school master's, the letter indicated Mary had previously been taught by a Mr. Tomkins, who had taught the boys as well. This showed that private family schools and teachers could be expected to teach all the families' children, both females and males. This was a key point because all the other more formal schools, like the Ursuline Academy or St. Joseph's College, for Louisiana families to enroll their children in were single sex institutions.

Within the Turnbull-Allain Family Papers (Mss. 4261, LLMVC), there were three examples of Latin homework completed by young girls. Sarah Turnbull, one of the Turnbull granddaughters [unsure exactly which one], completed Latin homework on both January 1, 1845 and November 12, 1846.⁷⁰⁶ The third example of completed Latin homework belonged to Sara L. Allain, but did not have a date on it.⁷⁰⁷ The biggest takeaway from these primary sources was that it was not unknown for the classical language Latin to be part of a young girl's school curriculum. Once it was established that the very basis of the traditional classical education for boys was taught to young girls, it was deduced that it was also likely that those young girls would also be taught the rest of the classical curriculum, like Greek, Algebra, and History.

More evidence that some girls were taught a classical curriculum came from a letter Lewis Stirling, Sr. wrote to his daughter Catherine Hereford.⁷⁰⁸ In the letter, it brings up Sarah and Anne Hereford, two of Catherine's children. It specifically mentioned that both girls were in need of French language books for them to use as study material. He felt the girls would benefit

⁷⁰⁶ Sarah Turnbull Latin homework, January 1, 1845, Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC; Sarah Turnbull Latin homework, November 12, 1846, Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC.

⁷⁰⁷ Sarah L. Allain Latin homework, undated, Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC.

⁷⁰⁸ Catherine Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Sr., August 17, 1856, Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, Mss. 4261, LLMVC.

from brushing up on their French language skills to better enable them to speak to their older brother Robert's fiancé, who only spoke French. Not only was this an example of informal education of rigorous subjects by young girls, it also provided further support for the argument that young girls also obtained the same kind of classical education expected from the boys. French was often considered part of a good classical education in the antebellum, especially in Louisiana because it was a former French colony where many people still spoke it as a primary language.

Rachel O'Connor

Rachel O'Connor was a neighbor of the Stirling family at Wakefield Plantation. She was born in 1774 and lived through the Antebellum Period, so her experience spanned the transition of Louisiana from frontier colony to wealthy slave state. Although she was married twice, by 1822 she was widowed and all of her children had also died. This left Rachel in charge of running Evergreen Plantation, a position that showed her to be an unusual woman for her day. Rachel held a position within her family that was very similar to that held by Ann and Catherine Stirling, except instead of writing to her own children she wrote to her nieces and nephews. All of these things helped to make Rachel O'Connor a useful example of the role that women played in their families in West Feliciana during the Antebellum Period.

Rachel's father, Stephen Swayze died when she was young and her mother remarried William Weeks when she was four. The family moved to the Felicianas after her father acquired a Spanish land grant. She had a full brother named William Swayze and three half-siblings, Pamela, Caleb, and David Weeks. Because of this, her private correspondence contained a large variety of surnames but all of them were equally related to Rachel.

Rachel O'Connor's Education

Little information of Rachel's personal education survived to the present day. It was possible to deduce some things about the level of education she probably did receive. By looking at her personal hobbies, it was also possible to figure out that her education continued on into her adulthood.

In *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation* (1983), Webb put together an annotated account of one hundred and fifty-seven letters written by Rachel O'Connor. The letters were written from 1823-1845, which is close to the same time period covered by the Sterling letters. In the introduction, Webb ponders Rachel's education. "On reading her letters, one wonders how Rachel received her schooling. It was far in advance of most persons of her day. Her penmanship is clear and legible."⁷⁰⁹ This statement provided the key to determining Rachel O'Connor's education. It provided the pattern of exploring the text of the letters to provide data that could then be used to deduce ideas about her education.

Two letters Rachel wrote to her brother David Weeks exemplified this method of determining her education through the tone and text of her letters. In a letter written June 22, 1829, Rachel wrote to David complaining, "My troubles at this time is [sic] owing to the scarcity of corn and the high price it bears."⁷¹⁰ She went on to talk about the pricing of barrels of corn and her frustration over the selling price. This in depth discussion of the price of commodities and the impact that scarcity has on their price indicated that Rachel had a good math education and a well-developed understanding of economic principles.

⁷⁰⁹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxvii.

⁷¹⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 33-34.

More evidence of Rachel's overall command of economics and business math was in her May 12, 1834 letter to her brother David Weeks. In the letter, she discussed the plantation affairs at Evergreen Plantation including the buying and selling of trade goods.

I have got meat bought and paid for sufficient to do us all until killing time comes again, but I am frightened about corn. We are nearly out, and very little at the landing, which is selling at a dollar and a half per. barrel, and from 10 to 25 carts and wagons passing every day for corn and flour. I sent some time ago and bought seven barrels of coarse flour at three dollars, two bits pr. barrel, which was all that was there at the price.⁷¹¹

Rachel's indication that she was aware and had met the future needs of the plantation for meat and her concerns over both the availability and price of corn revealed an intimate knowledge of the concepts of supply and demand and how they pertained to the business of running a profitable plantation. It was assumed that she had obtained at least the basics of this knowledge from her formal schooling, which would indicate at least a partial classical curriculum similar to what the boys learned.

In another letter Rachel wrote to David Weeks on January 19, 1833, she provided her brother with advice about animal husbandry on his plantation.

I have, of late, discovered that cotton seed will make cows give much more milk when boiled. I have tried it for sometime past, and boiled seed are better for my guinea hogs also.⁷¹²

From this advice, it can be deduced that Rachel had developed a body of knowledge concerning the care of animals as part of the business of managing a plantation. In addition, her advice revealed that Rachel was unsatisfied with maintaining the status quo with her plantation. Instead

⁷¹¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 144.

⁷¹² Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 92.

Rachel appeared to be systematically experimenting with the different animals associated with the plantation. It can be assumed that this interest in the science of improving the animals of her plantation also extended to experimenting similarly with the crops being grown.

In addition to her formal education, Rachel's correspondence with her family also revealed clues about her continued learning as an adult. First, the January 19, 1833 letter mentioned above revealed her experimentation with animal husbandry on her plantation. The kind of experimentation described in her letter required a control of the plantation that Rachel did not have until after she had already completed her schooling, been married, and widowed. As the adult in charge of the plantation affairs, the experimentation and the education it exemplified revealed Rachel's life-long desire to continue learning.

In a letter written to Mary Weeks (June 15, 1824), her sister-in-law through her favorite brother David, Rachel revealed a significant hobby, horticulture. She wrote to Mary, "I send you a recipe for planting leeks. The best way that I ever discovered is to take the roots out of the ground whenever the tops get ripe and plant them immediately again."⁷¹³ Much like the experimentation with animal husbandry previously mentioned, conducting horticulture experiments on her plantation required education that continued beyond Rachel's formal schooling. Instead of experimenting with animals, she was experimenting with plants through trial and error to discover ways to increase her yields. The self-directed learning exemplified by Rachel's horticulture experimentation showed the high value she placed on continuing her education.

⁷¹³ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 5.

Rachel's interest in horticulture went beyond experimenting with cash crops for the business of running a plantation. In another letter to Mary Weeks dated March 14, 1834, Rachel wrote to her sister-in-law with some tips she had learned about growing ornamental plants not normally associated with the business of running a plantation. The first plant discussed was the "*Virginia rose*".

The top dies after the first severe frost, but the root remains alive in the ground and grows again in the spring. The seed will grow also. The roots become larger every year and yield more sprouts. If it is not too late, you may move the root with safety. I think you might venture it any time this month.⁷¹⁴

The second plant she mentioned was called the "pride of India." Rachel described it as a tree that she knew very little about because all of the ones she attempted to grow had died fairly quickly. The last plant brought up in this letter was called an "October rose." She described them to Mary as bearing "pretty white flowers in the last of October or first of November."⁷¹⁵ She also told her sister-in-law that she transferred these particular plants over with her green onions. Rachel's knowledge of both cash crops and ornamental plants, along with her experimentation with how and where to grow them provided strong evidence of a solid formal education when she was younger and a keen mind that continued self-directed learning as an adult.

One final piece of evidence indicating Rachel O'Connor had successfully attained a relatively high degree of education, whether formally through school or informally through individual adult study. On May 22, 1846, Rachel O'Connor died from breast cancer and her last

⁷¹⁴ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 137.

⁷¹⁵ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 137.

will and testament came into play. “On June 4, 1846, a public inventory was made of her property. Her land, slaves, and personal property were appraised at \$33,029, a sizable sum for 1846, and a testimony to her thrift and courage.”⁷¹⁶

At one point in her life, Rachel was nearly destitute and she was forced to sell her plantation to her brother David Weeks to protect the property from her creditors. The fact that she died a mere twenty years later with an estate topping \$30,000 was a testament to her hard work and her business acumen. A significant amount of education in the economics of business and the sciences of horticulture and animal husbandry were required for anyone to run a major plantation like Evergreen Plantation successfully.

Linchpin of her Family

Rachel O’Connor held a position in her family similar to the one held by Ann and Catherine in the Stirling family. Rachel spent an extensive amount of time writing her siblings and their children which helped keep the family closer together and more supportive of each other. Within these letters was a wide variety of information, including updates on the weddings and health of family members and the local area of West Feliciana, the schooling of the children in the family, and also contained useful agricultural and business tips to help strengthen each other’s plantations. This readily available wealth of information within the person of Rachel O’Connor helped encourage her nieces and nephews to look her way when they had important questions.

