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A History of Education in Louisiana During the Reconstruction Period, 1862-1877.

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A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN LOUISIANA DURING THE
RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD, 1862-1877

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 Department of Education

by

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A general treatment of education in Louisiana during the period of Reconstruction, 1862-1877, formed the basis for this study. The War Between the States having shattered the political, economic, and social life of the State, dealt a severe blow to the embryonic educational system which existed in 1860. Through the use of the historical method the major developments in the field of education are recorded in four major periods: during the war, 1862-1865, restoration, 1865-1868, the Conway administration, 1868-1872, and the Brown administration, 1872-1877.

In 1860 approximately forty-five thousand students were in school. Annual expenditures from all sources was slightly over one million dollars. Negroes composed only one half of one per cent of the school attenders. Despite the progress made in public education, many people in the State favored the idea of public funds for indigent pupils only. In New Orleans the public schools were well organized and attended. There sixteen thousand attended in 1860.

New Orleans fell to the Union forces in the spring of 1862. General Benjamin Butler, the military commander, actively supported the schools. He was succeeded by General
Nathanial P. Banks, who, early in 1863, began the establishment of schools for the Negroes. Schools for the Negroes established by the military were taken over by the Freedman's Bureau and later by local school authorities. Rapid advances were made in organizing Negro schools.

Civil government under military occupation was re-established under the Constitution of 1864. Participants in politics from 1864-1868 were conservative and the educational program of the period was largely a continuation of pre-war policies. John McNair and Robert M. Lusher served as State Superintendents of Education during the period.

With the coming of Congressional reconstruction events followed the radical tendencies of politics. Racial equality was legislated into existence in law in the Constitution of 1868 and the schools were ordered open to all alike. Thomas W. Conway, a carpetbagger who had been associated with the Freedmen's Bureau was elected State Superintendent of Education in the first administration under the new organic law. Compulsory mixed attendance by Negroes and whites was made a matter of State policy in the early days of his tenure. Opposition forced the abandonment of the policy on the State level. Subsequent attempts were usually of local origin.

A new comprehensive school law was passed in 1869 and modified by the Legislatures of 1870 and 1871. During this
period the Louisiana Seminary was moved to Baton Rouge, teacher institutes were begun, the first educational convention held, the Peabody Fund initiated, along with other advances in education. Corruption was in evidence throughout the State and Conway himself was found to be guilty of theft.

The Radical Republicans captured the State's offices in 1872, bringing William G. Brown, a mulatto, as State Superintendent of Education. He was thought to be faithful and honest but his color prevented his providing positive leadership.

Education during the latter period of Reconstruction showed signs of progress. Probably about sixty-nine thousand pupils were in the public schools alone. Thirty thousand were Negroes and thirty-nine thousand were white. Education for the whites suffered most extensively in the rural areas. Public education received almost three-quarters of a million dollars annually from local and state respectively 50%, 40%, and the remainder from interests on school funds. Private education received an amount similar to pre-war times, giving a total of well over a million dollars annually.

The newly named Louisiana State University suffered greatly during the latter period but was able to remain in existence.
Military forces were withdrawn from the State in April of 1877 and in the same month Robert M. Lusher returned as State Superintendent of Education. Thus did Reconstruction end. In so far as education was concerned its chief accomplishment was the publicity that it had received and the passage of some of the older ideas that served to retard the progress of education in a democracy.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the day when the keeper of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves low, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out the window be darkened.

Ecclesiastes 12:3

The memory of war is a memory of sound and scent. Across the fertile reaches of Louisiana, across the placid bayous, through the pine thickets, hanging sullenly over canebrakes, welling up from the din of the city, came the sound and scent that foretold doom for Louisiana. Smoldering cotton, burning at the hand of the enemy torch, or the owner's determination to deny the victor the spoils, or yet possibly the remnant of a last defense, filled the air with its undeniable presence. Giant cane rollers, rusting from disuse, robbed the land of that sound which had spelled prosperity to the thirteen hundred sugar plantations¹ that stretched away from the water courses in ante-bellum Louisiana.

¹DeBow's Review, After the War Series, II (1866), p. 417.
It is impossible to state the extent to which southeastern, central, and northeastern Louisiana was impoverished between 1861 and 1865. With the possible exception of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, Louisiana had paid the highest price to the Confederacy of the South. Many attempts have been made to compute the human loss, but "at least one-fifth and probably more of Louisiana's able bodied men died on the field of battle or in hospitals" and twelve hundred destitute orphans in New Orleans testified to that sacrifice.

With the abolition of slavery more than one-third of the assessed wealth of the state slipped from the tax rolls. This alone was reported as a one hundred and seventy million dollar loss. Despite the social implications this was the

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4 New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 5, 1865.

most severe blow that befell the planter. Half the livestock was gone, real property stood at thirty per cent of its pre-war value, one-third of the arable land lay idle, sugar was down to fifteen per cent of its 1860 value, sugar plantations were reduced to one hundred seventy-four, and the two million dollar crop of 1864-1865 bore little resemblance to the twenty five million dollar crop of 1860-1861, notwithstanding the fact that sugar prices had tripled. The Franklin Planter's Banner of formerly wealthy St. Mary Parish reported that "the parish was ground to powder between the contending armies; corn, sugar, cattle, horses, mules, and almost all movable property were [sic] carried off, consumed or destroyed; overflows and cotton worms, rains and politicians have done their worst, still we live and breathe."**

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6New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, October 11, 1866.


8Charles P. Roland, "Louisiana Sugar Plantations During the Civil War" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 308-09.


11Franklin Planter's Banner, quoted in New Orleans Times Picayune, August 7, 1867.
Soldiers returning from Virginia in the late spring of 1865 could not but note the evidence of war. There were burned river mansions, weed infested fields, massive sugar and cotton houses beginning their slow decay, rusting equipage, cattle and hogs running wild, crevassed levees exposing thousands of fertile acres to the whims of the waterways, and newly freed Negroes celebrating their freedom in rites that bordered on orgies, while ekeing out an existence from the Union quartermasters. Worn out roads carried the newly freed to the occupation army in New Orleans and other towns while the same roads carried their former masters in the same direction, where they hoped to recoup their wealth in the commercial life of the city.

No adequate description can be given of the task that faced those who would rebuild the state. Almost one-half the wealth was gone. Surveying the sordid scene, General Hurlbut summed it up by saying that "you have to create almost out of nothing. You have to make revenues where the taxable property of the State is reduced almost two-thirds. [Louisiana] is a broken down country."13

12DeBow's Review, After the War Series, III (1867), pp. 474-75.
To fully appreciate the labors that went into the rebuilding of the land and its people it is essential that some idea be had of the land from which the state had been wrought. To this must be added a brief description of the people and their efforts at creating a political entity which would offer social, economic, and political well-being. More particularly must the development of education be traced, to which will be added a limited summation of the condition of this endeavor at the outbreak of hostilities.

Louisiana lies astride the mouth of North America's greatest river, the Mississippi. Just north of the City of Baton Rouge the river becomes the eastern boundary of the state. With the Sabine River to the west, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the thirty-third and thirty-first parallels on the north Louisiana is composed primarily of low lands, one-third of which are alluvial. The chief architects of Louisiana's lands have been its rivers. Often flooding the adjacent lands, these rivers have deposited rich soils through the years. Extending from five to thirty


15 Lockett, "Louisiana As It Is," p. 143.
miles from the banks of such rivers as the Mississippi, Red, Black, Ouachita, Atchafalaya, and Bayou Lafourche, these alluvial deposits created soils excellently suited for cane and cotton culture, provided capital was available for the construction of levees, sugar houses, and vast amounts of labor. Only one-quarter of the free people of the state lived in these rich bottoms; yet this small number owned half the wealth of the state with two-thirds of the slaves and almost half of the plantations. Even in this area over one-half of the farms had less than fifty acres each and a similar number of the land owners had no slaves. Among the slave owners the large majority possessed less than six Negroes.

Less obvious to the river traveler (this was the favored means of transportation during the period) were the people who lived beyond the rich bottom lands. The northern part of the state is composed of rolling oak- and pine-timbered uplands, little suited for farming save for the scattered areas of red brown loam that neighbored hardwood. It was in this area that the less monied yeomen, pioneers, and squatters settled. Here game was available for the table

16 Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, p. 7.
17 Ibid., p. 8.
and wood for building and the hearth. One-third of the white population of the state outside New Orleans occupied this region in 1860.  

Farther south the treeless prairies stretched out to the coastal marshes. Few made their homes in this vast expanse. Scattered settlements of Acadians could be found as far west as the basin of the Sabine. Their lot was a life of frugality, not many able to expand their holdings beyond a small group of slaves, if any. For the most part they lived in little homes along the bayous surrounded by grassy lands on which their cattle roamed. Each had a garden, a few row crops of varied nature and livestock for the winter larder. Beyond, the Atchafalaya the country was less inviting to the industrious and it early gained a reputation of being a land of "half-breeds who ranged stolen cattle on the banks of the Sabine."  

Thus lived seventy-five per cent of the population. The remaining twenty-five per cent lived in the polyglot city of New Orleans.  

18 Ibid., p. 11.  
19 Ibid., p. 12.  
21 Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, p. 315.
had become the commercial hub of the extensive agricultural
life of the lower Mississippi valley. With only one per cent
more whites than Negroes,\textsuperscript{22} it was a vast mixture of foreign
immigrants who had been attracted by the commerce of the port.
The ratio of Negro to white was very different outside the
city where only thirty-nine per cent of the population was
white.\textsuperscript{23} Thirty-two thousand families resided in New Orleans
in 1860.\textsuperscript{24}

Considering the state as a whole there were almost
three-quarters of a million inhabitants, about one-third of
whom were slaves.\textsuperscript{25} Of the total population only about a
half were native born.\textsuperscript{26} Slave owners represented but
twenty-one per cent of the total population.\textsuperscript{27} Geographically
the population was influenced by the composition of the
soil and the waterways. Maps of the period showing the Missis-
sippi from Baton Rouge to New Orleans present an almost

\begin{footnotes}
\item[22]Ibid., p. 16.
\item[23]Ibid., p. 17.
\item[24]Ibid., p. 318.
\item[25]Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population
of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 
1864), p. 196.
\item[26]Ibid.
\item[27]Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, p. 24.
\end{footnotes}
suburban appearance from the number of landholdings that crowd­ed down to the banks. Only seven towns outside New Orleans could boast a population of one thousand; but numerous vil­lages existed about isolated trade centers which served the rural population which did not have the means of direct trade with the large mercantile houses of New Orleans. Forty-five rural newspapers in 1845 betokened the extensiveness of the small trade centers.28 Outside the city of New Orleans there were about twelve and a half persons to the square mile. Three of these were of school age, including both white and Negro.29

Such generally was the land and its people at the out­break of the war. Now must be traced the development of the state with particular reference to the evolution of education during the colonial and pre-war period.

Recorded repeatedly in history are the exploits of the original colonists of Louisiana. Scarcely was the colony established when effort was made in the direction of education. "I have just made an establishment for a little

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29 Based on rough computations made by the author using census data.
school at New Orleans,"30 Father Raphael wrote his Superior, Father Raguet in 1725 and thus begins the story of education in Louisiana. The priest had obtained a house and the prospect of nine scholars.31 Almost a year later he reported the studies are "progressing well there."32 Later the same year another milestone was reached. At the insistence of Governor Bienville and through the labors of Father Beaubois, who had gone to France to relate the worthiness of the project, a contract was drawn on September 13, 1726, between the Ursuline order and the Company of the Indies which provided that a group of nuns of the order would come to the colony to care for a hospital and to educate young girls.33 As a result of this contract Louis XV caused his signature to be placed on the document on September 18, 1726.34 So authorized, the nuns made the trip to the New World and set about their task

30 Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders (editors), Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701-1729, 3 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi, Department of Archives Press, 1929), II, pp. 507-08.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., p. 519.


34 Ibid.
amid the warm enthusiasm of the colonists. Thus in the year 1727 was established the Ursuline School for Girls which was the first school of its kind in what is now the United States.

In 1742 there appears a record which indicates further the desire the governor had for education in the colony. Many missives were addressed to the home government discussing the want of educational facilities in the colony. In part Bienville said:

It is but too evidently demonstrated to parents, how utterly worthless turn out to be those children who are raised in idleness and luxury, and how ruinously expensive it is for those who send their children to France to be educated. It is even to be feared from this circumstance, that the Creoles, thus educated abroad, will imbibe a dislike to their native country, and will come back to it only to receive and to convert into cash what property may be left to them by their parents.35

Bienville felt that the colony should have a college for the study of the classics, geometry, geography, pilotage, and religion to be a basis for morality.36 The insignificance of the colony in the eyes of those in Paris seems to be the reason for the lack of cooperation of the colonial government with its requests.37 At any rate Bienville did not want

36Ibid., p. 521.
37Ibid.
the colony to be an "incursion of bands of adventurers, come to get gold and silver quickly, and be off again." 38

Efforts for education during the colonial period were directed primarily toward small schools, such as Father Raphael's, the work among the girls performed by the Ursulines, and the private tutors of the wealthy class, which served the educational needs of the rising agricultural and merchant class. 39

The Spanish, who took possession of the colony legally in 1762 and actually in 1765, were the first to make education a matter of government policy. In 1772 Don Andreas Lopez de Armesto opened a school under Spanish authority. Armesto was director with Pedro Aragon as grammar teacher, Don Manuel Diaz de Lara as professor of the rudiments of Latin, and Don Francisco de la Celeva as teacher of reading and writing. The unpopularity of the Spanish government provided the school with limited patronage. Those who attended were usually required to do so. The studies were in the lower branches, with

38 Ibid.

six to thirty pupils attending for reading and writing.  

By 1788 conditions had improved somewhat. Fire having destroyed the school, Don Andreas Almonaster offered a small building in order that the process of education might be resumed. In a dispatch Governor Miro said that previously there had been as many as eight private schools attended by as many as four hundred children of both sexes.

The following fifteen years were eventful ones for the residents of the colony. During these years the colony was receded to France and then sold to the United States. William C. C. Claiborne was appointed governor of the new United States territory, a happy circumstance for the cause of education.

Tutored as Claiborne was in the political thought of Jefferson, Madison, and Jay, he conceived the public school as the necessary instrument for preparing the heterogeneous population of the territory for citizenship.

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40Ibid., p. 2.
41Ibid., p. 5.
Immediately on assuming office he set about the business of providing education in the city of New Orleans. He urged the municipal authorities to establish schools and he gave his aid in securing quarters for the purpose. Extending his interest beyond the city he addressed the legislature, in March of 1805, advocating a system of free schools. He wished for schools in the several parishes and also an institution of higher learning for the entire colony. Evidently the results of his advocacy were not as he desired; for a year later, March 25, 1806, he addressed the following remarks to the legislature:

The youth should be considered as the property of the State, their welfare should constitute a primary care of the Government— and those in power should esteem it an incumbent duty, to make such provisions for the improvement of the minds and morals of the rising generation, as will enable them to appreciate the blessings of self Government, and to preserve those rights which are destined for their inheritance. I am one of those who admire the plan of education adopted by some of the States of the American Union; that of establishing a school in every neighborhood and supporting it by a general tax on the Society. I should indeed be happy to see a similar policy pursued in this Territory and a Tax which would bear alike on every individual, in proportion to his wealth, levied for the purpose.

44 Lusher, "History," p. 5.

45 Dunbar Rowland, Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816, 6 vols. (Jackson, Mississippi: State Department of Archives and History, 1917), III, pp. 277-78. A somewhat different version is quoted by Martin Luther
As well reasoned as his remarks were, he again felt the need of renewing his appeal in 1809, with the additional comment that two or more schools had been established in Pointe Coupee Parish.46

Meanwhile the Territorial Legislature had bent its efforts toward establishing the institution of higher learning that Claiborne had advocated. On April 19, 1805, an act was passed which set up such an institution under a board of regents and faculty. The name of the school was to be the University of Louisiana. The board was empowered to raise fifty thousand dollars a year by lottery for its operation.47 For some reason the lottery feature proved futile and no support was forthcoming until 1811 when the legislature appropriated fifteen thousand dollars for permanent equipment and three thousand dollars for an annual maintenance fund.48 Even after the improvement in finances the school suffered a rather shabby existence. Pupils never numbered more than


46Lusher, "History," pp. 5-6.


48Ibid.
one hundred, and the hopes of the original planners were de-
feated in the alteration of the curriculum which turned it
into a grammar school of the New England tradition.49 In
1826, despite over a hundred thousand dollars in accumulated
grants from the state and a like amount from lotteries and
private donations, the college as such was closed and con-
verted into a central school,50 and its fifteen year history
came to a rather dismal end.51 Despite its failure the
college did make two very real contributions. First, it
rallied support from the Latin population who were not noted
for their interest in education at this period. Second, a
very definite French influence was transmitted to the school
system of Louisiana.52

Claiborne's zeal for publicly supported education was
not translated into progressive action on the part of the
legislature. Nevertheless his enthusiasm doubtlessly con-
tributed to concern for education which was manifest in the
increased number of private schools of the territorial

49Ibid., p. 75.

50Evidence points to a striking similarity between
this school and the ecole centrales of France following 1795.


52Ibid., p. 66.
period. Actually "the private schools of New Orleans, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, had practically the whole field of education to themselves." It was in a later day that the churches attempted to provide for the educational needs of the population. These private schools were mirrors of the felt needs of the period. Much was made of language instruction in a population across which communication barriers fell. Many early private schools offered a wide variety of subjects along with room and board, laundry service, and the like in order to increase their patronage. Judging from their advertisement, it is evident that early schoolmasters in New Orleans were jacks-of-all-trades in their bid for students.

Educational development during the early days of statehood (1812-1847) was marked with turbulence and contrast. Forces became operative which both aided and hindered progress. In the earlier days conservative forces won the day but as time passed the more progressive ideas gained

53Ibid.
54Ibid., p. 67.
55Ibid.
56Ibid.
ground. The initial struggle ended with a clear ideological victory for the liberal faction, or those who felt education to be a public responsibility of the state to be enjoyed equally by its citizens. Notwithstanding the sordid picture of Reconstruction, the fact remains that herein lies the greatest single factor contributing to the emergence of education in Louisiana. Such is the thesis maintained; subsequent narrative and analysis will seek to enlarge and give validity to this assertion.

What were the forces that pervaded the early development of education? Claiborne, who as territorial governor had given expression to such encouraging thinking for an expanded program of education, was continued in a leadership role as the first governor of the state. Nor was he the only governor who entertained such democratic ideas toward the establishment of schools for the masses. Each successive governor of the period raised his voice in advocacy for education. In addition to the leadership given by the governors, there were added factors at work which aided in the establishment of public education. Among these were the infiltration of ideas which accompanied the migration from

57 See Legislative Documents for the period.
the Atlantic seaboard and foreign countries, the rise of commercial life in New Orleans with its thousands who bespoke little concern for the life problems of the slave, yeoman, or planter, and the lassitude of the Roman Catholic Church.

On the other hand, forces which stood counter to these factors were old and powerfully entrenched. Primarily there were but two. First, there was the planter and large merchant aristocracy which held half the wealth of the state and a disproportionate position in relation to the ballot box, and who felt that education was unnecessary for the masses, prohibitive in cost, and risky in a society where so few controlled so many. Second, the feeling that education was the duty of the home and church, which was the Roman Catholic view, indicates that the early period was fraught with frustration and failure.

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58 Shugg, Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, p. 39.
59 Ibid., p. 200.
61 Shugg, Origin of Class Struggle in Louisiana, pp. 121ff.
62 Ibid., p. 68.
63 Ibid., p. 69.
The Constitution adopted in 1812 did not mention education. Yet, following the example set during the colonial days, Claiborne maintained his appeals for public support, his final appeal coming in 1816. Mindful of the problems besetting the College of Orleans and following the lead of the governor, a special committee of the legislature reported apparent failure for the public investment that had been made to the college and parishes. Not four hundred pupils were receiving education in the state including the College of Orleans. The new governor, Jacques Villere, was able to establish a three-month minimum term and six hundred dollars for each parish from state funds. Late in the year 1820, the legislature's Committee on Public Education recommended authorizing each parish police jury to raise a thousand dollars by taxation to build school houses and an increase of two hundred dollars for each parish from state funds.

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66 Ibid., p. 8.

67 Ibid., p. 11.

68 Ibid., p. 19.
Advances were being made but officials were convinced that a sounder basis for the total program was needed. 69 No sources of revenue had been established for the public schools; and higher institutions were depending on lotteries, donations, gaming taxes, and annual appropriations from the state's general fund. 70 Funds were being provided by various means in an attempt to solve the problem without the levy of a tax for the schools which would "bear equally on all." At the same time Henry Bullard of the House of Representatives issued a report on federally donated lands which were being eyed as a possible source of help. But even here there was little hope, for his report, noting the location and type of land that had been given, showed that they were absolutely valueless so far as the state was concerned. 71

The year 1826 brought to an end the College of Orleans and in its place two primary schools and one central school for the city were provided. These were to be under the authority of a board of regents, with an American citizen as the superintendent. Theater taxes provided revenues that allowed them to give free instruction to all white children

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., p. 17 f.
71 Ibid., p. 20.
from seven to fourteen. Higher education was entrusted to the College of Louisiana, which was newly chartered (February 18, 1825), at Jackson, Louisiana. Evidently the munificence of the legislature was too much for the public purse; for after two years the regents were permitted by the legislature to limit gratuitous instruction to one hundred pupils.

Meanwhile, the Committee on Education reported that not all parishes were using their allotments, meager though they were. The situation was now paradoxical. Support was felt lacking in some quarters and yet there were unspent funds. Reluctance on the part of some to participate because of their indifference to education for the masses, along with failure to agree on just how the money could best be spent, doubtlessly precipitated the conditions of the mid-eighteen-twenties. More were becoming convinced of the state's


75 Lusher, "History," p. 29.
Responsibility; but the awakened leaders, having been satisfied with their own private means for their children, could not help but associate the state's responsibility with those who were unable to obtain the services of tutors or private schools for financial reasons. The less able naturally sensed this feeling and it followed that some stigma was attached to public education which served to provoke disinterest in the new concept of democratic education. In addition the sparseness of the rural population continued to frustrate all efforts at efficient organization.

Reward for the efforts of those who favored a system of public education came in 1827, when an act was passed which set specific funds in terms of each child and provided a semblance of organizational structure which had greater potential for carrying out the designs of the legislature. On the parish level administrators were to be appointed by the police juries who, in turn, would appoint local committees to superintend educational activities in each ward. Requirements for teachers were imposed and reports called for. The law was never functional, but its passage betokened the advances that had been made and its failure

chartered the course for future executive recommendations.  

Governor A. B. Roman was one of the most ardent supporters of the cause of education who has occupied the office of governor. His public utterances were filled with allusions which indicate his aspirations for public schools. On January 31, 1831, he made a remarkable address to the joint session of the Legislature. Dealing with education, he revealed a thorough understanding of the problems which were faced in the state as well as a knowledge of current thought which was being expressed by educational leaders nationally. Highly critical of past accomplishments, he was, nevertheless, hopeful for the future. His first suggestion was for a reorientation of thinking concerning the relative importance of the various levels of the education. Elementary education should be the main purpose of state endeavor, according to his thinking. Over one-third of a million dollars had been spent on education and he pointed out that "it is doubtful whether three hundred fifty-four indigent pupils have derived from these schools the advantages which the legislature wished to extend to that class throughout the

78Ibid., pp. 68-72.
state."

So strong were his desires for a common school education for the masses that he advocated boarding schools for the less populous areas and the Lancastrian monitorial system to meet the numerical deficiency of teachers. Later in his term he became convinced that the greatest hindrance was the distinction which existed between the poor and rich so far as primary schools are concerned. New England was held up as a model by the governor in financial efficiency and democratic philosophy. The legislature accepted the challenge of the governor and set about increasing funds and making provision for a more centralized program through the secretary of state, who was to be ex-officio state superintendent of schools. Lotteries were abandoned as a method of financing and reports were demanded under penalty. Significant was the governor's final recommendation of his first term: public support for students who were training to become teachers.

79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid., p. 85.
Reporting in 1835, the House Committee on Public Education felt that the entire system was defective and that a reorganization was absolutely essential. Continuing his active support in his second term, Governor Roman noted that in the previous year (1838) Louisiana had spent more on education from state funds than had New York. In fact, he was able to say that no state had been more generous with its funds. Yet real progress was lacking. Reports on what was being done were almost entirely lacking despite the penalties which were imposed.

Frustrated efforts in the area of public education were being assuaged by larger grants to private schools which multiplied rapidly during the period of early statehood. Realizing that much of the support granted to the parishes for public schools was being given to private schools with the stipulation that they educate a certain number of indigent children, it is little wonder that public grants to private schools, academies, and colleges were felt to be perfectly legitimate by the legislature. Whatever the merits of

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84 Ibid., p. 115.
85 Ibid., pp. 144-45.
86 Ibid., p. 171.
87 Ibid., p. 154.
such a plan, there were brought into being a large number of these schools to add to the educational facilities of the state.

Continuing reports from legislative committees, meager reports from the parishes, continuing requests from private schools, and reports from the activities of Mann, Barnard, and other educational leaders had a telling effect on the lawmakers. Opinion shifted strongly toward the common school idea and a period of retrenchment set in while deliberation took place prior to the coming constitutional convention.88 All the while, events were taking place which would shape the destiny of public education. The spirit of Jacksonian democracy gave additional impetus to the calling of the convention, with its demand that the franchise be extended.89 Amid such thinking, invitations came more and more frequently for members of the legislature to attend lyceums where matters of educational interest were discussed. Schools desired their attendance at examinations and graduations. Resolutions were adopted calling attention to

88 Ibid., pp. 213-14.
educational needs. Reports from the secretary of state were given attention and the success of the embryonic public school effort in New Orleans was showing the way. Resulting action is revealed in the Constitution of 1845. The new constitution which provided universal suffrage for white men also provided for a system of free public schools, which, with the aid of a state superintendent, property taxes, and public land funds, would combine with the University of Louisiana and the Seminary of Learning to complete Louisiana's new democratic program of education. On May 3, 1847 an act was passed setting in operation the constitutional provisions. Comprehensive and detailed, the law was the signal of victory for the ideological forces favoring publicly supported education whatever their real motivation may have been.

Composed of thirty-five sections, the act provided for the education of all white youth, six to sixteen years of age, and two years of tuition for any white person under twenty-one years of age. Support was to be derived from ad valorem taxes and interest on federal school land funds. A state

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90 Lusher, "History," p. 144f.
91 Dart, Constitutions, p. 519.
superintendent and parish superintendents were to be appointed and their duties determined. Provision was made for local operation and a state-wide census of educables. The law specifically left intact educational provisions previously established in New Orleans and those related to higher education.92

Thus was effected legislation which embodied the dreams of reformers who felt education to be the wellspring of democracy. Less lofty motives revealed themselves also. Since the eighteen-thirties Southerners had been desperately casting about for means of justifying slavery under the blast of vituperative abolitionists of the North. Twenty years before Fort Sumter the South had begun literary and social secession in an attempt to nullify Northern influences being felt in the South. This feeling was vividly revealed in the Constitutional Convention of 1845. Not interested in discussing the merits of economic and social legislation, the delegates were interested in maintaining the status quo. "We want public schools for those who cannot afford to pay as well as those who can" because "the only safety for our

liberties is public education. Imbue the minors of the rising generation with knowledge and they will understand the acts of scheming demagogues" and "secure our institutions."93 Others, outside the legislative halls, expressed similar feelings, quite willing to advocate a system which would entail great expense for "the rich parishes have property and no men, the poor have men and no property. The rich parishes pay for the poor; what is that? Property pays for protection."94 Other methods were employed in an endeavor to preserve the sanctity of Southern institutions. Southern teachers were shown favoritism, literary effort was spurred, and textbooks were readopted.95 "Let us not be content to banish the wandering, incendiary Yankee schoolmaster, but let us also send his incendiary school books to keep him company."96

Whatever the real reason for establishing the free school system, it made rapid progress for a time. The happy


circumstance which placed Alexander Dimitry at the disposal of the state can hardly be over-rated. A man of superior qualification, Dimitry had previously served New Orleans in their rapidly improving educational system. Professionally, he was the best that Louisiana or the deep South had to offer. Serving in Washington with the American Education Association for the Advancement of Education Convention, he was associated with Horace Mann and doubtless brought back ideas from the active New England states.\textsuperscript{97} Within five years he was able to report the rental or construction of over six hundred log cabins or frame houses for school purposes in rural Louisiana where half the white children were enrolled for terms averaging six months annually.\textsuperscript{98} The one mill property tax, which had been authorized in 1847, was being directed in a single channel and evidence was beginning to justify the hopes of the eighteen-forties.

Sufficient time was not given for the new organic law to take root and grow. The legislature of 1852 wielded the axe to the system which resulted in the abolition of the

\textsuperscript{97}DeBow's Review, XVIII (1855), p. 283.

\textsuperscript{98}Lusher, "History," pp. 441, 443.
office of parish superintendent.\textsuperscript{99} Done under the guise of economy, the act seems hardly justified realizing that having only a part of the former duties done by the parish treasurer cost the state nearly as much as the office of parish superintendent.\textsuperscript{100} Possibly a more valid reason was expressed by a member of the Louisiana House who said:

All we wish to do is place our public schools on the same basis as other states. They were so previous to 1852, according to the report of the superintendent of that year. It seems as though they were too flourishing and were disseminating knowledge too fully for the long existence of slavery, and on that account the Legislature, which was composed principally of slave-holders, repealed the law by which parish superintendents held their offices, thus actually placing a clog upon the dissemination of knowledge among the people for the purpose of holding them in the iron bands of slavery. They not only oppressed the blacks, but the white population, well knowing that slavery can only exist through ignorance and where ignorance abounds.\textsuperscript{101}

Granting a measure of credit to each of these factors, the act of 1852 marked the beginning of a perceptible decline in the struggle for education. Reports of the next several years were scanty. Parish treasurers, acting ex-officio, were not good reporters of the educational scene. In 1853 only


\textsuperscript{100}House Debates, 1864-1865, p. 201.

\textsuperscript{101}Ibid., p. 200.
thirteen of the forty-eight parishes reported at all. In 1854 Dimitry estimated that less than half of the sixty-three thousand educables in the state were being reached and this by both public and private effort. The only encouragement came from New Orleans where a better financial and organizational structure of the schools was making a creditable record.

A summary treatment of the historical development of education prior to the Civil War is less difficult than giving an adequate description of conditions as they existed in 1860. Documentary evidence in sufficient mass is not available for a given year during this period for such a treatment. Therefore a study of the ten year period preceding the War will be given.

Statistically treated, education appears to have received slightly more than one million dollars for the year of 1860 for the support of forty-five thousand pupils which included those attending colleges or universities within the state. The school age population, 6 to 16 years of age, appears to have been about twenty-four per cent of the

103 Ibid., p. 613.
population, or a total of about one hundred twenty-two thousand. Thus about thirty-seven per cent of the school age children of the state were attending school. Twenty-six per cent of the total number of educables were in public schools. Over fourteen hundred teachers were employed in eight hundred and eighty schools which made the per school average slightly more than one and one-half teachers, with a pupil teacher ratio of 1:32. Of the funds available, fifty-eight per cent came from endowments, gifts, and grants, and forty-two per cent came from taxes and other public funds. Discounting the endowments, about seventeen dollars was spent per child each year. Of the total number in school, one-half of one per cent were free Negroes.¹⁰⁴

Revealing as these figures may be, a more complete picture is found in the literature and documents of the period. Most numerous of the schools of the period were the public or parish schools. These were operated on a district basis with the parish treasurer acting as financial agent. For the most part physical accommodations were very crude. Buildings constructed as schools were often log cabins and,

in the absence of these, buildings designed for other purposes entirely were used, sometimes having been churches or farm buildings. An observer of the period wrote that "the schools are generally taught in dingy, rickety, half roofless sheds or shanties, that a planter of ordinary capacity would not allow his negroes [sic] to inhabit." New Orleans proved the exception. There the school buildings had an assessed value of $398,000 for twenty-eight buildings. These buildings varied in value from one to thirty thousand dollars. One-third were two story brick. The Barracks Street School, for example, was a large three story brick building measuring sixty-four by one hundred twenty-eight feet and valued at twenty-five thousand dollars.

Little more can be said of the personnel than of the buildings and doubtless they represented extremes just as pronounced. Always a source of complaint during the period, it is easy to imagine that such reports follow the present day trend of publicising the unpleasant at the expense of the


good which is being done. Nevertheless the frequency of reports which decry the low morals, weak literary abilities, and poor work habits, and the presence of vices felt inappropriate for the leaders of the youth of the day can not be discounted.  

