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A FINANCIAL HISTORY OF
STATE EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

by

Lewis E. Chittum

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Richmond.

Richmond, Virginia

June 1, 1933

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PREFACE

In state finances of Virginia education is second only to highways. The present position of education in the budget was not attained easily. On the contrary it was only through a long process that Virginia came to realize the fundamental duty of educating all the people at public expense. Thus, the extent to which the state has participated in this problem is an all important matter.

In the following study, state participation has been reviewed from its earliest beginnings. The colonial period is included, as it reveals the tendencies working for the revelation of the obligation of the government to all the people in education. The subsequent periods form very definite steps in the educational progress of Virginia.

I am indebted to the officials of the state department of education with whom I have counselled, and the members of the Library staff of Richmond College and the State Library, and to Dr. Herman P. Thomas; who has directed this study with infinite encouragement from its beginning

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CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

EARLY BEGINNINGS

The movement of public education is as old as the colony itself, dating back to the first settlement at Jamestown. In 1619 Governor Yeardley was instructed to "----ordain that ten thousand acres--- within the territory of the --- Henrico --- allotted and set out for the endowing of the said university and college with convenient possessions."¹ At this time the sum of £ 1500 was collected and sent from England.² According to Dexter the project was in process when the massacre of 1622 practically eliminated its future prospects. He says "---it is doubtful even if any actual instruction was ever given by this earliest prospective American university."³

While these preparations were going on the first free school made its appearance (that is, free in the narrowest sense) only to suffer the identical

¹ Neill, E. D. -- "History of the Virginia Company of London" P. 137

² Dexter, E. G. -- "History of Education in the United States" P. 2

³ Ibid P. 4

fate as the proposed university. According to Neill⁴, a Dr. Copeland, while journeying to this country on board ship, collected some £ 70 for building and maintaining a free school or a church.⁵ When he arrived, so the story goes, the court of the colony took the matter in hand and decided to spend the money for a school in preference to a church. It was to be called the East Indy School and free to all children though their parents were to give something (not fixed) to the schoolmaster. At this time, according to Neill, the next Quarter Court was to be urged to allot one thousand acres to the school in addition to appointing a master. It is interesting to note that, "those (who) exceeded others in their bounty and assistance----should be privileged with the preferment of their children to the said school before others that shall be found less worthy."⁶ Dexter further says that in as much as a master was difficult to find, the appointment was transferred to the colonial officers. As we have indicated the entire project was wiped out by the massacre of 1682.

⁴ Neill, E. D. Op cit. P. 328.

⁵ 1621 is probably the date of this occurrence since the next quarter court met and acted upon this school project in 1622, before the massacre of that year. See Neill. Op cit.

⁶ Dexter, E. G. -- Op cit. P. 5

LEGISLATION

The first act of the assembly on education came in 1624, when as Fiske tells us, each section or borough of the colony was required "---by some just means to secure a number of Indian children,"⁷ and educate them. Apparently, little was accomplished along these lines suggested by the assembly since the Symms endowment is given the next place of importance. Knight tells us that in this particular period "endowments or foundations for the support of charity or free schools were numerous."⁸ Thus, it can be seen that the early educational attempts were subject to accidental elements to a large extent, principally however, to the massacre of 1622. Apparently, the background of the English settlers demanded that, next to religion, education should occupy first place. As we have seen, this earliest concept was not particularly democratic in scope. That is, it was not designed to cover the entire population, but rather to provide rudimentary educational advantages given those who paid most; while a

⁷ Fiske, J. -- "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors" P. 246

⁸ Knight, E. G. -- "Public Education in the South" P. 28

sort of missionary attitude was taken toward the poor and the Indians.

ENDOWED FREE SCHOOLS

In 1634 the first endowed actually free school made its appearance. According to Heatwole, Benjamin Symms in that year bequeathed "----for the establishment of the free schools, two hundred acres of land, the proceeds from the sale of milk, and the increase of eight cows."⁹ Provisions made at the time stipulated that the school should be located in Elizabeth City County and "---afford free education for the children living within the bounds of that county." All the available records agree that this school operated continuously through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with progressive crop production and increasing herds. No further gifts of this kind were made until after 1650.

In 1652, Hugh Lee made provisions for a free school in Northumberland County. The records do not indicate whether this was an actual bequest or a political move.¹⁰ Captain William Whittington "---bequeathed two thousand pounds of tobacco for this contemplated school in Northumberland." This would tend to indicate

⁹ Heatwole, C. J. -- "A History of Education in Virginia" P. 44.

¹⁰ Stanard, M. N. -- "Colonial Virginia, its People and Customs" P. 268.

a possible political movement. The date according to the last mentioned author is 1654 and though it conflicts with the date, 1659, as given by Bell¹¹, perhaps the former would be more authentic, certainly more logical, since the Hugh Lee proposal was made in the year 1653. The Moon gifts occupy next place according to Stanard. In 1655 John Moon is supposed to have given a legacy of cattle. This gift was added to by Henry King in 1668 when he contributed a hundred acres of land in the same county, Isle of Wight.

Thomas Eaton according to Bell and Dexter bequeathed two hundred and fifty acres of land in 1659 in Elizabeth City County near the Symms establishment. Dexter states with regard to the two that they "----were finally united, and their income now goes to the Hampton High School."¹² Perhaps the only other large bequest of that general period was that of Henry Peasley who in his will of March 17, 1675 left "six hundred acres of land, ten cows and one breeding mare."¹³ Other gifts were made by Frances Pritchard to Lancaster County in October 1679; William Gord to Middlesex County in 1685; and by Hugh

¹¹ Bell, Sadie -- "The Church, The State and Education in Virginia" P. 656.

¹² Dexter, E. G. -- Op cit. P. 7
(Note - The income now amounts to about \$10,000 per year.)

¹³ Ibid P. 7-8

Campbell to Norfolk, Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties in 1691.^{14a} Such gifts as these tend to indicate the rather benevolent attitude that characterized the period before the eighteenth century.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND THE BERKELEY STATEMENT

Some idea of the attitude may be obtained further from the legislation on compulsory education. Fiske states, "There was, after 1646, a considerable amount of compulsory primary education in Virginia, much more than is generally supposed, since the records of it have been buried in the parish vestry books. In the eighteenth century we find evidence that pains were taken to educate colored people."^{14b} In other words those people who were in charge of the government of the colony seem to have thought the time had arrived when such a move was feasible. Just what would have been the case if the New England settlement system had been used, it is difficult to say. Apparently, there is sufficient evidence of interest in education during this period to warrant the statement that it suffered its greatest setback in the very nature of the plantation system of the colony.

^{14a} Fiske, J. -- Op cit. P. 246

^{14b} Ibid

The action of the Colonial Assembly of 1660 further illustrates this point. According to Henning's "Statutes at Large" they realized their deplorable situation in lacking ministers and resolved that "there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free school and that there be with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected for the entertainment of students and scholars."¹⁵ These same records reveal the fact that Governor Berkeley contributed to a general solicitation of funds for the purpose stated above; though it will be recalled that he is much quoted as being antagonistic toward such a thing of this kind. In 1671 he thanked God "there are no free schools nor printing and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years."¹⁶ Perhaps this attitude reflected the almost fruitless efforts that had been made to secure the funds. The words to which we have referred occurred in his report to England and were doubtless made "without foundation" as Heatwole¹⁷ puts it; who goes on to say that he was certainly aware of advances being made in the form of bequests as well as the success of the Symms and Eaton Schools.

¹⁵ Henning, W. W. -- "Statutes at Large of the State of Virginia", Vol. II. P. 246

¹⁶ Ibid P. 517.

¹⁷ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit. P. 37.

The developments in higher education may be confined to a treatment of William and Mary College. The first efforts in this direction had to do with the orders received by Governor Yeardley in 1619, the main purpose of which was wiped out in 1622 with the massacre of that year. Stanard in accounting for the initiation of this earliest of American colleges states, "The impression made by Pocahontas and the Indians who accompanied her to England gave a tremendous spur to the desire to Christianize and educate the American natives, which had been from the first one of the objects of English colonization in the New World."¹⁸ Accordingly, it might be inferred that the Massacre of 1622 tended to thwart all benevolent activities in the direction of higher education since the Indians by their acts caused public opinion in England to turn against the education of their race. Other reasons are given for the failures in higher education pertaining to the sparse settlements, and the financial inability of the legislature;¹⁹ but, it would seem that the early impetus for a college was lost principally for the reason given above. Other

¹⁸ Stanard, M. N. - "The Story of Virginia's First Century" P. 161

¹⁹ Bureau of Education - Circular of Information "The College of William and Mary" No. 1 - 1887 P. 14.

attempts were made by the colonists themselves in 1660 when they voted "that for the advancement of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free schools, and that there be with as much speed as may be convenient housing erected thereon for the entertainment of students and scholars."²⁰ As we have seen, subscriptions were taken and Governor Berkeley is reported as having made a liberal contribution. Apparently, this movement failed although by 1688-89, "twenty five hundred pounds were subscribed by a few wealthy gentlemen in the colony and by their merchant friends in England toward the endowment of higher education."²¹ In 1691, as a result of the efforts of Reverend James Blair, who personally petitioned William and Mary, 2,000 out of the "quit-rents" was devoted to the college per year. Later they gave " 20,000 acres of land with a tax of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia together with all fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, which were to be controlled by the

²⁰ Hening, W. W. -- Vol. II. P. 25 Op cit.

²¹ Bureau of Education -- Op cit. P. 14.

the president and faculty of the college."²² Thus, in 1693 the college took on its first real life and existed in this state until the Revolutionary War. There were, however, some colonial endowments. In the same year (1693) the colony levied an export duty on skins and furs (permanently) for the support of the college.²³ Others followed in the subsequent years. The important fact to notice is that it was primarily interest at home that actuated these later and final developments leading to the establishment of the college.

THE PAUPER SCHOOL ERA

Some believe that the eighteenth century was one of class struggle as portrayed by the educational history of the period. Heatwole says that "public education could find no place until a strong and powerful middle class developed a truer democracy in which public education could best prosper."²⁴ In other words, there were two classes of people, extremes. On the one hand, the very rich or the plantation owners refused to patronize or rather send their children to what they termed "pauper-schools" while on the other hand the very

²² Op cit. P. 15.

²³ Hening, W. W. - Op cit Vol. III. P. 123.

²⁴ Heatwole, C. J. - Op cit P. 101.

poor people, for that is what they really were, refused in their inherited dignity to acquiesce to a system that smacked of charity.²⁵

During the century the endowed schools increased in number until the beginning of the Revolution when they ceased altogether. Schools were established as follows:

1700	Westmoreland County
1702	Northumberland County
1704	King William County
1706	York County
1706	James City County
1710	Accomac County
1711	Yorktown
1721	Princess Anne County
1723	Middlesex County
1726	York County
1731	Nansemond County
1736	Princess Anne County
1750	Richmond County
1753	Isle of Wight County at Smithfield
1760	Princess Anne County
1764	Middlesex County at Urbanna
1766	York County at Bruton Parish
1768	Middlesex County
1769	Orange County
1770	Richmond County
1770	Cloucester County
1774	Halifax County
	King and Queen County at St. Stephens
	Princess Anne at Lynnhaven
	Surry County
	York County

²⁵ For an account of this struggle see Heatwole, C. J.
Op cit.

The significant point to note regarding these schools²⁶ is that they were largely of the parish variety. That is to say, they were controlled either directly or indirectly through the ministers, who in many instances were about the only ones who acted as a sort of medium between the two extreme elements.

Cubberley has characterized this system as the "pauper-school non-state-interference attitude."²⁷ He points to the fact that those who settled in Virginia differed from those in New England in that they adhered to church rule. This fact tended to make for retarded attitudes toward state education. In summing up the Virginia system he says that there were "tutors and private schools for those who could afford them, church charity schools for some of the children of the poorer members, but no state interest in the problem of education except to see that orphans and children of the very poor were properly apprenticed and trained in some useful trade, which in Virginia was usually agriculture."²⁸

Cubberley, further, considers three influences

²⁶ Bell, Sadie -- Op cit. P. 657-60

²⁷ Cubberley, E. P. "Public Education in the United States" P. 21 Fl1.

²⁸ Ibid

that were transplanted into America from which the state systems tended to emanate. There is first, the Calvinistic idea of a religious state that had greatest bearing in New England; second, the parochial system or that most generally found in Pennsylvania and Maryland standing for complete church control; and lastly, the schools under the influence of the Church of England which held that public education was for paupers and orphans. It is perhaps the effect of these transplantations that public education was retarded in Virginia. The fusion of the parochial system of complete control by the state into the church of England system evidently squandered any undercurrents for public education that might have been working.²⁹

CONCLUSION

The colonial period is marked by the lack of governmental participation. It was the religious motive that was manifest throughout this period. Ministers, and the missionary motive made a basis for the earliest establishments. The East Indy School and the movement for

²⁹ Cubberley. Op cit. P. 23-24.

a college in 1619 were both actuated by these motives. All of the endowed free schools had direct or indirect connections with the church or parish.

The status of all free education may be explained as a pauper-school system, since it was possible to provide amounts through bequests and gifts for education in the form of free endowed schools, the chief patrons of which were the poorer classes. The wealthy members of the colony were more inclined to provide private tutors for their children with a finishing program at European colleges.