During the period from 1823-1845, there were a total of one hundred and fifty-seven letters written by Rachel that were transcribed by Webb and published in *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation*. One hundred and nine of those letters, or sixty-nine percent of them, were written

⁷¹⁶ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 276-277.

between Rachel and her siblings or their spouses. Thirty four of the letters, or twenty-two percent of the total, were correspondence between Rachel and her nieces and nephews, with the vast majority of them written to Frances Weeks. The frequency of these missives increased as her nieces and nephews grew to adulthood and their parents began to die, which suggested that Rachel saw it as a responsibility within the family to begin to take on the role of surrogate parent to her nieces and nephews. The remaining fourteen letters were written to different trusted friends or business associates like creditors and lawyers. When taken as a whole, this collection of archival correspondence lends credence to the belief that Rachel played a pivotal communication role within her extended family.

Since Rachel had no surviving children of her own, she turned her attention towards her nieces and nephews. Whether it was an attempt to mother them or merely to strengthen the bonds of kinship, Rachel definitely made it a priority to keep up with where her nieces and nephews were going to school and how they were doing while enrolled. Before Frances Weeks was even old enough to enroll in a primary school, Rachel wrote her a letter (August 23, 1827) in which she spent the entire introductory paragraph going on and on about how proud she was with the evidence from Frances' previous letter of her hard work practicing her handwriting.

But if your dear papa had not informed me that it was written by your own hand, I should have thought it to have been written by your teacher, the writing is so pretty. I intend to show it to all your little cousins, and the large ones too; for I scarcely think any of them can write so well.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁷ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 19.

There were many other examples of Rachel inquiring or informing about the education of her nieces and nephews. On December 8, 1827, she wrote to her brother David Weeks that their niece “Ann Weeks has gone to the convent to finish her education.”⁷¹⁸ In her letter of March 7, 1828, Rachel informed David that their nephew “James [Flowers] is at school at Jackson, and is much beloved. I think he is a good boy and very smart.”⁷¹⁹ In one letter written January 11, 1832, Rachel discussed her sister Pamela’s kids William, Louisa, Sidney, David, and James Flower.⁷²⁰

As her nieces and nephews grew older, Rachel began directing her inquiries and information about their educations directly to them. She wrote a letter on June 15, 1840 to her nephews William and Alfred Weeks who were away attending boarding school in Baton Rouge.

I was truly glad to learn from your letter that yourself and your dear brother Alfred were both enjoying good health and doing so well and that you intended to be so good in every other respect. You have every opportunity of obtaining the best advice. I know that my beloved friend [Mr. Raney, their tutor] will assist you in every part that is necessary for you to learn.⁷²¹

Rachel went on to invite the boys to come stay with her during the summer when their tutor, the Reverend Mr. Raney, planned on visiting. On the same day, Rachel wrote her niece Frances and described William and Alfred’s tutor. “I have written to Wm. today. I am acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Ranney, who is one of their teachers and think him a fine man and a sincere Christian, and hope the boys may benefit greatly by his good advice.”⁷²²

⁷¹⁸ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 22. There is no mention of the name of the convent in the letters, but there were several in South Louisiana at the time with the most prominent being run by the Ursulines in New Orleans.

⁷¹⁹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 23. The name of this school in Jackson was not mentioned anywhere and it was likely a small privately owned school that did not last very long.

⁷²⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 65.

⁷²¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 222. The name of the boarding school in Baton Rouge was not found within the letters.

Rachel also wrote about Alfred and William to their sister, Harriet Weeks. The first letter dated December 11, 1840, mentioned to Harriet that her brothers were currently at school in Baton Rouge. Rachel also wrote, “David [likely Harriet’s brother or cousin] is in Jackson at school.”⁷²³ The second letter Rachel wrote to Harriet Weeks on February 17, 1841 was again about her brothers’ education. “I am almost glad that your mama thinks of taking them to the North to finish their education, fearing they might fall into bad company in LA.”⁷²⁴

This series of letters concerning William and Alfred Week’s schooling really exemplified Rachel’s position as the communications linchpin for her family’s education. She wrote to them about their education directly, and then wrote to their sisters Harriet and Frances Weeks. She also mentioned speaking to their mother about her plans for their educations. All of this supported the idea that Rachel helped to keep the family informed about each individual and helped to facilitate supporting family members in need.

Rachel’s horticulture and animal husbandry letters to David Weeks (January 1, 1833) and his wife Mary Weeks (March 14, 1834) were also indicative of Rachel’s role within the family. The letter to David Weeks concerned boiling cotton seed before feeding it to cows and guinea hogs. This was an example of Rachel taking the results of her own private educational experimentation and spreading the news of her successes to family members to help them on their plantations. In the March 14, 1834 letter to her sister-in-law Mary Weeks, Rachel provided

⁷²² Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 223.

⁷²³ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 230.

⁷²⁴ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 231-232. Rachel never explains what this means or who she is writing about being a possible bad influence.

several plant-specific tips about ornamental plants Mary had considered planting on her property. This was another example of Rachel's adult educational experimentations being passed along for the benefit of her extended family members.

Studying Rachel O'Connor's correspondence offered another important educational theme that wasn't nearly as evident in the Stirling family correspondence. Rachel's extended family, the Weeks and the Flowers, sent their kids to schools in the Lower Mississippi River Valley area, while the Stirlings tended to send their children away for their secondary schooling and college. O'Connor's letters also included mentions of the friends' and neighbors' children and their educations. The differences between the two families provided a second point of view from which to understand a little more about the schooling opportunities available in the local area.

Pamela Flower, Rachel's half-sister, and her kids were James, William, Maria, Harriet, Sidney, David, Louisa, and Stephen. Pamela's youngest children were taught at home by a private tutor. "Pamela and Henry Flower hired a tutor to teach young Sidney and David at home until they were also old enough to enter the College of Louisiana [at Jackson, LA]."⁷²⁵ The Flowers employment of a private tutor at home was confirmed in a January 11, 1832 letter Rachel wrote to her brother David. "Harry [Henry] has hired a teacher for Sidney and David at home."⁷²⁶

⁷²⁵ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxii. The letter does not specifically identify it, but this incarnation of the College of Louisiana most likely coincides with the one that replaced Claiborne's College of Orleans sometime in 1825-1826.

⁷²⁶ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 65.

After completing their primary educations, Pamela and Henry sent their children to schools in Jackson [probably Louisiana]. In her March 7, 1828 letter to David Weeks, “James is at school at Jackson, and is much beloved. I think he is a good boy and very smart.”⁷²⁷ Although the name of James’ school was not mentioned, Webb did confirm that “William, the second son, attended the newly established (1826) College of Louisiana at Jackson, Louisiana.”⁷²⁸ This was the second time the College of Louisiana was mentioned in connection with Pamela Flower’s children, so it became safe to assume their other boys also attended the same school.

The College of Louisiana enrolled only male students, but at least one Flower girl was also enrolled in an unnamed school in Jackson. “William and Louisa Flower stayed with me [Rachel O’Connor] last night and started this morning to Jackson to their schools.”⁷²⁹ The normal method for educating young girls in the Antebellum South involved sending them to schools run privately by the teacher, both as boarding schools and day schools. Webb confirmed that this was the case for Louisa Flower, which made it highly likely some similar school was also used for her sisters Maria and Harriet as well. “Even as a child, little Louisa Flower was sent to a boarding school at Jackson conducted by a Miss Anders.”⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 23.

⁷²⁸ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxii. William was most likely following the same path as his brothers which would make his school in Jackson the College of Louisiana. Louisa’s teacher was named Miss Anders and it was described as a small boarding school. It was probably too small to have its name saved for posterity.

⁷²⁹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 65.

⁷³⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxii.

The only mention of any further schooling among Pamela and Henry Flower's children was about their son James. In her introduction, Webb indicated that the Flowers' oldest son James had studied law in New Orleans and later became a lawyer in St. Francisville. Confirmation of James' legal studies was found in Rachel O'Connor's January 11, 1832 letter to David Weeks. "James Flower is at home studying law. He has just returned from New Orleans."⁷³¹ Rachel also indicated, "I believe he had just arrived home from the North in Nov-br."⁷³² The time James spent in "the North" was likely spent attending a university to prepare him for his postgraduate legal studies in New Orleans, which oddly enough was the same pattern followed by James Stirling on his way to a law degree.

Rachel O'Connor's second half-sibling was her brother Caleb Weeks. Rachel's correspondence only included one mention of the education of Caleb's children. In a December 8, 1827 letter to David Weeks, Rachel mentioned in passing that "Ann Weeks has gone to the convent to finish her education."⁷³³ Although no mention of the convent school's name or the city where it was located, there were only two convent schools open in Louisiana at the time. Ann most likely attended either the Ursuline Academy founded in 1827 in New Orleans, LA or the Academy of the Sacred Heart founded in 1821 in Grand Coteau, LA.⁷³⁴ Although this letter provided minimal factual information, it did connect Rachel O'Connor's family and West Feliciana where they lived to an approximately one hundred year old educational tradition of Catholic nuns educating the daughters of Louisiana families.

⁷³¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 65.

⁷³² Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 65.

⁷³³ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 22.