108 Reasons for such reports are not difficult to find. Low wages and social standing, poor organization and administration, and financial insecurity made the profession in the public school a hazard worth avoiding. Teachers were expected to have finished a normal school which was equivalent to the last two years of high school but demand exceeded supply.

Again exception must be taken, for all too evidently there were those who had personal and professional qualifications of the first order. Migrants arriving from the East provided teachers who had been in contact with the rapidly developing program in their home states. One teacher was described as teaching "English grammar on the inductive plan of Pestalozzi."  

109 Others, too, were capable of putting to use the better educational methods of the day. L. R. Stumpf maintains that Glendy Burke drew heavily upon the Common
School in Baltimore,\(^{110}\) and Horace Mann's influence was felt in the selection of personnel for the administration of schools of New Orleans.\(^ {111}\) Henry Barnard, himself, according to E. W. Knight, had assisted in planning the New Orleans system and was offered the superintendency.\(^ {112}\)

Outside of New Orleans the primary concern of public education was in the elementary schools. Some schools offered French, English grammar, Latin, philosophy and chemistry;\(^ {113}\) but on the whole the subjects were less advanced. Reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic consumed most of the time, with one student reporting an additional area—"flogging."\(^ {114}\) Contemporary accounts are in general agreement that discipline was severe but no indication is given that it was felt to be too rigorous.

Supplementing the public schools were the less


\(^{111}\)Ibid.


\(^{114}\)Nicholson, Stories of Dixie, p. 31.
numerous private schools which enjoyed greater admiration and patronage from the upper classes. Subject to greater local support and less influenced by the vicissitudes of the legislators and directors, these schools had the better teachers and curriculum. Often they were run in connection with plantations, trading centers, religious groups, or national groups in New Orleans. Reports give no indication of their accommodations other than mere mention of some of the tax rolls. Outside New Orleans it may be judged that more often than not they were using accommodations provided by the plantation owner or the head of the school. In many sections of the state they provided the only secondary education available. Many carried the name "college," "collegiate institute," or "seminary" but it is doubtful that they were concerned with much beyond the fundamentals.

While attending these schools or academies, as they are most often called, students were given a basic fare of elementary school subjects and then placed in high school work which was largely "refining" for the young ladies and

115 Based on accounts of schools in the Louisiana newspapers of the period.

college preparatory for the boys. During this period some of these schools introduced limited commercial offerings as the high schools of New Orleans. Art, music and dance were also available but usually at additional cost. Tuition varied but day scholars could expect to pay about five dollars per month in the higher levels and two to four dollars for primary studies. Board, room, and extra courses added proportionately to the costs. There is no way of indicating the quality of instruction given but if newspaper accounts are reliable most of the teachers were of superior quality and the schools excellently managed and thoroughly recommended.

Topping the educational ladder were the colleges, universities, and professional schools. Important among these were the College of Jefferson in St. James Parish, Centenary College at Jackson, Mount Lebanon in Bienville Parish, College of St. Charles at Grand Coteau, University of Louisiana at New Orleans, and Louisiana State Seminary of Learning at Pineville. Higher education appealed to the generosity of wealthy and influential men more than the

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117 Based on a study of advertisements placed in ante-bellum Louisiana newspapers.
common school system. Hence these schools received much assistance from the rich planters, merchants, and professional men. Baptists, Catholics, and Methodists were all represented in those who sponsored such higher education. All colleges of the period were small, none having more than two hundred students at a given time prior to the war. Medicine and law courses were available only at the University of Louisiana in New Orleans. Despite these worthy attempts at higher education many planters remained firm in their conviction that education of the sort desired was available only in Europe or "up east."118

Two other agencies existed for the purpose of education during the period: tutors and commercial schools. The extent to which the former were used can but be a matter of speculation. Correspondence and other records of plantations refer often to the matter of tutors. It can be imagined that all planters not in close proximity to a school, preferably a private one, would engage a tutor. They were not easily obtained in every instance and as a result some commanded handsome salaries. Very often tutors who were recent comers to the state had had the benefit of the

more extensive public education of the East.119

Commercial colleges or schools had their beginning in New Orleans in the second quarter of the century. Answering the need of the commercial interests of New Orleans both Soule's and Dolbear's were flourishing in the pre-war years.120

Education in Louisiana just prior to the Civil War eludes simple characterization. Those who were cognizant of the benefits of education and who had the means to provide it without reference to the public purse were being adequately cared for as they had in the past. But this group comprised less than one-tenth of those who were entitled to education according to the letter of the Constitution of 1845. Educational progress could be measured only in terms of this larger group or the public schools and the public school system. Disintegration had set in with the legislative enactments of 1852. In 1855 the Governor reported on the public school system saying "it is not a system--it is the bewildering confusion of chaos."121 Under the present law came a report from Tensas Parish in 1859, "nearly every planter has

119Ibid., pp. 415-16.

120Based on advertisements appearing in the Picayune for 1860.

a school at his house and draws his pro rata share out of the public treasury." "The poor have not the benefit of these schools."\textsuperscript{122} Taxes for school purposes had been $14,000 and yet a school could not be afforded in the parish seat.\textsuperscript{123} Speaking of the school law "in this parish it rather retards than advances public education."\textsuperscript{124} On the same subject "[education] as carried out here is all humbug."\textsuperscript{125}

Criticism was leveled at teachers, directors, lack of parish superintendents, public apathy, upper class control, expenditures of funds, and the philosophy which dominated the thinking of those in authority. The following indicates graphically the situation:

I have taught in six parishes, I found the same situation existing in all, so that, the one in question will serve as a sample of the whole. My parish extends from the head of Little river [sic] to the mouth of the Red river [sic], having an extreme length of sixty miles and a breadth of thirty-five to forty miles. How many school districts have we in this immense parish? You would suppose fifty to one hundred: but there are only thirteen. Only thirteen in that immense parish. I will explain how the system worked. Take the district in which I resided for seven years which was fifteen miles long and eight miles wide. We had two

\textsuperscript{122}\textit{Report of the State Superintendent, 1859.}
\textsuperscript{123}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{124}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{125}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 44.
four hundred and fifty scholars according to the returns of the parish treasurer and had nine neighborhood [sic] and nine schools. Was the money used as intended? A certain set of gentlemen in the district got elected as directors, and, according to the old system, they had the right to designate the place where the election should be held, on the first Monday in October. Of course, they always called the election in their own neighborhood, and the people re-elected them, because they knew they would apply the funds of the whole district for their special benefit. How did they use the funds thus obtained? I will tell you. A certain 'squire was head and soul of the district, and I was his favorite school teacher, and taught those six years at a salary varying from $75 to $100 per month.

... I saw the grievous hardship which it inflicted on the other neighborhoods. The consequence was, the whole fund appropriated for the benefit of these two hundred and fifty children was expended on forty, and the other neighborhoods were without schools.126

Thus another contemporary stated that "the school system of Louisiana here-to-fore has been a farce as far as the State is concerned."127 Basically the trouble seemed to lie in the two principles which education in a slave state is founded on:

1. That the State is not required to provide education for the great bulk of its laboring class.

2. That it is required to afford that degree of education to every one of its white citizens which will enable him intelligently and actively to control and direct the slave


labor of the State. The task of the State is, therefore, double. It has to educate these men for work, but it also has to educate them as to maintain their position as members of the white, privileged class of our society. . . .128

Louisiana had adopted the first principle in 1860. The garment had been cut too closely on the second to allow the state to lay claim to a worthy system for all its white citizens. Actually, during this entire period, to 1860, Louisiana only briefly departed from commitment to the aristocratic ideal of education for the few. After but a brief experience with the public school idea (1847-1852), the state reverted to this old ideal by diverting funds to private education in the name of public education.129

CHAPTER II

WARTIME RECONSTRUCTION

On the morning of April 25, 1862, the water of the Mississippi stood at levee top. Spring rains had brought the river to flood stage. Thirteen Union warships, under the command of Flag Officer David G. Farragut, rode at anchor.\(^1\) Forts Jackson and St. Philip had not been able to offer effective resistance and now the great southern city lay ready to be brought back under Union control fifteen months after having severed all political bonds with the North. On May 1, 1862, Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler landed with the first wave of troops.\(^2\) Thus did reconstruction begin in Louisiana.

Administration of General Benjamin F. Butler

Economic conditions in the city at the time of Butler's arrival were severe. The Union navy was effectively


\(^2\)New Orleans *Picayune*, May 2, 1862. Accounts vary as to the actual number of troops.
blockading the rich cotton port. In the fall of 1861 the governor furthered the effects of the blockade by prohibiting the movement of cotton, thus hoping for foreign intervention.\(^3\) In March of 1862 martial law was proclaimed and the first of April saw price controls which attempted to deal with rising prices. Bakeries were out of flour and relief committees were attempting to care for the mounting numbers of the destitute.\(^4\) To this must be added the overt destruction of wealth which the citizenry perpetrated on hearing of Farragut's impending arrival. Fifteen thousand bales of cotton, large stores of tobacco, a dozen ships, about twenty steamboats, coal and wood yards, docks and machinery, and sugar and molasses were destroyed by the Confederates in an attempt to deny the victor the spoils.\(^5\) It was later estimated that the destruction was valued at ten million dollars.\(^6\)

From the economic and emotional crisis and the destruction that visited the city with the arrival of war the


\(^4\)Ibid.


resentful attitude of the populace who jeered the landing parties, the mayor who refused to surrender the city, and the mob which consorted to tear down the Union colors and looted closed stores, provided little on which to rebuild. The city submitted but did not surrender. Nine months later the *Daily Picayune* editorialized that "there can be no peace, and will be none, until this furious, Bedouin spirit gives place to more rational and liberal views."  

Immediately on assuming command of the city General Butler set about reorganizing the city to secure the interests of Washington and the improvement of local conditions. Education seems to have been exempt from the earlier orders. The schools were in full operation at the time of capture and the war apparently had little effect save in the area of personnel. There had been evidences of Southern patriotism, as in all walks of life, and some time was being used in the preparation of medical supplies for the army, but for the most part schools were functioning as usual.  

As the school term neared its close the weight for

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8 Clara Solomon, "Diary of a New Orleans Girl, 1861-62," (unpublished MS. in Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, 1939), September 16, 1861.

9 Ibid., April 19, 1862.
Federal occupation bore heavily on the minds of many and some felt the present school year the last so long as war remained. Schools were closed two weeks early but any apprehension over the schools for the future was dispelled by the activities of Butler who was surveying the scene and making provisions for the coming year. Exactly what he had in mind is difficult to determine. Doubtless he was conscious of the secession songs and sentiment, for he made a survey of the private schools to determine the degree of loyalty on the part of the teachers and banished "school books tainted with treason and pro-slavery."

Late summer brought Butler's first official act with relation to the schools. At the time the city was being administered by a military commandant who had taken over from Mayor Monroe, whose government had proved "intractable to Union authority." In Order Number 6082 provision was made

10Ibid., June 29, 1862.


13Parton, General Butler, p. 435.

administratively and financially for the operation of the schools from August 1, 1862 to July 1, 1863.\textsuperscript{15} The school system of New Orleans, on the arrival of Union control, consisted of four independent districts presided over by four superintendents. There were 16,862 pupils, and the term averaged slightly less than nine months. The school day contained five and one-half hours. Each district maintained a high school for each sex. The grammar schools totaled thirty-nine.\textsuperscript{16} The percentage of educables in school was reported as forty-eight per cent.\textsuperscript{17}

In the order mentioned above General Butler made sweeping changes. In what Butler's biographer calls an attempt to model the schools after the practice of Boston,\textsuperscript{18} he abolished the four districts and substituted a bureau of

\textsuperscript{15}Ordinances and Resolutions, Bureau of Streets and Loadings, 6069-6216, July 17, 1862 to December 30, 1864, City Hall Archives, New Orleans, No. 6082, September 2, 1862. Hereinafter cited as Ordinances and Resolutions.


\textsuperscript{18}Parton, General Butler, p. 435.
education and a superintendent of public schools. The same order provided for the educational expenditures of $220,318.60 for the year. Each of the old districts was to have a board of visitors to work under the Bureau of Education. The first district was to have twenty-one members, the second, twelve, the third, twelve, and the fourth was to have eleven members. Further details can be noted in a letter, written by Captain James F. Miller, U.S.A., who was doubtlessly connected with the schools in an administrative capacity, to the district board of visitors for the second district, which read:

Gentlemen:

When in September last it was deemed expedient to reopen the Public Schools of New Orleans the important question of their government, presented itself for deliberation. After mature deliberation, it was thought to be most wise, that such government should be uniform throughout the four districts of the City. To produce such a result, it was found necessary to entrust that government to a Board of gentlemen, few in number, taken from no particular section, and intimately connected with the management of the city's affairs. Therefore ... there was in, 1862, established a Bureau of Education: composed of the Mayor, the Chairman of the Bureau of Finance, the Chairman of the Bureau of Streets and landings, [sic] the Controller and treasurer [sic] of New Orleans; and give to said Bureau, full

19Ordinances and Resolutions, No. 6082, September 2, 1862.

20Ibid.
charge and control of the Public Schools. Again it was believed to be most fit that the initiative, in many matters of chief importance connected with the management of the Public Schools, should be entrusted to others, and subordinate bodies, composed of gentlemen eminent for their moral worth, education, and social position, and therefore it was that Article 3rd and 4th of said ordinance provided for the creation, by the said Bureau of Education, of four Boards of Visitors, with duties attached thereto of the highest and most honorable character.21

In addition to the administrative reorganization the teachers were screened and only those whose loyalty to the Union was unquestioned were allowed positions.22 On September 1, 1862, Brigadier General General G. Weitzel, assistant military commandant, wrote to the second district visitors indicating the desires of the military command by saying:

New Orleans, La.
Sept. 1, 1862

Gents:
The list of applications I sent you yesterday for positions in the Public Schools was with two or three exceptions sent to me by Gen. Butler with a recommendation for their appointment to such positions as they were capable of filling. They are of known loyal sentiments and many of them are in destitute circumstances and have families dependent on them for support and are consequently worthy of our consideration. I wish you to consider well their cases, be as lenient


22 Parton, General Butler, p. 435.
as possible in your examination thinking that with a good heart to their work they will soon make themselves fine and capable teachers if not fully so now.23

In the list there appears the name of John McNair who was later to become State Superintendent of Schools.

For the office of superintendent of education, with a salary of $3,500.00, John B. Carter was appointed.24 A Union man, Carter had resided in the city at least two years, for in 1860 the Daily Crescent mentioned him as principal of the Marshall Boys' School.25

The Board of Education did not alter salaries of the teachers materially. They did provide a uniform scale throughout the city to begin with the month of December, 1862. The scale is as follows:26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal, Boy's High School</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Assistant</td>
<td>1,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Teacher</td>
<td>720.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal, Girl's High School</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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23Minutes, Second District, September 9, 1862.
24Ordinances and Resolutions, No. 6082, September 2, 1862.
26New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 26, 1862.
First Assistant 1,020.00
Other Assistants 600.00
French Teacher 720.00
Principal, Boy's Grammar School 1,500.00
First Assistant 1,000.00
Other Assistants 600.00
Principal, Girl's Grammar School 1,020.00
First Assistant 800.00
Other Assistants 600.00

Such was the general reorganization of 1862 which was provided during the summer and fall in preparation for the first full year of operation under Northern supervision. On Monday, September 15, 1862 the schools of the fourth district opened. Some of the visitors anticipated trouble for they requested police protection for the opening sessions. The Fourth District Board felt that conditions would be such that a decrease in teacher personnel would be feasible and as a result they made only thirty-six recommendations for teachers for the schools of the district. Formerly sixty-seven had been employed.

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28 Ibid., p. 16.
29 Ibid., p. 15.
Serious problems did exist on reopening but a newspaper reported that "the public schools of the city have opened for the season with about the usual average of attendance, and in the main are going on satisfactorily." Immediately after the opening of the term, Mr. Carter, the superintendent, reported on conditions prevailing. In the second district he found the schools peaceful. He said, "Teachers and Pupils [sic] seemed highly pleased to find themselves again in old familiar places; where they had met before to instruct and to learn, after the excitement and anxious uncertainty of the last few months." Later he reported 2,500 pupils enrolled in the district. He also noted some hesitancy on the part of the older and more mature students because of the times but challenged the visitors to work toward overcoming these feelings. Following a visit to the fourth district he issued the following more extended report:

There are now in the schools under your charge about 1500 pupils. . . . The schools were opened this year after an usually long vacation and under circumstances un-precedented in their annals, since they were founded more than twenty years ago. We found that almost desti-

30 New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 1, 1862.
31 Minutes, Second District, p. 15.
32 Ibid., pp. 99-100.
tute of the necessary Text-books [sic], deficient even in the book containing the accustomed records and former pupils, and among these, the most matured. . . . Many of the Teachers [sic] were new in the Schools [sic], and some of them entirely deficient in the proper qualifications of Instructor [sic]. A certain degree of hostility also sometimes actively exercised was manifested. He may however (in passing) that the absence of former members of the schools, did not always indicate enmity on the part of their friends to these time honored institutions, but the timidity and anxiousy [sic] inseparable from a certain part of our community in times like these it has been our lot to experience in the last two years. There was too, the general excitement and distrinction among our people made almost chronic by the fury thro' which our loved country, so sorely stricken in a most unnatural and terrible civil war, has had to pass. 33

In setting the educational house in order positive acts were employed in an attempt to allay some of the Southern passion of the times. Policies laid down by the visitors, which placed loyalty as the prime qualification, were in evidence. Ability was listed as a second qualification and the third, need, 34 offered hope to those, who because of their Union sympathies, had not prospered economically in the secession-charged atmosphere of New Orleans, 1861. In addition, a program of class-opening activities was prescribed which was designed to restore emotional ties with the Union. 35 Teachers were enjoined, on pain of dismissal, from attending

33 Minutes, Fourth District, p. 39.
34 Ibid., p. 58.
35 Ibid., p. 46.
gathering where "rebel songs are sung, rebel flags displayed, or any other disloyal acts indulged in. . . ."36

Thus did the new school year begin and such were some of the activities prescribed by General Benjamin F. Butler, during his tenure from May 1, 1862 until he was relieved of his command on December 14, 1862. Some reorganization had taken place in the administration, some teachers were denied employment, Southern emphasis had been subdued, and teachers were subject to more regulation, but for the most part the schools were continued as previously and more extensive changes were left for the future. General Butler did not embrace the idea of education for the colored and the only direct reference to the problem was in an attempt by a child of mixed blood to enter a school. On being refused admission the problem was referred to Butler, who appointed a committee of investigation. The committee failed to function, the board resigned, but the child was not allowed to pursue her interest.37

General Nathaniel P. Banks

Whereas his predecessor had had the duty of merely

36Ibid., p. 35.

37Ibid., pp. 37-38.
restoring pre-war institutions, General Nathaniel P. Banks, who succeeded General Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf, had a much larger obligation thrust on him a fortnight after his assumption of command. On January 1, 1863 the slaves within the Federal lines were freed by President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Included were New Orleans and nine adjacent parishes. Thus it was that slavery was no longer a recognized institution officially and it followed that provision would have to be made for the newly free along lines then accepted for all participating members of the society. The course followed by General Banks and the military command in this new area of responsibility will be treated in subsequent paragraphs. In the meanwhile attention is given to the continuation and modification of Butler's work.

Plans and finances having been attended to prior to the opening of school in the fall of 1863, General Banks had little to concern himself with so far as established schools were concerned during the earlier portion of his administration. On September 9, 1863, the public school organization was retained in its original form for another year, or July 31, 1864.38 The appropriation for the year was only three

38Ordinances and Resolutions, No. 6151, September 9, 1863.
hundred and eighteen dollars less than the preceding year, or $220,000.00.\textsuperscript{39} John B. Carter was continued as superintendent of education for the same period.\textsuperscript{40}

The situation remained virtually unchanged until June 30, 1864. At that time an ordinance from the mayor of New Orleans declared the Bureau of Education ended and in its place established a Board of Directors to be made up of the old Bureau and thirteen additional members. The latter members were to be elected by the City Council at a session presided over by the mayor. On the district level trustees were to be appointed to see to the affairs of the schools. The duties of the new board of directors were to establish rules for the government of the board, superintendent, teachers, and schools of the city; establish school districts; prescribe course of study and textbooks to be used; regulate salaries, furnish supplies, and give general financial care to the schools.\textsuperscript{41}

Statistics are available for education in New Orleans for the year 1864. From these statistics it is discernable

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}, No. 1652.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, September 10, 1863.

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, July 1, 1864.
that the schools suffered under a decreased enrollment for the period from 1861 to 1864. In 1861 attendance stood at 16,862 while in 1864 it was only 12,511, or a decrease of twenty-five per cent.\(^{42}\) Non-attenders increased from 19,452 to 25,153 during the same period.\(^{43}\) Actual expenditures for the period were about $10,000.00 in excess of appropriations (September 1, 1862 to September 1, 1864).\(^{44}\) The school term was nine months.\(^{45}\) Two hundred and twenty-eight teachers were employed in 1864 in forty-four schools.\(^{46}\) School property was valued at $398,000.00.\(^{47}\)

Private schools in 1864 were flourishing apparently. One hundred and forty were listed as being in existence with 4,729 pupils, making the average private school care for thirty-three pupils.\(^{48}\) Both Butler and Banks inquired into

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\(^{43}\)Ibid.

\(^{44}\)Ibid., pp. 178-79.

\(^{45}\)Ibid., p. 175.

\(^{46}\)Ibid., pp. 175, 179.

\(^{47}\)Ibid., p. 58.

\(^{48}\)Ibid.
the loyalty of these private school people. One survey of one hundred and thirty-nine teachers revealed fifty-three foreign born, forty-five natives or long time residents, eight from the northern states and six from other sections of the South.49

Negro Education

In January, 1863, General Banks established the first Negro public schools under a Committee of Enrollment. By the following year there were seven schools in operation with twenty-three teachers and an average attendance of 1,422 pupils. A more elaborate establishment was provided for on March 22, 1864, when General Banks issued General Order No. 38. Under this order a Board of Education for freedmen was established. It was the duty of this board to provide "rudimentary instruction" by establishing one or more common schools in every district defined by the Provost Marshall; to purchase or otherwise acquire land for school sites; to erect school buildings where no proper ones existed; to employ teachers; to provide books and other school supplies; to regulate the course of studies and to furnish each adult freedman with a library costing $2.50, which amount was to be

49 Ibid.
deducted from the freedman's wages.\textsuperscript{50} In addition the board was allowed to levy a one and one-half mill tax on real and personal property, including plantation crops. Taxes were to be collected by the Provost Marshall and turned over to the Board of Education.\textsuperscript{51}

In order to carry out the provisions of the order on the local level a rather elaborate system of inspections and reports were instituted. Under the leadership of Major B. Rush Plumly, weekly reports were obtained from each teacher which were cumulated in monthly reports. Each school in the vicinity of New Orleans was inspected weekly while those more distant were inspected monthly. The inspection of the latter was difficult because of the lack of suitable inspectors.\textsuperscript{52}

Reporting, as chairman of the board, Major Plumly painted a dismal picture of the problems encountered. On the subject of buildings he reported that in many cases "cabins, sheds, unused houses were appropriated, roughly


\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 739.
repaired, fitted with cheap stones, . . . a window or two, . . . ."53 Teachers were sent out to serve in areas where they were needed and some from the north experienced trouble finding accommodations. In some instances the schools were not tolerated and as a result the schools were broken up and the teachers sent away.54 Salaries were from $50.00 to $75.00 per month, with the possibility of a month or two delay in payment because of recurring financial difficulties.55

In September of 1864, seventy-eight freedmen schools were reported in existence, with 8,046 pupils, 125 teachers, and an average daily attendance of 6,349.56 In December of the same year there were ninety-five schools, 162 teachers, and 9,571 pupils on roll.57 Of the 125 teachers employed in September, 100 were of southern origin or of long residence in the South.58 It was the policy of the administration to select such ones as teachers.59 It is impossible

53Ibid.
54Ibid.
55Ibid.
59Ibid.
to arrive at any reliable figure but it is known that some teachers of the period were sponsored by Northern missionary and philanthropic groups.  

The question of General Banks' attitude toward integrated schools does not yield direct evidence. However, it can be determined that in acquiring facilities for the colored schools he did not wish to deprive any white children of their facilities, neither did he suggest co-usage as a solution when the question of building use arose.

Questions concerning the quality of General Banks' Negro education program naturally present themselves. During the summer following Appomattox the New Orleans Times carried a letter from a visiting New Yorker who felt that accomplishments compared favorably with Northern standards. He praised such a system which could assist 19,000 colored children in their schooling, and felt that the method was more efficient and economical under the military than under philanthropic associations. . . . Others who visited in the south were more reserved. One writer felt that some

60 Hall, "Public Education in Louisiana," pp. 72-73.
61 Ibid., p. 71.
62 New Orleans Times, July 1, 1865.
classes were comparable to the North but others were rated poor. He pointed to instances where the instructors were wholly unfit academically for their duties. He noted the inferior quality of many of the buildings and observed mixed staffs serving in various schools.63

Wartime Legislation

It has been said that General Banks' provision for the education of the freedmen was taken "on his own responsibility."64 It was President Lincoln, however, who urged an early return of the civil processes of government.65 Accordingly, on December 3, 1862, shortly before Butler's transfer, an election was held for two congressmen under an order of General G. F. Shepley, military governor of the state. The results gave the offices to B. F. Flanders and Michael Hahn. Both men were identified with the Union Party and both favored the current reconstruction ideas, they were long time residents of the state. On presenting their credentials in

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63 Whitelaw Reid, After the War: A Southern Town (New York: Moore, Wilstach, and Baldwin, 1866), pp. 246-58.


65 Ibid., p. 41.
Washington they were accepted, giving rise to further hopes of self government. In this feeling the people of New Orleans and adjacent federally-held parishes were supported by Shepley, Banks, and Lincoln, who, possibly for differing reasons, all subscribed to the theory of extending self-government.66

Events moved rapidly toward reorganization of the state government following the coming of the Union Army. The first concern of the earliest post-war party, the Free State Party, an outgrowth of the Union Clubs of Federal Louisiana, was the state constitution. They held that the Constitution of 1861 was unlawful and the State was in reality under the Constitution of 1852 which now needed remolding. Accordingly, they pressed for the call of a convention to revise the Constitution of 1852. In the meantime, General Banks, taking his cue from Lincoln's proclamation of December 8, 1863, which set forth rather indefinitely his theory of reconstruction, announced plans for an election for state offices on February 22, 1864. Thus the attempts of the Free Staters to have a new constitution prior to the organization of the machinery of government were dashed. Flanders had represented the Free Staters in their

66Ibid., p. 67ff.
program, while Michael Hahn was favored by the national administration. Having lost their proposal on the necessity for a constitutional convention prior to election of officers, the election became an issue between the disgruntled Flanders faction and the Free State administration backed forces of Hahn. Conservative forces entered the picture but in the outcome the Hahn faction won a clear majority bringing into office with him John McNair as state superintendent of education. It will be noted that the election did not include the selection of members to a legislature. General Banks was attempting a start toward full government and the election seemed appropriate even though little could be accomplished until a settlement was made on the constitutional question and a legislative and judicial branch of the government was supplied. Never-the-less a leader had been provided for education even if there was little to lead.

The absence of issues concerning the future of education in the election of February 22, was more than compensated for in the Constitutional Convention of 1864. On March 11, 1864, General Banks issued a proclamation fixing the date for election of delegates as March 28, 1864. The election

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67Ibid.

68Ibid., p. 67.
was held with less popular participation than in the February election but delegates were chosen from nineteen parishes, leaving twenty-nine in Confederate Louisiana unrepresented. All the delegates were secessionists but some were conservatives who hoped to secure compensation for emancipated slaves. Many of the members were not native born Louisianians but they had lived in Louisiana for a considerable period of time.69 The delegates early lost one of their best known and most promising members when Christian Roselius resigned rather than take the oath of allegiance Lincoln had prescribed in December. His previous record showed him to be pro-union but he felt affronted at the suggestion of disloyalty inherent in being required to take the oath.

The delegates assembled April 6, 1864, in New Orleans and sat in session for seventy-eight days.70 Varying interpretations have been applied to this assembly. It is now indicated that earlier interpretation of the facts was in error in the belief that the convention was not a representative body and that its membership was composed of Northern unionists, Banks' men, and non-Louisianians.71 The critical

70Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, p. 81.
element in the convention was apparently the strong representation of the laboring class which gave the gathering an orientation far more democratic than previous conventions.\textsuperscript{72} Charges that the convention was less than decorous at times and utterly wasteful are true. It must be said, however, that the performance was not staged by carpetbaggers or Negroes, but rather by men too "unaccustomed to politics to be well tutored in the management of public affairs."\textsuperscript{73}

No adequate answer can be given to the assertion that the group was not representative. It can be said that it represented federal Louisiana as well as that body elected and seated in the Confederate government at Shreveport. The franchise was exercised as fully as it had been in several ante-bellum elections in New Orleans, that it was based on the qualified electorate rather than total population, that more laborers voted now that intimidation was no longer present, and that it was, for the most part, a city affair.\textsuperscript{74}

Under the leadership of Judge E. H. Durell, the delegates proceeded to the duties of their offices. The original

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., p. 200.
\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., p. 202.
\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., p. 201.
impetus for a convention came from a desire to rid the Constitution of 1852 of its slavery features. Thus the foremost thought was on abolition, but the convention was a revolutionary body which was not content to reform the old order. "Its innovations were revolutionary. It abolished slavery, inaugurated progressive income taxation, opened the schools to every child, black or white, between the ages of six and eighteen, and established a nine hour day and a minimum wage of two dollars for all laborers engaged in public works."\(^75\)

Debate over Articles 140-146 of the proposed Constitution which were related to education, was long and arduous.\(^76\) The question of emancipation was not the issue. Compensation and political equality were. Early debate on support of the schools all but floundered over who would pay for the Negro's schools. Originally the proposed plan would have each pay for its own but by tireless work in committees the matter was left to the Legislature. The resulting Constitution of 1864, which was ratified by the electorate 6836

\(^{75}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 204.}\)

to 1566,77 provided for a state superintendent to be elected
for four years. His duties were prescribed by law. The of­
office was to pay $4,000.00 and could be abolished by the legis­
lature. All children, six to eighteen, were to be provided
education by taxation or otherwise. School exercises were to
be conducted in the English language. A university was to be
established in New Orleans and the legislature was to pro­
vide for its organization and maintenance, as they were to
do also for the state seminary. Proceeds from the permanent
school fund were to be paid by the state at six per cent.
State school monies were to be for public schools only.78

Such were the constitutional provisions. The state
now had a leader and a frame of operation. Implementation
of these provisions would have to await the assembling of a
legislature.

In October of 1864, the first legislature under the
new constitution was held. John McNair, who had been elected
state superintendent along with Governor Hahn, prepared a
report for presentation to the legislature. The report con­
tained four parts:

77Finklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, p. 81.
78Constitutional Convention Debate, 1864, p. 642.
1. A general statement of the condition of the Free Public Schools of the State, with some account of the working of the system.

2. The Report of the Superintendent of the Public Schools in the City of New Orleans.

3. The Report of the Commission, appointed by Major General Banks, on the private Schools and Seminaries of New Orleans.

4. The Report of the 'Board of Education for Freedmen' organized under General Order No. 38, on the schools for colored children and adults of the city and state.79

The report was given to provide the legislature with information which would be helpful in their deliberations on educational legislation. In the first part of the report McNair treated the issue of public education in Louisiana historically. No adequate picture of the educational establishment in the state as a whole could be given because of the lack of reports from the parishes and to the fact that records of the former superintendents had been transferred with the removal of the capitol of Confederate Louisiana to Shreveport. His report included suggested methods and procedures for improvement. The safety of the permanent school fund—that money on deposit with the state for the sale of federal school lands—was a matter of concern, for the bonds representing the funds were also in the hands of the Confederates in Shreveport.80

80Ibid., p. 7.
The schools of New Orleans and the State Normal School of that city were commended for their work. In McNair's report in this connection he said:

In this connection I would respectfully suggest to your honorable body the propriety and necessity of fostering with all proper care the State Normal School, which, under an act of a former Legislature, was organized in this city, and in past years has done good service in supplying in our city and parish schools many very able teachers. It is an institution highly necessary to insure the success of our educational system, and well deserves legislative encouragement and support.81

Another salient feature in the report was McNair's call for the re-establishment of the office of parish superintendent. It was his opinion that the slave holding faction had been responsible for the abolishment of the office in 1852. According to his design each parish would have a board of five directors under whose policy a paid parish superintendent would function.82 He pointed out that in reality only one hundred dollars was actually saved each year in having the parish treasurer perform the work of reporting on education and disbursing funds for education in each parish.83

81 Ibid., p. 19.
82 Ibid., p. 164.
83 Ibid.
The suggestions of Superintendent McNair were not followed. The reports of the debates for the house and senate indicated that attempts were made to revive the office of parish superintendent but the attempts were lost. Other attempts were directed at abolishing the state superintendent's office, restricting funds to use by schools of the same color as those from whom the taxes were collected, and to reduce the entering age to four. On the issue of taxation fear of colored domination was raised by a senator who proclaimed: "Tax white property holders to educate negro children, and negroes will immigrate from other states by the thousands." Much time was spent by the legislators in attempting to locate the reasons for previous difficulties, especially in regard to local directors. In the end no change was made in the basic law for school operation which was carried over from 1855.