All of the legislation was in the direction of the missionary motive. They intended to make education compulsory for the indigent children and Indians, largely as a means of Christianizing rather than for any desire to fulfill the principles of democracy.

Higher education had a rather heterogenous life during the period of the colony. One thing however, may be said, that in this case and only this was any direct appropriation or segregation of funds made. The establishment of a tax upon hides and furs for the support of William and Mary College offers the first and only example.

Perhaps the explanation of this singular case lay in the fact that the landed members of the colony were more inclined toward providing a place where their own children might attend a college at home rather than bear the expense of sending them abroad. They were also interested in training ministers at home though the movement in this direction did not manifest itself until some time later. Then it was a selfish motive that actuated these developments regarding William and Mary rather than a desire for a democratic school system.

The accomplishments of the period may be listed as: (1) the establishment of a (limited) number of free endowed schools; (2) the establishment of William and Mary College; and, (3) the development of a powerful church interest that was to play an important part in the next century. Certainly the elements of democracy were not manifest in education at the close of the Colonial period. The religious interests had gained an important footing as fostering and maintaining parish schools. The Colonial period is thus a narrative of church interests working

through legislation, free endowed schools and in
a measure higher education.

CHAPTER II

FROM 1776 TO 1870

THE RISE OF ACADEMIES

Academy education in Virginia was more responsive to outside influences than those operating in the direction of state primary education. That is to say, there was a general filtration of regard for the academy form based upon the needs of the day, whereas, primary education did not come into its own until 1870. The Latin School established in Boston (1635) had aimed through Latin and Greek studies to prepare the student for college. The Academy, which took its origin with Benjamin Franklin in 1740, sought on a more comprehensive curriculum to (1) prepare the student for college, or (2) for some practical end.¹ Thus, from the beginnings of the commonwealth government in 1776 numerous charters were granted graduates of northern colleges to set up academies in Virginia.² The following table³ will serve to illustrate the development of academies in Virginia:

¹ Knight, E. W. "Public Education in the South" P. 106

² Heatwole, C. J. -- "A History of Education" P. 124 fl.
(This author places Princeton and Yale graduates
in the foreground as dominant in this development.)

³ Ibid P. 127.

	Male	Female	Co-Ed.	Total
1776-1800	21	0	0	21
1800-1820	32	6	1	39
1820-1840	33	15	7	55
1840-1860	40	48	12	100
1860-1870	1	2	0	3
	<u>127</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>218</u>

Several facts are to be noted about these figures. In the first place they were entirely private in ownership and operation, save for exceptions to be noted later. They were fostered by separate boards of trustees, received their charters from the assembly and operated without connection with the state. Second, it is to be noted that many of these schools formed the basis for higher educational developments which shall be considered in the subsequent section. Third, there were some 20 of these 218 as recorded by Heatwole that had their origin in West Virginia and are naturally to be deducted from the total after 1863. Fourth, it is to be noted that the greatest period of growth came between 1840 and 1860. Monroe states that "----by 1850 there were 217 academies with 547 teachers and 9068 students" in Virginia.⁴ Perhaps the reason for this

⁴ Cyclopedia of Education Vol. 5 P. 729 E. by Paul Monroe

phenomenal increase is found in the fact that much state activity had been manifest in general. The Literary Fund had been established in 1810 on the Tyler movement. Governor Campbell had consistently urged better schools from 1837 to 1849.⁵ The churches had stimulated deep interest in state support for education especially in this direction. The University of Virginia had been established in 1819 and opened in 1825 with the attendant demands for more adequately prepared students. Thus, the rise of academies in 1840-1860 is a direct outcome of the influences working in the period. In summing up the place of these academies in Virginia, Heatwole says that they "---went on furnishing, for the most part, the training for the boys and girls of Virginia until 1869."⁶

ADVANCES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in this period had its first impetus with the proposal of Thomas Jefferson in 1779 when he offered his plan for a comprehensive state program in education. The College of William and Mary had

⁵ Paul Monroe, Op cit

⁶ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit. P. 130-131

received colonial support as long as the period lasted, but, with the advent of the republic in 1776 all appropriations were cut off, though its productive endowment was sufficient to maintain it up to the Civil War. The University of Virginia received its charter in 1819 after the Literary Fund had been established in 1810. Though Governor Tyler was the dominating factor in the development of the movement resulting in this first state endowment, and rector of the College of William and Mary at the time, he was not able to secure appropriations for it. In other words, the assembly which in 1819 chartered the University of Virginia and appropriated \$15,000 yearly for its support from the Literary Fund, made no effort to sustain the older college. It was not until after the Constitution of 1870 that state support was given William and Mary.⁷ The establishment of the University of Virginia was not an easy matter. Heatwole in presenting the story indicate the difficulties of (1) lack of precedent in state building of colleges; (2) the prevalent fear of taxation in the state at that time; (3) the influence of denominational schools already established; (4) the differences of opinion on the value of a state institution; and, (5)

⁷ Heatwole, C. J. -- Op cit. P. 171f

efforts to move the College of William and Mary to Richmond.⁸

In 1839 at Lexington the only other state institution of collegiate rank^{9a} was established during the period from 1776 to 1870.^{9b} The Virginia Military Institute, as it was then named, received an annual appropriation of \$6,000 from the state¹⁰ and after 1842 all students benefiting from the state scholarships (60 in number) established thereby, were to serve two years after graduation in the schools of the state.¹¹ In other words, the State of Virginia made its first advancements in the direction of normal education by this act. Just why such a move should be made it is difficult to ascertain. One conclusion is that this was a compromise between factions failing to see the advantages of the institution, and its friends.¹² The facts remain, however, that two institutions in the higher brackets were given support; namely, University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute of \$15,000 and \$6,000 respectively.

⁸ Heatwole, C. J. -- Op cit P. 176--177.

^{9a} Smith, F. H. "History of Virginia Military Institute" P. 19f.

^{9b} Acts of Assembly March 29, 1829 17 f.

¹⁰ Ibid March 22, 1836 12 f.

¹¹ Ibid March 8, 1842, 21.

¹² Smith, F. H. OP cit P. 97 f.

Denominational activities in higher education were exceedingly active. In the earlier days around 1800 they operated with a more selfish attitude. Then some 20 to 30 years later they were advocating state control.

In the preceding paragraph we have seen the efforts made to thwart the state plans of Jefferson. The reason for such a situation lies principally in the fact that the academies which were established between 1776 and 1800 were being converted into colleges. Hampden Sidney College grew out of Prince Edward Academy established in 1775,¹³ a protege of the Presbyterian interests in Prince Edward, Cumberland and Hanover counties. Washington College,¹⁴ later Washington and Lee and formerly Liberty Hall Academy (1776) was also of Presbyterian origin. The Methodist sect fostered Randolph Macon College in 1830 as an outgrowth of interest shown in the support of an academy in 1785 in Brunswick County,¹⁵ and Emory and Henry College in 1838 was a result of a general movement in their church order at the Holston Conference in 1835 for an institution

¹³ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit P. 139 f.

¹⁴ Ibid P. 147 f

¹⁵ Ibid P. 151 f.

somewhere in the southwest.¹⁶ Among the Baptists, Richmond College was an outgrowth of the Virginia Baptist Educational Society organized in 1830 which became the Virginia Baptist Seminary and remained in that state until 1841 when the college was chartered.¹⁷ Such advances as these tended to make the state institutional movement lag since the religious groups were so well represented in the legislature. Thus, in higher education there was a distinctly independent attitude on the part of religious sects that retarded the general movement for state support of higher education.

LEGISLATION AND PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Virginia Convention of 1776 was more interested in establishing the machinery of government than in meeting the social needs of the day. Ambler records the controversy over the Bill of Rights and the sectional elements.¹⁸ So important were the reforms going on in Virginia at this time that Thomas Jefferson

¹⁶ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit P. 159 f.

¹⁷ Ibid P. 155. f.

¹⁸ Ambler, C. J. "Sectionalism in Virginia 1776-1861"P. 24 f

had declined the re-election to the Continental Congress in order to carry forward the movement.¹⁹ After the convention Jefferson apparently did not become greatly concerned about the failure to include a section on education, since he favored frequent revision of the constitution as a means of meeting the needs of new generations.²⁰ Thus, the Constitution of 1776 makes no mention of education.

In 1779 Thomas Jefferson proposed a plan of public education that embraced primary, secondary and higher educational activities. In a measure his proposal was an outcome of the French propagandists who after the revolution advocated such a program. Cubberley points to the fact that there was a tendency after the war to copy French ideas. The University of the State of New York had been perfected by 1787 upon their influence, and "Jefferson was a great propagandist for French ideas, and tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the establishment of a complete system of public education in Virginia which would have embraced the best of French Revolutionary conceptions."²¹ Whether this would tend

¹⁹ Randall, H. S. "Life of Thomas Jefferson" Vol. I P. 195

²⁰ Hamilton, J. G. de R. "Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson"
P. 221

²¹ Cubberley, E.P. Secondary Education in the United States P. 258

to refute the originality of Jefferson's plan, cannot be said. Heatwole says the "---proposed plan of public education in 1779 was based upon his political philosophy of local self-government.---"²²

The plan called for administration in the local district or county leaving the matter of establishment entirely up to the locality. This proposal was the subject of much consideration from 1779, when proposed, to the Civil War.²³ In other words, not until after the war between the states did the agitation subside; and then, only when its full contents were adopted. At this time (1796) a sort of pacification was made when the assembly adopted the plan for primary education with the amendment that "the court of each county shall determine the year in which the aldermen shall be appointed and until they so determine no election shall be held."²⁴ In as much as the courts failed to set the time as indicated the plan was not adopted.

In order to consider the developments in primary education it is necessary to review the situation around 1800 as well as the legislation. The first act

²² Heatwole, C. J. Op cit. P. 101

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid P. 102

of the assembly had been passed in 1796 providing for three years education gratis with all other years to be paid for by the parents.²⁵ The optional nature of the bill made the effect worthless. Commenting on this bill Jefferson stated, "---they inserted a provision which completely defeated it; ---for they left it to the court of each county to determine for itself, when this act should be carried into execution within their county. One provision of the bill was, that the expenses of these schools should be borne by the residents of the county, everyone in proportion to his general tax rate, This would throw on wealth the education of the poor; and the justices, being generally of the more wealthy class, were unwilling to incur that burden, and I believe it was not suffered to commence in a single county."²⁶ In other words, Jefferson evidently laid the failure to its inherent nature. Bell commenting on this same quotation points out the additional fact that perhaps the rise of academies before and after its passage tended to allay any movement to establish the system as provided for in 1796. Before

²⁵ Cubberley, E. P. "Readings in the History of Education" P. 427.

²⁶ Lipscomb, A. A. "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson" Vol. 1 P. 71-72

1796 and after 1779 twenty were granted incorporation privileges and after 1796 to 1810 some 30 were added.²⁷ Just how much influence this may have had, it is hard to estimate, but it is conceivable that since the people who occupied positions of rank in Virginia were in fact those who were the trustees for these academies, they contributed to keep down any other form of schools as far as legislation was concerned.

No further movements of note are recorded until John Tyler in a message (as governor) to the legislature in 1809 deplored the conditions that made education a reality solely for the wealthy, reprimanded the county courts in their failure to comply with the laws of 1796 and urged that taxes imposed for benefits accruing to the whole state "---circulate like the blood in animal life, which gives strength and vigor to the whole system, when, if this circulation were wanting death would ensue."²⁸

As a result, the matter was referred to a committee in the legislature that drafted a bill, passed in 1810, setting aside "---all escheats, confiscations, fines, penalties and forfeitures, and all rights in

²⁷ Bell, S. "The Church, the State and Education in Virginia" P. 168

²⁸ Tyler, L. G. "Letters and Times of the Tylers" Vol. 2 P. 241 fl.

personal property found derelict, ---appropriated to the encouragement of learning, ---."29 The fund thus set up was to be called the "Literary Fund" and kept by the auditor, and administered by a board of directors chosen by the Legislature. Dr. Tyler states that on December 16, 1811 the principal was only \$12,904.60.

As a direct outcome of the selection of this board, the task of planning an elaborate system of education was given them in 1815. In the meantime, however, the Literary Fund had increased by something over a million dollars as a result of the payments of certain federal obligations. In 1816 this board "---reported three gradations of schools; 1. Primary schools; 2, Academies; and, 3, a University capping the whole."30 If the suggestions had been adhered to in detail the state would have committed itself to an early program of public education. Apparently, they adopted only the latter section since in 1819 the University of Virginia was authorized, and opened in 1825 as a state institution. At this time \$15,000 was appropriated

29 Tyler, L. G. Op cit.

30 Ibid

from the income of the Literary Fund per year for the support of the above institution. In the same bill \$45,000 was set aside for primary education per year. This is the first time an actual yearly appropriation was made.³¹

In the period of 1818--1846 primary education suffered while higher education received great impetus. We have already seen how the many institutions of higher learning obtained their footing in this period and how the William and Mary College and the University of Virginia received encouragement. The money that was received constantly, that is, the \$45,000 yearly, was used by the county authorities "for the support of charity schools which were maintained in various towns."³² There is good indication, however, that few worthwhile results were forthcoming since as governor, McDowell indicated only "sixty days education was being made available to hardly half the indigent children."³³ Heatwole, in evidence of the mal-employment of the appropriations states that "the fund was used by the members of the legis-

³¹ Tyler, I. C. Op cit

³² Dexter, E. G. "History of Education in the United States" P. 73.