⁷³⁴ The longstanding tradition of the Catholic Church in Louisiana providing female education was discussed in a previous chapter.

In addition to the children in Rachel O'Connor's extended family, her letters also revealed information about the family's friends and neighbors. Out of those mentioned in the correspondence, Cabot McVea and the sisters of Mr. Swift were both specifically mentioned within the context of their education. McVea and his mother had recently arrived in Louisiana to meet his father who came earlier to try and establish himself before calling for his family. Mr. Swift was a friend of O'Connor's and a local West Feliciana merchant who helped Rachel O'Connor sell her crops and complete the other financial business of running her plantation.

In a letter to her brother dated February 2, 1830, Rachel wrote that Mrs. McVea and her ten year old son Cabot had recently arrived in Louisiana for the first time from Ireland. Rachel mentioned that Mr. McVea had left Ireland before his son was even born. After describing their son as beautiful, Rachel wrote, "Mr. McVea has put his son to school in Jackson."⁷³⁵

At some point, Mr. Swift found himself responsible for his three younger sisters. Rachel wrote David Weeks on February 2, 1830 and told him "Mr. Swift is very well, just returned from N. Orleans, where he left his three sisters at a boarding school."⁷³⁶ As mentioned above, the only boarding school for females in New Orleans at that time was the Ursuline Convent. The sisters' stay at the boarding school was extremely short, spanning a little over two weeks. By O'Connor's February 17, 1830 letter, Mr. Swift's sisters had returned to St. Francisville. "His

⁷³⁵ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 42.

⁷³⁶ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 42.

three sisters has [sic] returned from N. Orleans and is [sic] at school with the Miss Colders.”⁷³⁷ A little over a year later, Swift had brought his sisters to Cincinnati, OH to their brother-in-law and sister. “He left his sisters at school in Cincinnati.”⁷³⁸

The biggest takeaway from this brief episode was similar to one of the themes from the Stirling children. When struggles and obstacles caused disruptions in the continuity of their children’s educations, Louisiana families would go to great lengths to get past them. For instance, the large number of schools and teachers Lewis Stirling, Sr. found nationwide and employed. They would try new schools and new teachers until they found the combination of the two that would allow their children to find success. The movement of Swift’s sisters from New Orleans to St. Francisville, then north to Cincinnati fit the same pattern, but for the first time connected it to the education of females. Finally, the six months after Lewis, Jr. was expelled from Yale. His father paid for him to hire a private tutor and paid his living expenses the entire time while he was working hard to be allowed to reenroll at Yale.

Communal Support: The Role of Women

The previous section on Rachel O’Connor’s education supported the assertion that some women were schooled using the same rigorous classical curriculum many of the men completed in their education. The study of Rachel’s education also provided evidence that some women continued their educations into adulthood informally through personal hobbies and personal experimentation with things like horticulture and animal husbandry.

⁷³⁷ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 44.

⁷³⁸ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O’Connor’s Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 59.

In addition to those things deduced from studying her personal education, Rachel O'Connor's correspondence also provided evidence from the education of several other women. Multiple letters showed evidence to support the description of female education through boarding schools and day school programs run by both private individuals and religious orders. Louisa Flower attended a privately-run boarding school in Jackson, LA run by a Miss Anders.⁷³⁹ Mr. Swift enrolled his three sisters in a boarding school in New Orleans probably the one run by the Ursuline nuns.⁷⁴⁰ He also enrolled them in a private school run by Miss Colders.⁷⁴¹ Lastly, Ann Weeks also attended a convent school for her education.

O'Connor's August 23, 1827 letter to Frances Weeks spent the entire first paragraph praising Frances' handwriting.⁷⁴² This was evidence of how the families' would often informally begin the education of their children, both males and females, within their homes. A series of three letters between February 2, 1830 and August 4, 1831 addressed Mr. Swift's attempts to help his three younger sisters obtain acceptable educations. Besides providing evidence of both private and religious female boarding schools, these letters also showed the great lengths, both in distance and effort, these families would go through to educate their children.

While this chapter contained little information about the education of the Stirling sisters or Rachel O'Connor, it did provide a good picture of how women might step into a pivotal communicative and supportive role within their extended families. All three women wrote extensively to family members away at school in an effort to keep the family informed of their

⁷³⁹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxii.

⁷⁴⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 42.

⁷⁴¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 44.

⁷⁴² Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, 19.

educations. They were also writing to provide advice and support to help the family members away at school. The Stirling sisters focused their attention on their younger brothers. Rachel's letters expanded beyond the young males in her family and also included the education of the young females. Rachel's letters revealed that her nieces went to local private girls' schools and also went to convent boarding schools in New Orleans and other places.

The Stirling sisters also established that women would sometimes fill the role of educator to the youngest children in the family. This usually only occurred when something disrupted the usual schooling, like losing a teacher or the seasonal moves to plant or harvest crops on the family's other property. The sister's would joke about what they were capable of teaching the children, but they did manage to successfully fill the position on more than one occasion.

Although there was no direct information concerning the formal education of any of these women, there were hints and clues to the kind of education each of them had obtained. Based on the handwriting and the vocabulary used within the Stirling sisters' letters and Rachel's letters, it could be deduced that all three women had achieved at least a good primary level of education. Rachel's horticulture hobby and the unusual fact that she successfully ran a plantation for years seemed to suggest that she had successfully completed at least a solid secondary education with a decent probability that she went beyond that to college. If she did not achieve that much formal education, then she did it informally through personal study like her horticulture experimentation. Overall, the roles filled by these three women all fell within normal gender roles for women in the South during the Antebellum Period.

James P. Bowman's education provided strong evidence to support many of the findings that came from the examination of the Stirling brothers' education. Even though James went through Episcopalian schools and not a Catholic school like the Stirlings, the curriculum and

much of the information about a student's daily life were very similar. The curriculum for all of them followed the same basic classical curriculum described in the history books. Although his time at the University of Virginia was short, John Towles was also taking classes that fit the classical curriculum. Bowman and Towles also provided evidence of southern students having problems with the discipline and expectations placed on them by their schools, which was similar to what the Stirling boys experienced while going through school.

Bowman and Towles did provide an important change in perspective over the Stirlings. The Stirling sisters played a key role within the brothers' education that would expand outwards when needed to include the communal effort of many extended family members. James Bowman did not have the same family framework. He had only one sister and his mother died while he was in school, so instead of communal family support he developed close friendships that supported him through letter writing. John Towles' parents had both died which meant his only support was through the guardian/ward relationship with his Uncle Daniel Turnbull. Even without other family to lean on, John Towles was still able to depend on the communal family support from his uncle who became his guardian.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE VALUE OF AN EDUCATION

“You will never feel the full value of knowledge until you are placed in such circumstances as will make you conscious of your deficiency.”⁷⁴³

With those words, James L. Stirling urged his younger brother Lewis Stirling, Jr. to overcome the obstacles in his way and complete his education at Yale. It was a simple sentence yet it revealed a broader truth that these West Feliciana families understood education as something whose intrinsic value remained even if not always readily apparent. Both the high value placed on education and its intrinsic nature were both key ideas found within this study.

Strong Evidence of a High Priority

No matter which individual or branch of the family was studied, all of them revealed multiple ways in which one could argue there was strong evidence supporting the assertion that education was given a high priority by these families. Perhaps the best examples came in response to the biggest problems or difficulties and the need to overcome a lot more to achieve success. A second almost ubiquitous way in which this high priority was in evidence was the efforts the families went through to support their children's educations. This included both immediate and extended family members involving everything from paying expenses to writing a veritable barrage of letters. The two examples of guardian/ward relationships in action helped to show how the education of their children was seen as a communal responsibility beyond just the responsibility of their immediate family members. The sense of communal responsibility was most evident once the role of women of the family was explored with evidence found of women taking on both auxiliary roles for communication and leadership roles pushing their family

⁷⁴³ James L. Stirling to his brother Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 4, 1834, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

members to achieve at school, directing resources where they would be needed, and dispensing advice in the guise of sisterly concern. The final two ways in which the high value placed on education was evidenced were the high academic achievements of some of the family's students and the many local avenues available for education of which the families could take advantage.

Overcoming Obstacles and Difficulties

Probably the best examples of the families' concern for the education of their children came in contrast to some of the biggest obstacles and difficulties they faced. Dan Stirling's early lack of motivation, the geographic disruption of the younger children's educations, and Lewis, Jr.'s expulsion from Yale University represented the three best examples of this phenomenon from the study. By looking at how the family responded to each of these difficulties, it became possible to deduce how important keeping their children in school was to the family.

Dan's lack of motivation significantly slowed his progress and on multiple occasions led to behavioral conflicts with his teachers that resulted in his having to leave school again. For example, two letters a week apart in the spring of 1837 mentioned Dan enrolling in a school with the brother of the Stirlings' neighbor Parson Montgomery and then being ordered to quit the school because of an altercation he had with his teacher. By the end of the month, Dan had enrolled in a third school located on the plantation of his Uncle Skillman. This episode was hardly the only instance of Dan creating his own difficulties.

Dan was only around two years younger than Lewis, Jr., but he was years slower getting prepared to go away for his secondary education. Despite his self-created problems, the multitude of schools and teachers the Stirlings willingly found and engaged to teach Dan provided significant proof that his parents felt it was extremely important that he obtain his education. The mounting expenses associated with Dan's education even continued to be paid

during the economic downturn in the 1830's when the worldwide price of cotton collapsed and the Stirlings' finances became much tighter, so in a time of scarcity the family still directed their resources towards the education of their children.

