

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

1928

Thomas Jefferson's contribution to education

Forrest Le Foor

The University of Montana

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

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Foor, Forrest Le, "Thomas Jefferson's contribution to education" (1928). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 3891.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/3891>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

By

Forrest LeRoy Poor

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
the Department of Education, Montana State University

August, 1928

UMI Number: EP36210

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

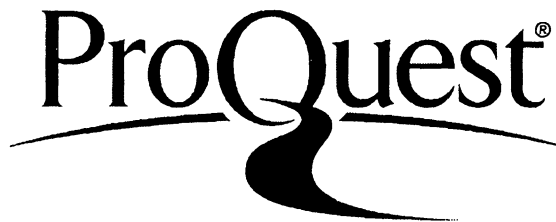
In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP36210

Copyright 2012 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This edition of the work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

CONTENTS

Introduction

PART I

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF
THE SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

I. Roots of American Institutions.

II. Apprenticeship and Poor Laws.

III. Latin-Grammar Schools.

PART II

ENGLISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION TRANSLATED TO AMERICA
AND ITS GROWTH IN VIRGINIA TO 1776

IV. The Early Settlers.

V. Beginnings of Elementary Schools.

VI. Beginnings of Free Schools.

VII. General Attitude Toward Education.

PART III

EDUCATIONAL WORK ACTUALLY ATTEMPTED AND ACCOMPLISHED
BY THOMAS JEFFERSON

VIII. Reforms Introduced at William and Mary College.

IX. Plan for a Graded System of State Education.

a. "Bill for a General Diffusion of Knowledge."
b. "An Act to Establish Public Schools."

X. Father of the University.

a. Interesting Interests.
b. Struggle for a University.
c. The University founded.
d. Summary.

PART IV

JEFFERSON'S IDEAS AND INFLUENCES

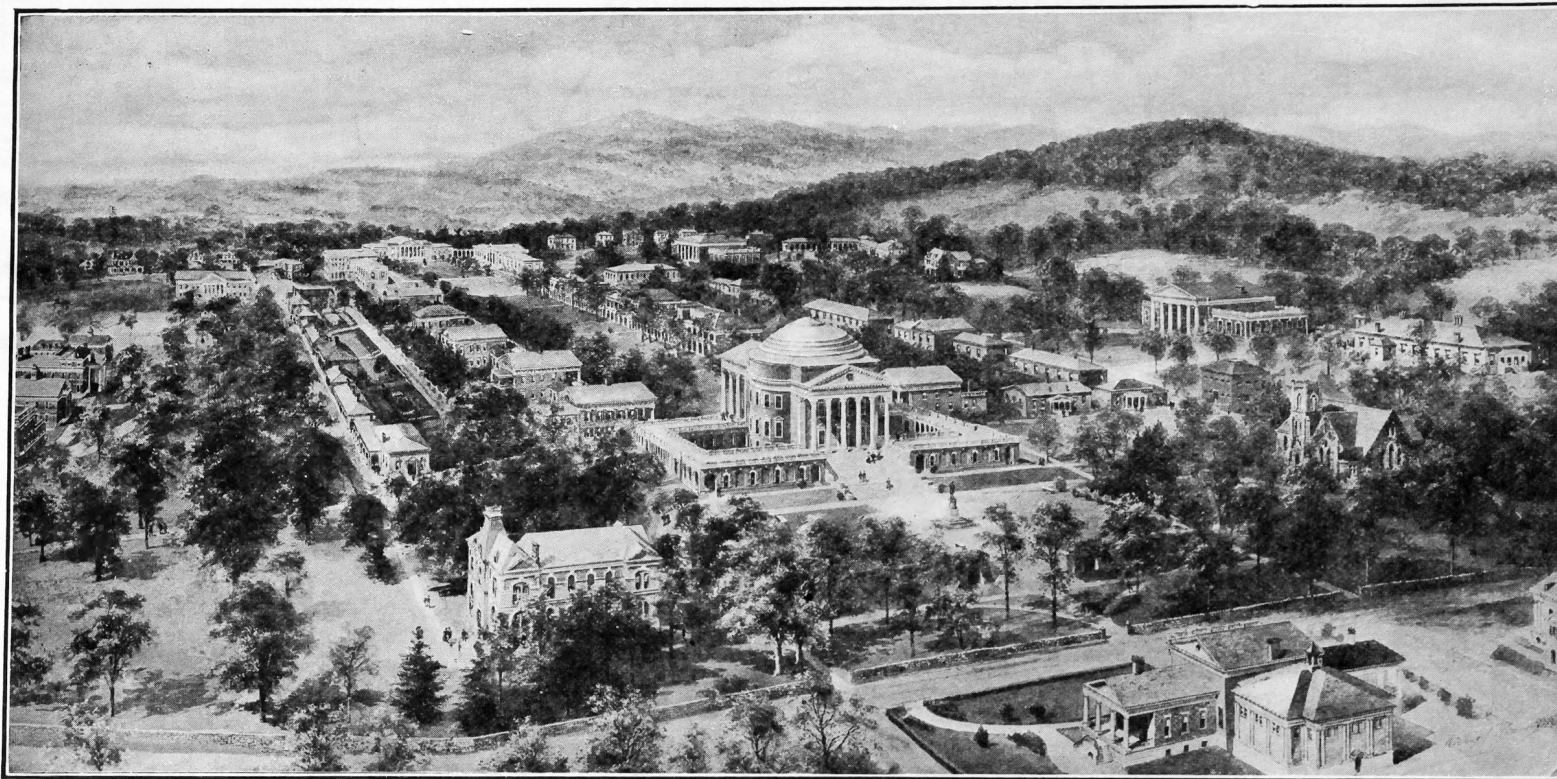
- XI. Influences Affecting Ideas.
 - a. European Influences.
 - b. Other Influences.