³³ Ibid P. 74.

lature as a political plaything."³⁴ From this we may conclude that few actual results were recorded from the appropriations made.

In the meantime, the constitution had been revised in 1830 without mention of education. Ambler, in his "Sectionalism in Virginia 1776-1861," commends the efforts made by Alexander Campbell to secure a section on education.³⁵ Following this, the assembly "rejected a bill to increase the annual appropriations to the primary schools for the poor."³⁶ By 1840, the eastern and western parts of the state were at great odds. Campbell used his influence to hold meetings³⁷ at Clarksburg, where he presided in 1841; Lexington, where Dr. Ruffener, father of the first State Superintendent of Education (1870) presided; and Richmond, where Thomas Richie, then editor of the Richmond Enquirer was in charge. These meetings, which occurred in 1841-42, served as a background for the events that occurred in 1846. At this date a bill was presented in the legislature and passed upon the insistence of Governor Campbell. Its provisions made mandatory the

³⁴ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit. P. 106

³⁵ Ambler, C. H. Op cit P. 273.

³⁶ ibid

³⁷ For a vivid account of these events see -- Bell, S. Op cit P. 345 f.

division of the state into districts, together with the selection of county commissions and the election of district trustees. The flaw in the enactment was the optional amendment³⁸ which had defeated the purposes presented by Jefferson in 1796. For our purposes we may say that the situation remained in practically the same status until the Civil War.

In the constitutional convention of 1850-51 the western part of the state was well represented. In fact, "the western delegates desired a system of common free schools maintained by the state, and a large number of them voted for a resolution to withdraw the annual appropriations from the University (Virginia)."³⁹ Their weight in the convention is best illustrated, however, in the fact that they succeeded in getting provision for a capitation tax, the proceeds of which should be applied to educating the poorer classes of children.⁴⁰ This provision, however, contains no

³⁸ Bell, S. Op cit P. 355-56; see also Dexter, E. G. Op cit. P. 74

³⁹ Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51

⁴⁰ Ambler, C. H. Op cit. P. 278

"The constitution provided that 'A capitation tax, equal to the tax assessed on land of the value of two hundred dollars, shall be levied on every white male inhabitant who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and one equal moiety of the capitation tax upon white persons shall be applied to the purposes of education in primary and free schools; but nothing herein contained shall prevent exemptions of taxable polls in cases of bodily infirmity.'"

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significance than that it is the first time a constitutional step in the direction of state support of primary education had been made. On the other hand, it is possible to say that the influence of this vote indicated the trend in Virginia. If the civil war had not occurred and the western part of the state, now West Virginia, had remained, there is good evidence that some form of state control or at least direct appropriation would have been made in the ensuing years. However, the Civil War wiped out all traces of the old order and its inefficient, inadequate school system.

The politics of the period 1851-1861 are marked by the intense interest in internal improvements not in the direction of education, but, in the direction of railroads, canals and highways.⁴¹ In 1851 after the constitutional revision the \$45,000 emolument to primary education from the Literary Fund was increased to \$75,000. In 1855 it was further increased to \$80,000.⁴²

After the war the situation in Virginia was deplorable. In the period of 1860-1870 the white illiterates increased from about 48,000 to some 65,000,

⁴¹ Ambler, C. H. Op cit P. 300 f

⁴² Knight, E. W. Op cit. P. 168

evidencing the lack of primary instruction. In a state which had had 67,024 in attendance at educational institutions of all kinds in 1860, and was regarded as foremost in educational importance, the whole system had entirely broken down. The illiteracy amounted to about 23 per cent of the whole white population. Moreover, there were some 207,595 Negroes over 21 years of age who might be regarded as belonging in this class.⁴³ In other words the inadequacies of the old aristocratic methods had entirely broken down. Much of the land was devastated and many of the able bodied citizens dead. The last event of moment to the state of Virginia, before 1870, and indeed to the south as well, was the gift of George Peabody to the improvement of southern educational condition. Perhaps no one act aided and influenced the events that took place after 1870 unless it could be the steps taken by the Convention of 1869-70 in establishing a state wide program.

REVENUES AND APPROPRIATIONS

In the period 1776 to 1870 there were two main sources of revenues for state education; namely, the interest of the Literary Fund, and the Capitation tax.

⁴³ Figures and facts were obtained from: Census of 1870 P. 392-395. See also Heatwole, C. J. Op cit P. 213-4.

Since the latter was a result of the Constitutional revision of 1850-51 and was turned over to and administered by the board of the fund in its entirety after 1853, it shall be considered together with the main source. In other words, a review of the development of the principal and interest together with the distribution of the Literary Fund money will suffice a complete picture of the revenues and appropriations made to state education during the period.

It will be noted from Table A (see page 35) that no appreciable increase in the total fund occurred until 1816. The original act of 1810 had required that all escheats and confiscations be included, but during the war of 1812 this privilege was revoked as a sort of war measure of reciprocity with England. According to the report of the Literary Fund Board no privilege should be allowed Americans residing in England, and therefore such a privilege should not be practiced in the State of Virginia.⁴⁴ Thus, we may account for the retarded growth of the Literary Fund to 1815.

⁴⁴ Journals of the House of Delegates 1812/13 P. 55-7; 1813/14 P. 85, 1814/15, Sections on the Report of the Literary Fund.

TABLE A

Development of the Literary Fund of Virginia

Year	Permanent Fund	Increases	Income
1811	\$ 12,904.00	12,904.00	--
1812	21,705.40	8,801.40	--
1813	28,544.86	6,839.46	828.33
1814	31,744.81	3,199.95	1,540.00
1815	43,252.90	11,508.09	2,615.03
1816	408,397.55	365,144.65	77,491.05
1817	903,808.31	495,410.76	37,596.41
1818	1,067,504.36	163,696.05	46,655.00
1819	1,001,247.14	66,257.22	84,063.50
1820	--	--	54,698.64
1821	1,884,166.98	--	55,351.35
1822	(1,212,574.24	28,407.26)	(58,668.22)
	(1,228,568.33	15,994.09)	(--)
1823	1,246,896.92	18,328.59	62,231.29
1824	1,260,215.54	13,318.62	55,766.87
1825	1,393,748.15	133,532.61	61,541.76
1826	1,408,998.09	15,249.94	63,316.30
1827	1,429,883.18	20,885.09	70,202.76
1828	1,458,796.85	28,913.67	71,021.54
1829	1,491,463.49	32,666.64	74,235.47
1830	1,510,698.71	19,226.22	71,887.94
1831	1,531,870.34	21,180.63	73,103.47
1832	1,550,476.85	18,606.51	71,740.90
1833	1,551,857.57	22,230.52	78,340.61
1834	1,346,623.69	33,856.74	82,024.71
1835	1,389,643.72	43,020.03	89,825.75
1836	1,379,433.34	17,535.63	95,951.68
1837	1,392,102.68	12,669.34	94,731.67
1838	1,406,351.14	14,248.46	90,464.38
1839	1,413,555.06	7,203.92	102,590.46
1840	1,425,483.30	11,928.24	87,931.78
1841	1,437,067.88	11,584.58	84,313.28
1842	1,480,095.25	43,027.37	81,339.96
1843	1,496,486.51	16,391.26	82,980.06
1844	1,509,853.16	13,366.65	88,869.84
1845	1,524,696.56	14,843.40	90,044.52
1846	1,460,261.49	64,435.07	88,904.42

TABLE A

Development of the Literary Fund of Virginia

(Concluded)

Year	Permanent Fund	Increases	Income
1847	\$1,472,971.60	12,710.11	91,923.29
1848	1,482,572.09	9,600.49	92,881.25
1849	1,563,429.36	80,857.27	95,935.65
1850	1,559,718.33	3,711.03	97,883.66
1851	1,571,293.59	11,575.00	101,016.22
1852	1,588,020.64	16,727.05	102,391.11
1853	1,606,802.73	18,782.09	103,627.03
1854	1,626,275.95	19,473.22	104,726.21
1855	1,641,758.37	15,482.42	78,863.62
1856	1,661,876.58	20,118.21	125,472.75
1857	1,677,651.67	15,775.09	99,985.88
1858	1,795,016.76	117,365.09	121,941.08
1859	1,833,420.17	38,403.41	114,918.61
1860	1,877,364.68	43,944.51	118,600.18
1861	1,877,364.68	----	103,648.66
1862	1,877,329.37	----	84,373.59
1863	1,877,329.37	----	91,272.34

Note: These figures were extracted from the reports made by the Directors of the Literary Fund to the Governor recorded in the Journals of the House of Delegates for the Years here represented.

On the other hand, each of these reports up to 1815 mentioned the lottery as a means of increase. The Act of 1810 had expressly allowed such a method as an exception to the laws in Virginia at that time. They argued that since lottery practices went on outside the state much money was being wasted in this manner by Virginia citizens. Only thirty-four dollars (\$34.) is recorded as an outcome of these efforts. The reason is apparent, since shortly thereafter the fund began its unprecedented increase.

In 1815 the United States Government began the repayment of money borrowed from the state during the War of 1812. As it was received the legislature invested it in the Bank of Virginia stock and placed it to the credit of the Literary Fund. The amounts received were as follows:

1816	-	\$350,000
1817	-	450,000
1818	-	146,500
1819	-	46,514.62

Thus, the tremendous increases during the period 1816-19 are accounted for by repayments made from the Federal Government.

One other fact deserves notice before 1820. In 1819 the permanent fund shows a decrease, which is the result of the action taken by the committee of the house of delegates on schools and colleges in revaluing certain investments. There is an additional loss of \$24,001.45 in the purchase of stock above par.⁴⁵ The Journals of the House do not record the report of the Literary Fund for 1820 and 1821 as ordered. Thus, no figures can be given for these years. The sum \$1,184,166.98 is taken from the 1822 report.

Beginning in 1823, by an Act of December 1822, the surplus was added to the permanent fund. In 1825 the last major amount was received from the Federal government. With these exceptions the increase was regular and undisturbed up to 1833. However, the income of the year 1824 failed to meet the appropriations by \$5,000 and as a result the University of Virginia received only \$9,000. The remainder, \$6,000 was paid from the permanent fund the following year. In 1833 the increase in permanent funds amounted to slightly over one-thousand dollars (\$1,000) as a result of losses sustained in the sale of 600 shares of United States Bank stock

⁴⁵ Journal of the House of Delegates 1818/19 P. 58-60
Rept of Literary Fund.

bought at a premium. The following year (1834) records the deduction of \$239,090.52 in the permanent funds brought about by action of the Board in writing off the following bad debts and unproductive funds:⁴⁶

Loss on 600 shares U. S. Bank Stock	\$20,850.00
Loans to University of Virginia (Paying no interest)	180,000.00
Debt due from J. Preston (Considered to be lost)	58,441.07
Debt due from P. Smith (Considered to be lost)	649.45
Total	<u>\$259,940.52</u>

In 1839 the increase dropped to \$7,000, which may be accounted for in part by the appropriations of \$25,000 from the surplus to the primary schools. This is the low point between 1815 and 1861, barring 1833 and 1834. No further irregularities are noted until 1846 when the par value of the stock of the Bank of Virginia was reduced \$30 per share under Act of March 4, 1846, totaling \$63,630.⁴⁷ Also \$10,000 was authorized by the directors of the fund to be invested in the copyright of Davies Criminal Code.⁴⁸ Thus, we may account for a total

⁴⁶ Jour. of House of Del. 1834/35 Doc. 4 P. 6.

⁴⁷ Journal of House of Delegates 1846/47 Doc. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid (The details of this investment are not given.)

decrease of \$64,436.07 in this year, when the increase is added.

In 1850 there was a decrease of \$3,711.03 as a result of the suspension of the debt of: (1) Richmond Medical College, \$25,000; and (2) Emory and Henry College, \$18,000; totaling \$43,000. In 1851 an additional \$2,000 was deducted in further payment of Davies Criminal Code Copyright. Between 1854-1856, the state found itself facing a deficit. Interest payments from the director of public works were curtailed resulting in a loss of revenues. Moreover, the payments made to the Literary Fund from the Capitation Tax were in arrears to the extent of \$78,721.06, which accounts for the phenomenal increase of 1858.

The development of the fund contains no other events save that which began with the war act of June 26, 1861, which stopped all state appropriations and those of the Literary Fund with the exception of the \$15,000 and \$1,500, paid, respectively, to the University of Virginia, and Virginia Military Institute. All appropriations, excluding the exceptions made above, together with all income and increase of the Literary Fund was to go to the defense of the state.

The total of \$1,877,329.37 remained in that status until 1869 when the report of the auditor gives the sources of the Literary Fund as indicated in Table B (see page 42). It will be noted that in the main the repayment of the United States war debt and the receipts from fines, forfeitures and penalties together with surplus revenues made up nearly the entire total as given in the report.