87 *House Debates, 1864-1865*, pp. 112-113.

88 *Senate Debates, 1864*, p. 193.
In April of 1865 the war came to an end and with it the first phase of reconstruction, that is, that provided by the military either directly or through the agency of a civil government operating under a military franchise. Only New Orleans and the immediate territory adjacent was affected, yet this touched a majority of the population. Conditions were improving and the future looked hopeful as preparations were made for the election provided by the Constitution of 1864 that was to be held at the termination of conflict. Attendance had dropped in New Orleans but a more efficient organization had been effected. Nearly three-quarters of a million dollars had been spent since the arrival of General Butler and evidences of spending unwisely are completely lacking. The number of private schools in New Orleans indicated their popularity and prosperity. Negroes were attending schools in increasing numbers, night schools, and Sunday schools were provided for their benefit and few indications existed concerning the coming conflicts in the matter of mixed schools. Although in the hands of Confederate officials until the end of the war the State School Fund bonds were intact as well as the McDonough funds in New Orleans. Negro education had been provided for and a beginning made by General Banks. Conditions and events pointed to a rapid recovery from the educational setbacks of war.
CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF RESTORATION

1865-1868

Little change was effected in the civil government of Louisiana by the news of Appomattox. President Johnson issued a proclamation on March 29, 1865 continuing the established government and extending to returning Confederate soldiers the right to participate in the government. Further, the Constitution of 1864 had made provision for a general election upon the restoration of peace. J. Madison Wells, the governor, issued the necessary proclamation and an election was set to be held November 6, 1865.

Sentiment was strong in favor of ex-Governor Allen to return and announce his candidacy for governor but the two emerging political parties, the "National Conservative Union" and the "Democratic," listening to the admonition of those who were appreciative of President Johnson's mild treatment, looked elsewhere. J. Madison Wells, who was

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1Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, p. 107.

2Ibid., p. 106.
then serving as governor as a result of Michael Hahn's resignation to take a seat in the Senate of the United States, headed both tickets. In the ensuing election Wells polled a vote of 22,312. The entire Democratic ticket was elected by a large majority. Included among the candidates elected was R. M. Lusher as the State Superintendent of Public Education.

Robert Mills Lusher was born in Charleston, South Carolina, May 17, 1823. In July, 1837, he went with his uncle, Robert Mills, a government architect, to Washington to study architecture. While studying with his uncle he worked on the plans of the Treasury Building, the Washington Monument, and a large building which formerly housed the U. S. Patent Office. While thus employed he attended and graduated from Georgetown College (Georgetown University) in 1839. He continued to reside in Washington until

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 109f.}\]


\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 28.}\]

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 29.}\]
the summer of 1842 when he accompanied his cousin, the wife of Alexander Dimitry, and her children to Louisiana. Thus he arrived in Louisiana; nineteen years old with the practical training of an architect and the classical liberal college education.

Robert Lusher's work in Louisiana prior to the Civil War was in areas that were to aid him significantly in his later duties as superintendent. On his arrival in Louisiana he was first associated with Dimitry in various private school endeavors. After Dimitry assumed his duties as the first state superintendent of education, Lusher studied law and was employed as a clerk in the United States District Court in New Orleans. The following year he carried the title of U. S. Commissioner also. Prior to his legal work he had tried his hand at journalism through the editorship of the Courier. In this newspaper is evidenced Lusher's interest in public education for he wrote "rather frequently" on the subject and he was declared a "bold advocate of an effective system of public schools." Apparently his interest

7Ibid., p. 26.
8Ibid., pp. 65-66.
9Ibid., p. 53.
10Ibid., p. 52.
11Ibid.
did not go without notice for in 1854 he was asked to serve as a director of the Second Municipality Schools of New Orleans, a position he held until he was forced to flee the city in 1862.\(^{12}\)

Lusher's duties with the school were many and varied as a director. His chief interest seems to have been in the area of teacher personnel, for there is evidence of his having worked extensively on such matters.\(^{13}\) In his own diary he indicates that it was he who recognized the need for some type of training suited to the preparation of teachers and as a result the State Normal School was established in New Orleans\(^{14}\) by Act No. 84 of March 15, 1858.\(^{15}\) His architectural knowledge was put to good use, for he was also of service in designing some of the school buildings of the city.\(^{16}\) Theory of good school operation was of interest to him for at one point he indicates that he had been reading books by

\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 70.

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 35f.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., p. 43.

\(^{15}\)Acts Passed by the Fourth Legislature of the State of Louisiana, First Session (Baton Rouge: J. M. Taylor, State Printer, 1858), p. 56.

\(^{16}\)Turner, "Robert Mills Lusher," p. 50.
Pestalozzi and later he was taking notes on the operation of the schools of New York. 17

Politics, civic enterprises, church attendance, and personal improvement, as well as an enjoyable home life, all figure into this period in addition to his legal and educational interests. Thus it was that Robert Lusher learned his future duties and enriched his life in preparation for the future.

War years brought both a change of environment and activity to Lusher. Forced to flee the city with the officials of the State on the arrival of General Butler in 1862, Lusher continued with them, performing various services for the Confederate cause in Louisiana. The greater part of the time he was employed to handle the engraving of state bonds which necessitated an extended trip to South Carolina as Chief Collector of the War Tax in Louisiana. 18 On his return in the spring of 1864 he maintained his office in Shreveport where he devoted all his efforts to the assessment and collection of the war tax. 19

General Kirby Smith having surrendered his forces on

17Ibid., p. 62.
18Ibid., p. 73f.
19Ibid., pp. 95-96.
June 2, 1865, Lusher closed out his affairs in Shreveport and arrived in New Orleans on July 5, 1865.\textsuperscript{20} At the end of the summer necessity forced him to unite with a former schoolman of New Orleans, William O. Rogers, in a school for boys.\textsuperscript{21} Until 1882 employment on this school provided Lusher with a substantial part of his income during these years.\textsuperscript{22}

In October, 1866 Lusher was offered the position of superintendent of the New Orleans schools.\textsuperscript{23} The coming election doubtlessly influenced his decision to continue his own teaching and Rogers was chosen in his place.

On December 5, 1866 Robert M. Lusher assumed the office of State Superintendent.\textsuperscript{24} During the latter part of the following month he made his first official report to the Legislature.\textsuperscript{25} Before considering the succeeding activity of the newly elected superintendent a consideration must be

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 110.
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 113.
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 115.
given to this report for therein can be found something of
the philosophy under which Lusher sought to labor and his
views on preceding events. The purpose of the report was to
ascertain "to what extent the school system has heretofore
succeeded, and where and why its success has been question­
able in the country parishes." In so doing Lusher examin­
ed the reports from 1847 to 1861. He concluded that the
system had been little appreciated along the Mississippi and
other streams since only a few children in this area had
been taught and these in schools having short or variable
terms. He felt that in northern and eastern Louisiana and in
New Orleans the schools were in better condition. He pointed
out that where local political units had supplemented funds
that the schools were respectable. New Orleans was cited
for its good buildings, efficient teachers, and active ad­
ministrators. In discussing the failure of the rural
schools he mentioned poor buildings, distances, incompetent
teachers, and neglectful directors. Generally he felt that
the schools had failed because of a lack of administration
or the sparseness of population. Summarizing he concluded
that

From the imperfect success of the Free School

26bid.
system in the past, however, it is not legitimate to argue the uselessness of such a system, nor to predict a similar failure in the future. We should rather seek to remedy the defects in existing legislation, and, at this critical juncture in the history of the State, make cautious and persistent efforts to advance the cause of public education. . . .27

Following the foregoing remarks Lusher included a statistical report based on information available from the parishes and from his predecessor, McNair. He made an attempt to include data for all of Louisiana but hardly enough time had elapsed for complete reports to be available from that part which had been under Confederate control up until May. The first table was described as a "Condensed Statement of the Condition of the Free Public Schools, during 1865, showing (as fully as reported by local officers) the number of Districts, Schools, Scholars taught, and teachers; the Term of Schooling; the Amount paid Teachers and that Expended for Incidentals; the Funds supplied by the State, and by Cities or Parishes; Balances on hand, and Names of Depositories of School Moneys, Etc."28 Significant information was carried therefore in it, but since the report listed only eleven parishes and the cities of Carrollton, Jefferson,

27Ibid., pp. 7-8.

28Ibid., p. 15.
and New Orleans it is of little value for a state-wide picture. An analysis of his statistical table provides the information that during 1865 a total of $142,490.90 was expended by the State for education. Of this amount $94,630.42 was apportioned for the city of New Orleans, $29,568.28 went to cities and parishes which had been under Federal control prior to the end of the war, and $18,292.20 to that part which had been Confederate Louisiana. In fairness the fact may be added that the latter figure represented only that which was apportioned in December, that month being the first statewide payment following the war.

The latter portion of Lusher's report dealt with an enumeration of the educables in the state and computations which indicated future needs. Considering the white children from six to sixteen 103,213 were reported as of the last enumeration. Evidently thinking in terms of anticipated available funds for January, 1866, Lusher showed that only $.40 per child would be apportioned and thus very small in relation to the enormity of the obligation.

Superintendent Lusher made both general and specific recommendations to the Legislature with the hope of

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30 Ibid., p. 30.
encouraging the public schools. It was his hope that the schools would be fostered to the point that they would make a real contribution to the restoration of happiness and prosperity to the citizenry of the state. Pointing to the "almost total suspension" of the public schools he desired that directors be authorized to open schools, secure teachers, examine them regularly, and report on them quarterly to the State Superintendent. Concluding the text of the report:

The State Superintendent, therefore, respectfully submits that the Schools should be at once re-established and put in active operation, wherever desired, even should the means of the State not allow, for the present more than one School in each parish. Place these schools under experienced and painstaking teachers, who will compel respect for the high functions with which they are entrusted; make their advantages so conspicuous that distraction itself will be silent; and there may yet spring from the wrecks of the late war a great net-work of Public Schools, embracing, practically, as well as theoretically, every portion of the State--diffusing the benign light of knowledge in every hamlet and homestead--and crowning her coming years with a generation of reverent children, owing their redemption from the blight of ignorance to that Commonwealth which, in a season of doubt and embarrassment, was farsighted enough to recognize their claims upon her affection and her care.

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31 Ibid., p. 10.
32 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
During the previous summer Governor Wells had worked toward the establishment of local governments throughout the state.\(^{34}\) Just prior to the general state elections of November, 1866, local parishes had in many instances selected school directors.\(^{35}\) From the Legislature, Lusher now turned his attention to these men. Having been granted no provision for travel he depended on circulars and addresses to implement his rendition of the duties that were his with reference to rural Louisiana.\(^{36}\)

In general Lusher's addresses and circulars were calculated to inform officials of their duties under the law, transmit and clarify governmental actions, inspire activity on the part of the local officialdom, and outline the state's philosophy of education with respect to the public schools. On the twenty-fourth of March of 1867 a circular was addressed to the several police juries of the State calling attention to specific things which might be done toward the establishment of schools within the parishes under

\(^{34}\)Ficklen, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana*, p. 146ff.

\(^{35}\)Turner, "Robert Mills Lusher," p. 121.

\(^{36}\)Ibid., p. 120. (Several reproductions of addresses and circulars distributed by Superintendent Lusher are to be found in Appendix B of this work.)
the school acts of 1855 which was still operative. Some of his suggestions were that they should be redivided into school districts with an eye to the convenience of the white children living therein. He suggested that "three to five competent citizens . . . to inquire into the moral and social antecedents, and to test the scholastic qualifications of persons applying for teachership, . . ." and he promised to send "some approved work on the Theory and Practice of Teaching" to any young person who was interested in making preparation for teaching. Insofar as financial support was concerned he suggested solicitation from those interested and in cases where funds were too meager to do otherwise he recommended letting the money accumulate until a satisfactory program could be undertaken. Realizing the potential value of the previously Federally donated school lands he asked for such information as was available on what disposition had been made of the lands and proceeds from the sales. In closing Lusher requested a receipt for the circular and any suggestions that might assist in the task at hand.

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
A later address, dated July 30, 1867, Lusher renewed a suggestion that each parish should avail itself of the opportunity of appointing a beneficiary cadet to the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning as provided for by Act No. 63, approved March 7, 1866. As a beneficiary the cadet was obligated to two years of service as a teacher. Doubtless this was a further attempt to enhance the teaching corps of the state.  

Each letter, circular, or address of Lusher contained strong appeal for teachers and for students who would later qualify themselves as teachers. Nor was he content with a mere filled position but rather he wanted those who were competent for their labors. Thus did Lusher carry his responsibilities and it was not without effect. In March of 1866 the Legislature appropriated two hundred and fifty thousand dollars or so much as they raised from the property and poll tax for the support of the free public schools.

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41 Circular, Office of the State Superintendent of Education, New Orleans, July 30, 1866, in Lusher Collection, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Hereinafter cited as Circular, July 30, 1866.


Using the procedure of the 1855 law, Lusher apportioned $167,216.58 in quarterly payments to the parishes. This represented a per educable sum of $1.62. In addition two thousand dollars was made available by the Legislature for the purchase, and gratuitous disbursement if necessary, of "Spencer's English Grammar" as a part of a plan to encourage the publication of "Southern school books." Records indicate that $1,857.10 was expended for this purpose. In conformity with a resolution adopted by the Legislature the public school funds bonds were recovered from the military, to whom they had been delivered at the surrender of Shreveport. Apparently the Legislature did not make any provision for having the interest credited to the schools from these bonds.

Reaction to Lusher's proposals and the Legislature's acts was generally that of approval. In many instances Lusher's writings must have found their way into the hands of many of the newspaper editors of the state. Strong approval was indicated by many, some of whom quoted at

44Report of the State Superintendant, 1865, p. 3.
45Acts, 1866, p. 290.
length from Lusher's pen. Commenting while the Legislature was yet in session one editor pointed out that there was much talk about school legislation and possibly some was needed but that the chief area of weakness was in the directors, who he requested "be up and about their work." Others, following Lusher's reasoning, felt the need for teachers and urged that "well educated and cultured Southern ladies" formerly of "homes of wealth" come forward to teach. One continued by saying that he does not fear the "hirelings who come to us perfectly indifferent as to whether they teach white or blacks, provided they are paid for their labor" nor did he see a "hyena in every adventurous New England damsel" nor a "nest of vipers" in every Northern textbook but he did plead the case for Southern girls as teachers.

Further comment from the press indicated agreement


48 Iberville South, February 3, 1866.

49 Louisiana Democrat, June 27, 1866, New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 5, 1866.

50 New Orleans Daily Crescent, June 5, 1866.
with Lusher's plea that, although not legally bound, property owners should pay back taxes for over one hundred children in the Caddo area were without any school other than Sunday school and it was felt that funds would remedy the situation.\textsuperscript{51}

A contributor to the \textit{Louisiana Democrat} felt that permanent school accommodations would solve the transient teacher problem.\textsuperscript{52}

Though many friends of education appeared among the journalists of the day there were those who were opposed. Reasons are not clear but it seems safe to assume that argument was based on considerations other than demonstrated value when one proclaims that they are opposed to the system from beginning to end. One writer pursued the subject by saying that the benefits are not proportionate to the cost and that public education, "being an exotic of Yankee vegetation, has never flourished in this climate, and never will." Serving only to increase the vices, the editor makes the supposition "that under the humane and philanthropic reign of 'New England ideas,' a portion of the Public School money is to be appropriated to the education of "little African piccaninnies," [writers quotation marks] and negro[sic] children

\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Caddo Gazette}, July 27, 1866.

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Louisiana Democrat}, December 14, 1866.
and white children are to be drawn by a leveling process, into a grand Democratic equality in the Republic of letters, through the medium of the Public school.⁵³ From this denunciation a plea comes for a return to ante-bellum idea of beneficiary support with aid for indigent scholars.

Efforts at Negro education are to be dealt with more fully in subsequent chapters but some indication of Lusher's philosophy and leadership should be indicated at this point. It will be remembered that Lusher had been born and raised in the South and that all of his adult experiences were in the environment of New Orleans. It is true that his associations and his thinking had lead him to progressively democratic views concerning education, he was yet a Southerner and as such he felt no compulsion to provide for Negro education. In fact the scattered evidences that there were those who advocated social equality as a capstone to emancipation caused him to make direct reference to the fact that he felt his work to be concerned with building a white educational establishment which acknowledged the superiority of the Caucasian race.⁵⁴ Doubtless he was speaking for the

⁵³Louisiana Democrat, February 21, 1866.
⁵⁴Circular, July 30, 1866.
majority of those who voted in the election of 1866 but it must be remembered that this election was a part of President Johnson's "restoration" reconstruction and that the more radical elements and the Negroes were yet to be heard from. Not only did he indicate his feelings regarding the Negro in his official communications but in addition some evidence points to the fact that his feelings may have spilled over on teachers with pronounced Loyalist sentiment and he is said to have forbidden the singing of "Hail Columbia" and "The Star Spangled Banner." 55

The quarterly reports which were beginning to arrive in response to Lusher's requests bore out his racial sentiments. Reports from Ouachita, Bossier, and Natchitoches were among those who expressly indicated the strong feeling with regard to the Negro question. 56

It is not difficult to determine the origin of such sentiment at this time on the part of Lusher or locally connected school officials. In the spring and summer of 1866 the more radical elements in the state were coming to the

55 C. Block to B. F. Flanders, Letter, January 10, 1867 in Flanders Papers, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. (The validity of these statements is a matter of conjecture.)

56 See materials under mentioned parishes for the period. State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
conclusion that they were being denied some of the spoils of victory at the hands of the conservative forces which had recaptured the machinery of the state's political establishment. The situation had become so vexatious to some of the members of the adjourned convention of 1864 that they took advantage of a dubious provision of the proceedings of the convention and attempted to re-open the session for the purpose of altering the constitution to better suit their needs. The attempt ended in a riot in New Orleans on July 30, 1866.57 This and subsequent action on the part of the Republicans cast a pale of gloom over the Democratic forces which doubtless precipitated much anti-Negro sentiment on the part of those who had accepted the verdict of the war but who were not yet ready to go beyond the point reached by the majority of all the states, the North included, with reference to the status of the Negro.

Amid the turbulence of late 1866 and early 1867, as Congress went through its vindictive program contrary to the leadership of the president, Lusher continued in his struggle for a free public school system for the state. In October, 1866, elections were authorized for directors and Lusher

57 Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, pp. 146ff.
urged the use of this opportunity for local improvement of the schools.\textsuperscript{58}

The Legislature which convened in January of 1867 decreased its appropriation for education. Doubtless the fact that only something over half of the previous year's appropriation ($167,216.58\textsuperscript{59}) was actually made available to Lusher influenced their decision to limit their appropriation to $225,000.00. Of this amount $145,656.00 was actually spent.\textsuperscript{60} Ample evidence for the failure of expenditures to match appropriations can be found in the continued relief offered by the Legislature to delinquent taxpayers and the depreciated value of the currency in use.

End of Restoration

Following the passage of the congressional reconstruction acts in the spring and summer of 1867, events moved rapidly toward putting an end to the restoration period of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{58}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, September 27, 1866.
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1865-1868. The state government having been termed without basis and military rule established, General Phillip Sheridan carried out the further provisions of the congressional plan by issuing, on August 17, 1867, an order for an election to determine whether a constitutional convention should be called. It was not difficult to predict the results of the election or the composition of the 98 delegates who were to be chosen at the same time for of the 127,639 registered voters, 82,907 were Negro.

On September 27 and 28, 1867 the election passed off with relative quiet. The vote was 75,083 for to 4,006 against. Of the 98 delegates the number was equally split between whites and blacks and all but two were Republican.

Beginning on November 23, 1867 and closing its session three and a half months later, March 9, 1868, the convention altered the basic law of the state in terms of radicalism. Articles 135 through 143 deal with education. These nine

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61 Ficklen, History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, p. 191.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid., p. 193.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., pp. 193, 198.
provisions provided for at least one free public school in each parish to be supported by taxation or otherwise for all children from six to twenty-one, without distinction as to race, color, or previous condition, nor were there to be separated schools exclusively for any race; for a state superintendent elected for four years having general supervision and control of the schools at a salary of $5,000.00 per annum; exercises were to be in English; the state school funds were to draw six per cent interest; no appropriations were to be made to private schools; one-half of the poll tax was designated for higher education; racial barriers were specifically removed at the University of Louisiana; and provisions for the insane, deaf, dumb, and blind were to be continued. 66

Clearly the objective had now been identified and it only remained for the coming elections and session of the Legislature to determine the course and speed that would be designated.

The identification of the objective was enough for Superintendent Lusher. It is apparent that he was laying

his plans for re-election, but the new Constitution of 1868 and public utterances of the newly empowered caused him to withdraw his name from candidacy in the elections that were announced for April 16 and 17, 1868.\textsuperscript{67} He had been chosen to be the Democratic nominee but he withdrew in the face of having to enforce the mandates of the new constitution. Just prior to the election the \textit{Picayune} editorialized that:

The Democrats have no candidate for the State office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. The nomination of Mr. Lusher in the first instance was very judicious. There is no more worthy citizen; and for this place his qualifications and experience render him the most proper man to be found in the State. The withdrawal of Mr. Lusher, who in no event would be prevailed on to serve, leaves only two candidates, Mr. J. W. McDonald of the parish of Claiborne, and Mr. T. W. Conway. . . .\textsuperscript{68}

The next day the editor's tribute was acknowledged but Lusher persisted in his feeling. He did leave himself available to those in opposition to the constitution with the thought that possibly it might not be ratified.\textsuperscript{69}

The election produced a sweeping victory for the Republicans and the Constitution of 1868. Lusher did not tarry until the time that his successor came into office in

\textsuperscript{67}Ficklen, \textit{History of Reconstruction in Louisiana}, p. 200.

\textsuperscript{68}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, April 11, 1868.

\textsuperscript{69}Turner, "Robert Mills Lusher," p. 144.
July but rather left in April of that year and thus ended his tenure a little more than two years as the first post-war superintendent of schools in Louisiana.70

Eight years later Lusher had occasion to defend his record when he was again a candidate for public office. In part his defense was as follows:

It is doubtless known to the people of Louisiana that, during such superintendency, from December 5, 1865, to April, 1868, the State was suffering from a general impoverishment of all her resources, and that the school taxes paid into the treasury, in depreciating paper and warrants, did not and could not aggregate even two dollars per child per annum; yet it is equally well known that vigorous and persistent attempts were made to establish and sustain free public schools in all the rural districts or dense settlements of the State, and that in many of them, there were well conducted and flourishing schools.71

Lusher's biographer maintains that:

In the light of the evidence it can be maintained that Lusher accomplished as much as could be accomplished at that time and under the circumstances that prevailed. While there was little material progress, Lusher's convincing appeals on behalf of the public schools and his persistent efforts to bring the matter of public education before the people of this State had influence in building up and fostering such sentiment as there was in favor of a system of free public schools for the State.72

70Ibid.

71New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 18, 1876.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIAL AREAS OF EDUCATION DURING THE RESTORATION PERIOD

Negro education and the Freedmen's Bureau, local educational activities, both public and private, and commercial and higher education now become the focal point for the Restoration Period. These topics will be treated in the order given to complete the historical survey of the restoration period.

Negro Education and the Freedmen's Bureau

As has been cited, the military command had assumed the responsibility of providing educational experiences for the Negro in the area of Louisiana under Federal control immediately following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. One month before the close of the War there came into existence an agency which was destined to assume "general guardianship over the Negro, with particular interest in his

1Chapter II, above, p. 64.
education and general well being." Such an agency had been advocated in Congress since 1863, and, when authorized, it was styled the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. The regulations for the educational department of the agency provided:

The assistant commissioner will designate one or more of his agents as the general superintendent of schools--one for each State--for refugees and freedmen. This officer will work as much as possible in conjunction with State officers who may have school matters in charge. If a general system can be adopted for a State, it is well; but if not, he will at least take cognizance of all that is being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure proper protection to schools and to teachers, promote method and efficiency, correspond with the benevolent agencies which are supplying his field, and aid the assistant commissioner in making his required reports.

The military command was directed to turn over all property, funds, and records to the Bureau on June 2, 1865. Thus in Louisiana, Negro education became a civil

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4Ibid., p. 741.

5Ibid.
responsibility of the federal government.

Drawing on the report of J. W. Alvord, who was Inspector of Schools and Finances for the Bureau, which was dated January 1, 1866, there were in operation 141 schools for freedmen in the state with 19,000 pupils.6 These schools were supported totally by the agency with expenditures from $17,000 to $20,000 monthly. This report states that "in New Orleans alone there were nineteen large schools, employing one hundred and four teachers, with an average attendance of five thousand seven hundred and twenty-four pupils. . . . More than fifty thousand colored pupils . . . have been taught to read in that city and immediate vicinity. . . ."7

One school in New Orleans which had three hundred pupils was reported as being taught by:

. . . educated colored men, who would bear comparison with any ordinary school at the north. Not only good reading and spelling were heard, but lessons at the blackboard in arithmetic, recitations in geography and English grammar. Very creditable specimens of writing were shown, and all the older classes could read or

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recite as fluently in French as in English. This was a free school, wholly supported by the colored people and the children were from the common class of families.  

The latter part of the preceding quotation brings to light one of the problems which the agency faced. By inference, it may be assumed that the self-support feature of this school at this time indicated that the agency did not have unlimited funds. It is not a matter of speculation that the increasing cost had made it obvious that sufficient funds to pay teachers would not be available after January 31, 1886; hence, came the order to suspend the freedmen schools as of that date. Thus the problem of support plagued the administration from the beginning, and, after the order for suspension, strenuous effort was made to make the schools self-supporting. Though the cost was to be only $1.00 to $1.50 per month per child, the schools began to suffer from decreased attendance and were finally discontinued.  

In the rural areas, plans were made to allow the employers

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8Ibid., p. 343.


to deduct $.50 per month from the wages of the Negroes, but the opposition of both the planter and the laborer defeated the idea.\footnote{Senate Executive Documents, 39 Congress, Second Session, I, No. 6, pp. 74-75, as cited in Porter, "History of Negro Education," p. 743.}

Other factors, such as overflows, crop failures, harvesting, and disease, also adversely affected the schools.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 75-76, as cited in Porter,"History of Negro Education," p. 743.}

One final factor was the prejudice that had been engendered by General Banks' regulation that in order to secure labor the planters would have to assume the cost of their education.\footnote{House Executive Documents, 39 Congress, First Session, VIII, No. 70, p. 339, as cited in Porter, "History of Negro Education," p. 744.}

As a result of the hostility, military protection often had to be given to Negro schools. Military forces were eventually withdrawn in some areas, and schools were forced to close as a result.\footnote{Senate Executive Documents, 39 Congress, Second Session, I, No. 6, p. 75, as cited in Porter "History of Negro Education," p. 744.}

Complete reports for the five years of operation of the educational functions of the Bureau are lacking. Congress did bolster its operation in 1866 by passing a supplementary bill, which provided the Bureau with money from the sale, lease, or rental of former Confederate property, and also
provided cooperation and protection for those who interested themselves in the education of the freedmen. The effect of these laws in terms of educational progress is unknown; however, General O. O. Howard, the superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, and General Sheridan, the military commander in Louisiana, were both gratified at its passage.

The last reports available (1869-1870) for the educational activities of the Bureau indicate that there were 404 day and night schools, with 467 teachers and 17,280 pupils; 136 Sunday schools, with 266 teachers and 7,088 pupils. Officially, the work of the Bureau came to an end on January 1, 1869, but educational work continued until the summer of 1871.

The real value of the educational work of the Bureau is subject to controversy. Contemporary criticism reveals that neither the Bureau's idea nor the method were favorable

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to many. In New Orleans, the mouthpiece of the Republicans was the New Orleans Republican. The Republican stated that there were 63 schools for Negroes in Rapides Parish, and that the teachers were from Illinois, Michigan, and other western states where the free school system had arrived at much greater perfection than in New England. The Louisiana Democrat, published in Alexandria, parish seat of Rapides, stated that the report was untrue. It further stated that the agents for the Bureau were "miserable wretches, imported scalawags, pale faced renegades, and pensioned pimps." Others testified that up until June 1, 1866, $300,000 had been spent by the Bureau, of which only $96,387.36 had gone for education, and that more money had been squandered in Louisiana than any three Southern states. The provost marshall aiding the assistant commissioner of the Bureau in New Orleans was supposedly running a slave pen, arresting Negroes and selling them for 5 of 10 dollars. Others decried the forced taxation which had provided monies for Negro education since 1864 (the taxes were not collected after an appeal to Washington by

19Louisiana Democrat, Alexandria, August 14, 1867.

20Scrapbook, Lusher Collection, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. A newspaper clipping of undetermined origin and date but with characteristics of authenticity.
the Legislature late in 1865), and added a bitter complaint concerning the schoolmarms from "down east" who were employed. Some, however, had differing opinions. While in many areas, planters had to support the program in order to secure laborers, there were those who were willing to see the Negro educated if by Southerners. Probably the most accurate statement was that, despite exaggeration and superficiality, the Bureau did plant the idea and awaken popular interest.

Whatever the accomplishments of the Bureau may have been, they had not come without a struggle. Soon after the tax provision was rescinded, Negroes in New Orleans resorted to fairs and raffles in order to raise money for education, while a little later they were selling tickets and hiring teachers as tickets were sold. It was suggested that a possible solution might be to tax the Negroes, but such an idea was abandoned in the face of protest from the Negroes

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21 Iberville South, January 27, 1866.

22 Ibid.


25 New Orleans Tribune, March 7, 1866.
who were already paying $40,000 annually for schools for the white children.26

By the latter part of 1866, a determined effort was being made to have the State take over Negro education in New Orleans.27 It was reported that the Negroes were paying $40,000 yearly in taxes, and many felt them deserving of some benefit.28 Another and possibly more important reason was the desire to place Negro education in Southern hands.29 Radical agitation was mounting under the increased radicalism of Congress in the spring of 1867. People were aware that the Bureau was operating a mixed school,30 which, though felt by some to be a failure,31 nevertheless spurred imagi-


27 New Orleans Crescent, December 8, 1866.


30 The Franklin Institute for both races had opened on September 2, 1866. There were over one hundred students who represented each race equally. The whites were largely French or Italian and fighting was apparently the order of the day between the races. John Cornelius Engelsman, "The Freedman's Bureau in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXII (1949), p. 200n.

31 New Orleans Crescent, September 15, 17, 1867.
nation to the point that by September the board was willing to assume the new responsibility.\(^{32}\) The plans developed called for sixteen four-room schools. Most of the teachers were white.\(^ {33}\)

In view of the action by the New Orleans School Board, the Bureau immediately decided to turn over all of its schools in the city. Fourteen such schools were involved, thirteen being described as follows:\(^ {34}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soule Chapel</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>$1 to $3 tuition per month; very little Bureau support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$2 to $3 tuition per month; Bureau supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana Relief</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Louisiana Relief Association; Bureau paid rent and books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Institute</td>
<td>95 day 20 night</td>
<td>Tuition and Bureau supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>few</td>
<td>A free school supported by the G. A. R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^ {33}\)New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, August 30, 1867.

\(^ {34}\)New Orleans \textit{Crescent}, September 15, 17, 1867. There is some disagreement over the number transferred. The New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, November 7, 1867, reports that there were sixteen.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>$1.50 tuition, rest paid by Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Church</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>$1.50 per month; Bureau paid rent, but sold books at cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana Exchange</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>$1.50 tuition; Bureau paid half the rent and sold the books at cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Run by church board; little Bureau aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Tuition $1.50; Bureau furnished the rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Mower</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>A free school; supported by Bureau funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Howard</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tuition $1.50; Bureau paid for building and books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>A free school; supported by a Bureau fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the Negro school population rose to 1,500 in November and by December it reached 2,000.  

At the same time, similar action had taken place in Jefferson Parish by its school board. There, two Bureau schools were taken over and another added with a total of seven teachers.  