The second major recurring obstacle the Stirling children had to overcome to get educated was the regular forced geographic displacement of the family. Every summer the family would move to Pascagoula, MS on the Gulf Coast to avoid the extreme heat experienced further inland. The family was also likely to relocate during harvest time, since the family owned and operated plantations in different areas of the state whose harvesting required Lewis, Sr.'s presence to complete. Since the family depended on schools on local plantations and in St. Francisville early on, moving the children necessitated taking them out of school. As they grew older, Lewis, Sr. began trying to hire a private teacher like Mr. Tomkins, who used to teach at Uncle Skillman's plantation. Even though hiring a private teacher and providing him room and board was more expensive than enrolling his children in a local school operated by someone else, the added expense did offer benefits. A private teacher could go with the family during these regular trips to Pascagoula and Attakapas and while there he could continue to teach the children so they would not fall behind in their studies. When a private teacher was not available, Lewis, Jr. left Dan for an entire summer with his sister Catherine and Dr. Hereford so he could continue going to his school in St. Francisville. Both of these methods represented considerable effort on the part of Lewis, Sr. to avoid any break in the education of his children.

Lewis Stirling, Jr.'s expulsion from Yale University and his family's response to it represented another good example of how important the Stirlings saw educating their children. Beginning in January, 1838, correspondence indicated that Lewis, Jr. had been expelled from Yale University for an infraction involving drinking too much alcohol. Over the course of

approximately the next six months, Lewis, Jr. remained in Connecticut where he was able to continue his studies by hiring a private tutor. During this period, there was also a flurry of letters sent to Lewis, Jr. from both of his sisters, his father, and his cousin's husband Mr. McCrindell, who was the family's banker in New York.

Paying for six months of Lewis, Jr.'s room and board and his private instructor both represented a significant additional expense and trouble for Lewis, Sr. to continue his son's education at Yale University. The number of family members who wrote Lewis, Jr. during this time to provide him support and give him advice also represented a significant amount of effort. When taken all together this entire episode represented another major obstacle overcome in part because of the high priority the Stirlings placed on educating their children.

Familial Support A Priority

Examples of familial support of their students were found throughout all of the archival correspondence, regardless of the family. The family used letter writing as a way to support the individuals who were away at school. This was both a way to keep them informed of goings on at home and to allow family members to offer support over long geographic distances, while also allowing the application of pressure through guilt to encourage the family's students to do well at school despite being away from home.

These instances of support involved habitual letter writing from immediate family members, like siblings, to help keep track of their brothers. This habitual letter writing from immediate family members also served to maintain the close familial bonds by keeping those away at school informed about the comings and goings of the family. In times of struggle or crisis, the letter writing would expand to include extended family, like aunts, uncles, and cousins.

The habitual pace of writing would speed up and become more methodical with various family members checking with each other to make sure a veritable barrage of supportive family correspondence would reach whichever student was in need.

At the center of all this purposeful letter writing were one or two family members who took it upon themselves to take on multifaceted roles within their families involving a mixture of auxiliary and key family functions. Providing regular letters describing the local gossip helped the family members away at school remain connected to their family while also keeping a communications channel open to advise and possibly direct them to do something for the family, like Lewis, Jr. performing a search around New Haven for acceptable teachers to send to Louisiana to teach the younger family members.

In the Stirling family, it was Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford who took on this role as the family's linchpin or communications hub. For the Bowman family, there was no one to fill this role after the death of his mother. James P. Bowman filled the role for himself and looked to his college friends for this kind of support, since he did not have the same kind of immediate family structure. After the death of her sons, Rachel O'Connor gladly took on this linchpin role for her nieces and nephews' families that included the Weeks and Flower families.

Whenever any of the Stirling brothers experienced some problem with their schooling, their family immediately responded. A pattern emerged where the first family member to become aware of an issue quickly spread word to the other immediate family members. Once the immediate family members were informed, they would begin writing whichever brother was

experiencing difficulty. Sometimes these letters merely commiserated and offered encouraging words, like Dr. John B. Hereford's June 13, 1831 letter to Lewis, Jr. "Your resolution to study hard I hope will continue."⁷⁴⁴

Some letters were just examples of one person either disseminating educational updates amongst all the family members, so everyone was aware of each other's lives. This was especially true where Dan's early struggles to finish his primary education while still at home. James Stirling's letter to Lewis, Jr. on September 4, 1834 was a perfect example of this type of letter. James asked Lewis, Jr. to write their younger brother Dan and apply pressure to get Dan to make a habit of writing James while he was away in New York studying the law.

You must write to me frequently Lewis—it is a pleasure to me to have letters from you and it will be improving to yourself. You must try and get Dan at it too.

In your next tell me how poor little Uncle gets on at his school? and something of the little ones [hugs and kisses]. In fact something of everything at home that may come under your notice.⁷⁴⁵

One last type of letter represented a more direct, active type of support. All of the letters sent to Lewis, Jr. during his expulsion crisis were of this type and contained advice about what he should be doing. Mr. McCrindell's letter in January, 3, 1838 not only gave advice to Lewis, Jr. about his problem, but it also dealt with the specifics of providing Lewis, Jr. with money to actively begin to solve his problem.⁷⁴⁶ During the six month span of this incident, Lewis, Jr. received this type of supportive letter from both of his sisters, Ann Lobdell and Catherine Hereford, two from his father Lewis, Sr., and several more from his cousin-in-law Mr. McCrindell,

⁷⁴⁴ John B. Hereford letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., June 13, 1831, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁴⁵ James L. Stirling letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., September 04, 1834, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁴⁶ Mr. McCrindell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., January 03, 1838, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Communal Effort: Guardian/Ward Relationships

Although only two examples were found within the archival data used for this study, the guardian/ward relationship revealed a unique example of the importance placed on raising and educating children even when they were not your own. The first such relationship was between Daniel Turnbull, brother-in-law of Lewis Stirling, Sr., and his nephew John Towles, Jr., the son of Susannah Turnbull and John Towles, Sr. The second guardian/ward relationship in the archival data was between Lewis Stirling, Sr. and his nephew John Turnbull III, grandson of John Turnbull and Catherine Rucker Turnbull.

The specifics of their familial relationships came to light in the will of Catherine Rucker Turnbull.⁷⁴⁷ Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s guardianship over John Turnbull III was listed specifically in Catherine's will. Other mentions of the relationship were also found in the Stirling Family papers. At the time that the will was written John Towles, Jr. still lived with his father. This was a situation that would change within just a few years as a series of three letters from the University of Virginia written in November—December, 1834 listed Daniel Turnbull as Towles guardian.

Much like today when minor children are involved, their wills would break down their desires about who should raise their children. Unlike the modern era, these provisions often listed a committee of trusted adults to act as surrogate parents, instead of a single guardian. In cases like that, the entire committee of people was considered co-legal guardians of the minor children until they reached maturity. Wills also often specifically stipulated sums of money along with specific instructions set aside for their children's educations.

⁷⁴⁷ Anders, *Turnbull and Associates: Genealogical Gleanings in Southeast United States and Scotland*, 415.

The important part of Daniel's guardianship over John Towles for this study involved three letters sent to Daniel from the University of Virginia written between November—December, 1834. The letters revealed that John Towles had begun to attend the university, but his expenses were being paid for by his guardian. The expenses for the term totaled up to the princely sum of four hundred dollars and Daniel Turnbull had sent an extra two hundred dollars to the university to pay for his incidental expenses.⁷⁴⁸

Despite the unfortunate end to John Towles tenure at the University of Virginia, this brief interlude provided two key points that helped show how important southerners saw the responsibility of a guardian to educate their ward. First, the six hundred dollars Daniel Turnbull paid to the university was a significant amount that even someone as rich as Turnbull would not spend on something that he did not consider a top priority. Second, the fact that Turnbull was willingly overseeing and paying for Towles education beyond a basic education and into a university meant that he saw his responsibilities to his ward and nephew as something important enough to go beyond doing the bare minimum expected of him.

Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s guardianship over John Turnbull III revealed a similar belief system about his responsibilities as a guardian. Ann Lobdell mentioned to her brother Lewis, Jr. that their father was preparing to take a trip to see Daniel at St. Joseph's College and planned to take his ward, John Turnbull III so he could get used to the school before being sent there.⁷⁴⁹ Just like Daniel Turnbull sending his ward to a university, this showed that Lewis Stirling, Sr. had similar ideas about his own responsibilities as a guardian. Even more telling in this case was the fact that Stirling was planning on sending his ward to the very same school he sent his oldest three sons.

⁷⁴⁸ University of Virginia official document, November 01, 1834, Turnbull (Daniel) Family Papers, MSS. 4973, LLMVC, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

⁷⁴⁹ Ann Lobdell letter to Lewis Stirling, Jr., April 05, 1839, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

Providing the same educational opportunities that he provided for James, Lewis, Jr., and Dan meant he saw the guardian/ward relationship as being just as important as the father/child relationship.

Academic Achievements of Students

Perhaps the easiest way to support the idea that educating their children was a high priority was simply to look at the achievements of their children. When a subject or area is considered important, then there should be an increase in the incentive to achieve. If there are few or no instances of achievement, then it can be deduced that there is a low priority placed in that area. Large numbers of educational achievements does not prove education was seen as important, but they will help support that idea.