- XII. On the American Ideals of Education.

PART V

S U M M A R Y

Bibliography.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The life of Thomas Jefferson has been written by a great many authors and from many standpoints. He was one of the most versatile of men and probably for that reason more has been written about him than any other president of the United States. Jefferson lived a long and useful life and at a time when revolutions convulsed the civilized world. The three achievements in which he took most pride and mention of which he wished to have engraved upon his tombstone were the authorship of the Declaration of Independence, and the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and the founding of the University of Virginia. Several accounts of the history of the University of Virginia have been written, but to the knowledge of the writer there has never been an attempt to show the complete efforts of Jefferson in the field of education. To ascertain the actual contribution that Jefferson made to education and the work of an educational nature that he tried to do will be the purposes of this study.

In order to appreciate the earliest educational reforms that Jefferson tried to bring about in Virginia it seems necessary to show briefly the development

that had taken place in an educational way up to the time when Jefferson entered the Virginia House of Burgesses, where his attempts at educational reform began.

PART I

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THE SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

I. ROOTS OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

Educational institutions of the Colonial period can be understood only in view of English influences. This is true of all the English colonies, but especially true of Virginia, where the dominating influences were, as in England, aristocratic. The colony in Virginia was founded and settled by the English thru an incorporated company under the crown and consequently it is necessary to look to England for the early legal influences and educational practices affecting the lives of the people in Virginia. Many English laws were put directly into force in Virginia and abandoned only when conditions in the new country were such as to warrant a change to suit governmental problems. As early as the year 1631-2, the oath which each judge in Virginia was required to take, commanded him "to do justice as near as may be" to the English laws. ⁽¹⁾ Berkeley, writing in 1662, declared that justice was admin-

1. Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. Vol. I, p. 406.

istered in Virginia according to "the laws of England as far as we are able to understand them."⁽²⁾

When we examine the apprenticeship laws in Virginia as late as 1672 we find exactly the same plan as exists in England. The following extracts from the Virginia law indicates this fact:⁽³⁾ "That the justices of the peace in every county doe put the laws of England against vagrants, idlers, and dissolute persons, in strict execution, and the respective county courts shall and are hereby empowered and authorized to place out all the children whose parents are not able to bring them up apprentices to tradesmen."

The English church was transplanted bodily to Virginia soil. While the first settlement of Virginia was principally for commercial purposes, the spirit back of this thirst for gold was a desire to propagate the christian religion. In the list of those receiving the charter of 1609 the names of one bishop and seven clergymen appear.⁽⁴⁾ The records of the seventeenth century contain numerous proofs of the strong religious feeling which shaped the opinions and influenced the conduct of the Virginians from the time of the earliest

2. Ibid. p. 467.

3. Cubberley. Readings in the History of Education. p.309.

4. Bruce. Institutional History. Vol. I, p. 3. (footnote)

(5)
 settlements of the country. In order that we may better understand the historical facts it seems well to take a brief survey of the educational conditions in England when Virginia was being settled.