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35 New Orleans Times, December 25, 1867; New Orleans Crescent, November 17, 1867.

In the action of acquiring Negro schools, the City Council of New Orleans appropriated $70,000 to be set aside for this specific purpose. On September 22, 1867, 64 positions were listed as being open in the sixteen new schools. There were 69 applications on file; 61 white and 8 Negro.

As the State ended the relative calm it had experienced under the Constitution of 1864 to enter the troubled era of that of 1868, there were over thirty schools for Negroes in operation with local and state money. Even among the conservatives, the prospects for increased interest in Negro education were bright. The Democratic Daily Picayune had this to say concerning the new venture in New Orleans:

The late Council appropriated $60,000.00 for this purpose and authorized the Board of Directors of public schools to administer it. They should go to work to establish such schools at once and if they find the Council unwilling to trust them with this labor turn it over to such as will do it satisfactorily. The education of our black children should be attended to by our home people for their own good and that of the state; the effort should be made, however unfriendly it may be greeted.

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37 New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 4, 1867.
38 New Orleans Crescent, September 22, 1867.
39 New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 4, 1867.
Local Education Activities: Public and Private

On October 4, 1864, the Board of Directors of the Carrollton Public Schools amended their rules for the government of their schools. The new rules were printed on poster size paper, evidently for the edification and guidance of their personnel.⁴⁰ From the thirty-five rules, a fairly comprehensive picture can be had of the two schools which served this New Orleans suburb. The school that a child could attend depended on which side of Madison Street he lived. In all probability, a visitor would find school in session at most any season of the year, for vacations were limited to three weeks at Christmas and the month of August. During the winter months the school day began at nine and ended at three, while in summer the opening hour was set back to eight. A visitor to the school would have noted that teachers were in their rooms ten minutes before opening time. A comprehensive program of work was in evidence in each room covering each hour of the day for a week. In the course of the day, lessons would be heard in reading (with spelling combined), writing, arithmetic, geography, United States history, world history, grammar, dictation and

⁴⁰See reproduction in Appendix B.
composition. Though many in the room might do otherwise at home, English was used for all classwork. A goodly part of the teacher's time was spent in routine duties other than teaching, for she had to maintain an admission register, roll of attendance, and inventory of supplies, which were for the pupils, but for which she was accountable. The principal was available to assist her in these duties or in instructional or disciplinary problems. Teachers requisitioned their needs through the principal. He, in turn, made them to the Directors with whom he met monthly. On such occasions, the principal presented a report of the school in terms of attendance, gains and losses, purchases, and suggestions for improving the program.

The directors demanded that the teachers have the pupils "learn, recite, or say" their lessons daily, maintain supervision and control from home to home, especially in the areas of conduct and care of property. To this end, no teacher could be elected permanently without having received proper certification.

Regular attendance on the part of both teachers and pupils was expected by the Board. Teachers were not compensated for any days absent, and pupils who had unexcused absences or habitually excused absences could be suspended. Both teachers and pupils were enjoined not to "smoke, chew,
swear, or use profane or indecent language in school, on the grounds, or going to or from school." In the case of pupils, habitual disobedience, disrespect, or wilful damage to property could be causes for suspension. Re-admission was left to the discretion of the Board.

After school, teachers were expected to remain long enough to see that good order was observed. Also, any lessons not "said" during the day were recited then. In all cases of punishment, the Board believed that teachers should use discipline such as good and humane parents would use on their own children, and that punishment should always be reasonable.

A further regulatory matter concerned health. No child could attend school who had a contagious disease; neither could he attend school if some member of his family had a contagious disease. Nor could he attend without having been vaccinated for smallpox. A certain degree of neatness and cleanliness was expected also.

In the rural areas of the state such progress was lacking in organization. The idea of public education was having a difficult time taking root. Many parishes, in their reports to Superintendent Lusher during 1866 and 1867, indicated that there were many who favored private education and
only such public support as was necessary to pay for the education of the poor. In many instances, no attempt was being made to establish public schools, but rather state allocations were being given to private schools, with the provision that they educate all of the white children who would avail themselves of schooling.

The reports which were prepared by the state superintendent provided space for comments, which usually took the form of grievances. Some of those mentioned provide valuable insight into local conditions.

One source of complaint was the indifference on the part of the directors. It was apparent that many of those who could have been of greatest help were those who had little faith in the system. Others probably withheld their services because of the impending conflict over mixed schools.

\[41\text{See reports from Bienville, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Ouachita, and Bossier Parishes in Correspondence, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.}\]

\[42\text{Ibid.}\]

\[43\text{Ibid., Terrebonne Parish.}\]

\[44\text{Ibid., St. Helena Parish.}\]

\[45\text{Ibid., Bossier Parish.}\]
Not all problems were centered about directors and Negroes however. In Bossier Parish older children were creating problems. Those over sixteen created trouble and learned little.  

Attendance must have vexed the directors also, for they wanted compulsory attendance at least three months of the year. William O. Rogers, the superintendent in New Orleans, desired the same, for he wanted boys off the streets and in the classroom. In Carroll Parish a different problem was added. High waters and broken levees were causing the population to remain unstable. Here, too, a similar problem must have existed, though caused by different factors, for on November 7, 1866, the School Board in New Orleans voted to restrict attendance to those who permanently resided in the city limits.

46Ibid.  
47Ibid.  
49Correspondence, Carroll Parish, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, November 27, 1867.  
50Minutes of the New Orleans School Board in the Parish School Board Office, New Orleans, November 7, 1866, p. 112.
It is natural that there should have been many complaints, for the War was a vivid memory and many situations were viewed with prejudice. Yet, there were notes of encouragement. Newspapers were cooperative in spreading Lusher's philosophy and were also reporting on good conditions. Taxation was being levied on the local level in order to increase the total available support. Interest was developing in internal problems, indicating an acceptance of the basic idea of free public schools. In an editorial, the editor of the Picayune defended the work of the high schools. He pointed out that they were truly public schools in that attendance was no longer limited to the rich. The faculty of Central High School drew particular praise. The article did not limit itself to praise, however, for some mild criticisms were made, and suggestions for improvement were included. The editor was of the opinion that exhibition had been carried too far. He evidently referred to the universal practice of closing school just prior to Christmas and the summer vacation with public examinations and exhibitions which, from contemporary accounts, appear to have become spectacles of planned erudition. Another suggestion was that the curriculum be made more practical in terms of the economic life of the city. Training in agriculture and
mechanics was believed to be of equal importance with training for merchants and the professions. In the same area, he called for more support for practical science. Later the same year, the same paper was again extolling the virtues of the New Orleans system.

Another paper of the city, the New Orleans Tribune, was concerned over the fact that there would be no chance of a New Orleans school being chosen as the model United States School at the coming Paris exhibition. With an idea of showing areas for improvement, the editor cited that reasons for trouble were:

1. Frequent changes in the board.
2. Teacher turnover.
3. Reduced expenditures.
4. Poor teacher pay.
5. Lack of recognition of physical sciences.

Commenting on numbers three and four above, the editor held that more money was being spent on workhouses and jails in the city.

51 New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 29, 1866.
52 Ibid., September 27, 1866.
53 New Orleans Tribune, September 13, 1866.
In Baton Rouge something was being done to supplement the state allocation. Fewer educables were reported than before the War, with only one public school in operation where there should have been sixteen. Twenty-five pupils were reported in the public school, while 400-500 were attending private schools and 1,000 were attending none. Three months earlier the city had taken steps to improve conditions, for on December 3, 1866, a property tax had been levied for the support of schools. The vote was 117 to 13.

Such were some of the problems facing the public schools of the period. It is impossible to state conclusively to what extent the intent of the school law was being carried out. Each local school seems to have had its own peculiar problems. These ranged all the way from debating the theory of public schools, to nature, to curriculum problems. Something of the general conditions have thus far been set down. A later chapter will devote itself to teachers and their qualifications and to buildings and their maintenance.

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54Baton Rouge Advocate, March 9, 1867.
55The Weekly Advocate, Baton Rouge, November 17, 1866.
56Iberville South, December 22, 1866.
During the immediate postwar period, the private schools played an important role in the educational life of the state. There are several reasons which account for their importance in this period. First, private education had strong roots in tradition in Louisiana. Second, war had a more uniformly disruptive effect on public enterprises. Third, the social revolution which was taking place produced an educational consciousness. Fourth, a fear of "mixed" schools bore upon the minds of many. Fifth, private schools were local and therefore more susceptible to local desire and needs.  

A combination of one or more of these reasons prompted the immediate reorganization of private school work after the cessation of hostilities.

At this point, the modern writer faces difficulty in presenting an accurate portrayal of private education. The transient qualities of many private establishments precluded the leaving of records and accounts. Only those who advertised, or otherwise received notice in the newspapers of the day, present themselves for evaluation.

James William Mobley made a detailed study of the academy movement in Louisiana. This study, which was begun in 1927, used a large number of interviews as primary source material, and, in so doing, accomplished a task which could not be undertaken at the present.58

Academies composed the largest single type and covered the broadest single area of private education. For this reason, a close analysis of his study is in place here. Statistical computations cannot be made on the information contained in the study. A careful reading does render certain generalizations.

In the first place, most academies in Louisiana ceased their existence during the War. Yet, despite this fact, the majority of those which were in operation in 1860-1861 resumed operation in the early postwar years.59

Of those extant during the period, most were small, usually employing but one instructor. A large number of these schools were fortunate in having buildings erected for


59Ibid.
their purposes. Practically all schools of this type during the period had some religious background, and all denominations took some part. Catholics, Methodists, and Baptists were the most interested of these denominations.60

In addition to the influence of religion in the founding of these schools, other reasons are observable. Some were the product of the plantation school theory; some were military in character; and some had a direct vocational purpose in mind.61 While no more true of the immediate postwar period than any other, it is well to point out that in these schools there was a broad range of educational theory in operation. Lancastrian ideas, Prussian methods, the system, and many others all found advocates. In other words, each school was free to follow whatever philosophy it chose, whether it was justified in theory or in terms of increased patronage. In the latter instance, schools of this type developed a rather definite affinity for the needs and desires of the community.62 Though it is impossible to determine the exact number of academies in existence during the period from 1864 to 1868, it is probable that every population

60 Ibid., p. 754.
61 Ibid., pp. 740-41.
62 Ibid., pp. 741-42.
The academy was a post-elementary school. Hence, it depended on other persons or agencies to provide rudimentary instruction. True, in some cases, this service was performed by the academy, but it must be inferred that for the most part elementary instruction was gained in the home or in very informally organized situations that centered about a teacher operating from his own residence or that provided by an interested party in the community.

Special and Higher Education

In addition to the numerous academies and private elementary schools, there also existed certain higher and specialized schools during the immediate post-war period. In New Orleans, only the schools of law and medicine remained of the University of Louisiana. The school of law re-opened immediately following the war, with a four-month term and four professors. Civil, common, admiralty, commercial, international, and constitutional law were taught, as well as equity and jurisprudence. Moot courts were held as a part

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64 New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, September 1, 1867.
of the curriculum also.\footnote{Circular of the Law Department of the University of Louisiana (New Orleans, Office of the Times Picayune, 1866), p. 15.}

In the same period, the medical school was reorganized. New departments and teachers were added. Examinations for students were made more comprehensive, and greater care and selectivity was reported as a result.\footnote{Catalog of the Alumni from 1834 to 1901 Inclusive, Medical Department, Tulane University (New Orleans: L. Graham and Sons, 1901), p. 5.}

In addition to the University of Louisiana, there was also increasing evidence of the popularity of the commercial or business college. In the economic readjustments that followed the War, many sought to re-establish themselves by entering the commercial life of the city. During the period, such schools as Dolbears, Blackman's, Babada, and Soules were prominently advertised in the New Orleans press.\footnote{See newspapers of New Orleans for the period 1864-1868.} From the home addresses of the students granted degrees from Dolbears in February, 1867, it appears that New Orleans may have been a center of commercial education in the South, for there were forty graduates, of whom seventeen were from...
southern states other than Louisiana (and two from European countries). Subjects studied included penmanship, bookkeeping, commercial subjects, and phonography (shorthand). Some schools offered foreign languages as an aid in the international trade of the port. Women were admitted, though they comprised a rather small portion of the student body. Courses lasted from two to twenty weeks. A basic commercial education could be had for about one hundred fifty dollars tuition. Some of the schools had several hundred students at the time during the immediate postwar period.

In Pineville, Louisiana, one of the truly heroic efforts for education during the period of 1864 to 1868 was taking place at the Louisiana State Seminary. Having


69 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., p. 27.

72 Ibid., p. 19.

73 Ibid., pp. 18, 27.

74 Walter L. Fleming, Louisiana State University, 1860-1896 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1936). This work is the definitive work covering the early period of the history of Louisiana State University. The subsequent material above is drawn from Chapter VIII, pp. 127-169. Hereinafter cited as Fleming, Louisiana State University.
been made a Confederate hospital in 1863, and later occupied by Union troops, the Seminary had ceased to exist as a school at the time of the fall of the Confederacy. Within a month after the surrender of the Confederate forces in Louisiana in June of 1865, Major David F. Boyd was named acting superintendent, and preparations were made for the reopening in the fall of that year. Governor Wells was prevailed on to cooperate. In August, Boyd was given possession of the school by the Federal forces. Old accounts in the Bank of Louisiana and the sale of cotton found on the premises were used as a foundation on which they rebuilt, and by October 2, 1865, the Supervisors had appointed a faculty and students were admitted. One hundred eight students comprised the freshman (and only) class of 1865-1866. Five faculty members served this group. The following year the enrollment increased to 173, but this figure dropped back to 152 in the 1867-1868 session.

These were trying times for the Seminary. Funds were limited, the radicals were maintaining a constant barrage of criticism at the Confederate orientation of the faculty, and the question of admitting Negroes rose to prominence as the shadow of a vengeful Congress lengthened across the desolate South.
The majority of the teachers were ex-Confederate officers who had been educated in Virginia. The military orientation of pre-Civil War days had been discontinued by law, but the daily routine was military in nature. Many students in attendance were "beneficiary" students who were attending at the expense of the State. Boyd was instrumental, with the assistance of his faculty, in initiating the free elective system developed by the University of Virginia, which provided a fixed course for the first two years, which was followed by the election of the Literary, Scientific, or Civil Engineering Course for the final two years. These programs included such courses as Greek, Latin, Spanish, mathematics, natural philosophy, anatomy, civil engineering, chemistry, and geology. An optional course was later added which included English and certain advanced courses. With the optional program, a one-year commercial course was also added. Effort was made to add a Normal Course, but the distaste for methods courses was so strong that this was impossible.

In many instances, the aspirations of the faculty were seriously hampered, for the quality of elementary education in the state created the necessity for the inclusion of preparatory work in the curriculum. Many of the wealthy
continued to look to the East for the satisfaction of their educational desires for their children. The beneficiary plan created some feeling that the State Seminary was a "pauper school," but, despite all these problems, Walter L. Fleming was able to say that

... for four years one of the largest bodies of students in the South was instructed by one of the best faculties in the South, and the foundations laid of that peculiar democracy and solidarity which have since characterized student life in Louisiana State University.75

75 Ibid., pp. 168-69.
CHAPTER V

THOMAS W. CONWAY AND THE STATE ADMINISTRATION
OF EDUCATION: 1868-1872

The Constitution of 1868 and the April elections of that year were but the prologue to eight years of Republican domination in the name of the Federal government and Reconstruction. As a result of the elections there appeared the figure of one who was to become the very antithesis of Southern hopes and ambitions in the continued rebuilding and building of the state's educational establishment.

Thomas W. Conway

The election of April brought Henry Clay Warmoth to the helm of the state and Thomas W. Conway to the office of State Superintendent of Public Education. Reliable information concerning Conway prior to his coming to New Orleans is almost totally lacking. The first reference to his being in the state was as a chaplain of a regiment of Massachusetts Negroes.¹ He was a Baptist and described as a "business-like

¹Fleming, Louisiana State University, p. 154.
preacher." General Banks appointed Conway to head his "Bureau of Free Labor." When this agency was changed to the jurisdiction of the Freedman's Bureau in July of 1866, Conway became one of the assistant commissioners, charged with responsibility for the Negroes of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. Continuously at odds with the military authority, Conway was removed from office before the end of the year. During his brief tenure, the work of the Bureau bore the mark of the organizational work which he accomplished.

From December of 1866, when his services with the Bureau were ended, until his appearance on the Warmoth ticket in 1868, little is known of Conway's activity. There is, however, a letter in the Picayune, addressed to the Radical Republican Convention of 1867, in which Conway, as a deputy in the Union League, offers membership in the League to people of the rural parts of the state. Possibly he

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4 Ibid., p. 158.
5 Ibid., p. 161.
6 New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 15, 1867.
spent these months in such activities altogether, for in addition he was in the North making speeches which fanned the coals of radicalism.\textsuperscript{7} In the fitful campaign that was waged that spring Conway was the subject of several articles attacking him as a candidate but these fail to add materially to the writer's knowledge of the man. A month before the election the \textit{Louisiana Democrat} told of an incident of his going to New Orleans by train for a speaking engagement. Overhearing two Rebels say that they hoped the train would break down so that he would not be able to meet his appointment, he answered them by saying that such would not be the case because the Lord was on his side. The editor then wondered what connection the Lord had with "regulating the domestic affairs of the Zenana on Baronne Street while Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau."\textsuperscript{8} Later in the year he is accused in the \textit{Bossier Banner} of having attempted to secure money dishonestly from the government and having swindled Negro troops in his regiment during the War.\textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{Such is the information available on Conway at the}


\textsuperscript{8}\textit{Louisiana Democrat}, March 11, 1868.

\textsuperscript{9}\textit{Bossier Banner}, December 5, 1868.
time of his election to the State Superintendency of Schools. Subsequent details have served to delineate the man further and have made certain possible inferences indicating something more in the realm of biographical data.

Soon after his assumption of office, Conway set about preparing his report to the Legislature and school laws for adoption by the Legislature. By August the latter task had been accomplished, for on the nineteenth of August the Louisiana Democrat gave an account of Conway's ideas with editorial comment. Conway's scheme was a comprehensive one under a state board of education presided over by the lieutenant governor with six appointees of the governor as members. Such a board was to provide general management of the schools and monies. It was to prescribe the duties of the state superintendent who was to have power of supervision and control of all public schools in the State. The board would provide for the appointment of city and parish commissioners by the state superintendent of education subject to its approval. The State was to be divided into six general school districts over which there would be a general district director to be appointed by the State Superintendent of Education and to be confirmed by the State Board of Education. Each parish was to be divided into districts of not more than ten
square miles. Uniform textbooks were to be provided. A state normal school and also a high school in each parish or combined parish and a system of scholarships designed to make all of the schools available to those appointed by the senators and representatives were to be provided. There were to be two hundred thirty-eight scholarships, the recipients of which would be nominated by parish committees and appointed by the State Superintendent. School was to be compulsory, with an allowed tax rate of 25¢ per $100.00 and the poll tax. The schools were to be free to all regardless of color.10

Following the receipt of Conway's proposed program, the first legislature of the new organic law assembled in New Orleans. There the members received copies of Conway's first official report as State Superintendent of Public Education. The report began with the theme that "the year 1868 commenced a new era in the history of Louisiana. . . ." He proclaimed as an event of great import "the formation and adoption of a State Constitution, recognizing the brotherhood of a race of human beings long held in bondage of body and

10Louisiana Democrat, August 19, 1868. The Democrat is quoting the New Orleans Bee according to the text of the Democrat article.
Using materials assembled during Superintendent Lusher's administration he came to the conclusion that the failure of the past was for "want of proper and intelligent supervision" and that there was now needed a "directing and controlling hand." He called on the legislature to accept the challenge and his program.

Act 121

The legislature was generally willing to follow the leadership of Conway. The act, which was made law on March 10, 1869, carried out his program to a remarkable degree.

The Constitution of 1868 provided:

**Article 135** That the General Assembly shall establish at least one free public school in every parish throughout the State, and shall provide for its support by taxation or otherwise. All children of this State, between the ages of six (6) and twenty-one (21) shall be admitted to the public schools or other institutions of learning sustained or established by the State in common, without distinction to race, color, or previous condition. There shall be no separate schools or institutions of learning established exclusively for any race by the State of Louisiana.

**Article 136** That no municipal corporation shall make any rules or regulations contrary to the spirit


12Ibid., p. 19.
or intention of Article 135.

Article 137 There shall be elected by the qualified voters of this State a Superintendent of Public Education, who shall hold his office for four years. His duties shall be prescribed by law, and he shall have the supervision and general control of all public schools throughout the State. He shall receive a salary of five thousand dollars per annum, payable quarterly on his own warrant.

Article 138 The general exercises of the public schools shall be conducted in the English language.13

Under these constitutional provisions legislative Act 121 provided for the new educational program. The first section of the Act placed the schools of the state under the management of a State Board of Education consisting of the State Superintendent of Education, and one member to be appointed from each congressional district and two from the State at large. These appointments were to be made on the nomination of the governor, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate to therewith be appointed. Members of the Board were to serve terms of four years or until their successors were appointed and qualified. The original appointees were to serve terms of two and four years to initiate rotation of half the board each biennium. Salary

was set at one thousand dollars per annum for the members of the Board, payable quarterly. The State Superintendent of Education was ex-officio president and executive officer. The duties of the Board were to hold meetings, adopt uniform textbooks, appoint division superintendents for two year terms, appoint school directors, make needful rules and regulations, act as a court of appeal for school matters and provide the form for a school register.

Under Act 121 the duties of the State Superintendent of Education were given in detail. First he was to serve in his appointed duty with the Board. In addition he was to keep and maintain the papers, reports, and public documents relative to the schools and make these available to the governor, legislature, and state board. His administrative and supervisory responsibility required that he carry the system into effect and exercise supervision over the divisional superintendents with whom he was required to meet at least annually. School laws were to be printed, along with such reporting forms as needed. Annually he was to report to the Legislature and State Board of Education on the condition of schools, census and enrollment data, inventories, plans for general and financial management, and any other matters deemed worthy of communication. Five hundred copies of this report were to be printed. Other duties of the superintendent
included the appointment of a secretary and the prescription of his duties, the establishment of times and places for teachers' institutes, and an annual investigation into the condition of the school lands.

Section fifty-six of Act 121 divided the state into six school divisions as follows:

First Division: Parish of Orleans and the City of New Orleans.

Second Division: Parish of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, St. James, Assumption, and Terrebonne.


Fourth Division: St. Mary, St. Martin, Lafayette, Vermillion, St. Landry, Calcasieu, Iberia, Avoyelles, Rapides, and Catahoula.

Fifth Division: Natchitoches, Sabine, DeSoto, Caddo, Bossier, Claiborne, Bienville, Jackson, and Winn.

Sixth Division: Concordia, Tensas, Madison, Carroll, Morehouse, Franklin, Union, Caldwell, Ouachita, and Richland.

Under law each division had a divisional superintendent with a salary of two thousand dollars per annum. He was required to make reports, on the fifth day of October each year, for the schools of his division. Forms were to be supplied for this report and should he be delinquent in filing it on the day required he could be fined fifty dollars plus any additional costs incurred as a result of the delay.
Meetings with the State Superintendent were required and the divisional superintendent was enjoined to conform to instructions of the State in matters under their jurisdiction.

Teacher examination for certification was another responsibility to which was added the actual issuance of certificates and their revocation for "just cause." Complete records of certification activities was demanded. Census data for the State Superintendent of Education were required. Materials were distributed through the divisional superintendent. In his work locally he was to examine the local school board records. For professional improvement he was required to hold teacher institutes and to form teacher associations.

The District Board of school directors was the agency upon which rested the actual school itself. Under Act 121 the duties of the District Board were outlined in detail. Before the law it was a body corporate with power to hold property, make contracts, and sue and be sued. It was responsible for its own organization through the election of a president, secretary, and treasurer. By law it was required to meet on the first Saturday after the first Monday of April and October annually. The District Board was to determine the number, location, and grade of the schools under its jurisdiction. It was required to exercise care in overseeing the work of the local secretary and treasurer. School
supervision was accomplished through visitation. The members were expected to help carry out the rules of the board in the local school. Textbooks were to be adopted no oftener than every two years. Financial responsibility in local matters was its obligation. School sites were to be selected and acquired by the District Board, which in turn was to consult with the State Superintendent on the currently approved plans of school house construction. Finally all matters pertaining to the sale of school land, subject to election, or the lease of these lands was made a responsibility of the local board. The president of the District Board served as the presiding officer at all meetings and the executive officer in all transactions involving the board.

The secretary elected by the District Board was required to post bond, keep accurate records of the business of the board, give notice for all regular and special meetings of the board, and supply the division superintendent with such information as was required of the District Board.

The treasurer of the District Board was also required to give bond. He was custodian of all school funds in the district and was to honor only those drafts which were properly drawn. Two accounts were to be maintained, i.e., "School-house Fund" and the "Teacher Fund." A further provision required that he render statements from time to time and that
his books always be open for inspection.

Act 121 of 1869 provided additional duties for the state auditor, state treasurer, and parish tax collector. The auditor was required to levy a tax of two mills on the dollar on all taxable property in each parish and to report this amount to the parish police jury. On the first Monday of March, June, September, and December he was to apportion quarterly payments of the taxes collected on a per educable basis to each district. He was to exercise control over funds for school lands and sell those lands which had been authorized for sale by the electorate in any township. Interest from land funds on deposit with the state was to be apportioned by the auditor.

The state treasurer was required to pay the warrants of the educational establishment provided that they were in harmony with the law. He was the fiscal agent for all transactions involving school lands.

The parish tax collector was required to collect the taxes levied by the auditor, inform the state board of education on the record of collection, and deposit all of his collections with the parish treasurer.\(^\text{14}\)

Such were the provisions of the first school legislation provided by the first of the "black and tan" legislatures. True they had let education wait until the second session and for this the governor apologized;15 but Conway went straight to work and as summer passed both a state board and the division superintendents were installed in office. The first board consisted of E. W. Pierce, O. A. Guidry, J. R. West, John Turner, V. E. McCarthy, Anthony Vallas, W. Jasper Blackburn, and Jules A. Metthieu. Elbert Gantt succeeded Guidry, who died soon after his appointment.16 Of the eight appointees two were Negroes.17 In May five of the six division superintendents were appointed.18 These appointed were in order by division: E. J. Stoddard [sic], J. M. Lacy, R. C. Richardson, Claudius Mayo, Thomas W. Turner, and R. C. Wyley.19

15Louisiana Democrat, January 13, 1869.
17New Orleans Weekly Louisianian, December 29, 1870.
19Ibid.
Following the filling of these offices on the state and division level, Conway began the task of appointing school directors. Evidently he was attempting to accomplish as much as possible for the opening of the schools. Possibly the enormity of this task convinced Conway that some alteration should be made in the school law regarding local boards. There were four hundred and ninety districts which had to be supplied with directors. In addition each of these was required to have a separate bonded secretary and treasurer. In December Conway addressed a letter to the governor suggesting parish boards of directors and parish treasurers. The latter were to be bonded and act as both secretary and treasurer to the parish board. In his report for the year he touched on the matter in the suggestion that there had been a failure to "concentrate responsibility."  

His letter to the governor and his analysis of the troubles of 1869 also suggested the necessity for increased

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20 Bosier Banner, August 14, 1869.


22 Ibid., p. 87.

23 Ibid., p. 6.
revenue. To accomplish this he requested that the ad valorem tax be raised from two to four mills.

It will be remembered that Conway had suggested a compulsory attendance law to counteract the decreased attendance that Article 135 of the Constitution would bring. However, champions of the measure realized that both features would bring total defeat to education. This sentiment of moderation prevailed in the annual report for the year as:

The question of mixed or separate schools, however important in itself, must be conceded to be secondary to that for which alone, schools, either mixed or separate, exist. The end is greater than the means.24

Another problem which grew out of the new legislation was the status of New Orleans under Act 121. The intention was to create a new board there at the hand of the state superintendent but the old board held on and legislative action was demanded.25

Conway's first year as superintendent was accompanied by a sharp increase in school funds. The current school fund, which had brought $145,656.00 in 1867-1868, contained more than twice the amount the following year--$310,660.61.26

24 Ibid., p. 12.
25 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
Other income raised the total from state sources to education to $411,376.21.27

During the course of the summer of 1869 other aspects of the work were undertaken. In May the State Board requested that the division superintendents hold meetings and otherwise attempt to collect and disseminate information. It was the intention of the Board that as much information be collected as possible by July the 12th in order that a meeting could be held at that time for consultation between the State Board and the superintendents.28 Conway was away at the time of the July meeting but the board adopted complete rules and regulations and adopted textbooks and made their use obligatory.29 The latter action was not acceptable to Conway on his return and the action was withdrawn in December.30

Later Legislation

The new year brought an extra session of the legislature and a modification of the act of the recent legislature.

27Ibid.
29Ibid., pp. 8-9.
30Ibid.
Essentially the new act was the same with certain administra-
tive modifications. The most obvious change was the abolish-
ment of the State Board of Education as it was authorized by
the Act of 1869. The division superintendents, instead of
receiving their appointments from the board were now to be
ominated by the state superintendent and appointed by the
governor with the advice and consent of the senate. Thus in-
stalled they were to then be the state board of education with
the state superintendent of education as ex-officio president
and executive officer. The new board was required to meet
at least once annually commencing on the first day of January.
Appointments could be revoked by the governor on the recom-
mendation of the superintendent. Other changes made the
superintendent rather than the state auditor the apportioning
officer for the school funds. Board treasurers were required
to post five thousand dollar bonds.

The school divisions were reorganized as follows:

First Division: Plaquemines, St. Bernard, Washington,
St. Tammany, St. Helena, Livingston, and Tangipahoa.

Second Division: Jefferson, right and left banks,
St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, Lafourche,
and Terrebonne.

Third Division: St. Mary, Iberia, Calcasieu, Ver-
milion, Cameron, St. Landry, Lafayette, Assumption,
Ascension, Iberville, East Baton Rouge, West Baton
Rouge, East Feliciana, and St. Martin.
Fourth Division: West Feliciana, DeSoto, Grant, Rapides, Natchitoches, Avoyelles, Winn, Bossier, Pointe Coupee, Caddo, Sabine, Red River, Vernon, and Webster.

Fifth Division: Concordia, Tensas, Madison, Morehouse, Carroll, Union, Caldwell, Franklin, Richland, Ouachita, Catahoula, Bienville, Claiborne, and Jackson.

Sixth Division: New Orleans and the parish of Orleans.31

The action of the legislature necessitated reappointments which were carried out by the governor and superintendent. In order the new Division Superintendents and members of the State Board of Education were: R. C. Richardson, E. S. Stoddard, R. K. Diossy, James McCleery, R. C. Wyly, and J. B. Carter. The Reverend William Rollinson was elected as secretary to the board at its first meeting.32

These men were recent comers to Louisiana for the most part. Conway, as has been shown, came with a Massachusetts regiment. E. S. Stoddard was first in Louisiana with the Union Army where he was captured at the Battle of the Sabine Crossroads. He was a native of Missouri where he was in school work.33 R. V. Diossy was a member of the Union


32 New Orleans Republican, March 29, 1870.

33 New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education, April 13, 1870.
Army and a former official in the Freedman's Bureau. 34 James McCleery was educated at Oberlin College, lost an arm at Shiloh, and was shot through the leg at Stone River where he was commander of Co. A, 41st Ohio Volunteers. 35 R. C. Wyly, a native of Tennessee, was a Yale man and a resident of the State before the War. 36 J. B. Carter had had a longer association with education in the state. 37 Diossy was mentioned as a "presiding elder" and was associated with religious humanitarian functions along with Conway and M. C. Cole, who was secretary to the superintendent. 38

As Conway carried on in his office, further information became available on his personal life. During the early part of his administration there are references to his ill health. 39 In 1870 he was still active in the Union League, for in July he was in Long Branch, New Jersey for a

34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 See page, Chapter II, above.
39 "Report of the Joint Committee of Investigation," p. 27.
meeting of the executive committee. In addition he was vice-president of Leland University. Meanwhile he reported that he "visited the schools at various points of the state . . . as far as time and opportunity have allowed." He was conscious of his attendant social responsibilities as the state superintendent, for shortly after the installation of the new board in 1870 he held a dinner for them at which the partisan Republican stated that it felt impressed with the new personnel.