Based on the correspondence data from this study, the best evidence of educational achievement available was simply to look at the degrees individual family members managed to achieve and the schools from which they obtained them. Out of the six children of Lewis Stirling, Sr. and Sarah Turnbull Stirling, all four of their boys completed some level of college education with Lewis, Jr. obtaining a degree from prestigious Yale University, James going a beyond that to become a lawyer, and the youngest Ruffin becoming a medical doctor. Both sisters were married stay at home moms, but their husbands were a lawyer and a medical doctor. James P. Bowman also obtained an advanced medical degree. Little else was known about John Towle's education beyond his brief attendance at the University of Virginia. Lewis Stirling, Jr. also went on to become a Colonel in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. The majority of these family members had gone above and beyond obtaining a basic education, which lent support to the idea that these families placed some degree of importance to educating their children.

Less definitive achievements were available to determine anything about Rachel O'Connor's education. Probably the most obvious sign of her education was that she was a woman running a major plantation for decades at a time when it was almost unheard of for a woman. As the master in charge of the affairs of Evergreen Plantation, she informally experimented with horticulture and animal husbandry in an attempt to improve the business of the plantation. Although she was nearly bankrupt at one point in her life, when she died twenty years later her estate was more than \$30,000. Combining this fact with Rachel's knowledge of both horticulture and animal husbandry, suggests the idea that her eventual successes were due to the education she had obtained. As previously mentioned, penmanship was seen as a virtuous skill worth bragging about to other family members.⁷⁵⁰

Educating Locally

One last piece of evidence supporting the belief that these families placed a high priority on educating their children was found by looking at Rachel O'Connor's correspondence. Her letters provided multiple instances of a more localized education tradition, like boarding schools, day schools, and private tutors. In fact, this particular theme of localized education was not nearly as evident and fleshed out in the other families' archival collections.

Within Rachel's letters, her nieces and nephews received their earliest educations at home from private tutors. Older children of both sexes went to schools in Jackson, LA. There were also a few cases of her nieces attending boarding schools, like the Ursuline Academy in New Orleans. Webb (1983) confirmed that this was the case for Louisa, Maria, and Harriet

⁷⁵⁰ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxvii.

Flower, her nieces. This was a connection to an approximately one hundred year old tradition of educating the female children of Louisianans through religious boarding schools run by Catholic nuns.

There were also two mentions of the College of Louisiana (1826) associated with Pamela Flower's sons. "William, the second son, attended the newly established (1826) College of Louisiana at Jackson, Louisiana."⁷⁵¹ These things made it likely that her other sons also attended the same local college. Pamela's son James reportedly spent time in "the North" before moving to New Orleans to complete his legal education, which fit the same pattern followed by James Stirling. These things revealed that the family had access to many local options to educate their children. The fact that the family took advantage of these local schools as a first option meant they viewed them as worthy educational institutions.

Final Thoughts

The most important takeaway from this dissertation has been the development of a counter-narrative about education in Louisiana. The idea that public education in Louisiana has always failed due to a lack of support has been the dominant narrative, which leads to the assumption that Louisiana's families and people have not been overly concerned with education either. The history books on the Antebellum Period at best ignore education in Louisiana and at worst paint a grim picture of a state whose people simply refuse to care about education. The findings of this microhistory interrupt that narrative.

⁷⁵¹ Webb, ed., *Mistress of Evergreen Plantation: Rachel O'Connor's Legacy of Letters 1823-1845*, xxii.

The situation brings to mind the old axiom that “History is written by the victors.”⁷⁵² Once the South lost the Civil War, its people found themselves cut off from any educational cultural capital they should by rights be able to claim. In part, this study was merely an attempt to connect with that past and open a dialogue with it for the purpose of moving forward. In as much as it is possible to open a dialogue with the past, this dissertation has been successful.

The Stirlings and their related families all provided strong evidence of valuing and supporting education across the all of the families studied. In addition, Mr. Elder, the president of St. Joseph’s College, staying with the Stirlings and Mr. A. Emerson, who worked at Yale, writing to Lewis Stirling, Sr. personally to address Lewis, Jr.’s suspension from Yale stood out.⁷⁵³ Both of these episodes provided evidence of a much closer relationship between the Stirling family and more than one of their children’s colleges and universities than one would normally expect to find, which supported the assertion that the Stirlings made extra effort to be able to support their children while they were away at school.

The entire six month episode of Lewis, Jr. being suspended from Yale showed exactly how far the family was willing to go, both in money and effort, to make sure he could overcome the disruption to his education and return successfully. Daniel Stirling’s early education provided another story of the family going through a lot of effort to support and encourage one of their

⁷⁵² This quote is often attributed to the German philosopher Walter Benjamin, but the actual author is unknown.

⁷⁵³ The Mr. Elder story came from a January 18, 1831 letter from Catherine Hereford to her brother Lewis, Jr. and the Mr. Emerson letter came from a January 26, 1838 letter from Lewis, Sr. to his son Lewis, Jr. in New Haven, CT.

children to obtain an education.⁷⁵⁴ The fact that all four Stirling sons completed college and two of them went on to get advanced degrees showed that this family commitment to education was long-term and successful.

The other families' correspondence revealed similar stories about their education. James P. Bowman's transferring to Trinity College and successfully completing his degree after the death of his mother provided yet another story of overcoming diversity to obtain an education. Rachel O'Connor writing well over one hundred letters to find out about and support her nieces and nephews also showed how the belief in education extended beyond just the parent-child relationship.

When taken altogether, the Stirlings, Bowman, and Rachel O'Connor came together to tell a tale of how the people of West Feliciana felt about educating their children. This counter-narrative showed that the people of West Feliciana believed in educating their children. It was important enough to spend large amounts of money and travel hundreds if not thousands of miles to achieve that goal. While this microhistory does not negate the truth of the dominant narrative, but it does stand as evidence that it should no longer be considered the absolute Truth. In conclusion, this development of this counter-narrative revealed the need to do further research into the history of education in the South to find what other alternative narratives are still out there waiting to be found.

⁷⁵⁴ They enrolled Daniel in multiple local schools and hired private teachers to help him, all despite his disinterest in anything but hunting and climbing trees.

Final Caveat

There was one caveat that must be taken into account when grappling with the findings from this study. It had to do with the wealth and social status of the families being studied. These families lived in one of the wealthiest areas of the United States before the Civil War. “The 12 richest counties in the U.S. in 1860 in terms of total wealth per free man were all in the South, and nine of them were located in Louisiana and Mississippi.”⁷⁵⁵

In addition to living in one of the wealthiest areas, the Stirlings, Turnbolls, and Bowmans were all amongst the wealthiest citizens in that area. One of the easiest ways to determine a family’s wealth was by determining the number of slaves each family owned or by finding out the value of their plantations. “Only 3 percent of all slave owners in 1860 owned fifty or more slaves.”⁷⁵⁶ Scarborough’s (2003) survey of the elite slaveholders during the Antebellum Period included several names associated with this study, including Daniel Turnbull, Mary Stirling, and William Ruffin Barrow. Daniel Turnbull was a cotton grower who had three hundred forty-seven slaves in 1850 and four hundred forty-four slaves in 1860.⁷⁵⁷ Mary Stirling grew cotton in West Feliciana Parish and sugar in Pointe Coupee Parish where in 1860 she reportedly owned one hundred twenty-seven slaves and two hundred forty-six slaves respectively.⁷⁵⁸ William Ruffin Barrow was another wealthy cotton grower in the area who was documented as the owner of

⁷⁵⁵ G. Gerstle and S. Fraser, eds. *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 72.

⁷⁵⁶ G. Gerstle and S. Fraser, eds. *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy*, 72.

⁷⁵⁷ W.K. Scarborough. *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-nineteenth-century South*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 443 & 463, (Accessed March 19, 2016), EBSCOhost. He was the uncle of Lewis Stirling, Jr., father-in-law to James P. Bowman, and guardian of John T. Towles.

⁷⁵⁸ W.K. Scarborough. *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-nineteenth-century South*, 464. Mary Stirling was the widow of Ruffin G. Stirling and the aunt of Lewis Stirling, Jr.

three hundred forty-nine slaves in 1850.⁷⁵⁹ Lewis Stirling, Sr. left a list of his taxable property dated April 17, 1851 that included a listing of his slave's including their names and ages.⁷⁶⁰ He owned sixty-four male slaves and sixty-four female slaves for a total of one hundred twenty-eight slaves, which definitely situated the Stirlings within the top three percent mentioned by Scarborough.

A second way to determine the relative wealth of antebellum southern families was to determine the amount of land they owned and its approximate value. In 1850, Lewis Stirling, Sr. owned a total of two thousand and sixty-nine acres in West Feliciana valued at \$41,900.⁷⁶¹ Mary Stirling owned two thousand acres in West Feliciana valued at \$45,000.⁷⁶² Daniel Turnbull was one of the largest landholders in West Feliciana Parish with four thousand two hundred seventy-one acres valued at \$69,000.⁷⁶³ Ruffin Stirling, whose widow Mary made Scarborough's list of the elite slave owners in 1860, made the list of top landowners in two different Louisiana parishes in 1850. He owned two thousand acres in West Feliciana worth \$20,000.⁷⁶⁴ He owned

⁷⁵⁹ W.K. Scarborough. *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-nineteenth-century South*, 443. William Ruffin Barrow was related to James P. Bowman through his half-brother Robert Hilliard Barrow, Jr.