Table C (see page 43) shows the distribution of the income of the funds and that coming from the capitation tax. Column 1 shows the income for each year and column 2 shows the income from the Capitation tax, while Column 3 indicates the funds appropriated to primary education. Column 4 contains the expenditures made to St. Margaret's Academy in Accomac County. This is the only case in which an appropriation was made directly to secondary education before 1870. One thousand dollars (\$1,000) was appropriated for improvements, together with a \$100 annual payment at this time. The appropriations though continued until 1843, were not drawn after 1837 and as a result were forfeited to the permanent funds. Other academies received aid indirectly through the county commissioners. However the number

TABLE C

Distribution of the Income from Literary Fund and the
Capitation Tax.

	Income (1)	Capitation (2)	Primary (3)	Academy (4)	University (5)	VMI (6)	Admin. (7)	To Schools for Deaf & Blind (8)
1813	828.23							
1814	1,540.00							
1815	2,615.03							
1816	7,491.05							
1817	37,596.41							
1818	46,655.00							
1819	84,063.50		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1820	54,698.64		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1821	55,351.35		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1822	58,668.22		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1823	62,231.29		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1824	55,766.87		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1825	61,541.76		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1826	63,316.30		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1827	70,202.76		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1828	71,021.54		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1829	74,235.47		45,000.00		15,000.00			
1830	71,887.94		45,000.00		15,000.00		1,591.92	
1831	73,103.47		45,000.00		15,000.00		1,385.89	
1832	71,740.90		45,000.00		15,000.00		1,413.22	
1833	78,340.61		45,000.00	1,100	15,000.00		264.03	
1834	82,024.71		45,000.00	100	15,000.00		1,827.18	
1835	89,825.75		72,723.29	100	15,000.00		1,935.27	
1836	95,951.68		78,882.66	100	15,000.00		2,002.46	
1837	94,731.67		77,181.05	100	15,000.00		1,969.02	
1838	90,464.38		73,170.20	100	15,000.00		2,450.62	
1839	102,590.46		70,000.00	100	15,000.00		2,194.18	
1840	87,931.78		70,000.00	100	15,000.00		3,196.64	
1841	84,313.28		67,040.55	100	15,000.00		2,023.57	
1842	81,339.96		62,774.57	100	15,000.00		2,172.73	
1843	82,980.06		64,154.43		15,000.00	1,500	1,965.39	
1844	88,869.84		70,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,225.63	
1845	90,044.52		70,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,071.70	298.00
1846	88,904.42		70,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,238.13	1,306.39
1847	91,923.29		70,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,356.63	47.79
1848	92,881.25		70,635.88		15,000.00	1,500	2,532.43	2,890.86
1849	95,935.65		74,835.88		15,000.00	1,500	2,374.45	3,370.92
1850	97,883.66		46,674.03		15,000.00	1,500	2,501.06	2,098.71
1851	101,016.22	12,000.00	75,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,917.16	
1852	102,391.11	40,000.00	75,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	2,631.29	
1853	103,627.03	50,000.00	75,000.00		15,000.00	1,500	3,006.56	
					15,000.00	1,500	2,853.29	

TABLE C

Distribution of the Income from Literary Fund and the
Capitation Tax.

(Concluded)				University	VMI	Admin.	To Schools for
Income	Capitation	Primary	Academy	(5)	(6)	(7)	Deaf & Blind
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)				(8)
1854	104,726.21	5,000.00	75,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,956.97	
1855	178,863.62	55,336.18	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,750.00	
1856	125,472.75	60,580.10	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,945.74	
1857	99,985.88	121,649.55	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,714.03	
1858	121,941.08	115,484.48	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	3,027.26	
1859	114,918.61	125,000.00	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,750.00	
1860	118,600.18	125,000.00	80,000.00	15,000.00	1,500	2,925.97	
1861	103,648.66	120,263.73	78,528.05	14,490.00	1,500	2,736.67	
1862	84,373.59	3,598.31	691.78	14,490.00	1,500	3,317.63	
1863	91,272.34	--	--	14,490.00	1,500	2,981.21	

never exceeded nor did the total amounts paid go beyond \$8,000 at any one time. Columns 5 and 6 indicate the regular payments to the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute. Column 7 records the administrative expenses which exceeded \$3,000 only twice. Column 8 contains those funds appropriated to the Deaf, Dumb and Blind School at its inception.

The use of the money appropriated by the Literary Fund is of greatest importance next to the development of the fund itself. Table D (see page 46) shows these trends. Until 1821 the commissioners, as approved by the board, were not required to report the application of the funds. In December, 1820, however, a bill was presented and passed requiring the County Commissioners to make detailed reports. In 1823 an attempt was made to ascertain the use of funds in previous years but no comparative figures resulted. Column 1 indicates the number of children in the counties reputed to be poor. In a sense the steady increase indicates the regard for such education. With barely one exception, 1834, there was a steady increase from 1824 to 1847, when the figures became distorted. This wavering of numbers drew the comment of the Com-

Use of Funds appropriated to Primary Education as reported
by County Commissioners

	No. Poor Children (1)	No. Educated (2)	Total Expended (3)	Ave. Cost to State Pr. (4)	Total Cost of Ed. Per Child (5)
1823	7,269	3,291	18,511.35		9.50
1824	19,612	9,631	50,612.26	4.81	9.12
1825	21,177	10,226	49,222.82	4.90	9.00
1826	20,897	9,779	46,982.56	4.48	9.00
1827	22,139	9,865	44,193.26	4.08	9.25
1828	23,937	11,007	47,846.97	3.87	9.00
1829	26,690	12,642	48,950.31	3.33	
1830	26,381	11,799	39,220.09	2.82	3 9/10
1831	27,598	14,169	39,948.82	3.09	3 9/10
1832	31,231	16,100	39,721.87	2.52	3 9/10
1833	38,804	17,081	42,996.27	2.45	3 9/10
1834	34,210	18,006	44,009.10	2.41	3 9/11
1835	36,435	18,921	45,600.35	2.36	4
1836	38,966	19,265	45,802.92	2.37	4
1837	39,916	18,432	43,872.65	2.53	4
1838	40,608	23,290	59,136.98	2.64	4
1839	46,069	26,372	69,906.16	2.64	4
1840	47,046	26,732	70,734.02	2.62	4
1841	48,198	27,329	72,225.54	2.53	4 1/5
1842	50,564	29,254	74,810.44	2.64	4 3/5
1843	52,270	28,673	76,019.29	2.46	4 1/6
1844	53,155	28,369	69,922.47	2.39	4 1/10
1845	53,109	27,796	68,140.05	2.37	4
1846	54,444	28,484	67,631.03	2.41	4 1/9
1847	55,935	29,122	70,306.08	2.33	4 1/6
1848	63,846	26,472	61,830.59	2.30	4 1/4
1849	59,464	30,387	70,111.47	2.15	4
1850	72,876	31,655	68,135.73	2.20	4
1851	65,370	31,486	69,196.83	2.21	4
1852	55,312	30,324	68,960.09	2.16	
1853	55,271	32,072	69,404.14		
1854				2.57	
1855	55,158	41,608	106,830.50	2.85	
1856	85,459	49,542	141,040.56	2.77	
1857	55,446	49,547	176,645.61	2.74	
1858	55,968	51,918	142,255.60	2.96	
1859	56,743	54,232	160,530.42	3.85	
1860	48,969	49,413	190,075.79	3.90	
1861	49,088	50,199	195,738.37		

mittee on Schools in a report made to the House of Delegates in 1857⁴⁹ in which they deplored the inefficiency and misuse of funds as reflected in the disparity existing in the report on the aggregate numbers of indigent children.

The increase in the number of children enrolled, Column 2, indicates with further emphasis the growing regard for education. Column 3 shows the money actually paid out in tuition and books for child instruction. It does not include administration in the various counties. Column 4 indicates the average amount paid by the commissioners for the education of each child. Column 5 shows the total cost, at first by the year, and after 1831, by the day. The significant fact to notice about these three columns is the relative high cost of education in the early years with a subsequent decrease to the low point of \$2.15 in 1850, with the rebound before 1860. This reflects the increase in teacher load over the entire period. The heavy increase of expenditures after 1855 is due primarily to the capitation tax.

CONCLUSIONS

In drawing any conclusions upon this period of state interest it must be remembered that this was es-

⁴⁹ Documents of House of Del. 1857/58 No. 58.

essentially a period of great change. In 1779 Thomas Jefferson made a beginning, the reverberations of which were never quieted until the period came to its close. Thus, it may be said that the first step made in the direction of state education was one in the midst of an aristocratic society. The Literary Fund, as set up, intended to provide education for indigent children and in a measure assist the parish and community groups. The receipt of money from the United States Government shortly thereafter supplied the necessary funds for making plausible the establishment of the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute. In other words, the first appropriations were made out of charity.

The effects of this change are seen again in the development of the western vote-influence. By 1850 the state had received numerous influences from the north in the direction of railroads, canals and turnpike developments. The interest in schools at this time is manifest by the increased appropriations from the Literary Fund and especially in the inclusion of a provision for a Capitation tax by the Convention of 1850-51. The breakdown of education after the war is such that it pictures a completely dispersed and inef-

fective aristocratic society, in the midst of an emanating democracy.

The expenditures were made out of the Literary Fund to commissioners appointed by the governing board. The place, therefore, of the Literary Fund is predominant. The appropriations to primary education are seen to have been made dependent upon the income of the fund. For example, the \$45,000 appropriated was not increased until the surpluses being turned back into the permanent fund had become large enough to justify it, and even then the increase was made out of the surplus or in such a way as not to cause a deficit. The complete reliance upon this fund continued though it began to lose its predominance after the capitation taxes were added, which were equal to its income. The whole period is one of growth, that gave precedent to the events after 1870.

The establishment of the Literary Fund was an act which committed the state to some form of public primary education for the poor at least. The capitation tax was a precedent in taxation for public educational purposes. The Civil War completed the series of events that removed an old order and gave way to the events which occurred in 1869.

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF ESTABLISHMENT AND EXTENSION

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF STATE EDUCATION

Perhaps no period in Virginia history is more fraught with uncertainties and heartaches than that following the Civil War. This conflict had left the state in a veritable turmoil. Real estate values had declined by an amount exceeding \$15,000,000.¹ The 2,483 miles of railroads, developed largely at state expense before 1860, were in ruins, while nearly one-third of the state's land and people had become a new state, West Virginia. The Virginia debt which at the close of the war amounted to \$38,000,000 had increased to \$45,000,000 in 1870 as a result of accumulated interest payments. More than this, there were few crops to be depended upon, since rehabilitation was a slow process in the face of other malignant conditions. On top of these, Virginia had become Military District No. 1, in which H. H. Wells was military governor under proclamation of Congress.

¹ Pearson, C. C. -- "Readjuster Movement in Virginia."
P. 26 Note 8.

The Constitutional Convention which met in Richmond, December 3, 1867, at Governor Wells instigation, was indeed a heterogeneous group. It was composed of 105 members, of whom 33 were conservatives, 72 radicals and the rest doubtful. The expression that "We must swallow the dose"² will perhaps best illustrate the spirit in which the educational provisions were accepted in eastern Virginia. Later, it proved to be the best accomplishment of the convention.

The provisions for education contained the selection of a superintendent of education by joint ballot of the assembly, who together with the governor and attorney-general were to make up a board of education. Such a board was to have the functions of the old directors of the Literary Fund together with the appointment of county superintendents. Moreover, this first assembly under the new constitution was to provide a system of free public schools to be completed by 1876. Normal, agricultural and schools of higher grades were to be a part of the program. School districts and county organizations were to be the agencies for attaining these ends. In addition to the proceeds of the Literary Fund of which the entire original acts of establishment were

² Educational Journal of Virginia Vol. 1. P. 223

incorporated, a capitation tax and an annual tax of not less than one mill nor more than five mills on the dollar was added. Additional taxes were to be raised by the counties and districts not to exceed five mills each in any one year. Any portions left over were to revert to the general fund.³

When the assembly met in January 1870 they "endeavored to give effect to the democratic ideas embodied in the New Constitution."⁴ Governor Walker in his message to that body urged that the provisions of the Constitution be carried out.⁵ Accordingly, they selected Rev. William H. Ruffner of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), a conservative, who was impowered to draw up a plan for state education. His suggestions were accepted and enacted into law on July 11, 1870. Thus, the state embarked upon its first comprehensive program of education at public expense.

The difficulties which Dr. Ruffner encountered and the results are vividly set forth in his report to the assembly in 1871.⁶ The first duty lay in organi-

³ Constitution of 1869 Sec. Art. 130, 135, 136 and 173

⁴ Pearson, C. G. Op cit P. 33

⁵ Message to the Assembly, March 8, 1870

⁶ Virginia School Report 1871 P. 1 fl.

zation. Superintendents and district trustees numbering 1400 had to be appointed. By January, 1871, the details were completely arranged, though by the middle of November a number of schools had opened. Dr. Ruffner states that before the school year came to a close there were "more than 2,900 schools with about 130,000 pupils and more than 3,000 teachers."⁷

Then, the question of funds was raised. Up until January, 1871, none had been received. The state was confronted with an enormous debt and poverty was the explanation of the times. Under the law the districts and counties were to impose taxes, but public sentiment was at first against almost all efforts. Many, and in fact every, county superintendent of eastern Virginia, reported intense antagonism. It is interesting that in every case the superintendents wound up their reports indicating that there had been a change of sentiment, an increase in popularity during the school year.⁸ Thus, laws were adopted imposing county and district taxes.