One of the little known activities of Conway during this period was his ownership and editorship of a shortlived weekly newspaper and journal of educational news, the New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education, which was published in twenty-two issues under a single volume in 1870. M. C. Cole was assistant editor. The normal issue was comprised of twelve pages in small tabloid size and was made up of about half advertising. The advertising was largely that

41 Ibid., March 30, 1870.
43 New Orleans Republican, April 9, 1870.
of firms which dealt in materials used by the schools. The paper contained inspirational and informative articles on teaching and teaching methods. Its purpose is revealed in the following extract from the minutes of the State Board of Education:

Resolved: That the New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education be adopted as the official organ of this Board, and that the aid and influence of each Division Superintendent be given to make it a powerful auxiliary to the cause of education in this State.45

The Journal had its critics. The New Orleans Weekly Louisiana, which was owned by P. B. S. Pinchback, the Negro radical, was its owner, and W. G. Brown, later to become Conway's successor, was editor. In its second issue it described the Journal as having the following contents: Three educational articles laudatory to Conway, one article on a candidate for the speakership for the house, one article laudatory to Governor Warmoth, two articles on ex-Governor Hahn, and "lots of bookseller's ads."46

It seems as though Conway may have been a bit sensitive about his age, for he was gently chided on one occasion.


46New Orleans Weekly Louisiana, December 12, 1870.
about having made caustic remarks about some references which had been made to his advanced age. The Republican agreed that he was not old but neither was he any "chicken." He was eager to refute other charges also. Later on in the same year he wrote a letter to the editor of the Republican answering "carpetbag" charges by stating that he had been in Louisiana almost eight years and that his family was here with him in property that he had purchased on Carondelet Street.

The new legislation of 1870 was the product of excited debate. The arguments voiced there give some indication of the progress that the schools were making and the ends desired. In the debates a member of the Legislature stated that he failed to see any improvement in the present bill, Act 6, over the Act of 1869 which was a proven failure. Others were anxious to curtail expenditures and provide a working administrative force. As one remarked, "We don't want any more superintendents stalking about the streets of this city, in shiny boots and broadcloth." Or

47 *New Orleans Republican*, May 8, 1870.

48 *New Orleans Republican*, November 25, 1870.

in the words of another,

But if this country superintendent performs his duty properly—if he does it well—he will get a pair of saddle bags and a mule, and go from parish to parish, from door to door, and teach little ones, or see that they are taught.

On the other hand, continues the speaker,

. . . if this distinguished purveyor of learning goes up and down the river on the Robert E. Lee, and when in Northern Louisiana, stops at the Washington hotel [sic] in Vicksburg—if he uses the Western Union Telegraph liberally, it will take a great deal more than $2500, I can assure you. If . . . he travels from Claiborne to Carroll, from Red river to the Arkansas line, on the only means of locomotion known in these districts, namely a mule, he will become the most popular man in Louisiana.50

Conway himself must have realized the validity of this statement for in the fall of 1870 he set up an itinerary for visiting in the six educational divisions of the state. Prior to his proposed visits each division superintendent was to hold conferences at the local level. On September 30 he was to confer with Superintendent Carter in New Orleans and two months later he would be with Wyly in Monroe.51 In the middle of his proposed tour

50Ibid., p. 121.

51New Orleans Republican, September 18, 1870.
his son died, October 4, 1870, and the fate of the proposed trip is in doubt.\textsuperscript{52}

In so far as the official statements of accomplishment, Conway used the reports which were made available to his office and compiled as an annual report. Of the six divisions, two were almost altogether unaccounted for. The others presented their information in such manner that it is difficult to arrive at any general conclusion concerning total accomplishments. Using the report for the year 1870 as presented to the legislature in 1871, there appear to have been 255,359 educables between six and twenty-one years of age in Louisiana. Almost one hundred thousand of these were in the sixth division (New Orleans). The total number attending public school there was 17,142 or 17\% of the educables. Only three of the five rural divisions reported on public school attendance. In these there were only slightly over seven per cent attending. If the ratio of schools to educables was the same in all rural divisions as it was in Divisions 1, 2, and 3, then it could be estimated that there may have been as many as two hundred and twenty schools outside New Orleans in 1870. In New Orleans there were sixty-seven public schools each with slightly

\footnote{\textit{New Orleans Advocate and Journal of Education}, October 29, 1870.}
more than five teachers. In the rural parishes the average school employed only slightly more than one teacher.\textsuperscript{53} The population for the state in 1870 was 364,850 colored and 362,065 white for a total of 726,915.

Insofar as private education was concerned, it is necessary to use both the reports of the years 1870 and 1871. In New Orleans there were two hundred twenty-two private schools, with six hundred sixty-six teachers and 19,401 pupils.\textsuperscript{54} In the five rural divisions four reported one hundred five such schools with 6,180 pupils. On the basis of educables this may be projected to indicate that there may have been approximately one hundred twenty-five private schools with something like seventy-three hundred students.\textsuperscript{55}

Thus the closest approximation based on data available indicates that the State had 634 reported schools (with projections for unreported divisions), enrolling about 55,000 students or about twenty-two per cent of the total number of educables.

\textsuperscript{53}Report of the State Superintendent, 1870, pp. 52-120.
\textsuperscript{54}Report of the State Superintendent, 1871, p. 317.
\textsuperscript{55}Report of the State Superintendent, 1870, pp. 52-120.
The Legislature which received the above report made certain changes in the law of 1869 as it had been amended in 1870. Under Act 8 of 1871 the cumbersome feature of several hundred districts was changed so that in the future there would be only one parish board for all the schools of each parish. It also reorganized the New Orleans board and raised the division superintendent's salary in Division Six to four thousand dollars, or fifteen hundred dollars more than that of the other divisions.

With Act 8 of 1871 the Legislature ended its annual alteration of the school laws. The major area of educational legislation was in school finance. At the insistence of the State Superintendent of Education additional revenues were requested and in some instances granted, but the final year of Superintendent Conway's administration, insofar as the legislature was concerned, was most notable for Act 31 which abolished the Free School Fund.

Spoilation in Education

The "black and tan" legislatures which had been sitting under Governor Warmoth's administration were free spenders of the first order. In this connection they felt a

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56 Francis Byers Harris, "Henry Clay Warmoth, Reconstruction Governor of Louisiana," Louisiana Historical
compunction to clean the books of debts the State owed which were "due or created on or before December 31, 1871." These debts were called the floating debt of the State. To accomplish this end it was necessary that they abolish several funds, among them the Free School Fund.57

The Free School Fund dated back to an act of Congress of 1841 which granted the states the revenue from the sale of sixteenth section lands. In 1855 the state provided that such revenues should be held as a loan on which the State would pay six per cent interest, and this interest was to be used for the local support of schools.58 In 1857 forty year bonds were issued by the State at six per cent payable semi-annually. The interest was to be paid from the general funds of the State to the boards of school directors. In 1857 the bonds amounted to $529,000.59 To this was added


additional bonds otherwise held which amounted to $664,500. Thus in 1860 the Free School Fund amounted to $1,093,500. After 1862 no interest was paid and in 1871 the auditor stated that the interest due and payable was a "very large sum."60

In his report for 1870 the auditor stated that the interest was not being paid but that ample provision was being made for education, hence he stated that "I can not, therefore, see the necessity for keeping the said bonds any longer in the treasury as a trust fund."61 Following his advice Act 81, May 25, 1872 abolished the Free School Fund. The legislature ordered the bonds sold and in the future the interest was to be paid to the purchasers and the schools were to continue as since 1862, that was depending on annual appropriations and not having the dedicated source as was probably the intent of the original contracting parties. The disposition of the Free School Fund in this

60Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts to the General Assembly of Louisiana, for the year 1870 (New Orleans: Printed at the office of the Republican, 94 Camp Street, 1871), pp. 47-48, 151.

61Ibid.
manner was described as an "act of spoilation."62

Departure and Investigation

At the close of Warmoth's term approached factionalism was rife. All factions felt that they had been betrayed and as a result Warmoth and all those identified with him came to an inglorious end at the hands of the electorate in 1872. In the light of the conjectured figures for education for the year 1870 both Warmoth and Conway were generous in their description of the program of 1871. Warmoth claimed 90,000 pupils with 1,420 teachers in 640 schools.63 Conway reported 50,000 pupils enrolled with 625 teachers in 483 schools.64 The school situation had little affect on the course of events during 1872 for these men. Conway who was reported to have built a palatial home on the Hudson,65 was


63New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 9, 1872.


65Bossier Banner, November 4, 1871.
out of the state or abed with fever much of the latter part of his term. On August 5, 1872 the German language newspaper of New Orleans carried the story of the death of his wife. His term of office ended, his boy Willie, and now his wife taken from him, Thomas William Conway left the State, apparently never to return.

Five years after Conway's departure from office his administration was subjected to an investigation ordered by the Legislature of 1877. The investigation was to be carried out by two members of the senate and three from the house. Comprising slightly over one hundred pages the report was presented to the 1878 session of the Legislature. Annual Reports, correspondence, committee designed report forms, and witnesses were used in the compilation. Thirteen specific areas were covered which fell under the general headings of: provisions, administration, management of funds, reports from the parishes, and specific instances

66Letter Copy Book I, September 5, 1871.
67New Orleans Tagliche Deutsche Zeitung, August 5, 1872.
69Ibid., pp. 1-6.
of alienation of funds.70

Early in the report, under a discussion of the administration of the period the committee concluded that:

If there was no other reason for the morbid and unnatural condition of the public school system in this State, we find a most potent one in the constant clinic treatment to which it has been subjected for eight years in the legislative hospital.71

But despite the reference to the constant modification of the school law, evidence pointed to the fact that the State Board of Education did act in conformity to the law by meeting, recommending textbooks, setting up rules and regulations, appointing directors, and maintaining their records.72 In connection with the appointment of directors it was noted that only 471 of the 1377 appointed under Act 121 of 1869 accepted and it was not until 1873 that local board organization was complete. Among the directors the qualities in evidence indicated to the investigators that anyone could serve in this function.73

70Ibid., pp. 7-8.
71Ibid., p. 24.
72Ibid.
73Ibid., pp. 24-26.
Although the school law was abhorred there were indications that complaints were made of violations of the law but only four instances were found where offenders were brought to account.  

Concerning Superintendent Conway it stated that he . . . has been derelict in his duty in that essential feature for which the office of State Superintendent of Public Education was created, viz., a direct and personal supervision and control of the school officials, boards of school directors, and the schools.

In detail the Report told of the Conway-Franklin College affair wherein the state suffered a $4,000 loss at the hands of its State Superintendent. Act 65 of 1871 provided $6,000 for the repair of Franklin College at Opelousas. The fund was to be spent by the State Superintendent and the divisional superintendent. In the Auditor's Report for 1872 the fact was cited that no work had been done at the college and yet five of the six one thousand dollar warrants drawn for that purpose had been cashed. Superintendent Brown, who had assumed office in the meanwhile, wanted the State Board to investigate the affair.

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74 Ibid., p. 25.
75 Ibid., p. 29.
76 Ibid., p. 31.
Brown, who had evidently been in New Jersey where Conway then lived, wrote Conway in September asking for a settlement which he had promised. In November he wrote another letter to Conway for the same purpose. Later in the month Conway wrote back stating that he was attempting to raise the money and was hoping that Governor Kellogg would accept the discounted value of the original warrants. Conway requested that Brown keep the whole matter quiet.77

Soon Conway sent $2,000 to Kellogg in an arrangement that Conway later described as being an accepted full payment of the $6,000 account. Subsequently Brown denied that the $2,000 was supposed to satisfy the demands of the state. The period closed with the $4,000 outstanding, each party holding their own contention on the validity of the state's continued claim.78 Such were the revelations of the investigators who had been witnesses to the scene and who were officially charged with reporting their findings.

In addition to the official investigation, numerous evidences of more localized problems appeared during the period. Negatively, the schools of the state suffered under

77 Ibid., pp. 32-34.
78 Ibid., pp. 34-39.
the indifference and inability of many of those called on to serve in the organizational structure. For instance in 1869 the Bossier Parish school directors "have appointed no ward directors, have drawn none of the money to which their parish is entitled, and, in short, have given the school work no attention whatever." In De Soto Parish they "had done absolutely nothing--not even attempted to organize," while in Grant and Natchitoches Parishes the same report was given. In Jefferson Parish the Republican reached the conclusion that the troubles there were due to parental apathy. Something of the spirit was captured in the following letter received by Superintendent Conway from Monroe in 1870.

Monroe, La., June 11, 1870.

T. W. Conway, Esq.
Supt. Public Instruction.

Sir

Permit me to take the liberty of addressing you these lines in reference to appointing the two additional members to our town board of directors. The

79Report of the State Superintendent, 1870, p. 89.
80Ibid., p. 91.
81Ibid., p. 93.
82New Orleans Republican, June 14, 1870.
number already appointed is three, Messrs Ray, Grady, and Bird. The men whose appointment I wish to recommend are George Green and Duncan Hill. These are among our most intelligent and energetic colored republicans and take a deep and active interest in our educational movement. The latter, Mr. Hill, is the owner of a small plantation and some town property. These men are capable and excepting Hon. Frank Morey and Hon. O. H. Brewster, have much more interest in the education of our freedmen than any white resident here. There are, I am sorry to say, few white citizens who are willing to give a hearty support to institutions for our colored people [and], with few exceptions they seem to discourage and hinder rather than help. . . .

Chas. G. Austin, Jr. 83

A little over a year later a similar letter told of another facet to the same problem.

T. W. Conway
Superintendent of Public Education

Sir.

. . . One other trouble and that is this. I am of the opinion that you will not be able to git [sic] men to serve as a School Board unless you have a law passed to pay them something for this Board is giting [sic] very tired of the business—there is too much expected of them to do without pay—especially the secretarys [sic]—but our board will probably hold out this year.

James H. Simmons
Tres. & Secretary of the School Board of Claiborne Parish. 84

83Chas. G. Austin, Jr. to T. W. Conway, Letter, June 11, 1870, Correspondence, Ouachita Parish, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

84James H. Simmons to T. W. Conway, Letter, October 26, 1871, Correspondence, Claiborne Parish, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
In addition to indifference, inability also played a part. Lack of educational qualifications automatically precluded many from carrying out their obligations and the bonding requirement was generally unattainable by many whom politics pressed into service.85

More infamous than using indifferent or unable personnel was the instances where those given public trust deserted it for personal gain. Some physically deserted while the larger number were moral and ethical deserters only. In Greensburg the school treasurer invested the school funds in goods in New Orleans and education was forced to wait until his business venture was consummated. In St. Tammany Parish the treasurer absconded with $1,200 while in Carroll Parish more than $26,000 was lost. Natchitoches Parish was requiring $15,000 to $20,000 annually to operate one one-teacher school and from Brashear (Morgan City) the treasurer "left for Texas" after failing to account for $622.95.86


Similar instances were reported endlessly with these being mentioned only to cite the nature of the corrupt practices on the local level.

Such were the major events of Conway's term of office. His work on particular educational projects will be revealed in the following chapter.
Thomas W. Conway made his final oral report to the State Board of Education on October 29, 1872. In the course of his remarks he compared the relative strength of education in 1870 and 1872. Of the 250,000 educables in the state in 1870, he stated that only 30,000 were in school while the attendance surpassed 100,000 in 1872. Schools reached a figure of approximately 1200 according to his figures. At the conclusion of his remarks the Board passed a resolution of praise and further expressed sympathy for the "severe domestic affliction" that he had recently experienced.1

Thus passed an era in the educational phase of reconstruction. Conway's claims were most extravagant and hardly stand in the face of circumstantial evidence which is available. But even as truth they fail to tell the

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1New Orleans Republican, October 31, 1872.
whole story in terms of the operation of the State's educational program on the local level and in particular areas of endeavor.

Mixed Schools and Negro Education

The problem of schools under the idea of social equality of the races as set forth in the Constitution of 1868 is divided into two distinct phases or periods. The first phase or period was in terms of the implementation of an ideal, while the second phase was one of bitterly fought struggles on the local level to carry out an ideal which had the disapproval of the majority of the total population. Although no critical lines of distinction can be drawn it may generally be stated that the period from 1868 to 1872 roughly coincides with the first phase of the problem.

The spirit of 1868 was a spirit of yielding the full fruits of the victory of 1865 to all men. In this atmosphere Conway assumed that Articles 135 and 136 of the Constitution of 1868 presented a clear mandate to provide state educational leadership designed to implement such a spirit. His zeal for the undertaking is clearly shown in his ambition to include a compulsory feature to the attendance laws which would tolerate no escape from the ideal. As time passed and local reaction, both black and white, made itself felt, a
change can be noted in the position of Conway. In 1870, he devoted a goodly part of his report to the legislature to the matter of mixed schools. He contended that under the Constitution they are demanded, but then he entered a note of moderation by saying, "at times to precipitate attempt to force desirable reforms might delay their secure establishment." The source of this moderate spirit may be found in white reaction to the idea which ranged all the way from outright rebellious opposition to quiet circumvention by legally sanctioned means.

In rural Louisiana, where educational facilities were limited at best, opposition was openly vocal. Under the caption, "Nigger Schools" the Livingston Herald stated: "It is worse than throwing money away to give it to the education of niggers. . . . To the devil with the present school system." In Bossier parish the idea of educating the Negro was not as repulsive but mixed schools were felt to be unworkable. The paper of Benton, the parish seat, stated: "We are glad to see the education of the blacks growing in favor with our people" but "Conway's plan of

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3Livingston Herald, February 16, 1870.
having both races educated together cannot be carried out. If his system leaves parents free to send their children to school or not, and have what schools they want, there will be no mixed schools, but there will be separate schools for each race." In New Orleans the radical press, the Republican, quoted the New Orleans Times in a suggestion that appeared that the public schools faced possible abandonment due to the race question and then noted religious groups and their schools might step in to fill the breech.

The opposition of the press was felt, for from Winnsboro Conway received a letter complaining bitterly of the editorials of the Franklin Sun, Picayune, and [New Orleans] German Gazette and connected their feelings on the matter with the Ku Klux Klan.

The solution of the problem was not in the newspapers. The answer is found in the solution that was given locally, which was simply the abandonment of the system by

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4Bossier Banner, April 2, 1870.

5New Orleans Republican, May 21, 1870.

6A. F. Osborn to T. W. Conway, Letter, November 24, 1871, Correspondence, State Department of Education, Franklin Parish, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
a large number of whites and the insistence on the part of many Negroes that schools be maintained separately, or in a few isolated instances a degree of mixed participation. In 1870, E. S. Stoddard, division superintendent of the Second Division (adjoining New Orleans and extending west), reported a ratio of four to one between Negroes and whites. In the Third Division the ratio was three to one in the same direction. In the same division some mixed schools were reported and some white children were reported as being taught by Negroes. In Division Six there was no problem in the ten schools, for no desire to have mixed schools was in evidence. From Athens, in Claiborne Parish, came the report that the Negroes refused to send their children with the whites.

Effort was made to remedy the situation by pointing out the excellent manner in which the Negro took to education,

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7Report of the State Superintendent, 1870, p. 66.
8Report of the State Superintendent, 1871, pp. 188-89
10________ to T. W. Conway, Letter, February 15, 1871, Correspondence, State Department of Education, Claiborne Parish, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
by imploring moderation, by discontinuing divisive practices, and even smuggling Negroes into white schools in some instances. R. C. Wyly, superintendent of the Fifth Division, advised Conway along the following line:

... and the rapid improvement of the pupils absolutely challenges the respect of all who have visited these schools--and [in] many instances those who thought that the education of colored children was a matter of impossibility have been compelled to admit that their advancement has really been wonderful.11

In his report for 1871 Conway continued to show the need for moderation12 but earlier he had been critical of J. B. Carter, superintendent of New Orleans, for referring to "Schools (White) and Schools (Colored),"13 and had also written J. W. Alvord, general superintendent of education for the Freedmen's Bureau, suggesting that freedmen's schools be discontinued in Louisiana as preserving "castes."14 But the most direct and unique method was that of smuggling colored children into white schools in New Orleans, which

11R. C. Wyly to T. W. Conway, Report of 5th Scholastic Division, October 5, 1871, Correspondence, State Department of Education, Ouachita Parish, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
14Ibid., October 5, 1870.
was a matter of discussion before the school board there in
1868. In July of 1870 the Board of School Directors of New
Orleans passed a rule which subjected teachers to firing who
vocally insulted those teachers who taught Negroes.

Thus was the effort made to mix the races in the
schools of the State. The exact extent to which it accomplish­
ed its purpose cannot be determined but certainly mixed schools
remained the exception rather than the rule. Of a certainty
Negroes were in school and in a few instances in mixed schools,
but one of the best statements concerning the state of affairs
comes from its greatest champion, Conway, who stated that the
"particular feature of the law which provides for compulsory
mixed schools renders the whole system obnoxious. The law
should be amended so as to allow liberty of choice."

And so it was that mixed schools became a local issue rather than
a determined goal of the state's educational leadership.

The influx of the Negro into the public schools of
the state brought about the establishment of educational
facilities at the higher levels. In order to meet the demands

15Minutes of the New Orleans School Board, in Parish
School Board Office, New Orleans, May 21, 1868.

16New Orleans Republican, July 12, 1870.

17Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1870
for teachers for colored and mixed schools the Union Normal School was established in July of 1869.\textsuperscript{18} This school was erected on property donated by the A. M. E. Church by the Freedman's Bureau. The teachers were paid by the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal church. The first classes entered in the fall of 1869.\textsuperscript{19} Located on the corner of Camp and Race Streets, it was enlarged in 1873 to New Orleans University.\textsuperscript{20} In its second year the school boasted sixty students and two teachers. The students were required to pay only two dollars per term for incidentals. Equipment was described as excellent.\textsuperscript{21}

At the same time that the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Church was working toward the establishment of the previously mentioned school, the American Missionary Association was founding Straight University. Under provisions of a charter granted June 12, 1869, the first building was erected on Esplanade Avenue at Burgundy Street by the Freedmen's Bureau at a cost of $20,000. The site was provided

\textsuperscript{18}DiMartino, "Education in New Orleans," p. 117.

\textsuperscript{19}Porter, "History of Negro Education," p. 778.

\textsuperscript{20}DiMartino, "Education in New Orleans," p. 117.

\textsuperscript{21}New Orleans Republican, April 12, 1870.
by the Missionary Association.  

The American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Baptist Free Mission Society combined their efforts with the Freedmen's Bureau to effect the establishment of a third venture in higher education for the Negro: Leland University. Both of these groups gave gifts totalling $25,000 for the purchase of about ten acres of property on St. Charles Avenue. The Freedmen's Bureau provided $17,000 for the erection of the first building. The school opened its doors in 1871.  

Leland was chartered as a university but,  

... being at the same time, by its charter, open to all without distinction of sex or color, its first work in that locality was necessarily confined chiefly to the education to the descendants of the colored race. ... The beginning of its internal work, therefore, was humble and primitive. The school, at first a primary grade, gradually advanced to grammar and to high school instruction. ...  

Doubtless the same statement could be made concerning all early attempts in the direction of higher education for the Negro, for in 1872 of the 429 students enrolled in

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23Ibid., p. 782.

Straight University only twenty were doing work above the secondary level.25

The Normal School of New Orleans

In New Orleans the reorganization of the normal school took place in 1868. At the opening of the term there were fifty-five students but by December the number had increased to eighty-one. Neither the city nor the state was in position to underwrite its expense. It was necessary therefore for the school to meet at the high school after hours, and teachers served without pay. To enroll, a student must have been a high school graduate and be approved by the committee on normal schools of board of school directors.26

By 1869 the school used the services of nine teachers, five of whom were men.27 Their schedule still required afternoon and Saturday morning attendance. Their course of study and schedule was as follows:


27Report of the State Superintendent, 1869, pp. 74-75.
Monday, 4-6 P.M. arithmetic, algebra

Tuesday, 4-6 P.M. English grammar with logical analysis and rhetoric

Wednesday, 4-6 P.M. education

Thursday, 4-6 P.M. modern history, descriptive and physical geography

Friday, 4-6 P.M. algebra, geometry

Saturday, 9-10:45 A.M. penmanship, vocal music
10:45-11:45 A.M. elocution
11:45 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. lectures, method, school of practice.28

In his report for 1869 Conway plead the case for the establishment of a regular state normal school. The fact was pointed out that twenty-four states were now supporting from one to four each. He believed that it would result in better instruction, improved schools, and more zeal and enthusiasm for teaching. The local effort he felt to be a failure because it met after school using regular teachers who had taught all day, and meeting in a building which was not designated for such a purpose.29 The financial aspect was also a problem, for it had no regular support. In 1870 the name was changed to the Peabody Normal Seminary in deference to the fact that it was now receiving support from

28Ibid.

29Ibid., pp. 18-19.
that source. The very first appropriation to the state included two thousand dollars for this school. The second year nineteen hundred dollars was granted, while in the following year it was twenty-one hundred dollars, and it continued support in varying amounts which totalled $14,700 by 1876.

Under the reorganization of 1870 the school was under Mrs. Kate R. Shaw as principal and a staff of competent teachers. Robert M. Lusher, formerly state superintendent of schools, taught in the school after regular teaching hours at his own private school throughout the period of reconstruction. The studies of the senior class included mathematics, natural science, rhetoric, English literature, history, the "art and science of teaching" and foreign languages. The school was organized on the pattern of the Massachusetts Normal schools. In addition there was a preparatory department and a model school in which students were "exercised in practical teaching and discipline." The newspaper carried a notice of the graduation exercises.

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31 Ibid., p. 296.
32 Ibid., p. 180.
for 1872 and something more of the school can be learned by noticing the titles of papers which were read: "School Government," "Teaching Reading," "Rest Methods of Teaching French," and "Object Lesson Teaching." At this graduation Alexander Dimitry spoke to the thirty-one graduates (three of whom were mentioned as being married). 33

In 1874 it was moved from Burgundy Street to 247 St. Charles, in the same building with Lusher's Commercial and Classical Academy. During the period the average enrollment was approximately eighty students. 34

Teacher Institutes

In addition to normal schools other methods were used to enhance the teaching and teaching profession during this period. The law of 1869 made the holding of teacher institutes a duty of the educational establishment. Under this provision the first teacher institute in the state was held in New Orleans on May 5 and 6, 1870. The institute was held at Central High School on Burgundy Street. In order to aid the teachers in attending J. B. Carter, the New Orleans

34 New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 18, 1874.
Superintendent of Schools closed all the schools for a day on Friday the 5th. The speakers of the occasion were Superintendents Conway and Carter, and Mr. F. A. Allen, who was identified in the press as the long-time principal of the State Normal School of Pennsylvania.35

The meeting opened with three to five hundred teachers in attendance. Mr. Allen spoke for two hours on the general subject of education and newspaper comment was that he was cordially received. Conway then spoke, touching such matters as his praise for teachers, salaries, general school conditions, and ending with a plea for continued support and interest for such similar meetings as this one.36

The following year another institute was held in New Orleans, this time meeting in the Lyceum Hall. Similar attendance was reported as compared with the previous year's program. The guest on this occasion was Miss Hattie N. Morris of the Oswego Training School of New York. Her work dealt with "object teaching." The institute lasted for three days this time, meeting May 31, and June 1 and 2. Miss Morris spoke several different times, along with local teachers

35New Orleans Republican, May 5, 1870.
36New Orleans Republican, May 7, 1870.
who presented papers on topics of interest.\textsuperscript{37} The teachers
were entertained by music each day by a four piece band,
which incidentally charged sixty dollars for the three day
program. The whole institute cost the sixth division eighty-
two dollars and thirty cents.\textsuperscript{38}

The conservative press described the affair as simply
a means of forcing the "comingling of both races," as there
were about thirty Negro teachers in attendance.\textsuperscript{39}

Not only did New Orleans have a teacher institute in
1871 but Amite City, Carrollton, and Franklin also.\textsuperscript{40} The
Carrollton institute was held on June 8, 9, 10 in the parish
courthouse. Over one hundred teachers were present including
all but six of the teachers of the Second Division. The pro-
gram included the following speeches:

"Elements Necessary to Successful School Work"
Thomas W. Conway;

"Best Methods for Arithmetic" Miss Hattie N. Morris,

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Report of the State Superintendent, 1871,} pp. 299-300.

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Receipts for Books, Supplies and Payments, February 16, 1864-February 15, 1922,} State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Correspondence, Orleans Parish, 1871, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune,} June 1, 1871.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Report of the State Superintendent, 1871,} p. 15.
Oswego Training School;

"Moral Influence of the Teachers in School" William Rollinson;

"Hygiene" Dr. J. S. Clark, New Orleans Board of Health;

and in addition there were talks on methods in the areas of geography, spelling, grammar, reading, botany, phonography, and school discipline. The institute lasted for three days and was reported to have had a "better spirit" than the one recently held in New Orleans.41

Amite City and Franklin also used the services of Miss Morris. Amite City had fifty in attendance.42 In connection with the Franklin institute the following observation, taken from the annual report for the year, indicates the philosophy desired.

They are intended to teach us not what our scholars are to recite, but they are to supply the place of normal schools, and teach us the art and science—the theory and practice of teaching.43

The continuation of the idea and outcomes of the institution movement in the latter phases of reconstruction will be treated subsequently.

41Ibid., pp. 137-141.
42Ibid., pp. 68-69.
Conventions and Associations

The year 1872 brought a redirection of effort temporarily in the field of professional improvement. No teacher institutes are reported for the year but rather the emphasis seems to have been placed on an educational convention which was scheduled for the days in the latter part of May of that year. The convention was styled as the State Educational Convention and met in Lyceum Hall in New Orleans on May 23, 24, and 25, 1872.44 Two days prior to the opening day Conway wrote a letter to Governor Warmoth inviting him to speak.45 Evidently the invitation was not accepted, for the main speech on the opening day was by ex-Governor Michael Hahn. Conway then spoke on the purposes of the meeting. In reporting the speech, the conservative Picayune stated that:

The Parson's discourse was directed mainly to prove that he has been the most efficient and economical State Superintendent of Public Schools that the State ever possessed, and that he had succeeded in prefecting a most perfect system of public education.46

Superintendent J. B. Carter's own evaluation pointed

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out the fact that it brought more people in association with public education and "strengthened those interested in education." Papers were read by Dr. Thomas Nicholson and Dr. Myron W. Reed. As the meeting progressed more and more politics were injected and Friday night's meeting was termed a "political hassle" by the press.

The convention was a product of the state educational administration and was apparently the first effort made toward uniting all the educational forces of the state for such a purpose. In promoting it the State desired that the expenses of those attending be borne by the local boards.

In addition to this state convention, mention is made that there existed in at least two parishes, societies for the mutual improvement of teachers that seem akin to the philosophy of the institutes and convention.

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47 Report of the State Superintendent, 1872, p. 211.


Divisional Activities

The duties of the divisional superintendents have been cited in the previous chapter. Some small indication of their work has been cited with reference to records and teacher institutes. No real indication of their accomplishments on an objective basis is possible but some information extant does yield a degree of evidence. In 1878 a committee of the House and Senate was appointed to investigate the Department of Education from 1869 to 1877. The report which they issued contained a table showing the division superintendents of education for the period. (See Appendix A.) Following each name the committee made an evaluation of the services of the individual. Of the twenty-one listed for the period only seven were described in a fully complimentary manner by the committee. Failure to make satisfactory reports seems to have been the most frequent criticism leveled by the investigators.

E. S. Stoddard of the Second Division was listed as "faithful, efficient, and made full reports." Certainly it is evident that his work was held in esteem in comparison to that of many others. The nature of his reports as included in the reports of the state superintendents is

indicative of the basis of their evaluation. His diary also reveals the extent to which he undertook to do his job. Excerpts from his diary show both his activities and the conditions which he found existing in his division.

May 26th

Raceland
S. Love teacher. Open January 11th. Was open in fall--106 on roll--average 60. School fairly prosperous. Teacher earnest and faithful. Too large an attendance for one teacher to instruct successfully.

Teacher of private school feels that mixed schools will not work. Mr. Thibodaux to try to convince people to send them together.

E. S. S. spent night at home of Rev. Anderson (colored, Raceland)

May 27th
Oak Grove District
V. Gaiguard teacher. Open Feb. 1st. On roll 33. Ave. about 25 to 28. School was successful. Children not tidy or well mannered. Teacher could not tell the number of his scholars--evidently (?) takes no interest in his school whatsoever--cannot renew his certificate.

Bourgeois School
   [This is the Feast of Corpus Christi]

Greenwood School
devoted to his work and will no doubt prove a success.\textsuperscript{52}

Such were but two days in the life of a division superintendent. His work is reporting, certifying, and visiting doubtless kept his exceedingly busy.