⁷⁶⁰ Lewis Stirling, Sr.'s List of Taxable Property, April 17, 1851, Stirling (Lewis and Family) Papers, MSS 1886, LLMVC.

⁷⁶¹ Louisiana Historical Association (C). "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 26, no. 4 (Autumn, 1985): 398.

⁷⁶² Louisiana Historical Association (C). "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850," 398. This Mary Stirling was different from the one mentioned in the previous paragraph about ownership of slaves. This woman was also an aunt to Lewis Stirling, Jr., but she was married to his Uncle Henry.

⁷⁶³ Louisiana Historical Association (C). "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850," 398.

⁷⁶⁴ Louisiana Historical Association (C). "Some Large Landholders of West Feliciana Parish, 1850," 398.

another thirteen hundred acres in Pointe Coupee Parish worth \$29,000.⁷⁶⁵ James P. Bowman's half-brother, Robert Barrow owned twelve hundred acres in West Baton Rouge Parish worth \$40,000.⁷⁶⁶ John Lobdell, who was married to Ann Stirling Lobdell, owned an astonishing estate made up of thousand five hundred acres in West Baton Rouge worth \$140,000.⁷⁶⁷ Lastly, Catherine Stirling Hereford's husband, John B. Hereford owned fourteen hundred acres in West Baton Rouge worth \$37,000.

All of the families in this study definitely fit the characteristics of the upper echelon of society in Louisiana during the Antebellum Period. This enormous wealth meant they had access to more money and opportunities to educate their children than less wealthy Louisianans. Rather than view these families and their experiences as outliers, this study viewed them as exemplars that would provide some of the best possible experiences of education to be found in Antebellum Louisiana. While their lived experiences could not be generalized to stand for all Louisianans, it definitely served to question the dominate narrative.

⁷⁶⁵ Louisiana Historical Association (A). "Some Large Landholders of Pointe Coupee Parish, 1850." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988): 364.

⁷⁶⁶ Louisiana Historical Association (B). "Some Large Landholders of West Baton Rouge Parish, 1850." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 24, no. 2 (Spring, 1983): 154.

⁷⁶⁷ Louisiana Historical Association (B). "Some Large Landholders of West Baton Rouge Parish, 1850." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 24, no. 2 (Spring, 1983): 154.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF ANTEBELLUM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Antebellum Louisiana Colleges and Universities

1. University of Orleans	1805
2. College of Rapides	1819
3. College of Baton Rouge	1820
4. Louisiana College (Jackson, LA)	1825
5. College of Jefferson	1831
6. Tulane University (Medical College of Louisiana)	1834
7. College of St. Charles	1835
8. College of Immaculate Conception	1835
9. St. Charles College (different from College of St. Charles)	1838
10. Franklin College (uncertainty on if it actually operated)	1840s
11. Centenary College (Jackson, LA)	1845
12. Baton Rouge College	1849
13. College Sts. Peter and Paul	1849
14. Homer College	1850
15. Keatchie Female College	1851
16. Mt. Lebanon University	1852
17. Silliman College	1852
18. Mansfield Female College	1852
19. Soule College	1856
20. Louisiana State University --founded as the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy	1860
21. Mount Lebanon University	1860

Southern (other than Louisiana) Antebellum Colleges and Universities

22. College of William and Mary (Virginia)	1693
23. Washington and Lee University (Virginia)	1749
24. Hampden-Sydney College (Virginia)	1775
25. Transylvania University (Kentucky)	1780
26. Washington and Jefferson College (Pennsylvania)	1781
27. Washington College (Maryland)	1782
28. St. John's College (Maryland)	1784
29. University of Georgia (Georgia)	1785
30. Georgetown University (1 st Catholic University in U.S.)	1789
--Washington, D.C.	
31. University of North Carolina (N. Carolina)	1789
32. St. Mary's Seminary & University (Maryland)	1791
33. University of Tennessee (Tennessee)	1794
34. South Carolina College (University of South Carolina)	1801
35. Mount Enon College (Georgia)	1807
36. University of Virginia (Virginia)	1819
37. Griffin Female College (Georgia)	1830
38. University of Alabama (Alabama)	1831
39. Oberlin, the first coed college of the United States (Ohio)	1833
40. Oglethorpe University (Georgia)	1835
41. Classical Manual Labor College (Georgia)	1835
42. Emory University (Georgia)	1836
43. Georgia Female College (now Wesleyan College) (Georgia)	1836
--World's oldest women's college	
44. Davidson College (N. Carolina)	1837
45. McKenzie College (Texas)	1839-1861
46. Southern Botanico-Medical College (Georgia)	1839
--became Reformed Medical College of Georgia	
47. Virginia Military Institute (Virginia)	1839
48. Christ College (Georgia)	1840s
49. Nacogdoches University (Texas)	1840s-1904
50. Galveston University (Texas)	1840-1844
51. Rutersville College (Texas)	1840-1856
52. Guadalupe College (2 associated with this name—both in Texas)	1841-????
53. The Citadel, The Military College of the South (S. Carolina)	1842
54. Marshall University (Texas)	1842-1910
55. Southern Female College (2 with the same name)	
--LaGrange, Georgia	1842
56. Wesleyan College (Texas)	1844-1847
(combined with San Augustine University to form University of Eastern Texas)	
57. Baylor University (Texas)	1845
58. Reformed Medical College of Georgia (Georgia)	1845
59. San Augustine University (Texas)	????-1847
(combined with Wesleyan College to form University of Eastern Texas)	
60. University of Eastern Texas (Texas)	1847-1850

61. Ewing College (Texas)	1848-1850s
62. Guadalupe College (2 associated with this name—both in Texas)	1848-1849
63. University of Mississippi (Mississippi)	1848
64. Chapel Hill Male and Female College (Texas)	1849-1856
65. Chapel Hill Female College (Texas)	1850-1912
66. Southern Female College (2 with the same name) --Covington, Georgia	1851
67. Mount Enterprise Male and Female College (Texas)	1851-1855
68. Upshur Masonic College (Texas)	1851-????
69. Andrew Female College (Texas)	1852-1879
70. Bethel Female College (Georgia)	1852
71. Chapel Hill College (Texas)	1852-1869
72. Cold Springs Collegiate Institute (Texas)	1852-????
73. College Temple (Georgia)	1852
74. Saint Mary's University (Texas)	1852-1922
75. Saint Paul's College (Texas)	1852-1856
76. Tyler University (Texas)	1852-1857
77. Houston Female College (Georgia)	1853
78. Southern Masonic College (Georgia)	1853
79. Alexander College (Texas)	1854-2012
80. Andrew Female College (Georgia)	1854
81. Atlanta Medical College (now Emory U. School of Medicine) --Georgia	1854
82. Lon Morris College (Texas) (connecting with Alexander College)	1854-2012
83. Paine Institute (Texas)	1854-1880
84. Marvin College (Texas)	1855-1884
85. Savannah Medical College (Georgia)	1855
86. Cherokee Baptist College (Georgia)	1856
87. Henderson Female College (Texas)	1856-????
88. Margaret Houston Female College (Texas)	1856-????
89. Mound Prairie Institute (Texas)	1856-????
90. Soule University (Texas)	1856-1887
91. Waco University (Texas)	1856-1886
92. Colorado College (Texas)	1857-1886
93. Eastern Texas Female College (Texas)	1857-1865
94. Waco Female College (Texas)	1857-1895
95. Bosque College and Seminary (Texas)	1858-1865
96. LeVert College (Georgia)	1858
97. Moore's Southern Business University (Georgia)	1858
98. Palestine Female College (Texas)	1858-1881
99. Sabine Baptist College (Texas)	1858-1870
100. Wharton College (Texas)	1858-1865
101. Furlow Masonic Female College (Georgia)	1859
102. Port Sullivan College (Texas)	1860-1870s
103. Salado College (Texas)	1860-1918

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 104. San Antonio Female College (Texas) | 1860-??? |
| 105. Texas Baptist College (Texas) | 1860-1863 |

This list is incomplete and will continue to be added to as I have time.