⁷ Virginia School Report 1871 Op cit P. 6

⁸ Ibid P. 147-155 (Written Reports of the County and City Superintendents of schools.)

On the other hand, it was quite impossible for the auditor to determine the amounts available for these purposes. However, in a circular issued October 1, 1870, Dr. Ruffner indicated that distribution could hardly be expected before December, and that the wise policy would be to open the schools anticipating \$350,000. By August 31, 1871, the sum of \$345,517 had been paid to the superintendents while the amounts placed to the credit of state education was \$362,000. The auditor was optimistic and indicated that \$500,000 would be the final total when certain collections were made for 1870. Revenues were not sufficient in some counties while in still others balances were left in the treasuries. As a result supplements were made from individual gifts, county taxation and the Peabody Fund.⁹

During the next two years distinct progress is to be noted in the numbers of children enrolled, number of schools and number of teachers.

	<u>No. Schools</u>	<u>No. Teachers</u>	<u>No. Pupils Enr.</u>	<u>School Pop.</u>
1871	2,977	3,014	128,288	(5-21)
1872	3,695	3,853	166,377	411,021
1873	3,696	3,257	160,859	424,107

Note: Each grade of a school is counted as a school. These figures show a decrease in 1873 which Dr. Ruffner

⁹ The Peabody Fund will be taken up later in connection with Teacher Training.

explains as a result of bad teaching methods.

However, the revenues show an increase during the period, and as received from the taxes, the Literary Fund and fines amounted to:

	<u>Taxes</u>	<u>Literary Fund</u>	<u>Fines</u>	<u>Total</u>
1871	\$362,000.00	----	----	\$362,000.00
1872	388,610.43	\$31,165.52	\$12,333.83	432,109.78
1873	380,000.00	81,024.00	----	460,024.00

Note: All fines reverted to the Permanent Fund for investment. It will be noted that the half-million mark predicted by the auditor was never attained.¹⁰ The reason for this will be set forth in the next section.

The cost of education may be noted from the following table:

	<u>Amount Spent by Counties of State Funds</u>	<u>Funds of the Localities</u>	<u>Total</u>
1871	\$345,517.00	241,955.39	587,472.39
1872	422,602.43	570,716.16	993,318.59
1873	390,519.95	559,899.10	950,318.59
	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Mo. Cost Per Enrol.</u>	
1871	128,288	\$.74	
1872	166,377	.70	
1873	160,859	.75	

¹⁰ Virginia School Report above.

It is to be noted that the burden of education was shifted in 1872 from the state to the county. County governments were bearing something like two-thirds the entire cost while in 1871 the state had borne the heavier expenditures. The revenues of the localities for 1873 reflect the decrease in state funds of the previous year. The aggregate had decreased by \$40,000.

In the face of difficulties the new democratic principles of the constitution had been inaugurated. The courage with which Dr. Ruffner and his co-superintendents attacked the problems is to be highly commended. Antagonistic elements had relatively vanished while the counties and districts were agreeing to a tax varying from one to five mills per one-hundred dollars assessment.¹¹ But, the greatest difficulty was yet to be overcome; namely, that of winning a definite place in state appropriations. The difficulties surrounding this phase of our study are to be considered next.

¹¹ Heatwole (Op cit P. 232.) says that seventy-two counties adopted the tax.

THE READJUSTER MOVEMENT AND STATE EDUCATION

The disposition of the public debt resulted in a legislative controversy of considerable magnitude after the adoption of the Constitution of 1869. Coming out of an extensive program of public works before the war it amounted to \$33,000,000. Unpaid interest had raised it to \$38,000,000 when the war closed. The James River Catawba Canal, the Richmond-Petersburg railroad together with turnpikes and other enterprises had been the recipients of funds procured from borrowing. After the war these improvements were in disuse. Railroad tracks had been torn up, bridges burned and the canal remained incomplete.¹² In short, the people were confronted with the difficulties of destroyed, depleted and decreased physical wealth and small prospects for securing either new funds for rehabilitation or repayment of old obligations.

In 1866 the legislature, keeping in mind the unblemished financial record of the commonwealth, passed an act on March 2, funding the entire debt both war-

¹² Pearson, C. C. Op cit P. 7.

time and otherwise at the old rate of interest. Many were urging sale of assets to the highest bidder, while still others voiced consolidation.

With the beginnings of military rule and the subsequent constitutional convention, the question of the debt did not receive attention until January, 1870, when the first new assembly convened. As a result the total debt amounted to approximately \$45,000,000. On the spirit of the governor's message this body enacted the "free railroad" policy by which much of the rail properties were turned over to private parties. Then, by the funding act the interest on the public debt was made out in coupons which were to be receivable in lieu of taxes.¹³ This last enactment was most effective in determining the revenues for the next few years. The coupons amounted to practically the entire revenues and the revenues were made up of these coupons.

With particular reference to the funds for education the current incomes were side-tracked in favor of paying the obligations of the government in cash.

¹³ Pearson, C. C. Op cit P. 34

Repeated efforts on the part of Dr. Ruffner, together with a legislative investigation, in 1877 failed to move the auditor who held that it remained in his power to determine the distribution of the funds.¹⁴ Accordingly, as Dr. Ruffner estimated, some \$80,000 had been diverted yearly for the payment of other governmental functions. In 1878, the superintendent began his last and successful stand.¹⁵ He indicated that the people must decide whether they would have schools. He agreed that it was the duty of the state to pay its bonds, but disagreed that the state could not support both debts and schools. As a result, the auditor proceeded to curtail the funds even further. In 1879, the total amount made available by the state for education was only \$243,144.00 while the total expenditure amounted to \$961,891.97. The effect was to make the whole system inoperative. The number of children enrolled in 1879 decreased nearly 100,000 while the total funds declined to \$511,902.53, the state contributing \$286,264.00 of the total.¹⁶

¹⁴ Heatwole, C. J. Op cit P. 224-5

¹⁵ Virginia School Report 1878 P. 17 fl

¹⁶ See Table E. (page 60 of this paper)

TABLE E

Sources of State Funds for Primary Education

	<u>Capitation & Prop. Taxes</u>	<u>Interest on Literary Fund</u>	<u>Henkel Act.</u>	<u>On a/c of Arrearages</u>	<u>Excess of Rev. over Approx.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1871	\$362,000.00					\$362,000.00
1872	388,610.43	\$33,937.82				422,448.26
1873	380,000.00	80,024.00				460,024.00
1874	345,000.00	87,113.82				432,113.82
1875	423,000.00	65,490.44				488,490.44
1876	426,000.00	48,596.22				475,209.10
1877	341,266.46	16,476.22				357,742.68
1878	243,000.00	144.00				243,144.00
1879	286,000.00	264.00				286,264.00
1880	137,000.00	114.00	459,515.95			596,629.95
1881		1,350.00	504,794.61	60,000.00		566,144.61
1882		67,370.44	490,464.54	95,000.00	7,789.80	660,624.78

The election of 1878 was indeed a memorable one for education. On the basis of the arguments set forth by Dr. Ruffner and the friends of the system, attention was turned to the problem in such a way that the legislature acted. The Henkel Bill was passed in 1879¹⁷ authorizing county and city collectors to reserve in cash, three fourths the quota estimated as the state's appropriation to schools. In this way the system was guaranteed its immediate existence. In 1880 the assembly authorized the payments of arrearages on the sum of \$382,736.26, which it admitted as due the school system. In this way the place of the public school system in the state's finances was assured.

The revival of the public system is to be noted in Table G (see page 62). Almost immediately the enrollment reached a new peak and continued to progress. Even the number of schools and total amount of money spent by each agency attained new levels. Such were the conditions in 1882, the close of Dr. Ruffner's administration. All over the state there was rejuvenated interest in education. Practically

¹⁷

Acts of the Assembly 1878/79 P. 263-264.

TABLE F

Sources of Funds provided for State Education

	<u>State Funds</u>	<u>Local Taxation</u>		<u>Total Receipts</u>	<u>Total Cost of the System</u>
		<u>Counties</u>	<u>Districts</u>		
1871	362,000.00	155,741.74	174,590.98	692,332.72	517,472.39
1872	422,448.26	219,863.63	249,104.33	891,516.22	993,318.59
1873	460,024.00	153,764.30	351,798.03	965,586.33	814,494.01
1874	432,113.82	263,128.84	304,710.84	999,953.50	1,004,990.02
1875	488,490.44	189,756.00	284,221.34	962,467.78	1,021,396.68
1876	475,209.10	198,921.47	292,477.65	966,608.22	1,069,679.56
1877	357,742.68	193,235.67	317,325.58	868,303.93	1,050,346.57
1878	243,144.00	193,860.99	303,947.73	740,952.72	961,894.97
1879	286,264.00	222,864.80	258,724.71	767,853.51	511,902.53
1880	596,629.95	210,667.62	279,371.39	1,086,668.96	946,109.33
1881	566,144.61	207,051.15	316,980.70	1,090,176.46	1,100,238.96
1882	660,624.78	222,712.89	266,494.84	1,149,832.51	1,157,142.05

the entire stigma of charity had been removed. Of 109 superintendents reporting, only seven indicated unfavorable sentiment toward the system. The receipts for school purposes can be seen from Tables E and F (see pages 60 and 64). The act passed in 1879, requiring the auditor to pay the arrearages, did not become operative until 1881 when the old auditor was dismissed. The interest on the Literary Fund which had been so greatly abused in the preceding years was now completely revived. The counties were showing a marked increase in money collected, while the districts were continuing to hold their own. In all, the outlook for education was exceedingly gratifying to the state superintendent.

Twelve years of state primary education had passed with the resignation of Dr. Ruffner. In it two very definite accomplishments are to be noted; namely, the establishment of the state; and, the justification of its existence. The beginnings were meager and uncertain. There was much skepticism with regard to propriety. Moreover, the depleted and decreased assets of

TABLE G

Progress of the State School System

	<u>School Population</u>	<u>Number Enrolled</u>	<u>Number Schools</u>	<u>Total Expenditures</u>	<u>Whole Cost Per Mo. per Pupil Enr.</u>	<u>Value of School Prop.</u>
1871	381,262	128,288	2,864	587,472.39	--	--
1872	411,021	166,377	3,695	993,318.59	--	--
1873	424,107	160,859	3,696	814,494.01	--	--
1874	436,826	173,875	3,902	1,004,990.02	0.92	682,500.80
1875	482,789	184,486	4,185	1,021,396.68	0.89	757,781.00
1876	483,701	199,856	4,538	1,069,679.56	0.87	851,730.57
1877	555,807	204,974	4,672	1,050,346.57	0.82	969,317.00
1878	610,271	202,244	4,545	961,894.97	0.81	1,012,503.37
1879	610,371	108,074	2,491	511,902.53	0.88	1,088,957.00
1880	652,045	220,736	4,854	946,109.33	0.67	1,177,544.86
1881	653,426	239,046	5,382	1,100,238.96	0.68	1,199,333.47
1882	665,533	257,362	5,587	1,157,142.05	0.72	1,346,656.86

the state did not make the financial outlook a bright one. The task was then one of enormous proportions. On the other hand, there were the odds of a large state debt working against the system. The auditor was not favorable to the system and through a long process extending from 1870 to 1880 he misapplied the funds intended for school use. Just how long this situation would have continued it is hard to say. In 1877 and 1878 the situation came to a head when public opinion was brought to bear upon the assembly. The close of Dr. Ruffner's administration found the whole problem practically cleared away. In his work he had accomplished; first, the establishment of the system with all its discouraging elements; and second, he had proved to the people that education did have a place in the duties of the whole body of the people to each other.