The Peabody Education Fund

Reference has been made to the use of Peabody Funds in relation to normal school education. In February, 1868, just prior to leaving the office of state superintendent, Lusher announced that monies from the Peabody Education Fund might be made available to "well conducted schools" within the state.\textsuperscript{53}

The Peabody Fund consisted of the income from a gift of one million dollars made on February 7, 1867, by George Peabody. In 1869 an additional million dollars was added along with bonds on the states of Mississippi and Florida amounting to slightly less than one and a half-million dollars which turned out to be valueless. To be administered by a board of trustees the money was to be used "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the young of the more destitute

\textsuperscript{52}E. S. Stoddard, Diary, Stoddard Papers, Archives, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

\textsuperscript{53}New Orleans \textit{Crescent}, February 16, 1868.
portions of the Southern and Southwestern states. . . ." The only distinction was the matter of need.54

Since early summer of 1867, Lusher had been in touch with Dr. Barnas Sears, general agent for the trustees of the fund, and in 1868, he invited educators to avail themselves of the possibility of having the grants made to their schools by supplying information on the "character, condition and resources" of their schools.55

From the inception of the program it was decided that aid should be given in direct relation to the local support which was forthcoming to the schools. Preference was given to schools in centers of population and influence, where permanence could be anticipated, and where the long term values of schools could be proved. Normal schools were to be aided in addition to free schools.56

Lusher prepared an application blank in which full

54Hoy. Taylor, An Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Education Fund, Contribution to Education Published Under the Direction of the George Peabody College for Teachers, No. 114 (Nashville, Tennessee: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1933), pp. 4-6, 28-29. Hereinafter cited as Taylor, Early Administration of the Peabody Fund.


56Taylor, Early Administration of the Peabody Fund, pp. 61-62.
information was requested concerning the school population, current usage of opportunities, lists of teachers and preferred textbooks, and a written explanation of the "peculiar circumstances and educational needs" of the people of the community. In the first year seventeen thousand dollars was granted to education in Louisiana. Twelve thousand to free schools and five thousand to normal schools.

Two significant facts emerge as the program gathered headway. The first was the willingness of the local population to assume an educational burden in addition to that for which they were already paying in that tax structure for the grants from the Peabody Fund were always significantly less than the amounts subscribed locally. The second is the hostility that the program raised on the part of the State because it was administered by Lusher outside the scope of state educational activities to schools that were private in nature. The conflict, which was the subject of wide comment, is briefly but sufficiently stated in an exchange of letters between Conway and Dr. Sears.


First -- Mr. Lusher, your present agent, does not cooperate, in any way with the State authorities in the promotion of the work of popular education.

Second -- There is good reason to believe that he is greatly opposed to the State authorities, and that he aims to build up a system antagonistic to that of the State.

Third -- Some of the teachers aided by him are doing all in their power to break up our public schools, and in some cases circulars have issued from them urging the citizens to oppose the establishment of public schools.

Fourth -- Mr. Lusher announces that the schools aided by him are for 'white children,' thereby involving the trustees of the Peabody fund in the false position of establishing a caste system of education, which is, I believe, at variance with the declarations put forth by them.

Fifth -- Mr. Lusher must necessarily excite widespread opposition because of his prejudiced feelings, his inharmonious conduct toward the public school officers, and his neglect of the educational interests of the colored population of our State. We think the fund for this State can be used by the State Board of Education to far better advantages than if it remains in the hands of Mr. Lusher. Not only would we assist schools attended exclusively or partially by white pupils, without exciting the jealousy of the colored population, but we could render all proper assistance to the latter class without exciting the opposition of any of the white citizens of the State.

You would gain great advantage by having the fund used in perfect harmony with our public school system; it would be far more economical, since our school officers would charge nothing for any service you would require, and it would secure you double the results which you can possibly accomplish under the present auspices.  

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Sears' reply to Conway, dated November 8, 1870, indicates that he and the Board of Trustees believed circumstances in Louisiana were such that they justified Lusher's course of action. Sears wrote:

Hon. Thomas W. Conway:

Dear Sir -- In reply to your communication of October 28, I beg leave to say that, in the distribution of our fund, I should be most happy to co-operate with the State authorities. But I understand that the State public schools are so organized that the greater part of the white population are unwilling to send their children to them, and that, consequently, the benefit of the public money goes in fact chiefly to the colored children. If there is any feasible way of removing this inequality, bringing the white people generally into co-operation with you, the necessity for a local agency would cease, and we could act in concert with you.

We, ourselves, raise no questions about mixed schools. We simply take the fact that the white children do not generally attend them, without passing any judgment on the propriety or impropriety of their course. We wish to promote universal education--to aid whole communities, if possible. If that can not be, on account of peculiar circumstances, we must give the preference to those whose education is neglected. It is well known that we are helping the white children in Louisiana, as being the more destitute, from the fact of their unwillingness to attend mixed schools. We should give the preference to colored children, were they in like circumstances.

Mr. Lusher has been requested to avoid controversy and antagonism with the State authorities; and he has assured me that this is in accordance with his own views and wishes.60

60Ibid., p. 42.
During the period from 1868 until 1876 a total of $74,545 was expended in Louisiana from the Peabody Fund. Fifty-two thousand ninety-five dollars was spent on elementary and secondary education, while $22,150 was spent on normal schools ($300 was listed as miscellaneous in 1875). Aid to the former was ended in 1875. After the first year, 1871 is the year in which the largest amount was spent (see location of recipient schools in Appendix A). 61

The outstanding contribution of the program was in the area of normal schools. Here standards were set for teacher training by Dr. Sears. Evidence of this and the standards themselves appear in a letter from Dr. Sears to Lusher in which he states:

The normal department ought to be a post graduate course and is strictly as professional as possible. In reviewing grammar, arithmetic, geography, etc., I would make it a normal review, i.e., I would say to my class: 'Tell me how you would instruct children on the topics contained in this lesson and make the matter plain to them and get evidence that they did not merely repeat the words but comprehend the subject.' I would drill them in presenting things before words (names of things); the concrete forms of things before the abstractions of generalizations. This is the way in which elementary studies are reviewed in all our best Normal schools. If there be a class of children and the Normal pupil

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61 Larre, "The Administration of the Peabody Funds in Louisiana," pp. 64-65.
instead of being examined on his lesson, could be requested to illustrate (under the eye and guidance of his teacher) his knowledge of the lesson and the best method of presenting it to his class: this would be best of all. 62

Higher Education

As previously the major work in the field of higher education was being done at the State Seminary in Pineville and the University of Louisiana in New Orleans. In Pineville the work of the Seminary continued under Colonel David F. Boyd. However, shortly after the opening of the fall term in 1869, the school suffered total loss through fire on the night of October 14. Water was not available and the efforts of the fire fighters were restricted to saving books, furniture, and scientific apparatus. About $50,000 worth of equipment was saved but all the commissary supplies and other stores valued at $20,000 were lost. The press estimated that it would cost $150,000 to rebuild and there was no insurance. 63

Within two weeks accommodations had been located at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Baton Rouge and the school was reopened. Circumstances were trying but by great effort on the part of the leaders a record of continuous operation for


63Fleming, Louisiana State University, p. 167.
the period was maintained.\textsuperscript{64} Actually, despite the move the number of students increased the following year.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Attendance & Revenues from State Sponsored Students & Graduates \\
\hline
1868-1869 & 141 & 77,440 & 8 \\
1869-1870 & 170 & 63,920 & 7 \\
1870-1871 & 184 & 63,920 & 20 \\
1871-1872 & 175\textsuperscript{65} & 64,440\textsuperscript{66} & 10\textsuperscript{67} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

The course of study as outlined in 1872 consisted of four courses: literary, scientific, optional, and commercial. All save the latter granted regular collegiate degrees.

Throughout the period constant attention was given to strengthening the program of the school and evidence exists that some of the better thinking higher education was incorporated in the program through Colonel Boyd and the faculty.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., p. 168.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., p. 204.

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., p. 201.

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., pp. 166, 218.

\textsuperscript{68}Ibid., pp. 210-215.
It was on March 16, 1870 that the name of the school was changed from Louisiana State Seminary to Louisiana State University.69

Professional education at the collegiate level was centered in the University of Louisiana in New Orleans. There was located the schools of medicine, law, dentistry, and pharmacy. In the school of medicine the requirements for graduation were that one must be twenty-one years old, of good moral character, three years of study, a thesis, and a satisfactory examination before the faculty.70 In 1872, 62 degrees were granted from the medical school.71

The law department was operated also in connection with the University. The department boasted of the federal and state courts and the foreign legal actions in the city as providing excellent training for the school.72 The State Library was located in the same building and with its 26,000

69Ibid., p. 193.
70Annual Circular of the Medical Department of the University of Louisiana, Session 1871-1872 (New Orleans: Brong Pen Book and Job Office, 1871), p. 5.
71New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 2, 1872.
72Annual Circular of the Law Department of the University of Louisiana, Session of 1873-1874 (New Orleans: L. Graham and Company, 1873), p. 4.
volumes the students were in position to use it under regulations of the Secretary of State. 73 Eleven degrees in law were awarded in 1872. 74 The schools of pharmacy and dentistry were operated in conjunction with the medical school. The school of pharmacy graduated ten in 1874. 75

Numerous other institutions with the word "college" in their names existed at this time but generally a close inspection of their curriculum indicates that their offerings above the secondary level were very limited.

Other particulars of the educational activities of the reconstruction period will be dealt with in Chapter VIII, following.

73 Ibid.
74 New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 2, 1872.
75 New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 21, 1874.
The victory which the radical political element won in 1868 through their cupidity could only lead to an extension of personal and factional vindictiveness. Such was the situation in 1872 from the precinct to the national convention. In Louisiana the result was the espousal of the liberal ideals of the Republican Party by Henry Warmoth and the subsequent deluge by the radical element under the leadership of William Pitt Kellogg.

The political picture in Louisiana in 1872 was complex. Prior to August of that year there were five major factions. Four of these were in the Republican camp while the fifth was the Democratic group. Among the Republicans there was the Liberal or Warmoth group, the Customs House or Radical group, the followers of P. B. S. Pinchback, the Negro leader, and the Reform group. The latter were mostly former Whigs or anti-Slidell Democrats. By August 1872 the Republicans had narrowed the field to two groups—the Liberal-
Reform-Democratic coalition and the Customs House group.
The Customs House faction was deserted by Pinchback and his followers after three days together in convention so the slate represented only the former group. This was in June, but by August Pinchback realized the necessity of cooperating with some quarter so he re-allied his group with Kellogg and as a result was able to recast the Republican slate with two of his own followers. The original list of candidates included one Negro while a revised list contained three Negroes among the six candidates.\(^1\) Germane to this study is the fact that the candidate for the office of state superintendent of education was one of those changed. Charles W. Keating of Shreveport, a former Union officer and official of the Freedman's Bureau, was removed in favor of William G. Brown.\(^2\) Keating later served as division superintendent of the Fourth Division from 1873 to 1877 and was listed as a good officer who made reports during his tenure.\(^3\)


\(^2\)Ibid.

William G. Brown and the 1872 Election

William G. Brown, a little known person of the period. The only information available points to him as a West Indian from the island of Jamaica. In coloring he must have appeared a mulatto for he is thus referred to in the press. Descriptions and characterizations of Superintendent Brown vary as widely as the political sentiments of the day, but as a man and officer in the state government, he apparently won more praise than criticism. In an article entitled "Old and New Louisiana" which appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* he is characterized as a "mulatto gentleman of evident culture," and "seems . . . up to the measure of his task." The radical press commented at the time of his induction into office that:

> Our intimate acquaintance with Mr. Brown enables us to say with a degree of absolute certainty that he will discharge the important and responsible duties with a view to benefit the greatest number of children of the State. . . .

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4 Thomas G. Thompson to William G. Brown in Correspondence, Carroll Parish, 1873, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, *Daily Picayune*, October 17, 1872.

5 Ibid.


7 New Orleans *Republican*, December 13, 1872.
On the other hand the conservative organ referred to him as an "unnaturalized mulatto from Jamaica" and went on to question his domestic responsibilities in Jamaica and in New Orleans also. The Picayune wondered if the corruption that he may have been party to as enrolling clerk at the legislature for the previous two years would be a factor in the disposition that he would make of his office.®

Such were some of the comments early in his career as a state officer. Interestingly enough there is little or no evidence of personal criticism during his tenure. In instances his work was commended by the conservative press and criticisms of the educational establishment are directed at the policy laid down for him by his predecessor or his party.

The election itself was held on November 4, 1872. Robert M. Lusher was the candidate for the Fusion ticket, which included the Reformers, Democrats, and the Horace Greeley supporting Liberal Republicans, the latter, who, under the leadership of Warmoth, were determined to wreck the Kellogg interests for reasons less noble than national party loyalty.⁹

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®New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 17, 1872.

To determine the winner of one's choice a person had but to select the Republican or the Picayune as the valid reporter of returns. Two weeks after the election the latter paper was reporting an eleven and one-half thousand plurality for Lusher, while the Republican was equally assertive in its claims for Brown. Both parties claimed victory therefore both established rival organizations based on their elected candidates. From November 4, 1872 until May 22, 1873, the political situation was filled with court actions, resounding claims, and the clatter of the telegraph as the latest Washington news came with word of congressional delay and finally the presidential proclamation that recognized the Kellogg government. The want of decision had had its repercussions in the outlying areas where the presence of Federal troops was not so keenly felt, for these were the days of the Colfax Riot and other similar disturbances precipitated by the rival claims. Amidst such problems the new state superintendent of education inaugurated his program.

10 New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 19, 1872.

Brown's entrance into office was but a part of a radical revolution and as such there were no singular issues involved in the field of education, hence the change was not accompanied by any extensive modifications in the existing system. One of the first acts on the part of the new superintendent was to ask M. C. Cole, who was secretary to the superintendent, to stay on. This move won the plaudits of the Republican which described Cole as one "under whose able management and close application to the duties of his responsible position the school system is so largely indebted for the term of Mr. Brown's predecessor. . . ."12

Even before the May decision of President Grant, Brown set about the work of his office by making nominations to the governor for membership on the State Board as required by law. The first meeting of the new board took place on March 30, 1873. The Board now consisted of P. M. Williams, E. S. Stoddard, George B. Land, Charles W. Keating, James Brewster, and C. W. Boothby. With the exception of Stoddard this group was entirely new to its duties. In the meeting plans were made for the future. In the first place

12 New Orleans Republican, December 13, 1872.
a full reorganization of local boards was planned along with an enquiry into the administration of Conway as state superintendent.\textsuperscript{13}

In the meanwhile there occurred a widely publicized event which had a connection with the "color" tension that was a part of the educational problem of the day. Evidently it was the policy of Brown to visit in the schools of New Orleans in his official capacity. In June, Superintendent Brown visited the Upper Girls High School where he went into the room being taught by the principal, Mr. K. R. Shaw. Mrs. Shaw did not acknowledge his presence and on being informed by the visitor that he was Superintendent Brown she left the room and did not return. The event created a great deal of consternation and was immediately interpreted as an affront to the colored superintendent. Following the spread of the news, Superintendent Boothby wrote Brown asking the full particulars. In his reply Brown said that the principal did show little respect for him but it was in a negative way and was limited to one room of the four in the school. He further stated that the feeling on the part of the teacher must have been of long standing because in the past she had been

\textsuperscript{13}\textbf{New Orleans Republican}, April 1, 1873.
guilty of not filing required reports. His concluding com-
ment, couched in mild and discreet language, was that he
desired that the city board make such regulations as would
prevent reoccurrence.\textsuperscript{14} Four days later Mrs. Shaw was dis-
missed by the board. She plead innocent on the grounds that
she did not recognize him as State Superintendent of Educa-
tion.\textsuperscript{15}

The quality of education being made available by the
State was of concern to Brown. In his own words, from his
copy of a letter addressed to James Brewster of the Fifth
Division in Monroe, he states:

\ldots The necessity of raising the grade of our teach-
ers is upon me and what was deemed excusable two or
three years ago should not be tolerated now. Better
have few schools of acknowledged character and ef-
ficiency whose influence will be salutary than many
of inferior grade that cannot command the respect and
support of the community that patronizes them.\textsuperscript{16}

Reports of the Period

In January of 1873 Brown made his first annual report

\textsuperscript{14}W. G. Brown to C. W. Boothby, Letter in Letter Copy
Book, I, pp. 553-560, June 20, 1873, State Department of Edu-
cation, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University,

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, June 27, 1873.

\textsuperscript{16}W. G. Brown to James Brewster, Letter Copy Book, I,
pp. 506-07, May 24, 1873.
to the Legislature. This report and the reports of subsequent years are among the most complete of the period from 1862 until 1877. Statistically there are many questions which arise in interpretation but with care a picture of the period can be obtained. In 1874 the population of the state stood at 726,915 with Negroes enjoying a small majority.17 The approximate number of educables between the ages of six and twenty-one for 1873-1877 was 273,300.18 The determination of the actual numbers enrolled is open to certain questions. The four Reports prepared by Brown cover one year of Conway's administration and three of his own, while the last year of his administration was reported by Robert M. Lusher, his successor. In 1873 there were 57,433 reported enrolled while in the following two years the figures increased to 74,309 and 74,846 respectively.19 In Lusher's


report the figure drops sharply to 53,060 for 1876-1877, and then it rises sharply back to 76,826 for 1877-1878. Evidence is not available to indicate the reason for the low figure in Lusher's first report. It cannot be assumed that conditions were generally worse to the point of 20,000 being out of school in 1876-1877, for worse times had been experienced without similar effects on the enrollment figures. Neither can it be argued that the 20,000 represents the "en mass" return of whites to the schools as a result of political considerations incidental to the withdrawal of Federal troops for a close inspection reveals that the increase was proportional between Negroes and whites. Thus it appears that there may exist certain reasons for doubting the accuracy of the reports for 1876-1877 and their inclusion may not do justice to the period in question. Hence using a three year average rather than four there were an average of almost 69,000 in the schools of the state. Using the proportions of the 1876-1877 and 1877-1878 Reports it appears that there were about 39,000 whites and 30,000 Negroes

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21Ibid.
enrolled. In New Orleans the whites outnumbered the Negroes about three to one, while in the rural areas where sparseness of population and financial ability would not permit separate facilities the whites did not attend and the ratio was about one to one.\textsuperscript{22}

The number of schools during the period averaged nearly one thousand. These schools operated from 3-1/2 to 4-1/2 months per year on a five and one-half hour day. The average monthly salary of teachers was approximately $40.00\textsuperscript{23}

During Brown's tenure of office a total of $2,913,348-114 was expended on public education. This was an average of $728,337.03 per annum. The three sources of this revenue were state property taxes, corporate and parish taxes, and interest on school lands. In this period slightly more than half of the revenue came from corporate and parish sources, while the state provided just above forty per cent, with the interest on school lands providing the remaining four to six per cent.\textsuperscript{24}

New Orleans paid sixty-nine per cent of the state

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23}Report of the State Superintendent, 1875, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
In order to finance her schools the city administrators had to levy taxes which at times more than doubled the revenue available from the State.26

Regarding the expenditures of revenues during the period two years may be cited. In 1873 the state, including New Orleans listed the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>$16,944.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>551,460.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>62,996.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairs</td>
<td>13,499.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fuel, etc.</td>
<td>30,632.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apparatus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
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<td>Balance on hand</td>
<td>98,971.26</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$822,797.26</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School certificates</td>
<td><strong>$144,323.74</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$678,473.52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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25 New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 27, 1874.

26 New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 30, 1872.

In New Orleans the budget for 1875 called for $486,500.00 to be spent as follows:

- Rent: 31,636.00
- Teachers: 383,860.00
- Porters and portresses: 24,400.00
- Repairs: 5,000.00
- Stones, grates, fuel: 5,000.00
- Secretaries and other employees of the board: 4,600.00
- Books: 5,000.00
- Cleaning and sanitary expenses: 8,000.00
- Contingent: 6,000.00
- Printing: 1,504.00
- Furniture: 5,000.00
- Music teachers: 6,500.00

The statistical reports for the period following 1870 are very extensive. Much information is given concerning each individual parish and the state as a whole. For the present inclusion seems superfluous. Only that information is included which has direct bearing on the

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28New Orleans Daily Picayune, October 27, 1874.
State as a whole and which seems to support valid generalization.

Brown's Program and Policies

Late in 1873 Governor Kellogg wrote Brown inquiring about school conditions and desired legislation. Brown answered the governor in letters of December 26, 1873 and January 3, 1874. In the reply he noted almost 60,000 pupils in school. The early part of his administration he said had been spent in reorganization. The most satisfying accomplishment of the first year was, in his words, "the growing interest and marked friendship manifested toward the Department of Education by the educated and wealthy of the state."

Among his suggestions to Kellogg was a desired increase in the two mill state property tax for he estimated, on the basis of $3.00 per child in New Orleans and $2.00 per child in the rural areas, that it would cost $1,500,000 to educate half of the state's educables. His estimate of revenues was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 mill tax</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$1,050,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deficit</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
He reported that he was planning several revisions in the school law to make it "one simple and harmonious statute." He called attention to the $300,000 available under the Morrill Act and decried its possible use on the several sectarian schools of the state. A large portion of the letter concerned itself with the problem of school lands. He wanted legislation to protect the lands and the money derived from them. His suggestion was to have a superintendent of state school lands nominated and appointed by the State Board with real protective authority.29

Governor Kellogg took note of Brown's suggestions in his annual message to the Legislature on January 5, 1874 for he expressed the need for the per educable allotment suggested by Brown and then went further in asking repayment of the bonds taken by Act 81 of 1872.30

In January Brown's report was issued and, as had been promised in the first meeting of the State Board under Brown, some investigation had been made of the previous administration. In March the Picayune agreed with the report


30New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 6, 1874.
that there was corruption under Conway. In fact the paper actually admired Brown's courage in issuing the report. The press article ended by saying: "If he can develop the good alleged to be inherent in our existing school system, we don't think the blindest prejudices of race, color, politics, or anything else will stand between him and undying fame."31

The corruption referred to was the manner in which local duties and responsibilities had been carried out. Later in March the Picayune again referred to the matter by saying that "loud wails have set up in the state." Further it said that colored people are inquiring and important people are writing the governor and that he is turning them over to the attorney-general for prosecution.32

The Legislature which received Brown's report appointed a committee styled "Retrenchment and Reform." In its report it gave reasons for failure in education by pointing to:

1. Misappropriation of funds on local level.
2. Divisions too large and division superintendents' power too limited.33

31New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 4, 1874.
32New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 21, 1874.
33New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 6, 1874.
State School Lands and Funds

One of the points raised in Brown's letter to Kellogg was that of the problem of the school lands of the state and the funds being derived from them. In his review of the work of 1873 he discussed the problem more fully. He was of the opinion that local authorities had been "careless and indifferent" toward this problem to the point that irregularities were in evidence. He felt that the State should prevent further depredation and he desired an accurate inventory.\(^{34}\) The Legislature was amenable and Section 7, Act 122 of 1874 authorized the use of a person with legal attainments in each school division to assist in all matters dealing with school lands and their protection.\(^{35}\)

It was at this time that interest on the Free School Fund taken by Act 81 of 1872 was begun to be paid from the Current School Fund to specific parishes.\(^{36}\)

The Negro Question

Although forced bi-racial attendance was apparently abandoned as a state policy, the problem still continued to

\(^{34}\)Report of the State Superintendent, 1873, p. 33.

\(^{35}\)Report of the State Superintendent, 1875, p. 37.

\(^{36}\)Report of the State Superintendent, 1877, p. x.
harrass local officials and in some instances to the point that it was a matter of intense bitterness in local areas. Many of the instances of this nature apparently steemed from a desire to maintain a principle in specific situations in order that victory could be claimed by the radical forces or so that pledges might be kept.

In December of 1874 the problem of Negroes in white schools flared with intensity. On the morning of December 14, at the time slated for the transfer of students to the high schools of New Orleans a Negro from the Carrollton area, presented several Negro girls to Mrs. McDonald of the Upper Girls High School for admission. Mrs. McDonald refused and in the meantime dismissed her class, which reassembled nearby and drew up a resolution to the Board. The resolution demanded a settlement to the mixed school question by graduation day, December 23, or they would not graduate. Superintendent Boothby then came to the school and apologized. There was a rumor going about stating that the Board knew that the event was in the offing.37

On the next day reports had it that Boothby had insulted the girls and he was forced to sign a statement against mixed schools and apologize to the girls. He said

37New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 15, 1874.
that he did not need to sign for he was already against mixed schools and he did not insult the girls. Finally it was determined that the insult came from a member of the Republican staff. He was publically "cowhided" by one, B. A. McDonough, at the corner of Canal and Exchange Streets.38

In the meantime thirty Negroes attempted to take their high school entrance examination at one of the boy's high schools. They met with resistance and did not push for admittance.39 But this was enough to rouse the boys who formed squads and went over to the girl's high school to aid them if needed.40 These "regulators," as they were termed by the press, continued their activities for several days, visiting schools throughout the city discouraging any possible plans which the Negroes may have had.41

On the 19th the Picayune urged that the youths stop their activities, for they had been fired on in one instance and the police had threatened to call the military. Besides, in a ruling of the 18th the city Board declared

38New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 16, 1874.
39Ibid.
40New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 17, 1874.
41New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 18, 1874.
itself against mixed schools.\textsuperscript{42}

For the time the problem died down but from time to time during 1875 and 1876 the issue was raised either in the schools or in the Board meetings. For instance, on February 18, 1875, a Negro was forced into the white senior class of one of the high schools by the city Board. The result was that twenty of the twenty-two members of the class resigned. It was felt that the Board was made up largely of Negroes that they were behind the action.\textsuperscript{43}

Doubtless this was true, for in September, 1875, P. B. S. Pinchback, a Negro member of the Board who was also Congressman at large from the State, secured the appointment of a Negro to the faculty at the Boys High School. He said that it was done to test Southern words.\textsuperscript{44} Evidently some of the mixed schools of the city were mixed so far as schools were concerned but not in classes for in November there was trouble at the Rampart Street School because a reorganization was effected which put whites in close contact with Negroes who had been in the school for some time.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, December 19, 1874.
\textsuperscript{43}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, February 2, 1875.
\textsuperscript{44}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, September 16, 1875.
\textsuperscript{45}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, November 9, 1875.
late as January, 1876 Pinchback still persisted in his efforts at integration of the races in schools.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{Last Days of Reconstruction}

In addition to the Negro question in New Orleans that was making itself felt on the state administration there were other matters. It seems that as the mixed school question moved out of the program of the State Superintendent that questions concerning irregularities among officials and accounts attracted wider attention. However, Brown was able to report a successful year in 1874 because he felt that good teachers were more plentiful, that school officers were exercising more care and filing better reports, and that there was an increased "manifest interest."\textsuperscript{47}

Governor Kellogg in his address to the Legislature on January 3, 1876, dealt extensively with the subject of education. At the outset he said:

\begin{quote}
Agitation over various questions, not only financial but affecting the administration of the schools generally, has awakened considerable public interest. . . .\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

Pointing to reasons for trouble he cited the slow

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{46}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, January 6, 1876.
\item\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Report of the State Superintendent, 1875}, p. 2.
\item\textsuperscript{48}\textit{New Orleans Daily Picayune}, January 4, 1876.
\end{itemize}
payment of taxes which kept the educational establishment in an unfavorable position. Recent appointments to the city Board had enjoyed wider acceptance, he maintained. For the future he made four suggestions:

1. Find a method for making teacher selections more permanent.
2. Give municipal bodies representation on local boards.
3. Decrease the size of the New Orleans board.
4. Provide for more local administration.\(^{49}\)

In closing his report Brown cited the increase in school attendance in New Orleans from 11,093 in 1865-1866 to 19,300 in 1875-1876. The cost per child had decreased from $23.74 to $20.73 in the same period. The per pupil expenditure was roughly the same as that of New York or St. Louis.\(^{50}\)

Insofar as news interest, education began giving way to politics in 1876. On July 3, 1876, Brown was nominated by acclamation for a second term by the Republican Convention.\(^{51}\) The following month the Democrats nominated Robert

\(^{49}\)Ibid.

\(^{50}\)Ibid.

\(^{51}\)New Orleans Daily Picayune, July 4, 1876.
M. Lusher, who had for the previous four years maintained his right to Brown's office. Lusher had announced his intention to run in June on a five point platform:

1. Reform and economy in the administration of the public school system.

2. A vigilant protection of the school funds from waste and embezzlement.

3. Equal facilities, competent teachers, under local control.

4. Schools wherever feasible.

5. Prompt and punctual payment of teachers.

Shortly after the convention of the Democrats a mass meeting was held in New Orleans endorsing education, white and colored, and Lusher as the Democratic candidate, as a reward for valuable service to education. The Republican on the other hand insinuated that Lusher was opposed to Negro education.

Not only was the matter of race injected but the Republican brought up the religious issue:

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52 New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 7, 1876.

53 New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 13, 1876.

54 New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 10, 1876.

55 Cited in New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 6, 1876.
We hear it repeatedly and positively asserted that Mr. Lusher, Democratic nominee for State Superintendent of Public Education, is not only a Roman Catholic, but a lay disciple of the Jesuit order. We heartily believe in excluding religion from politics, but the peculiar contest now going on in regard to public education, and the general anxiety on the subject makes this allegation a significant one, as its frequent discussion indicates. Authentic information on the point raised from any source will be willingly printed.

The Jesuits, as is known, are opposed to the free public school system in vogue in this country, and to destroy it, would consider that 'the end justified the means' employed.\textsuperscript{56}

Lusher, who was in Washington at the time answered in the \textit{Picayune} that he thought the question impertinent.

Lusher actively worked for his candidacy during the Fall of 1876. He assisted in the organization of Democratic-Conservative Clubs for Negroes, whose votes would be needed for victory.\textsuperscript{57}

November 7, 1876 was the election day. The election took place quietly but decided no more than the one four years previous.\textsuperscript{58} For on November 16, 1876 the Returning Board met and after their deliberations established the vote:

\begin{center}
Wm. G. Brown, 74,446
\end{center}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{56}New Orleans \textit{Republican}, July 30, 1876.
\bibitem{57}New Orleans \textit{Daily Picayune}, August 18, 1876, p. 22.
\bibitem{58}Turner, "Robert Mills Lusher, p. 191.
\end{thebibliography}
Robt. M. Lusher, 71,109

The Democratic Committee on Returns established the vote:

Brown, 73,919
Lusher, 87,024

Both parties claimed victory but realized that Federal intervention would be the deciding factor. Therefore each group went ahead with the organization of the government. Lusher was commissioned by Democratic governor-elect Francis T. Nicholls, while Brown was commissioned by Republican governor-elect S. B. Packard on December 30, 1876. The governors were inaugurated on January 8, 1877. Louisiana would have to wait for the withdrawal of Federal troops in April to drop the Packard-Republican supports, but Reconstruction was at its end. On April 25, 1877 Robert M. Lusher, Democrat, occupied the office of the state superintendent.

59 New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 7, 1876.
60 New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 10, 1876.
61 New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 31, 1876.
CHAPTER VIII

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS RELATING TO EDUCATION: 1872-1876

Teacher institutes, normal schools, local problems, the Peabody Fund, and higher education, all remain primary focal points during the latter stages of Reconstruction. Other important matters were the model school, the McDonough Fund, teacher associations, and public attitudes. For completeness, matters relating to teachers, to studies, to certification practices, to local physical problems, and the pupils themselves, are included in this discussion in Chapter VIII so that a broad survey of the period may be presented.

Teacher Institutes

The teacher institutes as originated under Act 121 of 1869 during the Conway administration were continued under Superintendent Brown. However, from the reports which are available on their activities their location seems to have been restricted largely to the parishes just west of New
The institutes developed in this period were subject to more organization internally and as a result tended toward perpetuating themselves. For instance the Lafourche Teacher's Institute which was founded in January, 1874, in Thibodaux, devised its own constitution under which it operated. It was required thereby to have semi-annual meetings and could have special meetings in addition. Although it was organized by E. S. Stoddard, the divisional superintendent, its president was a principal in a private school. Thus was evidenced the fact that public and private interests cooperated in teacher improvement. Other institutes operating during the same time were at St. Charles, Convent, and Terrebonne. These and the one mentioned above in Thibodaux were probably the four that became permanent which were mentioned in Stoddard's report to Brown in 1874. The typical institute seems to have had from 15 to 30 members who met two to four times annually.

The nature of the work of the institute and the results claimed indicates something of their value. The Lafourche Institute listed the following as having been a

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2Ibid., p. 86.
3Ibid., pp. 85-90.
part of their programs.

Ought the sexes be taught together?
Has the State the right to establish a Free School System?
Requisites for the success in a teacher in a primary school.
If Corporal punishment is necessary, should it be inflicted in the presence of the school?
Best method of teaching reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, composition, history, etc.
Object lessons, their importance and extent.
Ought Normal schools be supported by the state?
Advantages of teacher meetings and institutes.
The duties a teacher owes the community, and vice versa.