References for Appendix:

Used references from the body of the paper

http://americanphilosophy.net/american_colleges.htm

Louisiana Colleges and Universities:

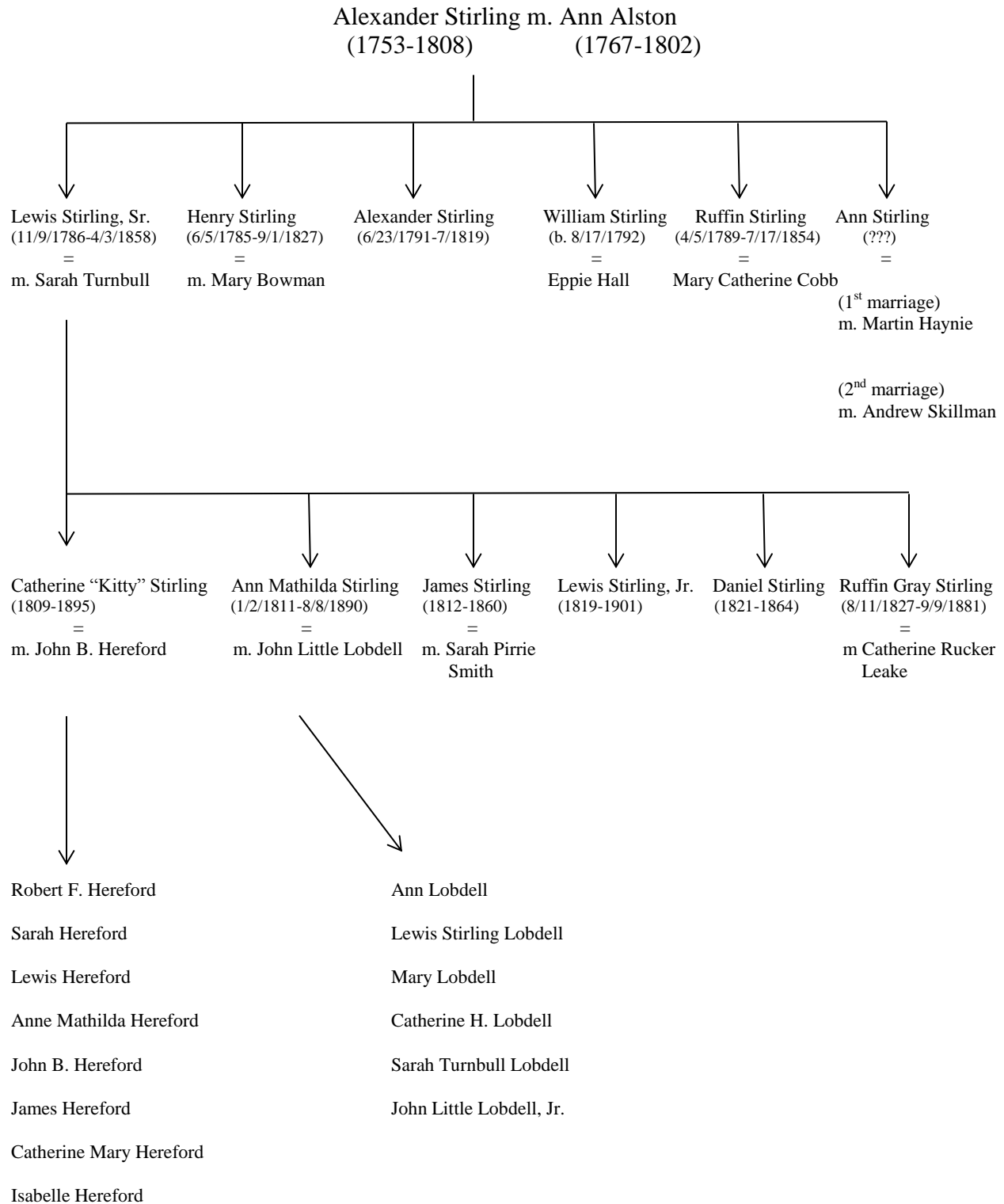
http://www2.westminster-mo.edu/wc_users/homepages/staff/brownr/LouisianaCC.htm

Georgia Colleges and Universities:

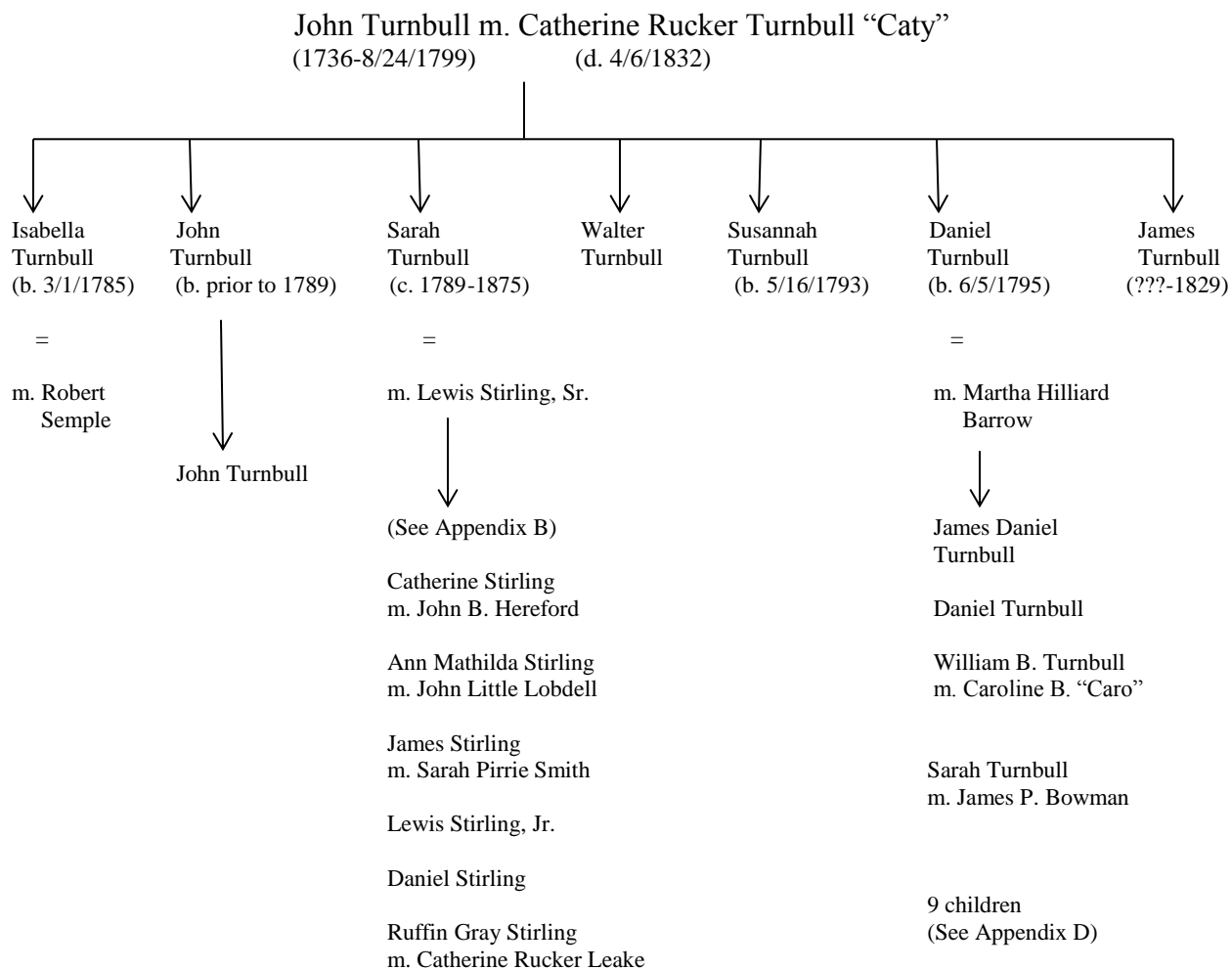
http://www2.westminster-mo.edu/wc_users/homepages/staff/brownr/GeorgiaCC.htm

<http://collegehistorygarden.blogspot.com/2014/12/texas-colleges-that-have-closed-merged.html>