PERIOD OF EXTENSION AND EXPANSION

For the next twenty years state primary education enjoyed a continued and unsuppressed growth. All over the state with few exceptions every district expanded the number of schools. In fact, so intensive was this development that it became apparent that there

were too many schools, especially of the one-room variety. Wherever a group of people could be found, there was placed a school to fill their need. As a result, many were to be found within one-mile of each other. The numbers increased from 5,587 in 1882, to 7,269 in 1888; to 7,769 in 1892; and 9,054 in 1902. The salary scales for teachers increased from \$29.47 per month in 1882 for men, and \$25.61 per month for women to \$32.62 and \$26.67, respectively in 1902. The enrollment mounted from 45 percent to 55 percent of the school population in the same period. Most encouraging however, the percentage in attendance of those enrolled increased from 35 percent to 74 percent. In place of the skepticism of the 70's the 80's and 90's witnessed the greatest increase in public opinion supporting primary education.¹⁸

more than these, the educators of the day were urging consolidation and greater efficiency. The Virginia School Journal, which had been an agency for the state department since its inception, constantly urged increased funds, teacher training and consoli-

¹⁸ See Virginia School Reports for years mentioned and Table H (Page 67)

TABLE H

Two Decades of Growth in Public Education

	No. Schools	Percent. Sch.Pop.Enr.	School Enroll.	No. Teachers	Monthly Teacher Pay.		Whole Cost per mo. Per Child Enrolled
					M.	F.	
1882	5,587	45.0	257,362	5,596	29.47	25.61	1.21
1883	5,974	47.0	268,360	5,997	29.62	25.84	1.25
1884	6,350	49.5	288,030	6,371	30.32	26.39	1.24
1885	6,575	53.5	303,343	6,693	31.00	26.88	1.19
1886	6,763	51.0	308,296	6,785	30.77	26.54	1.28
1887	7,140	53.2	325,184	7,161	31.20	26.62	1.24
1888	7,269	54.0	330,289	7,282	31.00	26.40	1.22
1889	7,410	55.0	336,948	7,423	31.36	26.74	1.23
1890	7,511	55.0	342,269	7,523	31.69	26.61	1.23
1891	7,689	51.5	342,720	7,718	31.40	26.66	1.32
1892	7,768	49.0	335,646	7,792	31.93	26.86	1.39
1893	7,902	52.0	348,471	7,932	33.06	27.49	1.37
1894	8,191	52.5	352,710	8,213	33.13	27.14	1.31
1895	8,278	52.0	355,986	8,292	32.82	26.95	1.34
1896	8,384	54.4	362,133	8,417	40.93	26.67	1.31
1897	8,529	55.2	367,817	8,575	31.98	26.91	1.29
1898	8,693	56.0	374,847	8,726	31.13	26.40	1.27
1899	8,806	54.0	358,825	8,836	32.09	26.39	1.41
1900	8,922	53.0	370,595	8,954	32.47	26.18	1.37
1901	8,948	55.2	381,561	9,008	32.66	26.46	1.32
1902	9,054	55.0	381,280	9,108	32.62	26.67	1.38

dation of schools. ¹⁹

State Funds during the period were greatly increased. Table I (see page 69) indicates the sources and totals provided during the period. After the Henkel Act of 1879 had become inoperative in 1882 problems arose concerning the future of the system. The result was the passage of the Grandstaff Act²⁰ of March 6, 1882, which provided that the auditor should, as he did under the Henkel Act, estimate the revenues as the returns were made known turning over any excesses to the school funds the next year. Moreover, the county and district officials were to be allowed the privilege of retaining 95 percent of the funds collected by them. Thus, we may account for the differences in the amounts appropriated in 1882 and 1883. At the same time, the arrearages in school funds were ordered increased to \$100,000. The Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad was sold by the state netting \$500,000, four-fifths of which was ordered turned over to the school fund in equal installments

¹⁹ Curry, J.L.M. Speech to Assembly (Virginia School Journal) Vol 1 P. 89

²⁰ Acts of Assembly. March 6, 1882.

TABLE I

Appropriations and Receipts from Taxes for School Purposes
by the State (1882-1902)

	Cap. & Prop. Taxes	Int. on Liter. Fund	Henkel Act	Arrearages paid schools (000)	Excess of Rev.	App. From Gen. Fund	Grandstaff Axt.	Total State Fds.
1882		67,370.44	490,464.54	95.	7,789.80			660,624.78
1883		2,466.00	A.M.&O.R.R. 100,000.00	100.	25,000.00		535,401.00	834,950.00
1884		2,412.00	100,000.00	100.	31,339.80		601,198.20	762,867.00
1885		33,869.86	100,000.00	100.			610,605.83	844,475.60
1886		106,261.71	100,000.00	100.			626,805.99	938,056.36
1887		196,325.97		100.			629,799.67	963,108.74
1888	629,292.50	136,396.82		100.			Other Sour. 674.32	866,363.64
1889	648,485.15	79,270.00		100.		20,730.00	900.19	877,149.25
1890	651,467.53	Included				200,000.00		851,467.53
1891	667,630.67	58,195.07				200,000.00		925,825.84
1892	697,929.02	41,649.84				200,000.00		939,578.86
1893	731,967.80	43,151.94				200,000.00		975,119.74
1894	732,372.92	43,441.87				200,000.00		975,814.79
1895	730,548.01	43,803.92				200,000.00		974,351.93
1896	735,715.75	44,770.69				200,000.00		980,486.44
1897	737,512.07	46,057.88				200,000.00		983,569.95
1898	762,484.17	46,851.27				200,000.00		1,009,335.44
1899	764,282.01	47,532.96				200,000.00		1,011,814.97
1900	766,879.12	48,658.88				200,000.00		1,015,528.00
1901	789,487.44	48,886.36				200,000.00		1,038,373.80
1902	812,947.60	52,936.29				200,000.00		1,065,883.89

of \$100,000. In 1885, \$33,869.86 was paid as an amount in arrears on bonds held by the Literary Fund. Further amounts of \$106,261.71 and \$196,325.97 are to be noted for the years 1886 and 1887 respectively. In 1889 when the \$100,000 in arrears was out, the assembly increased its amount to \$200,000 and made it a direct appropriation, which was continued throughout the period. The entire difficulties of the 70's had been completely overcome; and steady increases in the total funds provided by the state are recorded from 1882 to 1902.

Considering the whole receipts for education as derived, (see Table J page 71), it may be seen that with the exception of 1891 the districts produced by far the greater revenue when compared with the counties. When compared with the total state funds, the state bore from one-half to one-third the total. The city appropriations were as large as those provided by the counties. The column marked "other funds" includes gifts and bequests made from time to time. The last item of \$126,766.30 includes the proceeds of the sale of a bond issue.

Thus, in this period of 20 years the state

TABLE J

Sources of Funds for State Education

	<u>State Funds</u>	<u>Counties</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Cities</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total Receipts for Education</u>
1882	660,624.78	222,712.89	266,494.84			1,149,832.51
1883	762,867.00	247,238.77	261,539.29			1,271,645.06
1884	834,950.00	266,439.62	292,518.88			1,393,908.50
1885	844,475.66	268,914.52	337,506.77			1,450,896.95
1886	831,794.65	224,078.63	381,375.19			1,437,248.47
1887	812,880.97	220,288.28	421,131.49			1,454,300.74
1888	812,783.60	235,552.71	459,820.82			1,508,157.13
1889	877,149.25	223,380.77	486,337.30			1,586,867.32
1890	866,363.64	235,242.49	259,916.48	210,270.13	32,463.25	1,588,142.13
1891	925,825.84	262,939.33	242,497.13	212,363.89		1,676,089.44
1892	939,578.86	240,355.83	287,244.92	229,455.65	32,699.23	1,729,334.49
1893	975,119.74	252,497.68	300,922.40	242,711.02	36,095.15	1,807,345.99
1894	975,814.79	250,499.85	280,016.43	284,366.21	33,827.59	1,824,287.77
1895	974,351.93	249,093.01	273,302.40	282,629.78	44,910.65	1,824,524.87
1896	980,486.44	246,907.30	278,447.44	287,874.93	40,044.71	1,843,760.82
1897	983,569.95	254,298.60	270,312.22	315,630.56	39,892.67	1,863,704.00
1898	1,009,355.44	254,708.32	278,021.18	328,614.25	49,624.93	1,920,304.12
1899	1,011,814.97	259,654.44	291,339.20	392,352.14	55,462.78	2,010,623.53
1900	1,015,538.00	262,581.73	297,914.26	366,497.69	70,203.10	2,012,734.78
1901	1,038,373.80	280,709.15	312,936.32	392,231.55	60,396.92	2,084,647.74
1902	1,065,883.89	284,227.91	315,875.99	366,818.55	126,766.30	2,159,572.64

Source: Virginia School Reports 1882-1902

had increased its funds for education by nearly 100 percent. Whereas, the total amounting to \$1,149,832.51 in 1882, had increased to \$2,159,572.64. The period had witnessed an unprecedented increase in expenditures that fostered inefficiency and haphazard development in the counties.

The city school systems deserve mention at this point. Like the counties the cities and towns had participated in the proceeds of the Literary Fund before 1870 and had progressed to some extent through gifts made possible by the Peabody Fund and other agencies. The Constitution of 1869 indicated that a system should be established in all the counties of the state by the year 1876.²¹ It was construed to mean continued distribution to the cities. Accordingly, the cities which had schools were taken over by the state and operated in the same manner as those in the counties. Later each city took over its own work as the idea of taxation for city school purposes became feasible. Thus, they became models to which the counties turned for guidance.²²

²¹ Constitution of 1869 Sec.

²² Heatwole, C. J. Op cit P. 262-271

The place of the city system is marked in that it led the way in high school development. In the beginning the "higher" schools, as they were called, were conducted as a part of the elementary schools. That is to say, all children of all grades were taught in the same room. In 1871, Lynchburg organized two high schools one for boys and one for girls. Richmond followed in 1873. Others appeared in the 80's and 90's as the number of city systems increased.

It will be noted from Table J (see page 71) that no amounts are listed from the cities before 1890. It is assumed, however, that taxes were imposed before this date, though it must be remembered that the cities were slow in realizing their needs. More than this, it is seen that they tended to increase much faster than other groups or interests once they were started. In this way they became the standards as indicated heretofore.

The period between 1882 and 1902 for primary education and city systems was one of extension and example, respectively. The city systems set the pace in equipment and methods, though slow in getting started, and did much to bring about the movement for greater ef-

iciency that occurred in 1902.

In the meantime, unprecedented advances were being made in higher education. After the war the appropriations to the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute were revived. That is, the old appropriations from the Literary Fund of \$15,000 to the University of Virginia and \$1,500 to Virginia Military Institute, were brought to life through direct appropriations. In 1875, the amount was doubled²³ to the University of Virginia, and in 1884 it was increased to \$40,000, only to be decreased in 1888 by \$5,000. By 1902, the state had increased its appropriations to \$50,000 and had made a special appropriation of \$10,000. The enrollment had increased to 616.

On March 19, 1872, the legislature took an additional step in its educational program. In lieu of western lands turned over to new states, land scrip had been divided between the thirteen original states. Sale was provided on the above date for the amount turned over to Virginia, of which two-thirds of the proceeds were to go to the establishment of the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College,²⁴ (now known as Virginia

²³ Virginia School Law 1869-1884 P. 75

²⁴ Virginia School Report 1872 P. 1 f Appendix.

Polytechnic Institute); while the remaining one-third was to become a part of the endowment of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural (Colored) College. The act provided that Montgomery County where the technical school was to be located should provide \$20,000 the first year. No appropriations were made from the state until 1874 and 1875, when \$15,000 was set aside for buildings. In other words, the interest on approximately \$200,000 was the sole support of this state institution for nearly two years. By 1902, the enrollment had become 627 while \$40,000 was being supplied by the state.

Appropriations to the Medical College were exceedingly irregular during the period. The records show that in 1887 only \$1,500 was being received while in 1891, the amount of \$5,000 was made available only to be reduced in 1893 and 1894 to \$3,000. In 1895 it was raised to the original figure and remained in this state at the close of the period.²⁵

Normal education had an early beginning. In 1842 the state made a \$1,500 appropriation to the Virginia Military Institute²⁶ with the understanding

²⁵ See reports of the treasurer of the Medical College of Virginia for the years mentioned. (printed in Virginia School Reports) Appendix

²⁶ Report of the Superintendent of V.M.I. (Virginia School Report, 1889 Appen.

Note: \$6,000 was obtained from the state through Military Defense Appropriation

that students availing themselves of the scholarships thereby set up should teach two years in the state schools. Nothing more was accomplished. During the war period the appropriations were cut off, but revived at the close. The report of 1872 to the state superintendent indicates that they were receiving \$15,000 from the general funds. In 1884 this amount was doubled largely upon the grounds that valuable service had been rendered to the state by the cadets at New Market although their buildings had been burned in 1864. By 1902 the institute was receiving thirty-five thousand dollars (\$35,000) from the state while its enrollment was 274.

Dr. Ruffner had urged normal education in his first report, but realizing the times he suggested "ambulatory schools"²⁷ or teachers that moved from place to place. Other agencies however had been working to satisfy the pressing need for teacher instruction, at least temporarily.

In the first place, it was urged by the assembly in its act establishing the system for education, that the teachers be encouraged to come together

²⁷ Virginia School Report 1871 P. 142-143

for instruction during time out of school. However, no funds were provided. Then, in 1866, George Peabody left two millions for the advancement of education in the south. Virginia received a large share of the distribution of these funds. During the next few years institutes were set up in the state at various points, where the best instructors were secured. The counties and districts co-operated but no funds were set aside by the state. Indeed, not until the normal schools were established did the state appropriate funds for this training. From 1868 to 1897 Virginia received the following sums²⁸ from the Peabody Fund which for the most part were used to forward the idea of instructing teachers in either institutes or normal summer schools:

1868	4,750	1883	2,625
1869	12,700	1884	4,000
1870	10,300	1885	4,565
1871	15,950	1886	6,000
1872	29,700	1887	4,500
1873	36,400	1888	4,000
1874	31,750	1889	5,200
1875	23,350	1890	4,500
1876	17,800	1891	5,800
1877	17,850	1892	7,000
1878	13,450	1893	4,700
1879	8,850	1894	4,550
1880	5,700	1895	4,050
1881	4,150	1896	5,400
1882	2,059.41	1897	5,300
			<hr/>
			\$305,949.41

²⁸ Curry, J.L.M. "History of the Peabody Fund" P. 147

As an outcome of the contributions of this fund we have the present summer schools of education conducted by the University of Virginia, William and Mary College and the state teacher colleges. No agency other than the Peabody Fund holds the distinction of influencing normal training in a practical way between the dates 1870 and 1902.