Should teaching be ranked among the learned professions?
The Centennial Celebration, and the best method of representing our educational status in it.
Education in the South Inter-State literary conventions.

Stoddard was impressed with the institute work and his report listed the benefits which he felt were derived from them. He listed four specific results of the institute as follows: they increased efficiency of schools, recognized competent and worthy teachers, produced mutual sympathy between teachers and school officers, and aroused public interest in schools. George B. Loud, who occupied a position similar to Stoddard in the Third Division,

\[4\]Ibid., p. 86.

\[5\]Ibid.
stated that their design was twofold:

1. Benefit and improve teachers.
2. Awaken public interest.

Teacher Conventions and Associations

The educational convention which was held under Conway's auspices in New Orleans in 1872 was not continued after its initial meeting. The associations for mutual benefit of teachers in the parishes (referred to in Chapter VI) are not heard from again as such. It may have been that they gave up their identity to the organized institute. Efforts in the direction of teacher associations wavered until the final year of Reconstruction and then their purpose was singularly restricted to matters of financial interests.6

It was the practice of the various school boards of the State during the Reconstruction period to fulfill their financial obligations in script or certificates when available funds had been expended. This practice was especially prevalent in New Orleans, where salaries were often from six months to a year in arrears and some expedient means had to be adopted. At times the trade value of these certificates dropped to fifty per cent of their face value.

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Under the press of economic necessity brought on by the devalued paper and the unscrupulous brokers who dealt in it, the first Teacher's Association meeting was called for Saturday morning, January 22, 1876. The call, as it appeared in the press, was for the formation of a financial association for the purpose of selling certificates in large quantities to command better prices. By the first week in February the organizational work was complete and the public was informed that an association had been formed for the mutual interests of its members. It was to be called the Teacher's Association of New Orleans.

By May of 1876 the narrow purpose of the earlier days had given way to a broader program of improvement. On the first Saturday of that month a meeting was held in the Boy's High School, the regular place of meeting, with a program centering around a debate on the subject of corporal punishment. Other matters on the agenda were concerned with the establishment of a reading room for the Association and further organizational work. Evidently work on the reading room had come up previously, for on the Wednesday preceding the School Board debated and tabled a resolution appropriating

7New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 21, 1876.
8New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 3, 1876.
two hundred dollars to the project. However, at the Associa-
tion meeting a three hundred dollar donation from Harper and
Brothers Publishing Company was reported and the project was
definitely under way. The organization was to be further
strengthened by the executive committee which was instructed
to look into and secure incorporation for the Association. 9

Another project which was dealt with by the Teacher's
Association was the school board's teacher re-election policy.
It was the custom to elect teachers for the fall term in the
summer. In order that new jobs might be secured the As-
sociation sent a resolution to the board requesting the re-
election of teachers before the close of the spring session.
At the time the matter was tabled. 10

So began the first continuing teacher-sponsored or-
organization for professional improvement in the state.

Model Schools

A new departure in education in Louisiana was made in
1871 by Superintendent Conway in the promulgation of the
model school idea. The model school was a plan which can be
defined as a regular public or private school wherein the

9New Orleans Daily Picayune, May 4, 7, 1876.
10New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 13, 1876.
teaching program is so arranged as to display good educational practices and where those interested in learning to teach or in the improvement of their teaching can have practical experience. They were usually operated in conjunction with normal school programs.

In February of 1871 Conway was in correspondence with a Professor S. S. Ashley of New Orleans discussing the offer that General O. O. Howard, of the Freedman's Bureau, made of the Straight University property for a model school. In December of the same year the State Board of Education authorized the establishment of a model school in Carrollton. Early the following year Conway's Annual Report was issued in which he requested that two such schools be established in New Orleans. The directors had already approved the Washington Girls School and the Fisk Boys Schools as the ones to be so designated. Interest in the model school idea developed in the State for on February 9, 1872, the directors of Ouachita parish were requesting information


12Minutes of the State Board of Education in State Department of Education, State Capitol Building, Baton Rouge.

concerning the establishment of one in Monroe.14

On June 5, 1872, Conway attempted to broaden extensively the new work in the following manner:

Mr. C. H. Silliman
New Orleans, Louisiana

Sir:

You are hereby assigned to duty as Special Instructor in the Model Schools of the state.

You will at as early a moment as possible prepare and report a system of instruction for those schools and then give your time and attention to its practical application. The principals of these schools and all the subordinate teachers employed in them will observe your instructions and afford you all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of the general objects of these schools. You will see the respective Division Superintendents and make special arrangements with them touching the relationship of the Model Schools to the ordinary Common Schools of the State. They will be able to inform you as to supernumaries and others who may desire the appointment of practicing the art of teaching in the Model Schools at such time as they may agree upon. You will make weekly reports to this office of your work, the condition of the schools, their progress, the conduct of the teachers, their efficiency--and such suggestions as you may desire to make.

Respectfully

s/
State Supt. of Pub. Education15

With the above letter chances seemed good that the program would be developed as a major and integral part of

14Julius Ennemoser to T. W. Conway, Letter, February 5, 1871, Correspondence, Ouachita Parish, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

the state's educational program. But less than a month later disagreement with the State Auditor over the legality of expenditures for the program caused Conway to write to the directors in New Orleans informing them that the state would no longer honor drafts for the two model schools there unless tuition was charged and, therefore, since that would defeat their purpose, the Board should take them back and place them on the level with other schools.¹⁶

On assuming the duties of his office Superintendent Brown addressed himself to the indebtedness problem in the Carrollton Model School, which was precipitated by the auditor's opinion, and asked that Stoddard have a conversation with him in view of aiding the school.¹⁷ Evidently some means was devised for the State's continuing its support because it was 1874 before its support was taken over locally.¹⁸ In 1873 it was listed as having 51 pupils and two teachers.¹⁹

¹⁸New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 2, 1874.
The original plan of the state was thwarted but the one school supported by the state was termed "... a perfect success, and fills a want that has been long felt in Carrollton."²⁰ Others wanted similar schools in their areas²¹ and failing to receive public support they established a private one in connection with an existing normal school: the Peabody Model Primary and Grammar School in conjunction with the Peabody Normal School. Opened in September of 1875, this school was open to children from six to twelve.²² When Peabody funds were withdrawn from many other schools in 1875 this one's aid was continued.²³

Teachers and Teaching

Teachers of the Reconstruction period all but defy systematic classification or evaluation. Reasons for teaching and established qualifications were such that the profession numbered among its members both dedicated classicists and political hacks whose abilities as office holders were so limited that their political patrons knew

²⁰Ibid.
²¹Ibid., p. 388.
²²New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 16, 1875.
²³New Orleans Daily Picayune, August 21, 1875.
of no position other than in the company of children to place them.

Qualifications for teaching were largely moral and academic, with Union or party loyalty being a prerequisite at times and in places. Evidences of these qualifications were demanded in varying degrees. In 1866 Robert M. Lusher suggested the establishment of boards of examiners in each parish composed of "three to five competent citizens . . . to inquire into the moral and social antecedents, and to test the scholastic qualifications of persons applying for teacherships. . . ." At this point there was evidence that more than subject matter knowledge was being sought, for Lusher purchased, and made available to local officials, copies of a popular treatise on teaching. The work was entitled *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, written by David P. Page who was the late principal of the State Normal School in Albany, New York, and was published in 1858. It was intended to give the examiners a basis on which to judge applicants in teaching skills and understanding.

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25 Receipts for Books, Supplies and Payments, Catahoula Parish, August 17, 1867, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
the issuance of certificates was made a responsibility of the division superintendents. By the early seventies teachers were in such plentiful supply in New Orleans that certification was placed on the basis of competitive examinations. Books on theory, teacher institutes, model and normal school and references to method in the press bespoke an interest in more than subject matter knowledge but as late as May of 1873, teacher examinations were limited to subject matter. Candidates were questioned in the main subject matter areas in the following manner:

[Sample questions taken from the competitive examination of applicants for teacherships, New Orleans, May, 1873.]

3. Find the value of $15,234 - 3\frac{1}{4} / (7.2 \div .018) \div 5.24$.

9. If 500 men in 40 days consume 2 tons of flour, how many men in 3 weeks will consume 420 lbs.

Grammar:

4. Write a sentence showing the classification of that. Tell what part of speech it is in each case and why.

History:

1. Give an account of the uprising under Leisler. How did it terminate?

9. What led to the war of 1812? Name the principal naval victories gained by the Americans.

26New Orleans Republican, May 22, 1873.
Geography:
5. Over what waters would you pass on a voyage from Stockholm to Vienna?
10. Bound the following: Pennsylvania, Peru, Turkey in Europe, Algeria, and Liberia. 27

The examination above contained ten questions in each area and those applying were allowed two days for the entire examination, taking the questions for each area in two morning and two afternoon sessions. 28

As shown above, the average monthly salary for teachers was approximately forty dollars for nine months. In private schools tuition was from two to four dollars monthly 29 and when overhead is considered it is probable that the remuneration for both public and private school was roughly equal. As low as the salary was, the real problem was not the stipulated amount but rather the time and method of payment. In New Orleans, where the problem was no doubt greatest, teachers went for months at a time without payment. 30 This was a result of the inability to have revenues

28 New Orleans Republican, May 22, 1873.
29 Advertisements appearing in newspapers of Louisiana for the period.
30 New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 28, 1874, and numerous other similar references.
balanced with expenditures at all times. At times the State was delinquent in its apportionments, the tax collector was not able to perform his work in the city because of the depressed conditions or political hostility, or possibly expenses were just simply greater than revenues. Whatever the reason, teachers were constantly at the mercy of the administration.

When salaries were paid the problem was not necessarily solved, for there remained the question of greenbacks and school certificates. Since 1862 the government had resorted to the use of paper money with no metallic backing. Now that the War was over and specie again became the desired "coin of the realm" the greenbacks had dropped drastically in value and the person who received his wage in greenbacks was at the mercy of this reduction. Add to this the certificates or script which was issued by the board in New Orleans to meet budgetary deficiencies and it becomes possible for a teacher who was paid several months late to actually receive only twenty-five to fifty per cent of his salary because of the double jeopardy of greenbacks and certificates.

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31Newspapers of the period contain numerous articles referring to this particular problem.
To meet the financial problem many public school teachers secured employment in private schools during the summer. At times they went so far as to request permission to use public school buildings for that purpose. Super­
intendent Rogers of New Orleans was against such use of the buildings. The situation reached critical proportions when some of the teachers had to sell some of their clothing to buy food.

Not all problems were financial. Space does not permit a full treatment of all the vexations and outright hardships experienced. Private schools often restricted the living area of homes, while public school teachers mind­
fully watched their politics. Conway had secured regulations which placed the final responsibility for "mixing" directly on the teacher and this under heavy penalty. If the larger issues did not concern a teacher there were always those which appeared even more real which are described in the following letter received by the state superintendent.

32 New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 15, 1877.
34 Ibid., p. 58.
from a teacher in Jackson:

Just imagine yourself teaching in a dark room, in which the windows are all closed up for want of glass, except one small window. All over the house and floor cracks an inch wide. The wind blowing—smoke flying all around—teacher trembling. And still I have not pictured half the inconveniences of my position.36

Amid all of the financial and political uncertainty and insecurity a definite advance was made in New Orleans in early 1872, in the area of teacher welfare. On January 4, 1872, it was announced that henceforth teachers under the local school board were going to be hired on an annual basis with teachers being given contracts on an adopted contract form.37

Teachers seemed to be in ample supply during the whole of the Reconstruction period. Numerous letters are extant indicating the desires of many outside the State to come to secure teaching positions. Even men were easily obtained. In 1872 Brown's office was writing many letters advising parties outside the state not to come with the intent of teaching.38

37New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 4, 1872.
Subject Matter and Teaching Materials

From the ratio which existed between high school and common or elementary schools in New Orleans (where the public high school had reached its greatest perfection in Louisiana in the Reconstruction period) it becomes apparent that common school education was considered a terminal program for the most part. With only one in twenty of the public school attenders on the high school level, the common school was expected to give the preparation necessary for adulthood. The preparation given consisted largely of an attempted mastery of the basic skills in communication and computation, with some additional attention being paid to history and geography in the latter years of the program.

Those who did not terminate their education when these basic subjects were mastered usually proceeded on in the classical traditions that prevailed in American education up until the Civil War. Most of the secondary and higher education in Louisiana in the post-war period was in this tradition, but exceptions could be noted. In secondary education for girls new courses in ways of living were being

39 New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 16, 1875.
placed alongside Cicero and Virgil; and recreative art, dance, and music were being given a place on a par with mental and moral philosophy. Innovations such as these were to be found in private schools only. In secondary education for boys the practical was beginning to displace the classical even in the public high schools. In 1873 drawing and bookkeeping had been added to the course of studies in New Orleans Central High School (boys). The following year telegraphy and phonography were placed in the natural science department in the same school.

The complete course of study for the New Orleans high schools for 1873 is given in Plates 17 and 18. Subject matter areas are given, along with grade placement and text materials that were used.

The private secondary school's course of studies usually comprised the areas: classical, commercial, and preparatory. The latter was elementary in content while the former two were actually on the secondary level. Using St. Mary-Jefferson College of St. James, Louisiana as an example,

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41 Advertisements in the New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 1, 1872, September 1, 1875.

42 Report of the State Superintendent, 1873, p. 323.

43 New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 5, 1874.
the following is given as a typical program of the times:

**Classical**

English Literature, Logic and Rhetoric, History--Ancient and Modern, Elocution, Algebra, Geometry--Plane, Solid and Spherical, Trigonometry, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, French Grammar and Composition, Latin and Greek, Drawing, etc., etc.

**Commercial**

Grammar, Epistolary Correspondence, Composition, Geography, Arithmetic, History, French, Particular attention paid to penmanship.\(^4^4\)

Private commercial education reached its zenith in New Orleans in 1873 when twenty commercial schools were in existence. As the high schools included more and more commercial subjects the number of these private schools decreased.\(^4^5\) In connection with these private commercial schools, there were categories for penmanship and penmanship at the Louisiana State Fair which attracted entries from them.\(^4^6\)

In addition to the public and private secondary schools and private commercial colleges there were other more specialized schools that appealed to the same segment of the population. In 1872 a polytechnic and industrial institute was established, where steam and mechanical

\(^{4^4}\)See Appendix B.


\(^{4^6}\)New Orleans Daily Current, June 2, 1867.
engineering was taught. The Ueber Private School was noted for its special training in German as preparatory for work in German universities.

Some idea of the extent and nature of elementary education can be had by examining tests which were administered for the purpose of admissions to the public high schools of New Orleans. Samples of the questions appearing on the 1873 examination are as follows:

Arithmetic:
1. Divide 56072.5 by .15, multiply the quotient by .005, and add .00003 to the product.
10. What is the cube root of 1839.744.

Grammar:
1. Name all the parts or divisions of English Grammar, and tell what they treat of respectively.
9. Mention some of the Interjections and give the rule for parsing this part of speech.

History:
2. Mention the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch discoveries and settlements in America.
10. Contrast the condition of the United States at the close of the "War of 1776" with that of the present time, and mention the prominent points of difference.

Geography:
1. Name the different races of men, and the estimated number or population of each.

---

47 New Orleans Daily Picayune, June 8, 1873.
A grade of sixty-five constituted a passing score.

In a well organized situation four types of schools were recognized below the collegiate level. In order these were the primary, grammar, high, and normal school. The primary school concerned itself with the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic and spelling. The grammar school taught these basic subjects and in addition English grammar, geography, United States history, and in some instances vocal music and drawing.

Music became a definite part of the curriculum in New Orleans in 1872 for the school board passed a resolution requiring fifteen minutes of music daily in all the public schools. Instruction was to be under the supervision of two special teachers. 50

In New Orleans the scholastic year began on September 1st and continued for twenty-four weeks. The day was five hours exclusive of recesses. Public examinations were held annually. 51

Teachers were expected to devote all hours of the school day to school work, maintaining order and following

50 New Orleans Daily Picayune, April 5, 1872.
the "course of study." Religious or sectarian influences were to be avoided but the Bible could be read if there were no objections. Discipline was stressed but the teachers who succeeded without corporal punishment were to receive preferential treatment. No distinction in salary was made between the sexes. Students were not free to move from school to school without permission and obedience to authority and care of property were demanded on pain of suspension. Even cleanliness and proper room temperatures and ventilation were mentioned among the rules of the day.52

The extent to which such regulations were enforced wherever they existed is purely a matter of conjecture. However, they do indicate the thought of the era regarding that which was desirable.

Buildings, Health, and Sanitation

Buildings which housed schools during the Reconstruction period varied as extensively as the teachers who taught in them. It is probable that most schools used buildings which were designed for other purposes. Churches were favorite places in which to conduct local public schools.53

while homes were often used for private undertakings. Buildings were of three types: crude frame or log, frame, and brick. Furniture usually compared equally with the building, ranging all the way from crude benches to manufactured desks. Each room had its own heating which was either open fire places or iron stoves. In the rural areas wood was used as fuel while in New Orleans coal was used. Some of the larger buildings had interior halls while other multi-room buildings had each room open on to a porch which surrounded the building. Many of the brick buildings were two story buildings, with some rising to three levels.

In New Orleans buildings used as schools were a vital concern to the Board of Health. The report for the year 1875 states:

... in every district certain buildings used for educational purposes are not alone totally unfit for the purpose, but they are of necessity seriously and directly injurious to the health of both children and teachers.

Or in the first person account given by one of the inspectors:

---


55See Appendix B, Plates 7-14.

I was forcibly struck by the unhygienic surroundings and unscientific arrangements of the apartments devoted to school purposes. . . . The school structures of this district, taken as a whole, are of very inferior order. \(^57\)

Describing one school in particular the report stated:

Beauregard School--This building, which was erected for a coffeehouse, is not suitable for school purposes; nearly all rooms are under 12 feet high, and some of them very damp, and unsuitable by their proximity, less than four feet, to an offensive privy vault, which renders it torture to be confined to one of these rooms. The yard or playground is entirely too small. No repairs can make a suitable school house out of this building. \(^58\)

Every school usually had a well or cistern as a water supply and privy houses served the toilet needs. Contracts were made with sanitation companies to empty the vaults periodically. \(^59\)

The Board of Health concerned itself also with other hygienic measures. Buildings were surveyed to determine the square footage of space available for each child in a room as well as the cubic volume for air supply. Window area for light and ventilation was checked and as a result building specifications were urged. \(^60\)

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\(^{57}\)Ibid., p. 115.

\(^{58}\)Ibid., p. 145.

\(^{59}\)See above, p. 209.

population density lessened the hygiene problem even though the buildings were probably, as a rule, inferior. 

In population centers small-pox was a problem to health officials and as a result vaccinations were required for attendance. In 1870 certificates in proof of vaccination were required, while later the school principals were charged with seeing that it was done. In December of 1875 the Board of Health reported that "vaccination is going on rapidly in all the schools."

General hygiene was promoted by the Board of Health who reported on the problem by saying:

Too little attention is paid to the cleanliness on the part of the children in attendance on these schools. Particularly is this the case among the colored children. With the Mississippi river at our very doors, there can be no excuse for this. We appreciate the poverty of the parents of these children, and do not expect them to come finely dressed, but we do expect what they wear to be neat and clean, and also that their person should be kept clean. . . then it should be the duty of the teacher to do so. It should constitute a part of their primary education, and be as thoroughly ground in as their alphabet.

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62 New Orleans Daily Picayune, November 7, 1874.

63 Ibid., January 14, 1876.

Problems involving buildings were a real concern. In one instance the use of prefabricated buildings was suggested while later a plan was used where a builder would build a suitable building for lease to the board, with an option to buy in the future.65

At this point the munificence of an earlier day worked to relieve the building problem in New Orleans. In 1857 the partition of the estate of John McDonough revealed the establishment of a trust fund in favor of public education in Baltimore and New Orleans.66 That part which was given to the latter was reduced by over a half million dollars through the purchase of Confederate bonds during the war.67 In 1865 the amount of the fund stood at $1,008,708.68 During Superintendent Brown's administration the proceeds of the fund were used for the erection of several large brick school buildings which were described as "elegant and commodious,"69

66New OrleansTimes, December 31, 1865.
68New OrleansTimes, December 31, 1865.
69Ibid., 1876, p. 73.
Higher Education

The later phase of the Reconstruction period witnessed the near death of Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, the birth of the Agricultural and Mechanical College in New Orleans, and the union of the two as one of the last educational acts of the Reconstruction government in Louisiana.

The political struggles attendant on the election of Kellogg and the growing feeling that the beneficiary system of support was not the best available means of supporting Louisiana State University, brought to an end this form of state support. Until a union was made with the Agricultural and Mechanical in 1877 no aid was received from the state. Not only was the direct appropriated income lost but so was a major portion of the income from the endowment funds. As a part of Governor Kellogg's program of setting the finances of the state in order, it was decided that certain funds would be repudiated by forty per cent. Thus the University was left with a five thousand dollar income on an original endowment of $136,000.70

What little money was available in state warrants was

[Fleming, *Louisiana State University*, pp. 264-68.]
subject to depreciation down to thirty to thirty-four cents on the dollar. The situation continued until in 1877 the University had amassed a $96,000 debt. Salaries were only partially paid. The average attendance was thirty or less for the period. Yet in it all Colonel David F. Boyd continued his leadership. At one time he was sued personally for some of the obligations of the institution but always his reports looked forward to coming years when conditions would be improved.71

During the same period efforts were being made toward taking advantage of the Morrill Act passed in 1862 by Congress. Limitations were placed that demanded states to take advantage of its provisions by 1874 on the threat that the support would be withdrawn. Since 1865 the state had been eligible for the land donation which was to be given to the establishment of a school devoted to the study of agricultural and mechanical subjects. Colonel Boyd had unceasingly urged the state to avail itself of this endowment but it was 1869 before land script for 209,920 acres was secured. This script was sold for $.87 per acre realizing $182,634.40 for the State. With added money the total was invested in $327,000 worth

71Ibid.
of bonds bearing six per cent interest.\textsuperscript{72}

In order to meet the July 1, 1874 deadline a school was hastily organized in April in the building formerly occupied by the defunct University of Louisiana at the corner of Baronne and Common Streets in New Orleans. Meanwhile a committee was appointed to locate the school in one of the rural parishes. After much activity a piece of property in St. Bernard Parish was purchased from John Lynch (an important radical politician of the day). Opposition was strong enough to force a delay in any move to the new property and the entire life of the Agricultural and Mechanical College in New Orleans was spent at its original address.\textsuperscript{73}

In the same act that reduced the Louisiana State University endowment provision was also made for the reduction of the Agricultural and Mechanical endowment. Many felt it contrary to the Federal law but the funding scheme prevailed and the figure was reduced from $327,000 to $196,000.\textsuperscript{74}

From the beginning the radical leadership was vocal in its demands that the institution be opened to all alike.

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., pp. 278-82.
\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., pp. 282-83.
\textsuperscript{74}Ibid., p. 286.
Hence the student body included "youths of ages ranging from twelve to fifteen, of colors from pure white to absolute African." During the three regular sessions enrollment varied from fifty to one hundred fifty. In 1876 the enrollment was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juniors</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshmen</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Freshmen</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>6176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The course of study appeared as follows:

**FIRST YEAR--Fourth Class**
Algebra, geometry, geography, grammar, drawing, botany, French or German, bookkeeping and penmanship.

**SECOND YEAR--Third Class**
Trigonometry, mineralogy, general history, drawing, French or German, Analytic geometry, chemistry, botany, English, drawing [sic].

**THIRD YEAR--Second Class**
**Agricultural Course:** Agriculture, descriptive geometry, agricultural chemistry, physiology, drawing, construction of farm buildings, stock raising, surveying and levelling, soils and fertilizers, architecture, French or German.
**Mechanical Course:** Descriptive geometry, chemistry of metals, physiology, mechanical drawing, strength of materials, calculus, natural philosophy, English, French, or German.

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FOURTH YEAR--First Class

**Agricultural Course:** Civil Engineering applied to roads, railroads, drainage, etc., zoology, rhetoric and logic, rural law, geology, landscape gardening, moral philosophy, political economy, meteorology.

**Mechanical Course:** Civil Engineering applied to railroads, locomotives, etc., analysis and smelting of ores, rhetoric and logic, machines and machine shop practice, technology, moral philosophy, political economy.

In January, 1876, Colonel Boyd renewed his annual request that the New Orleans school be attached to the Baton Rouge institution. By this time the House was Democratic and the Senate had become sensitive to public opinion. The result was that a bill for union was introduced and won favor in both houses. Pressures were great enough however to cause Governor Kellogg to withhold his signature. The remaining hope was that should the governor not veto it on the first day of the 1877 session it would automatically become law. This turned out to be the course that was followed.

Union was actually accomplished on June 1, 1877, when the Secretary of State promulgated the law. In the meanwhile the following resolution passed the legislature:

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... in view of the past usefulness of the [Louisiana State] University, its long continued neglect by the state, the great devotion to its interests displayed by its superintendent and faculty, its varied and valuable assets, its capabilities for good in the educational interests of the state, we recommend that the obligations now due by the state to the University be promptly met and its indebtedness promptly provided for.80

Thus ended the period of neglect and indecision that surrounded higher education in the state.

The professional branches of the University of Louisiana continued to be noticed in the New Orleans press, thus indicating their continued service and activity. Other institutions of higher education were also in the news. Mt. Lebanon, Centenary, Silliman, and other similar institutions continued their programs of secondary and higher education through the final stages of Reconstruction.

Problems and Opinion

Opportunity for editorial comment was often occasioned by the annual examinations which were held in each school or the meeting of the legislature. In 1874 the Daily Pica-yune was giving evidence of still being hostile toward the idea of free public education for on February 7th commenting on pending legislation the editor stated:

80Ibid., pp. 296-97.
... that is the duty of the state to encourage education but not support it ... with us, as in the North, the cost of public instruction is incomensurate with the benefits ... The state is not able to furnish instruction to one-third of the registered children.81

Later the same month the same organ again referred to public education by saying:

Public schools and public soup stand on the same footing, with the advantage in favor of public soup. A man may do without school but he cannot do without soup ... our public schools in the rural districts have been a blighting and blasting curses. The present system cannot last. Let the State return as soon as possible to the beneficial system that prevailed over the South before the War, when the public fund was used as an auxiliary to private schools.82

In December the racial problem and finances were said to have begun the authorities of New Orleans thinking about abolishing the high schools of the city and in its place adding an additional year of grammar school.83 In January of the following year the plan was further amplified by suggesting more primary schools on the "Kinter-Gartin" plan of Germany.84

Although not carried out the editorial comment on the

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81 New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 7, 1874.
82 New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 28, 1874.
83 New Orleans Daily Picayune, December 29, 1874.
84 New Orleans Daily Picayune, January 4, 1875.
proposal was interesting for the press advised caution in abolishing the high schools which have been the "pride of the city." Other educational comment of the times indicates the presence of good feelings toward the public schools. By September of 1875 the *Picayune* stoutly defended the public schools in the face of an expression on the part of the New Orleans *Bulletin* that the schools be closed.\(^8^5\) The following October (1876) the *Daily Picayune* had reversed its field completely in slightly over two years by editorially maintaining that:

> The present generation in this country enjoys educational facilities far superior to those possessed by its predecessor. This is due in part to our common school system. Education may be superficial and limited but at least it works toward progressive civilization. May be we want too much in a short time. The critics of Europe must look about themselves before they become too critical. 'The proper understanding of education is that it is a process of growth and development; . . .' As soon as some practical learning has taken place the students leave the care of the teacher. 'We have not been brought into this world simply to add together dollars and cents.' 'Really, to live one must be fitted to enjoy the beauties of art and nature, and, therefore, no amount of arithmetic, geography or book-keeping can be said to prepare a boy or girls for living.'\(^8^6\)

Despite the changing philosophy on the part of the

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\(^8^5\) *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1875.

\(^8^6\) *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, October 15, 1876.
public there persisted the evidence of corruption that was continually reported during the Conway and Brown administrations. The investigators who had accused Conway of dereliction\textsuperscript{87} found

From the careful scrutiny which the committee has given the administration of this office [state superintendent of education] for the years 1873, 1874, 1875, and 1876, . . . they accord to Mr. Brown a faithful performance of his duties.\textsuperscript{88}

Local boards of school directors were the object of particular criticism by the investigating committee. In so far as the administration of schools on the local level since 1869, with but few exceptions, the investigators found it to have been faulty in the essential requirements of the school law.\textsuperscript{89} After quoting from the reports received from the several parishes (fifteen did not reply to the committee) the conclusion was that:

Not only irregularities in the disbursement of school funds are complained of by almost every board in the State, but neglect, improvident expenditures, and alienation of the same have characterized the administration of the school boards for the last eight years.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{87}Chapter V, p. 159.

\textsuperscript{88}"Report of the Joint Committee of Investigation,"p. 9.

\textsuperscript{89}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{90}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 103.
In citing the financial losses of the period the committee went through the accounts in the State Superintendent's office and ascertained that $4,459,094.79 had been allocated and sent to fifty-eight parishes. Then on the basis of its questionnaires to the parishes it determined that $3,549,225.77 had been accounted for locally. This left an outstanding balance of $909,869.02 unaccounted for and listed as a loss. However, figures from fourteen of the fifteen parishes which did not report to the committee were not available and these were not given any credit and their total allocation was listed as loss. Total allocations to these unreporting parishes amounted to $408,695.21, or leaving an unaccounted for balance of $501,173.79. Thus the period witnessed the use of between roughly $500,000 and $900,000 for unaccounted purposes.91

In addition to the unaccounted for funds the investigators pointed out the widespread problem of discounts or the use of excessive amounts to pay for goods and services due to the decreased value of state warrants. The committee indicated that wiser management could have secured a more equitable rate of exchange.92 In cases where the peculation

91Ibid., p. 77.
92Ibid., p. 54.
was brought to the attention of the state authorities. Satisfaction was apparently hard to come by. For instance, in the case of J. Walter Hunsaker, ex-president of the St. James Parish board, who was actually indicted for embezzling $10,000 and defaulting a $5,000 bond, he had his case removed from the court docket by Governor Kellogg and his bondsmen released. Another case that received widespread attention was that of Dave Young, a colored senator from Concordia Parish. "Ponderous Dave," as he was called by the press, was indicted twice in 1875 for embezzling over $53,000 in school funds. His case was also nul prossed by Governor Kellogg. Brown was sharply criticized for his inaction in the matter but his contention was that since Young had been indicted it was a matter for the courts and not the State Board of Education.

In lesser ways corruption showed itself also. In some situations it was the practice for the directors to receive "kick-backs" from the teachers employed.

93 New Orleans Daily Picayune, September 14, 1873.
94 Ibid., February 5, 1875, February 21, 1875, October 23, 1875.
95 New Orleans Bulletin, September 15, 1874. Amos Morrison to T. W. Conway, Letter, August 6, 1870, Correspondence; Jefferson Parish, State Department of Education, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
Investigation of such charges in New Orleans produced so much proof in one instance that the board member involved decided to plead "temporary insanity."\(^9^6\) Probably not a major evil but yet worthy of condemnation by the radical newspaper, the Republican, was the practice of calling on teachers and children for donations for gifts for higher officials.\(^9^7\)

Condemned practices during the Reconstruction period ranged all the way from state policy to donations for gifts to officials, from embezzlement of thousands of dollars to demands for pay for board service. Actually, almost every manner and means of evil was probably resorted to under the screen of political agitation and moral disintegration. The actual extent, objectively arrived at, could and cannot be determined.

A New Era

The Legislature of 1877 met in extra session as a result of the news of the ending of military occupation. On its agenda was the passage of a joint resolution which summarized the spirit of the times regarding education.

\(^9^6\)New Orleans Daily Picayune, February 8, 1876.