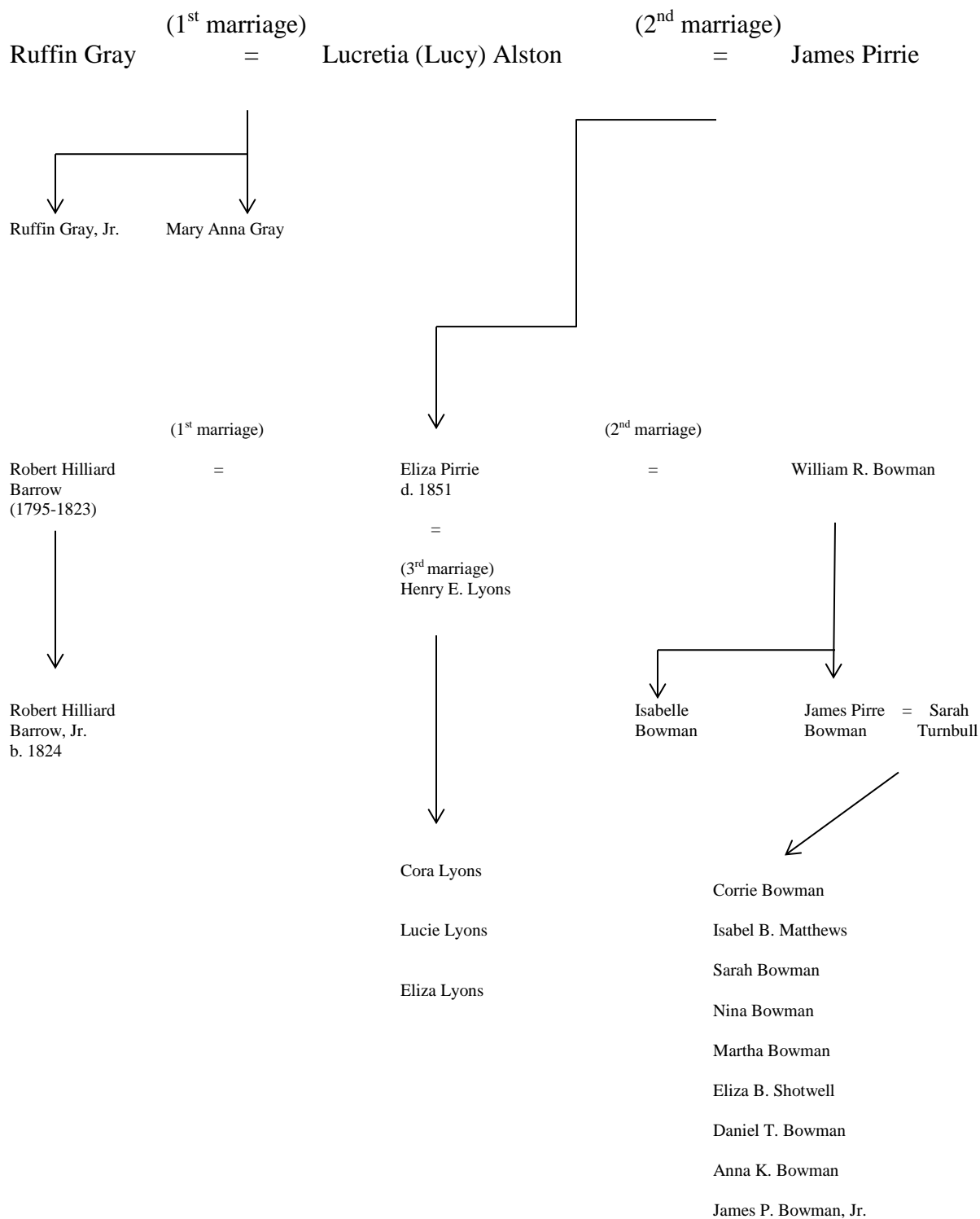
APPENDIX B: STIRLING FAMILY TREE



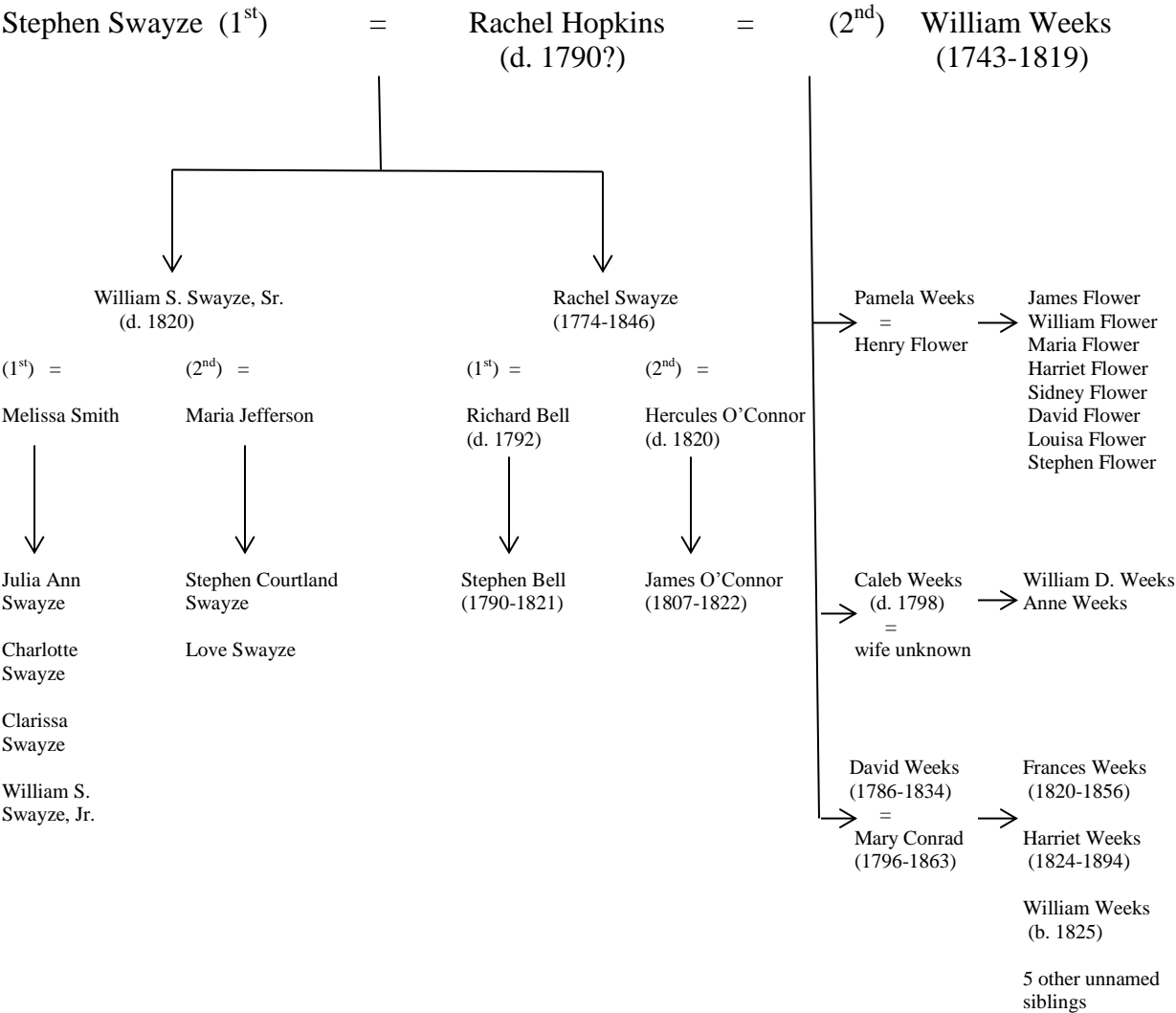
APPENDIX C: TURNBULL FAMILY TREE



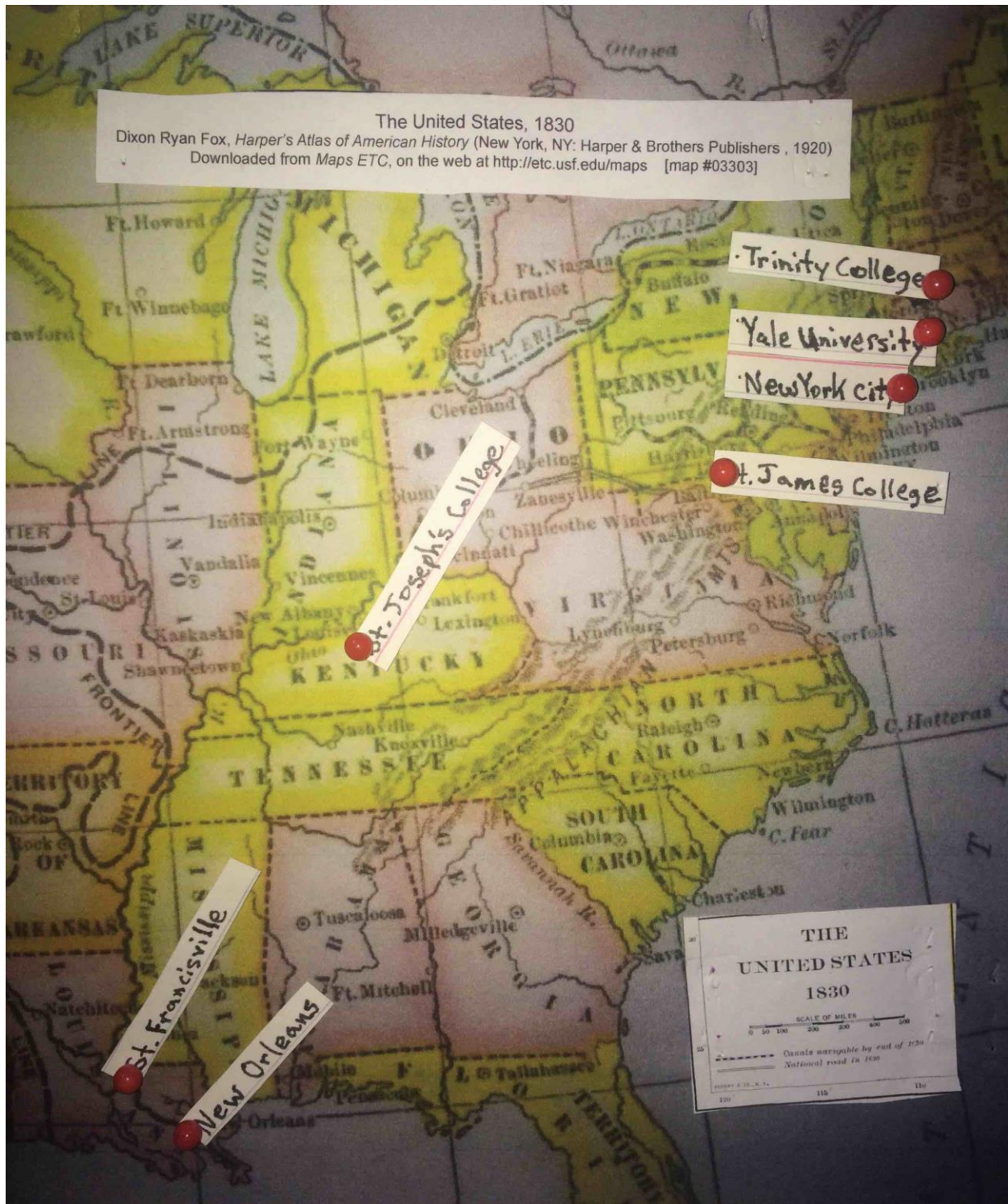
APPENDIX D: ALSTON, PIRRIE, BARROW, BOWMAN, AND LYONS FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX E: RACHEL O’CONNOR’S FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX F: MAP OF THE UNITED STATES – 1830



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⁷⁶⁸ Florida Center for Instructional Technology (FCIT). *The United States Map: 1830*. Accessed February 17, 2016. <http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/3300/3303/3303.htm>.

VITA

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