Through this period, however, advances were being made in Negro teacher instruction. On September 21, 1868 the assembly passed an act creating the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, a school which on a labor basis was designed to prepare the Negro for teaching his own race. Samuel C. Armstrong, who was the successful head of the school, had raised \$200,000 from various sources, principally outside the state, and with these funds constructed a building and bought a farm. In 1872, the sale of Congressional land scrip was authorized, and the school benefited from the interest of the proceeds thereon. No appropriations had been made at this time, though the Peabody Fund had been helpful in several instances. Many efforts were made to secure direct appropriations from the state,²⁹ but in 1902 only the bonds

²⁹ Report of the Superintendent - Virginia School Report 1888 App. P. 78.

* Content continuous from page 77, the page numbered 78 omitted in numbering only.

paying interest made up the income from that source.

In 1882, the assembly acted to create the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute for Colored People at Petersburg. At this time, as has been noted, the proceeds of the sale of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad were divided between the free schools and this institute. Accordingly, \$100,000 was placed at interest while \$20,000 was appropriated by the assembly from the general funds of the state. In 1888, the student enrollment was 219 not including 130 summer school students, though the state had reduced its yearly grant by \$5,000.³⁰ At the close of the period the appropriations remained at \$15,000 though the enrollment had increased to 316.

Possibly because of the interest created by the establishment of the Negro Normal Institute in Petersburg and again because of the general concern for better methods at this time, the first State Female Normal School was established in 1884 at Farmville. The sum of \$5,000 was set aside for equipment and \$10,600 annually for current expenses. After 1884,

³⁰ Report of the Treasurer - Virginia School Report
1888 Appendix P. 109-199.

the appropriations were increased to \$12,000 in 1891 and \$15,000 in 1894. In 1902 the state was continuing this appropriation though the facilities were entirely inadequate. No mention was made of the exclusion of men, but none were admitted.

Not to be outdone, however, an act was passed on March 5, 1888, providing for the reorganization of William and Mary College which had ceased to operate in 1860 after many losses of the Civil War. It was provided that \$10,000 be apportioned annually in return for the instruction of men who were planning to become teachers. This amount was continued until 1892 when supplementary amounts were appropriated. In the following year the fixed amount was increased to \$15,000 and remained as such when the period came to an end.

CONCLUSIONS

The period from 1870 to 1902 was, then, one of establishment; readjustment; and extension and expansion. Magruder in speaking of the period says, "The centralization of 1870 was a matter of expediency, a system which the majority of the influential whites did not favor----." ³¹

³¹ Magruder, F. A. "Recent Administration in Virginia"
J.H.S. P. 30

Certainly, this is a valid statement. We have seen that the system as established was brought about by a convention made up of aliens. Moreover, so little respect was held for the system that its appropriations were "misapplied" in order that other obligations might be paid, such as interest on the debt.

On the other hand, primary education may be viewed as a successful venture. There is indication that as the expenditures increased the sentiment for education increased also. Strength of purpose was constantly in the minds of all helping to administer the affairs. The assembly was careful to meet the democratic motives of the constitution of 1869. The same ideas were held by Dr. Ruffner who carried the point so far as to advocate the least possible interference by the state. In other words, the period from 1870 to 1902 is divided into three periods; namely, (1) establishment, (2) readjustment, and (3) extension and expansion. Indeed the one overlaps the other. Strictly speaking the whole period was one of establishment.

Beginning in 1874, the reality that the system

was suffering the "misapplication" of funds was made known to the friends of free schools. Then, we have a period of readjustment in which the state finally agreed that it was possible to establish and maintain education for the public in the face of a large debt.

When this conclusion was reached and financial difficulties were removed a decidedly benevolent attitude was made manifest toward all education. On every hand, the attitude toward the schools was one of recognition and civic pride. The extension of the system is witnessed by the tremendous outlay of funds, which were nearly doubled; the place of the cities in setting examples; and the increased provisions for teacher training and higher education.

But as education may have appeared to have reached an absorption point in the eyes of the people of the day; so much more so was this proved false in the few years that followed.

CHAPTER IV

THE "AWAKENING" AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

THE GREAT AWAKENING

In the annals of Virginia educational history perhaps no greater public movement is recorded than that which occurred between 1902 and 1910. We have seen that the interests of the people at large had become expanded as a result of the establishment of a public school system. The germ of a new movement had been set.

in 1898 at Capon Springs, Virginia, a small body of men met to discuss Christian Education in the South. Little more than mere suggestions were set forth in this first meeting. However, the next year found an entirely different perspective. The words of Rev. C. K. Nelson in an address on "Educational Progress in the South" signify the movement that resulted. He says, "---a campaign must be carried on not by one man in every state, but by one in every county or community. If we can create a public-school spirit in the hearts and wills of our people demands will be made whose fulfillment no forces can retard."¹ This

¹ Proceedings of the Second Conference for Christian Education in the South (1899) P. 10.

prophecy proved true as we shall indicate.

At the 1901 meeting of this, "Southern Educational Conference", as it was now called, the Southern Education Board was established, designed to carry the gospel of education to every part of the south and to conduct a bureau of information and advice on legislation and school organization.²

In Virginia, however, there were already manifestations of a rising tide of opinion. The new constitution of 1902 contained important changes in education. The original board was to be retained, while five others were to be nominated by the faculties of the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Normal School at Farmville, School of the Deaf and Blind, and William and Mary; and chosen by the senate. The State Superintendent of Education was to be elected by the people, and was to have as one of his duties the appointing of division superintendents. The funds provided were approximately the same except that instead

² Proceedings of the Conference for Christian Education in the South. 1901 P. 11-12

of the old 5-21 age basis of apportionment, a new 7-20 age basis was incorporated. The minimum tax for localities was set at $7\frac{1}{2}$ mills, while the administration of all funds was to remain with the board of education. Reports were to be made from each agency as provided under the old law.³

In a meeting composed of Governor Montague, Dr. H. B. Frissell, Dr. Robert Frazer, Dr. S. C. Mitchell, and J. D. Eggleston at Murphy's Hotel in Richmond (1903) the "Cooperative Educational Association of Virginia" took its origin. Actuated by a sincere desire to bring about in Virginia those things which had been set forth in the Capon Springs meetings, they immediately laid plans for organization. In 1904, they met again and with Governor Montague as temporary chairman, and Dr. S. C. Mitchell, the permanent chairman, the following objectives were adopted, to be attained in cooperation with the aims of the Southern Education Board. They were as follows: (1) nine months schooling for every child; (2) high schools within reasonable distance of every child; (3) well trained teachers; (4) agricultural and industrial training; (5) efficient supervision; (6) promotion of Libraries; (7) schools for the de-

³ Constitution of 1901, Sec. 136

fective and dependent; (8) citizens educational associations in every county and city.⁴

At the meeting in 1904, resolutions were adopted whereby Governor Montague and President Alderman of the University of Virginia were to make a tour of the state. The results were momentous. Heatwole says, "Never was a state so bombarded in the interest of any cause."⁵ From every corner of the state reverberations were heard. The campaign of 1905 took up the mission. In fact, education became the political issue. Facts and figures on the subject were expounded and set forth in the most remote sections. As a result, J. D. Eggleston, believed by many to be the greatest since Dr. Ruffner, was elected state superintendent.

The legislature under the pressure of its election was obligated to enact legislation for schools. Accordingly, in 1906 the Mann High School Bill was passed, appropriating \$50,000 to high schools development on the obligation that the counties and

⁴ Proceedings of the Virginia Cooperative Educational Assoc. 1903-1904.

⁵ Heatwole, Op cit P. 315

districts would provide buildings and additional amounts for the teachers.⁶ In 1908, this sum was increased to \$100,000. In the same year a bill was passed by the assembly allowing the Literary Fund to be loaned to districts so that the building programs might be carried out. Mr. Eggleston reported to the "Conference for Education in the South" that \$200,000 worth of school buildings exclusive of cities, and \$600,000 or \$700,000 altogether was to be spent in the coming year.⁷ A little later the state provided that all plans for buildings should be submitted to it before being carried out.

In 1908 the Strode Bill⁸ was enacted as a measure to encourage graded schools. A \$25,000 subsidy (raised to \$75,000 in 1910) was provided on the same basis as that set up for high schools. Thus, provisions were made whereby greater centralization was obtained. During the period before 1902 there had been acute decentralization. Under the new developments the tendency was toward the opposite direction or centralization.

⁶ Acts of the Assembly 1906-07

⁷ Proceedings of the Ninth Conference for education in the South (1906) P. 39.

⁸ Acts of Assembly 1908/09

Other parts of the bill included the provisions for normal training schools out of which Fredericksburg and Radford State Teacher's Colleges were brought about in 1908, and Harrisonburg State Teacher's College in 1910. Moreover, agricultural high schools were established in each of the ten congressional districts of the state. For this purpose \$20,000 was set aside in 1908, and increased to \$30,000 in 1910.⁹

From Table K (see page 90) we may see that the increase in revenues was brought about almost entirely by the increase of local taxes. The total state funds did not exceed two and one-half million dollars until 1916, while the total funds provided by agencies other than the state amounted to more than five times that provided in 1902 and 1903.

In Table L (see page 91) the appropriations make up a good portion of the increases it is seen, but the income from the capitation and school taxes bore the heaviest burden. The Literary Fund had been relegated to a minor position though it is indeed an important factor in the final total. The column

⁹ Acts of Assembly 1910/11

TABLE K

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY
EDUCATION (1902--1915)

	State Funds	County Funds	District Funds	City Funds	Total Funds Other than State	Whole Total (All Sources)
1902	1,062,981.64	288,389.83	325,258.82	460,200.59	1,073,919.24	2,136,890.88
1903	1,065,883.89	284,227.91	315,875.99	493,584.85	1,093,688.75	2,159,572.64
1904	1,001,817.70	306,440.45	357,863.46	478,592.74	1,142,897.65	2,244,714.35
1905	1,128,262.01	354,287.14	401,965.49	547,587.81	1,302,840.44	2,432,102.45
1906	1,459,287.94	766,987.89	498,275.31	748,497.27	2,013,760.47	3,473,048.41
1907	1,546,342.59	819,043.28	572,388.23	734,877.10	2,126,308.61	3,672,651.20
1908	1,708,027.16	990,058.77	656,254.46	1,046,002.79	2,692,316.02	4,400,343.18
1909	1,685,712.51	1,105,404.43	781,915.70	964,643.95	2,851,964.08	4,537,676.59
1910	1,733,080.67	1,251,868.16	930,913.55	1,254,721.26	3,437,502.97	5,170,583.64
1911	1,869,697.06	1,471,757.84	1,139,117.90	1,136,391.36	3,747,267.10	5,616,964.16
1912	1,948,306.34	1,552,230.39	1,191,609.52	1,399,735.24	4,143,575.15	6,091,881.49
1913	2,035,296.40	1,504,433.21	1,333,562.77	1,624,728.30	4,462,724.28	6,498,020.68
1914	2,162,218.85	1,915,431.85	1,389,501.91	1,748,449.96	5,053,383.72	7,215,602.57
1915	2,219,047.00	1,932,528.75	1,410,994.37	2,155,676.03	5,499,199.15	7,718,246.15

Source: Reports of the State Superintendent and
Public Instruction 1902--1915

TABLE L

Sources of Funds Supplied by the State

	School & Cap. Taxes	Cash Appropriation	High Schools	Other Appropriations	Literary Fund	Total State funds
1902	812,947.60	200,000			52,936.29	1,065,883.89
1903	808,761.10	200,000			54,220.54	1,062,981.60
1904	846,091.95	200,000			55,725.75	1,101,817.70
1905	871,255.70	200,000			57,006.31	1,128,262.01
1906	942,110.76	400,000	50,000	7,050	60,127.18	1,459,287.94
1907	1,025,559.50	400,000	50,000	7,341	63,441.42	1,546,342.59
1908	1,040,098.18	455,000	100,000	46,500	66,428.98	1,708,027.16
1909	1,040,098.18	455,000	100,000	46,500	44,114.33	1,685,712.51
1910	1,027,828.56	445,000	100,000	84,200	76,052.11	1,733,080.67
1911	1,157,238.64	445,000	100,000	84,200	83,258.42	1,869,697.06
1912	1,239,483.54	358,000	100,000	164,200	86,622.80	1,948,306.34
1913	1,308,740.83	358,000	100,000	176,200	92,355.57	2,035,296.40
1914	1,351,502.89	233,000	100,000	387,200	90,515.96	2,162,218.85
1915	1,409,970.87	233,000	100,000	385,700	90,376.13	2,219,047.00

Source: Reports of the State Superintendent of
Public Instruction 1902--1915

headed "other appropriations" includes (1) the salaries and expenses of the State Superintendent of Education; (2) funds given over to summer normal schools; (3) graded schools; (4) one and two room schools; (5) agricultural schools; (6) libraries in public schools. In other words, through appropriations the state had more than doubled its total to public education.