\(^9^7\)New Orleans Republican, April 20, 1870.
The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property, as provided in the constitution of the State, and which shall secure the education of the white and the colored citizens with equal advantages. 98

Thus it was that the State declared its support of the idea of public education by taxation for all its citizens with the racial problem disposed of through a pledge of "equal advantages." Three major problems of the period resolved in the minds of the lawmakers. Problems of organization and administration, teacher preparation and certification, and the provision for physical needs had all been attacked mid the sordidness and corruption of the era of military rule under the guise of Reconstruction. Schools and pupils had increased and other accomplishments may have been made but of primary importance was the consciousness of education which the period invoked throughout the length and breadth of the State.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

I. Places in Louisiana in Which Contributions From the Peabody Education Fund to Aid Free Schools were Reported in 1868 .......................... 276

II. Places in Louisiana for Which Appropriations From the Peabody Education Fund for Support of Free Schools were Approved, February, 1870 .......................... 277

III. Places in Louisiana for which Appropriations from the Peabody Education Fund for Support of the Free Schools were Approved, February, 1871 .......................... 278
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Money Raised for Rent and Teachers</th>
<th>Money Contributed by Peabody Fund</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plaquemine</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaquemine</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Second Year)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Martinville</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayou Sara</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eureka</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklinton</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,007</td>
<td>$6,485</td>
<td>$3,605</td>
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**TABLE II**

PLACES IN LOUISIANA FOR WHICH APPROPRIATIONS FROM THE PEABODY EDUCATION FUND FOR SUPPORT OF FREE SCHOOLS WERE APPROVED, FEBRUARY, 1870*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Appropriations (Donations)</th>
<th>Local Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acadia</td>
<td>$450</td>
<td>$1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastrop</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shreveport</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant Hill</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaquemine</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldsonville</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Data not yet received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayou Sara</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baton Rouge</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amite City</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangipahoa</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greensburg</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklinton</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eureka</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
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<td>Algiers</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>3,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gretna</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>3,750</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Donations (Appropriations)</th>
<th>Local Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastrop</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrisonburg</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>375</td>
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<td>Minden</td>
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<td>1,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>375</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant Hill</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shreveport</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>2,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winnfield</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amite City</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baton Rouge</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayou Sara</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairview</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklinton</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gretna</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livonia</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. District, New Orleans</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. District, New Orleans</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. District, New Orleans</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th. District, New Orleans</td>
<td>400</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th. District, New Orleans</td>
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<tr>
<td>6th. District, New Orleans</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaquemine</td>
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<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terre aux Boeufs</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thibodaux</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, from their Original Organization on the 8th of February, 1867, Vol. I (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1875), 263.
APPENDIX B

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Many reproduced pages in this Appendix have indistinct print. Filmed as received from Louisiana State University.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

CARROLLTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Adopted by the Board of Directors, September 6, and amended October 4, 1861.

PUPILS.

26. No pupil shall be admitted or continued in the school un-der the age of six, or over the age of fifteen years. Pupils in the various grades shall be taught in the several school rooms at the times usually fixed by the Board for the use of those departments, their instruction being revised from time to time by the Board to test the effect of the different grades and to secure the best results. Pupils shall be taught in the several school rooms at the times usually fixed by the Board for the use of those departments, their instruction being revised from time to time by the Board to test the effect of the different grades and to secure the best results.

27. It is the duty of the principal to inspect the school books, to see that they are kept in proper order, and to require that all pupils read and write in the school books. The principal shall also require that all pupils be present and that they attend the school regularly.

PLATE 1
EXAMPLE OF RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR LOCAL SCHOOL OPERATION
Sir: The Act of the General Assembly, No. 24, "for the relief of the Tax-payers of the State," approved, February 10th, 1866, suspends "the Assessment and Collection of the State and Parish taxes, for the years, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864, until the first day of January, 1866," but provides "that every person who wishes to pay his or her taxes for any of those years, may have the privilege of doing so, free from any additional expense."

As all such taxes are now payable in United States and Louisiana issues of paper money, it is obviously the interest of every citizen, who has a sufficiency of such funds, to pay his back taxes without delay.

In view of the importance of the educational cause in our State, and of the large number of white children now awaiting the re-opening of Schools, in every town, village, and hamlet, and at every cross-road within her limits, the undersigned takes the liberty of requesting you, while collecting the taxes of 1865, to solicit and urge payments, also, of the mill and poll taxes due on account of previous years. This request is made for the reason that the School taxes for 1865, will not probably suffice to sustain more than one or two village Schools in each parish, and such Schools only in case that the Police Jury shall have re-directed the Parish as to give them the benefit of the entire parish funds; and, hence, in many neighborhoods, if not in the entire parish, the whole system of Free Schools will have been suspended, and a large number of white children left to pine in hopeless ignorance.

If there be any difficulty in ascertaining the amount of mill taxes due for previous years, the undersigned would suggest the solicitation of payments equal to the mill tax of 1865. As to the poll tax, a contribution of one dollar, per annum, by each white male citizen, would of itself provide a sufficient fund for the support of a School in every village, for such children as are not able to attend a private or paying institution. Can any such citizen refuse this wise in behalf of the moral, mental, and social improvement of his own race?

You are also requested to use your moral influence in persuading some of the competent young men and educated ladies of your parish, to undertake, in September or October next, the organization and direct management of village and neighborhood Schools, for the benefit of their friends' and neighbors' children. Their presence in such institutions will relieve the "Free School" system of any prejudice that it may heretofore have encountered; and, by their zeal and intelligence, they will unquestionably promote the honor and prosperity of Louisiana. Be pleased, also, to say to such of them as may be willing to teach, for five, or for only three hours, each day, that, if they will address this office, it will furnish them such suggestions as may ease the ordinary labor of teaching.

You are aware, sir, that, for forty years past, Louisiana has made persistent efforts, through legislative enactments, to advance the cause of education; and that, during the last 12 to 16 years, she has raised, by taxation alone, a half million of dollars, per annum, for the support of free public schools. She has nevertheless been reproached by Radical politicians, with having neglected the education and enlightenment of her poorer citizens! It is true that her people will no longer tolerate such foul calumny; but that now, when the integrity of the State is imperiled by faction, and the dignity of her citizens is obscured by vindictive legislation, they will, with one voice, vindicate the honor and supremacy of the Caucasian race; and, to this end, will cheerfully make such contributions to the educational fund, as will enable your parochial authorities and local directors to train and improve every white child in the parish.

You are requested to urge the Parish Assessor to comply with the circular recently forwarded to him (a copy of which is herein enclosed). Be pleased also, to show this circular to all citizens interested in the cause of human improvement, and to communicate, on the subject, at an early day, with

Yours respectfully,

ROBT M. LUSHER,
State Superintendent.

PLATE 2
OFFICE OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

To the President and Members of the Police Jury of the Parish of Louisiana.

SIR:—I am authorized to assure you, gentlemen, that your parish is divided into ten districts or constituencies, and lastly, that I will respect fully, that, as a practical model, for "storehouses," the number of schools has been improved in the last ten years, and for the present, as a practical result, I would like to suggest, that, for two or three years from now, it will be impossible to maintain properly organized, permanent schools—even for "poor and resourceless" children—the special objects of your care and benevolence—without a radical change in the old system of distinguishing your parish.

With the object, therefore, of rendering our limited School fund actively useful, according to the manifest intent of our State constitutions and legislators, I would respectfully suggest, that, as soon as practicable, prior to the 15th September, your parish be divided into as many School Districts as there are Towns, Villages, or larger communities.
settlers there, in which at least forty pupils can be assembled, daily, five times a week, during at least eight consecutive months, for instruction; that a distinct score, as well as number, be given to each district; that its boundaries be such that the town, village, or settlement shall be in about the centre; and that, for each district thus laid out, three energetic Directors be appointed (under Section 25), to hold the election required by Section 19, or, if no election take place, to make the necessary preparations for opening a central Town or Village School, early in October, in conformity to Sections 21, 22, 23, etc. It would also, I think, be advisable to request two or more truly residents of each town and village, to aid the Directors in inspecting the female departments of the schools, and in promoting the useful moral instruction of the pupils of both sexes.

A division of the parish, according to this basis, will not preclude the Directors from hereafter establishing minor or auxiliary schools wherever actually needed in their district; but it will enable them, now, to use the School fund to advantage, in maintaining one central, permanent institution. The judiciousness of decreasing the number of districts, and, consequently, the number of Directors, in your parish, is enhanced by the consideration that but few, doubtless, of your citizens can now afford to devote their personal attention to the organization and inspection of schools. If, moreover, with the aid of an active Board of Examiners, the Directors can secure the services of one or more of the many experienced teachers, identified with Southern interests, now desiring employment, they will gradually be able so to raise the course of instruction in their Central School as to prepare their wards for an honorable career in the State Seminary of Learning, near Alexandria. That an efficient corps of native teachers may be secured, as soon as practicable, in this well endowed and nobly conducted Institution, I would earnestly renew the suggestion that a young man, over eighteen years of age, be selected by you, without delay, as a "Beneficiary Cadet," if you are not already represented in the Seminary; and that the patriotic object of the General Assembly, in requiring "Benevolence" to exercise the Teacher's vocation, within this State, for two years after leaving the Seminary, may hereafter, be faithfully promised, to the advantage of your parish, I would recommend, gentlemen, the immediate establishment, on a permanent basis, of at least one Central Parish School, in which all poor and necessitous boys (according to the intention of the Act No. 23, approved, March 7, 1806,) over 12 years of age, may, by two or more years' serious study and exemplary deportment, compete for the honor of your superiors, and for an advanced position in the Seminary.

The practicability of establishing a permanent School in each Town and Village is dependent, in a considerable degree, on an increase of the State fund by voluntary contributions from such of your citizens as can spare a portion of their incomes for the advancement of the object. Should such contributions be commensurate with the actual needs of your parish, the Directors may be able, also, to open, in various portions of their District, neighborhood Schools, in charge of a discreet young man, of one or more educated ladies, for such children as cannot attend the Central School. Could the desire of thus benefiting every white child in the parish be realized, it would reflect on its promoters no less honor than does now the spontaneous effort to gather up and lay in consecrated graves the remains of those devoted ones of the State who offered up their lives as holocausts on the shrine of patriotism! It is respectfully submitted, however, that, if the friends of education cannot now accomplish all that they deem desirable, or know to be essential, they should at least, promptly and earnestly effect whatever is practicable; and, hence, if the State fund be the only available means for promoting the cause, that should be so employed as to provide a strictly temperate, moral, capable, and experienced teacher, for each of these children as can be conveniently assembled in the School room, and particularly for that numerous class of boys, who are our growing saplings, in and round about our towns, requiring all the vigorous talismans that afflict human society, and blindly ignoring the duties and responsibilities awaiting them as citizens of Louisiana.

It is hardly necessary, gentlemen, to say to you, that a liberal education is indispensable to every white youth in our State; that, without it, the agricultural and industrial pursuits of our people cannot keep pace with the march of improvement in other States of the Mississippi Valley, nor the rich material resources of Louisiana be developed to the advantage of the rightful owners of her soil. It must also be obvious that immediate and energetic action, towards that end, is, at this period of her history, of vital importance to the dignity of our race and government, and to the honor of our State as an enlightened commonwealth.

Speaking, therefore, your patient investigation of this subject, in all its bearings, and your prompt, concurrent action for the establishment of Town and Village Schools, wherever practicable, I am, gentlemen, most respectfully, your fellow citizens.

ROBT M. LUSHER.

PLATE 4
Office of State Superintendent of Public Education,

New Orleans, July 26, 1876.

To the Presiding Officers of the Police Jury, Parish of Louisiana:

The accompanying address is issued, at this time, on the presumption that there will be a full meeting of your Police Jury, early in September. Should no such meeting have yet been appointed, you will, I trust, allow me to suggest the calling of a special meeting prior to the 15th of that month, as that the subject may be considered, and the question of re-districting the parish settled, before any complications can arise as to the election of Directors, under Section 19 of the School Act. Be pleased, also, to cause a copy of the address to be furnished to each member of the Jury, as soon as practicable, and a minute of the proceedings of the meeting to be forwarded to this office.

You are also requested to confer with the School Board, as to the boundaries of existing Districts, the number of white children in each, according to the most recent enumeration, and the location of towns and villages in which Schools can be opened and successfully maintained, and to prepare such a diagram of the proposed re-division of the Parish, as will facilitate the Jury in a proper determination of the question, without delay.

My only motive in issuing such an address, being to promote, as far as possible, a cause of such importance to the State, you will, I trust, appreciate and sanction my request of the exercise of your influence in securing the early organization of Town and Village Schools, where most needed. All white children of the surrounding country can be invited to attend such schools, without regard to District lines (See paragraphs one and ten of Section 16 of the School Act, in Abstract, page 10); and a final determination of the boundary lines of the new Districts be deferred, if necessary, until some future meeting of the Jury.

Among the most important powers vested in Police Juries, by Section 18 of the Act defining those powers, (Revised Statutes, p. 499) is that "to provide for the support of the poor and necessitous within their respective parishes, by taxation, or otherwise." Allow me to add, that, while a careful moral and mental education of the youth of your parish will unquestionably decrease the number of "poor and necessitous" requiring support, any delay in furthering this object may impose, on coming generations, a burden which cannot be borne. By a prominent citizen and wealthy merchant of Louisiana whose early education was received in the common schools of his native State, it was forcibly said, that "Education is a debt due from present to future generations." May the efforts of your Police Jury and Directors enable many a future citizen of Louisiana to repeat, with pride and gratitude, the memorable words accompanying this sentiment: "To the principles inculcated in the common schools of my parish, in my childhood and early youth, I owe much of the foundation for such success as Heaven has been pleased to grant me, during a long business life." * * * "In acknowledgment, therefore, of the payment of that debt by the generation which preceded me, in my native town, and to aid in its prompt future discharge, I give to the inhabitants of that town the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars for the promotion of knowledge and morality among them."

Very respectfully yours, etc.,

ROBT M. LUSHER,
State Superintendent.

(Handwritten note: Placed a new School Board, etc.)

PLATE 5
Office of State Superintendent of Public Education,

To the Trustees and Faculty of

Gentlemen,

Expecting to have an opportunity of conferring with the General Agent, and some of the Trustees, of the "Peabody Educational Fund," as to the most judicious way of employing such portion of the fund as may be allotted to Louisiana: I should be pleased to receive from you, at your earliest convenience, a description of your Institution, showing its location, Faculty, course of study, the prerequisites for admission, the sex, ages, and classification of pupils enrolled, how long it has been organized on a permanent basis, and the means now provided for its support.

You are requested, also, to mention whether a Normal Department can be established in your institution, for the training of young teachers, for the private and common schools of your section of country, and with what aid you are willing to undertake the organization and maintenance of such a Department. Be pleased, likewise, to state, in this connection, whether, in your vicinity, there can be opened, for indigent children, a primary and grammar school in which, as a Model School, under your general supervision and counsel, the members of your Normal Department may be practically exercised as teachers.

Any suggestions, gentlemen, that you may desire to make, for the consideration of the General Agent and Trustees of the fund in question, will be cheerfully submitted to them by

Yours, very respectfully,

R. M. Lusher.

State Superintendent.

The Parish Treasurer is requested to address and forward this Circular to the proper officers of the best known College, Institute, or High School in his parish or its vicinity, and to solicit a prompt reply.

R. M. L.

PLATE 6
Leland University
Hahnville School, St. Charles Parish.

PLATE 8
Kelso School, Alexandria, Rapides Parish.
McDonogh No. 6 Public School.

PLATE 11
McDonogh No. 5 Public School.
McDonoughh No. 4 Public School.
McDonogh No. 3 Public School.

PLATE 14
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Public Education.

State of Louisiana.

TEACHER'S CERTIFICATE.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to Certify, That

[Name]

has been duly examined according to law, and has been found qualified to teach
in the Public Schools of the State of Louisiana, and that he has furnished
satisfactory evidence of sustaining a good moral character; in consideration whereof,
he is hereby granted this Certificate being of the [Grade] GRADE, and is
licensed to teach in any School in the [Division] Division of this State for a
term of One Year, from this date, unless this Certificate be sooner annulled.

[Signature]

Supervisor of Education

STATE OF LOUISIANA

PLATE 15
Office Board of School Directors,

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS,

No 89 Burgundy St., April 2, 1847.

This Certifies that the sum of $37.00

Dollars is due to Mr. H. G. Detremier

for services as principal in the High School, during the month of April 1847, and is payable on the 1st day of said month.

(Signed)

Superintendence Board of Directors.

PLATE 16
### COURSE OF STUDIES IN THE NEW ORLEANS CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL (Boys)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>MATHEMATICS</th>
<th>NATURAL SCIENCES</th>
<th>CLASSICS</th>
<th>FRENCH</th>
<th>BOOK-KEEPING, ETC.</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Xenophon's Anabasis.</td>
<td>Choix de Lecture.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*General exercises in Composition, Declamation and pencil-writing are assigned twice a week to forms 1 to 5 inclusive, and three times a week to the junior and senior forms. There is a period of 60 minutes for study in each class.*

PLATE 17
COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOLS, CITY OF NEW ORLEANS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH DEPARTMENT</th>
<th>MATHEMATICS</th>
<th>NATURAL SCIENCES</th>
<th>FRENCH</th>
<th>EXERCISES</th>
<th>MUSIC</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>First Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elements of Composition—Quicksbous.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetoric commenced.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements of General History—Carter.</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetoric completed.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General History completed.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland's Compendium of English Literature commenced</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland's English Literature</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Philosophy—Abercrombie's (Abbott's) completed.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</table>

Annual Report of the
St. Mary-Jefferson College,

Under the direction of the MARIST FATHERS.

ST. JAMES, LOUISIANA.

This ancient establishment, now situated at Cotton Point, is one of the most eligible and picturesque scenes to be seen in the United States. It occupies a spot of ground of about 200 acres. Whatever the climate may be which contribute to the celebrity of the place, it is a well-known fact, that no malignant fever ever broke out within its walls, and the pupils have always been noticed for their healthy appearance.

The College buildings, which are both graceful and commanding, its halls and gothic chapel, the additional advantages of a library, are among the principal features of the establishment. The purchase of the surrounding lands recently increased by the purchase of a shady and delightful allee, the property of the late Mauritrony Cotton, as one of the most beautiful institutions of this State.

The Marist Fathers, whose principal object is the education of their pupils, the most strict principles of virtue, as well as the knowledge of all the branches of a classical and literary education.

The College possesses a library, and is empowered to grant Diplomas, confer Degrees, and bestow all literary honors. Their object is to promote the physical as well as the intellectual development of their students. An experienced Physician is in constant attendance.

PLATE 19
COURSE OF STUDIES.

Besides the preparatory classes for beginners, there are two distinct courses of studies established in the College, the Classical, for students who desire to prepare for the learned professions, and the Commercial, which is designed to fit young men for mercantile pursuits. At the opening of the Session, students may enter either course, agreeably to the wishes of their parents; during the session they will not all work equally from one course to the other.

Although the English language is the sole one in which all the College exercises are conducted, yet the French language is taught both in the Classical and Commercial Departments.

CLASSICAL.

English Literature, Logic and Rhetoric, History—Ancient and Modern Education, Algebra, Geometry—Plane, Solid and Spherical, Trigonometry, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, French Grammar and Composition, Latin and Greek Drawing, etc., etc.

COMMERCIAL.

Grammar, Epistolary Correspondence, Composition, Geography, Arithmetic, History, French.

Particular attention paid to Penmanship.

PREPARATORY.

Junior Class—Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic Tables, Cyphering and French Reading.


TERMS:

Payable in U. S. Currency—HALF YEARLY IN ADVANCE.

Board, Tuition, Washing and Stationery, per term of five months .................................................. $130.00
Doctor's Fees and Medicine, in ordinary cases of illness (for all) per annum ...................................... $10.00.
Entrance Fee, to be paid only once, ........................................ $10.00.

EXTRA CHARGES.

German or Spanish ...................................................... $25.00.
Vocal Music ................................................................ At the Professor's Charge.
Violin or Piano, with use of instrument, per month ................................................................. $8.00.
Use of Instrument and Music Lessons, (Brad's Band) per annum ................................................ $25.00.
School Books, Stamps and other School Necessaries ................................................................. at current prices
Rebinding, when provided by the College, per annum ............................................................... $14.00.

N. B.—All Music Lessons must be paid monthly in advance

PLATE 20
General Regulations.

1. The Academic year, which is divided into two terms of five months each, commences on the first Tuesday in October, and ends on or about the first day in August, with a Literary Exhibition, the conferring of Degrees and a distribution of Premiums.

2. Besides the Annual Examination held at the end of each term, another examination will take place at the expiration of the first term, towards the end of February.

3. Every quarter parents will receive reports of the progress, application and health of their children.

4. On the last Saturday in every month, Certificates are distributed to children who have distinguished themselves during the month by their diligence, general good conduct.

5. The most favorable age for admission is from five to fifteen years. Students coming from other Colleges are required to bring testimonials of good moral character.

6. Pupils will be admitted at any time during the session, but will be charged for the whole month in which they enter.

7. No deduction will be made for absence, except for the first month of a protracted illness; and parents, as well as students, should be aware that if a pupil leaves the College without permission, or is guilty of wanton disobedience and insubordination, he is liable to be expelled, and no money paid in advance will be refunded.

8. The younger students are separated from those more advanced in years, each division having its own playground, study-hall and dormitory.

9. Epistolary correspondence and all recreational books are subject to inspection.

10. Pupils of every denomination are required to attend with propriety at the public exercises of religion; but no influence is ever exercised over their minds in regard to their religious persuasion.

11. The system of government is mild and parental, yet firm in enforcing the rules of established discipline.

12. No student will be retained whose manners and morals are not satisfactory.

13. Whenever parents or guardians desire their children or wards to be sent home, they must give timely notice to the President, settle all accounts, and send sufficient money for travelling expenses, etc., etc.

14. The pocket-money of the student is deposited in the hands of the treasurer, whose care it is to distribute it weekly, or as prudence may suggest. Students who wish to learn Music must produce a written permission from their parents or guardians.

15. Parents living at a distance from the College are requested to name a responsible agent in New Orleans or Vicksburg.

16. If the half-yearly (or five months) account of a student is not settled within one month after the payment has been requested, he shall cease to be a member of the College, and shall be sent home.

Fruits—Parents who live in or near St. James, may visit their children on Thursdays and Sundays, from 11 A. M. until 2 o'clock P. M. Visitors and parents are earnestly requested to abstain from calling upon the students during the hours of class or study.

Outfit.

Besides the usual clothing necessary for neatness and comfort, each student should be provided with:

12 Shirts, 2 Summer Frock Coats, 1 Spoon and Fork,
6 Handkerchiefs, 1 Winter Great Coat, 1 Table Knife,
6 pair Stockings, 2 Summer Waistcoats, 1 Trunk,
6 Cravats, 2 pair Winter Pants, 1 Summer Hat,
4 pair Drawers, 4 pair Summer Pants, 1 Tin Basin and Foot Tub,
1 pair Bathing Drawers, 3 pair Shoes, 1 Looking-glass,
1 Towel, 1 Bag, 1 Night Bag of strong cloth,
6 Napkins, 1 Girdle (silver or electroplated), 1 Clothes Brush, a Tooth Brush

and a Hair Brush.

PLATE 21
Louisiana State University,

Commencement

Wednesday June 26th at 8 o'clock P.M.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

26th June, 1877.

[Signature]

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens,

New Orleans.

PLATE 22
THE
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
Topographical Map of
LOUISIANA
SHOWING THE
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES
OF THE
Surface of the State in Symbols and Colors
Compiled from the Latest and Most Authentic Sources
with many Additions and Corrections from Actual Reconnaissances
By
S. H. LOCKETT
PROFESSOR OF ENGINEERING
Assisted in the draughting by D. M. HUDSON, of the class of 1872.
# RECAPITULATION.

Treasurers' Accounts from 1879 to 1882.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Debts</th>
<th>Credits</th>
<th>Balances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td>$21,519.50</td>
<td></td>
<td>$21,519.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption</td>
<td>25,385.00</td>
<td>$7,398.55</td>
<td>17,986.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoyelles</td>
<td>55,281.62</td>
<td>39,715.75</td>
<td>54,593.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bienvenue</td>
<td>31,475.78</td>
<td>2,161.00</td>
<td>32,636.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besse</td>
<td>77,581.63</td>
<td>61,140.21</td>
<td>16,441.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcasieu</td>
<td>140,228.48</td>
<td>136,399.30</td>
<td>3,829.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claiborne</td>
<td>51,065.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>54,065.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caddo</td>
<td>30,522.58</td>
<td>31,947.28</td>
<td>2,424.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>13,651.96</td>
<td>13,639.56</td>
<td>26.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catahoula</td>
<td>33,293.82</td>
<td>31,572.87</td>
<td>11,654.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>67,872.24</td>
<td></td>
<td>67,872.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>61,859.68</td>
<td>27,586.81</td>
<td>34,272.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>6,150.94</td>
<td>6,083.10</td>
<td>116.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeSoto</td>
<td>69,371.55</td>
<td>18,381.66</td>
<td>80,753.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Baton Rouge</td>
<td>37,006.71</td>
<td></td>
<td>37,006.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Feliciana</td>
<td>51,228.21</td>
<td>16,966.77</td>
<td>34,261.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>13,211.36</td>
<td>12,894.11</td>
<td>329.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>3,117.77</td>
<td>3,117.77</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iberia</td>
<td>28,032.68</td>
<td>27,221.61</td>
<td>812.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iberville</td>
<td>37,141.77</td>
<td></td>
<td>37,141.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>21,750.96</td>
<td>18,287.30</td>
<td>3,463.66</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jefferson, left bank</td>
<td>27,229.85</td>
<td>18,521.24</td>
<td>8,708.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson, right bank</td>
<td>44,759.67</td>
<td>50,202.97</td>
<td>1,243.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>29,020.15</td>
<td>20,314.52</td>
<td>8,705.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lafourche</td>
<td>46,930.35</td>
<td></td>
<td>46,930.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>13,860.56</td>
<td>13,809.54</td>
<td>50.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>10,374.23</td>
<td>10,374.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>67,142.76</td>
<td>45,538.07</td>
<td>21,574.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morehouse</td>
<td>28,508.56</td>
<td></td>
<td>28,508.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchitoches</td>
<td>54,052.29</td>
<td></td>
<td>54,052.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orleans</td>
<td>2,290,938.34</td>
<td>2,252,168.93</td>
<td>38,769.43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ouachita</td>
<td>56,598.65</td>
<td>56,598.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaquemines</td>
<td>38,182.19</td>
<td>27,041.55</td>
<td>11,140.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pointe Coupee</td>
<td>37,229.12</td>
<td>8,434.99</td>
<td>28,794.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richland</td>
<td>12,579.76</td>
<td>11,315.36</td>
<td>1,264.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapides</td>
<td>73,491.32</td>
<td>73,491.32</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td>12,567.39</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,567.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabine</td>
<td>20,108.48</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,108.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bernard</td>
<td>6,298.68</td>
<td>6,298.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles</td>
<td>11,728.70</td>
<td></td>
<td>11,728.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Helena</td>
<td>20,693.36</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,693.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>15,041.66</td>
<td>25,534.72</td>
<td>10,493.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Baptist</td>
<td>27,359.78</td>
<td>26,675.85</td>
<td>683.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Landry</td>
<td>29,243.24</td>
<td>25,588.25</td>
<td>3,654.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Martin</td>
<td>10,015.72</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,015.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary</td>
<td>51,522.69</td>
<td>50,143.44</td>
<td>1,379.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Tammany</td>
<td>15,755.67</td>
<td>11,083.12</td>
<td>4,672.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangipahoa</td>
<td>23,951.22</td>
<td>12,914.12</td>
<td>9,111.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tensas</td>
<td>128,261.53</td>
<td>107,019.79</td>
<td>21,241.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrebonne</td>
<td>58,127.99</td>
<td>20,572.26</td>
<td>37,555.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>37,193.38</td>
<td></td>
<td>37,193.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermilion</td>
<td>32,573.96</td>
<td>32,573.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>18,896.81</td>
<td>18,896.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>11,906.14</td>
<td>9,557.06</td>
<td>2,349.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Baton Rouge</td>
<td>14,137.92</td>
<td>9,869.09</td>
<td>4,268.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Feliciana</td>
<td>31,663.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>31,663.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webster</td>
<td>25,832.88</td>
<td>17,105.61</td>
<td>8,727.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winn</td>
<td>13,932.87</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,932.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,450,031.79</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,549,223.77</strong></td>
<td><strong>$900,808.02</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLATE 28
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, FROM 1869 TO 1877.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DIVISION</th>
<th>TERM OF SERVICE</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. S. Stoddard*</td>
<td>First New Orleans</td>
<td>December, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td>The re-districting of the State in 1870 changed the school divisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. W. Lacy</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>April, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. Richardson</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>April, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius Mavo</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>May, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas M. Turner</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>May, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. Wyly</td>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>May, 1869, to March, 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. Richardson</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>March, 1870, to December, 1870</td>
<td>Removed from office by the Governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. S. Stoddard*</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>March, 1870, to March, 1873</td>
<td>Faithful and efficient; full reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. K. Dossy</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>March, 1870, to May, 1872</td>
<td>Removed from office by the Governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James McCleary</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>March, 1870, to July, 1871</td>
<td>Resigned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. Wyly</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>March, 1871, to March, 1873</td>
<td>Did not do his duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. B. Carter</td>
<td>Sixth (N. O.)</td>
<td>March, 1870, to March, 1873</td>
<td>Reports full and satisfactory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. S. Hewitt</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>December, 1870, to 1873</td>
<td>Much away from his district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Sella Martin</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>November, 1871, to May, 1872</td>
<td>Removed from office by the Governor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles S. Able</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>May, 1872, to March, 1873</td>
<td>Made one report: not complete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson Bentley</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>May, 1872, to March, 1873</td>
<td>Made one report: not complete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. M. Williams</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>March, 1873, to April, 1875</td>
<td>Competent and faithful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. M. Chester</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>April 1875, to 1876</td>
<td>Made one report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George B. Loud</td>
<td>Third</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>Made full reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. S. Stoddard*</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>Faithful, efficient, and made full reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles W. Keeling</td>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>A good officer: made reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Brewster</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>Reports full and satisfactory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles W. Boothby+</td>
<td>Sixth (N. O.)</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>Reports full and satisfactory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. V. Callan Assist.</td>
<td>Sixth (N. O.)</td>
<td>March, 1873, to 1877</td>
<td>Competent and faithful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert F. Guichard</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>March, 1876, to 1877</td>
<td>Made one report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Morris Chester</td>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>1876 to 1877</td>
<td>Report full; away from his district much.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* E. S. Stoddard turned over to the State Superintendent of Public Education complete records.
+ Charles W. Boothby turned over to the Superintendent of New Orleans office records.

Other Superintendents, only partial records: many of them have failed to turn over any records.
APPENDIX C

CONTENT OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY COURSES

Freshman Class

**Literary Course:** Latin grammar and prose composition
Virgil and Cicero's Orations; Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Analytic Geometry; Greek grammar and composition, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Homer, Euripides; English grammar and composition.

**Scientific Course:** The same, except that French is substituted for Greek.

Sophomore Class

**Literary Course:** Latin prose, Horace, Livy, Classical history and geography; Calculus; Greek composition, Sophocles and Thucydides; English grammar, and 'Art of Discourse.'

**Scientific Course:** Same, except that French is substituted for Greek.

Junior Class

**Literary Course:** Latin literature and composition, Juvenal and Tacitus; Greek literature, history, and composition, Aristophanes, Plato, Theocritus, and AESchylus; French (first year); Chemistry; Geology; Physics; Mental and Moral Philosophy.

**Scientific Course:** Surveying, Shades, Shadows and Perspective; Descriptive Geometry; Topographical Drawing; Civil Engineering; German; Chemistry; Physics; Analytical Mechanics; Mental and Moral Philosophy.

**Civil Engineering Course:** Same, with option as to language.

Senior Class

**Literary Course:** General history; English literature; French; Astronomy; Chemistry; Mineralogy; Botany, Zoology;
Logic; Evidences of Christianity; Artillery and Infantry Tactics.

Scientific Course: Same, with acoustics and optics, Civil Engineering, Topographical and Mechanical Drawing; Steam Engine and Railways in addition; German or French.

Civil Engineering Course: Same as scientific, with architectural drawing, fortifications and levees.*

VITA

Leon Odum Beasley, younger son of Bessie Odum and Archie Belton Beasley, was born at Lumberton, North Carolina, May 13, 1925. Moving to Fayetteville, North Carolina while in elementary school, he graduated from the Fayetteville Senior High School in 1942. In 1943 he entered training as an aviation cadet and was commissioned an officer in the Army of the United States. Following a tour of duty with the Eighth Air Force, he entered Baylor University, graduating in 1948. In 1953 he received the M.A. degree from the University of North Carolina.

He has served as a classroom teacher and high school principal in the State of Louisiana. Currently he is a member of the faculty at East Texas Baptist College, Marshall, Texas.

On December 17, 1946, he was married to Marjorie Elaine Wood of Pineville, Louisiana. He is the father of three children, Jonathan, 7, Stephen, 5, and Paula Elizabeth, 2.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Leon Odum Beasley

Major Field: Education

Title of Thesis: A History of Education in Louisiana During Reconstruction 1862-1877

Approved:

[Signatures and names of Major Professor and Chairman, Dean of the Graduate School, and EXAMINING COMMITTEE]

Date of Examination: May 1, 1957