High schools, however, were enjoying steady progress. At the time of the \$50,000 appropriation in 1906, there were only 69 schools. But, in the first year of the appropriation 149 were added.¹⁰ The superintendent was inclined to hold that at this time "the act (had) put new vigor into the system from bottom to top."¹¹ Table M (see page 93) indicates the increase of high schools together with attendance therein.

The appropriations to higher education underwent phenomenal increases during the period 1902-1915. Table N (see page 94) indicates the increase at

¹⁰ Virginia School Report 1906-7 P. 19.

¹¹ Ibid.

TABLE M

The High School Development Between 1906-1915.

	Number Schools	Number Pupils
1906	69	--
1907	218	9,192
1908	225	9,992
1909	345	13,418
1910	396	15,334
1911	434	16,471
1912	468	18,012
1913	494	20,250
1914	538	22,434
1915	572	24,945

TABLE N

Appropriations to Institutions of Higher
Instruction

94

	1902	1905	1910	1915
University of Virginia	\$50,000.00	\$50,000.00	\$113,300.00	\$125,800.00
Virginia Military Institute	25,000.00	25,000.00	65,400.00	65,450.00
Virginia Polytechnic Inst.	40,000.00	42,547.77	82,417.50	145,417.50
William and Mary College	15,000.00	25,000.00	50,400.00	66,900.00
Medical College of Virginia	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	15,000.00
Va. Normal and Industrial College (Colored)	*	15,000.00	27,000.00	33,500.00
Schools for the Deaf and Blind	*	*	61,500.00	60,500.00
Farmville State Teachers College	40,000.00	25,500.00	78,000.00	76,660.00
Harrisonburg St. T. Coll.			15,000.00	85,350.00
Fredericksburg S. T. C.				72,850.00
Radford St. T. College				66,230.00
Totals	\$175,000.00	\$190,047.77	\$523,017.50	\$851,657.50.

* Appropriations were made on these dates, but the reports made to the State Superintendent were not available.

Source: Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. 1902, 1905, 1910, 1915.

intervals of 1902-1905-1910 and 1915. It will be noted that there is a general increase in the funds appropriated after the great awakening. In 1910, the figures show a distinct rise in every branch of higher education with the exception of the Medical College of Virginia. By 1915 the figures are still higher with the increases to normal schools making up a good portion. In other words, the response to the movement acted with equal force upon higher education.

PERIOD BETWEEN 1915 and 1930

This period has been termed one of prosperity. This is true, perhaps, in both finance and administration, the advances in which were based on an extensive survey. The "Omnibus Bill" or the Strode Bill of 1908,¹² had included provisions for a commission to study the entire system of the state and formulate recommendations, but no action was taken. In 1918, a bill was passed providing for an Educational Commission which was obligated to report to the assembly of 1920. Dr. Alexander J. Inglis was chosen to direct the study.

¹² Acts of Assembly 1908/09

In the course of their recommendations on finance a sum between nine and ten million dollars was suggested as the minimum for instruction,¹³ while other capital expenditures were placed at \$6,000,000. In other words, the minimum amount was estimated at \$16,000,000. The commission concluded that Virginia was receiving no more than it paid for, and that it remained with the people to determine their future course.

From Table O (see page 97) we see the results of this emphasis laid upon education between 1918 and 1922. The increases indicate the extent to which publicity was given the survey mentioned above. State expenditures were doubled as also were the county funds. District totals did not increase as rapidly. City funds, however, increased three times their 1918 figure.

From 1922 through 1926 there was a gradual increase in funds provided. "Other funds" between 1926 and 1928 show a lag which as the state superintendent indicated, was the result of reduced building programs and the insistent demands for a reduction in

¹³ Report of the Va. Education Commission 1920 P. 273.

TABLE 0

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY
EDUCATION (1917--1932)

	State	County	District Funds	City	Other funds	All Except State Funds	Final Total
1917	2,751,821.67	2,152,409.28	1,631,012.37	2,586,754.02		6,370,175.67	9,121,997.34
1918	2,568,184.78	1,956,356.07	1,703,206.86	2,043,879.63		5,810,020.03	8,378,204.81
1919	3,218,621.18	1,646,953.81	2,386,884.38	1,704,793.46	2,707,852.10	7,436,483.75	10,655,104.93
1920	3,299,268.13	1,519,959.08	2,215,128.10	2,202,125.85	4,721,640.11	10,658,852.14	13,958,120.27
1921	4,535,731.55	1,919,069.57	2,674,928.58	2,609,656.73	5,370,011.07	12,673,665.95	17,109,397.50
1922	5,400,469.69	2,266,741.15	4,916,091.21	6,130,797.82	4,854,645.28	17,168,285.46	22,568,745.15
1923	5,218,001.50	2,593,563.13	4,086,494.58	5,961,325.74	5,775,013.16	18,416,397.61	23,634,398.11
1924	5,371,831.39	3,479,729.19	3,739,133.97	5,337,446.33	6,601,729.82	19,149,039.31	24,520,770.70
1925	5,424,499.62	4,077,727.71	3,431,118.52	5,481,151.97	6,475,349.89	19,465,348.09	24,889,847.77
1926	5,610,631.59	4,352,239.77	3,385,229.11	5,251,713.13	7,474,829.79	20,464,021.80	26,074,653.39
1927	5,697,070.76	5,035,754.22	1,766,098.13	6,526,888.34	4,677,443.68	19,983,803.13	25,680,173.89
1928	5,595,949.63	4,778,829.31	3,526,672.76	4,827,930.61	5,570,470.45	20,006,184.37	25,602,134.00
1929	6,293,523.58	5,605,972.21	3,235,995.69	6,344,051.13	5,602,035.50	20,788,054.33	27,081,577.91
1930	6,209,167.63	7,037,573.95	2,222,479.44	6,884,183.45	3,277,310.93	20,952,726.77	27,161,894.40
1931	7,018,410.33	6,656,162.16	1,278,654.73	6,832,614.18	2,454,864.83	20,499,606.88	27,518,017.21
1932	7,021,434.54	6,289,288.06	1,183,783.06	6,468,808.78	2,141,499.91	19,019,563.15	26,040,997.67

Source: Reports of the State Superintendent of Public
Instruction 1917-1932.

taxes.¹⁴

In 1927 the legislature provided for a survey of the educational system. The experts employed were to report not later than December 1, 1927 through the Virginia Educational Commission. Accordingly, Dr. M. V. O'Shea was chosen as director and an intensive study of education in Virginia was made.

Upon the subject of primary and secondary education the survey found that the funds were not properly checked and advised a uniform system of accounts, and an annual report for each local agency. Moreover, the rural school systems were considered of primary importance since they contributed the greater proportion of population. A pending amendment to the constitution for the appointment of the state superintendent of education was endorsed.¹⁵ In short, the commission advocated higher standards of efficiency based upon concentration of control with the state board of education. They did not advocate any expenditures during that year over and above those already provided.

¹⁴ Report of the Superintendent of Education 1927-28 P.27

¹⁵ O'Shea Report to the General Assembly House Doc. 4. 1928

The situation in higher education was found to be expanded beyond the ability and needs of the state. That is to say, they emphasized the duplications existing at V. M. I., and William and Mary, and the four state teacher colleges. In their conclusions they advised that V. M. I. be eliminated while the University of Virginia and V. P. I. be strengthened in their respective fields. Harrisonburg State Teacher's College was suggested as a future liberal arts college for women, the establishment of which would not materially affect the finances or the facilities of the state. Finally, they concluded that the state of Virginia would necessarily have to be more liberal in the support of higher education, "if the fame and prestige --- is not to suffer."¹⁶

Table P (see page 100) shows the increase in funds allotted to the state higher institutions. The totals as given here include the regular appropriations, additions to the student loan fund and permanent capital increases. The figures for 1931 and 1932 have not been as large as those of 1930.

¹⁶ Hall, Sidney B. "A Minimum Educational Program for Virginia"; Also "Association of Virginia Colleges" Address of Dr. Hall in the proceedings of Feb. 10-11, 1933.

TABLE P

Appropriations to Institutions of Higher Learning
(1920-1925-1930-1931-1932)

	1920	1925	1930	1931	1932
University of Virginia	\$188,666.64	314,525.00	648,920.38	724,164.36	498,615.94
V. Mil. Inst.	150,700.00	106,862.09	357,190.00	299,161.63	101,700.00
Va. Poly. Inst.	337,994.79	617,374.62	853,969.00	676,796.00	662,450.00
William and Mary Coll.	197,740.30	184,445.00	373,379.00	418,530.00	309,140.00
Medical Coll. of Va.		90,500.00	130,123.28	146,145.00	146,260.00
Negro Normal Training	83,037.36	90,863.36	208,877.16	86,566.00	87,155.00
Schools for Deaf & Blind	117,984.20	135,901.06	136,213.28	146,779.21	146,408.00
Farmville S. T. C.	88,517.36	135,174.00	168,594.17	124,370.00	168,720.00
Harrisonburg S. T. C.	59,000.50	83,994.66	324,600.00	264,070.00	85,320.00
Fredericksburg S. T. C.	76,523.36	72,173.32	166,285.00	197,745.00	61,905.00
Radford S. T. C.	56,850.00	68,055.00	206,923.85	95,071.93	96,861.65
Totals	\$1,357,014.51	\$1,898,868.11	\$3,575,075.12	\$3,179,488.13	\$2,364,532.59

Source: Reports of the State Superintendent of
Public Instruction 1920, 1925, 1930,
1931, 1932.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Further reference to Table O (see page 97) will show a decline of total funds provided for primary and secondary education beginning with the year 1930. It will be noted that the state has been increasing its appropriations to primary and secondary education in the past two years. These increases, however, have not been sufficient to make up the decreases in the district and county funds. Thus, from the peak of \$27,518,017.21 provided as total funds from all sources in 1931 the sum had declined to \$26,040,997.67 for 1932. The decline in district funds have been, largest though both county and city funds have decreased.

The most recent developments have been the announcement of Dr. Sidney B. Hall's minimum program of education.¹⁷ In this plan he indicates that the state should provide instructional costs for primary and secondary schools with the localities supplying facilities and other expenses.

In support of this movement the Virginia

¹⁷ Hall, Sidney B. Op cit P. 31

Educational Association made up of 16,000 teachers has taken up the mission and indicates its intention to lay the facts and arguments for an additional \$2,000,000 appropriation to the primary and secondary system¹⁸ before the people of the state. This amount would meet the minimum instructional costs as set by Dr. Hall. It is argued that such a plan will relieve the localities of about 12 percent of their taxes which have been somewhat complicated since the segregation law was passed in 1928, under the new constitution.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1902 the great awakening occurred which moved the state to an increase of expenditures for primary and secondary education. A little later on the movement was extended to the higher institutions. The increase in expenditures had not been checked until in 1928 when the sentiment demanding retrenchment was manifested. Since 1930, however, a decrease has occurred in the funds provided which threatens the destruction of the entire system.

¹⁸ Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch May 25, 1933.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The movement for state participation in education is found as far back as the first English settlement. In 1619 when the "College of Henrico" was suggested and provisions made for it, there was recognized that some duty rested with the sovereign to educate the Indians and the poor. This conception was never completely realized until 1810 when the Literary Fund was organized, though some provisions were made in this direction in compulsory school law and parish aid. In higher education very definite commitments were made in the allotment of certain revenues to the College of William and Mary. Thomas Jefferson's proposal for a comprehensive program simply accentuated the movement. The Literary Fund which was the outcome of this movement, was at no time a democratic plan. It provided for the poor, but no effort was made to extend its basis.

By 1846, however, there had developed a very definite influence in the western section of the state. The people were more akin to the ideas and ideals of the north or rather they tended to look upon the system of eastern Virginia as aristocratic. In the insertion of a section on capitation taxes for education they indi-

cated their growing power and attitudes. After the war the entire system was destroyed.

The north was present in the Constitutional Convention of 1869. In fact, it may be said that democracy was present. It was realized for the first time that education is a fundamental duty of the state. However incomplete and faulty the provisions may have been the facts are that a real program was set on foot, and money provided therefor in the capitation and property taxes. Democracy had exerted at one stroke what the whole colonial period and the period of the republic up to that point had failed to do.

The increase in the expenditures for education indicates without a doubt the growing interest of the people in this fundamental duty. Whereas, the people had been rather deaf to education that smacked of charity, they were now shown to be in accord with the aims of the state superintendent. The progress of the educational system is sufficient proof of this increase in sentiment. Such was the realization in 1878-79 when the place of the system was won in the face of many odds. Perhaps, if West Virginia had not been formed the problem in education would not have been as acute. The facts are

that the people rallied to the support of the new system, lacking even the major western vote.

The "Great Awakening" in Virginia education was the triumph of the forces which had been working since the germ of educational duties was set in the colonial period, however obscure they may have been. Science has been applied to the system in the form of surveys, each of which, the "Inglis Report" and the "O'Shea Report" have made the people realize their needs more fully.

The present difficulties promise to be met in a way that will be characteristic of the "Great Awakening." There has been and always will be a definite desire on the part of the people to have the state bear a large share of the cost of state education.

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