There were certain economic changes in England that tended to produce a large dependent class of people. The most important change was the development of the modern agricultural system. The price of wool became so high that farming was largely displaced by sheep-raising. This was more profitable and of course required less labor. The inclosure into sheep-pastures of vast areas which had been used for tillage was profitable for those who had money to own or rent and stock them, but a very large class was thrown out to beg or to steal for a living. (6) "In the time of Elizabeth (1558-1603) it has been estimated that one-half the population of England did not have an income sufficient for sustenance, and great numbers of children were running about without proper food or care, and growing up in idleness and vice." (7)

The problem of unemployment thus became serious. There were fewer opportunities for work in the corporate towns because of the exclusive policy pursued by the guilds. (8) The kingdom had been subjected to heavy taxation

5. Ibid. p. 10.

6. Cheyney. Industrial and Social History of England. p. 11.

7. Cubberley. History of Education. p. 325.

8. Cheyney. op. cit. p. 52.

under Henry VIII; the coinage had been debased; and the prices of necessary commodities were so high that the number of dependents became greater and the means of relief less.

The dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in 1539 tended to deprive the vagrants of certain sources of relief. Monasticism practically disappeared from England and hundreds of institutions harboring thousands of monks and nuns ceased to exist. Consequently the dissolution of these institutions meant fewer means of education and poor relief. ⁽⁹⁾ In order to meet this new responsibility, Parliament passed that remarkable series of acts known as the "Poor Laws," which formed the basis for the training of a large number of children in the simple rudiments of life.

II. APPRENTICESHIP AND POOR LAWS.

A brief history of the gradual development of the English Poor Law legislation, which formed the basis of the early American legislation, is given as follows: ⁽¹⁰⁾

"First, the poor were restricted from begging, except within certain specified limits. Next, several towns, parishes, and hamlets were required to support their poor charitable alms, so that none of necessity might be compelled 'to go openly in begging,' and collections were to be made for them on Sundays, and the parson was to stir up the people to be bountiful in giving. Then houses and materials for setting the poor on work were to be provided by the charitable devotion of good people, and the minister was every Sunday

9. Ibid. p. 119.
 10. Nicholls, Sir George. History of the English Poor Law. Vol. I, p. 192-193.

specially to exhort the parishioners to contribute liberally. Next the collectors for the poor, on a certain Sunday after divine service, were to set down in writing what each householder was willing to give weekly for the ensuing year; and if any should be obstinate and refuse to give, the minister was gently to exhort him, and, if he still refused, then to report him to the bishop, who was to send for and again gently exhort him, and if still refractory, the bishop was to certify the same to the justices in sessions, and bind him over to appear there, when the justices were once more gently to move and persuade him; and if he would not be persuaded, they were then to assess him in such sum as they thought reasonable."

These steps in the development of the English Poor Laws led to the last step in a law of 1601, which is called the foundation of English poor relief. This law has given expression to the following principles: (11)

- "The compulsory care of the poor as an obligation of the State.
- "The compulsory apprenticeship of the children of the poor, male and female, to learn a useful trade.
- "The obligation of the master to train his apprentices in a trade.
- "The obligation of the overseers of the poor to supply, where necessary, the opportunity and the materials for such training of the children of the poor.
- "The compulsory taxation of all persons of property to provide the necessary funds for such a purpose, and without reference to any benefits derived from the taxation.
- "The excessive burdens of any one parish to be pooled throughout the hundred or county.

"In these principles," Cubberly continues: "We have the germ, among English-speaking peoples, of the idea, of

11. Cubberly. History of Education. p. 326.

the general taxation of all persons by the State to provide schools for the children of the State. The apprenticing of the children of the poor to labor and the requirement that they be taught the elements of religion, soon became a fixed English practice, and in the seventeenth century this idea was carried to the American Colonies and firmly established there."

This form of education was supported by taxation, and was the only form of education to which Parliament gave any attention during the whole of the eighteenth century. This type of education was carried to the English Colonies in America and became an established institution. ⁽¹²⁾ We shall attempt later in this study to show the similarity in these laws as they existed in England and America.

III. LATIN-GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

The most important types of schools in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century consisted of the Grammar and Charity schools. The Charity or Chantry schools (elementary) were organized by the church or by private endowment. It seems that the Latin-Grammar schools were by far the more numerous. "It may be said broadly that wherever there was a cluster of houses which could be dignified by the name of a town,

12. Cubberley. History of Education. p. 452-453.

there was a grammar school in the midst of it.... It was an institution without which no community could consider itself respectable."⁽¹³⁾ On the average the number of grammar schools per county was not less than ten. At first Latin was made the core of the curriculum, but later emphasis was placed on grammar, good Latin and Greek, games and sports, and the religious spirit.⁽¹⁴⁾

The church authorities maintained a strict control over the schoolmaster. Education existed not to train for citizenship or vocational activity, but as a preparation for the service of the church. For this reason it seems the clergy controlled the curriculum in the schools. With these thoughts in mind we shall take up the early educational activities in Virginia.

13. Leach, A. F. The Schools of Medieval England. p. 329.
14. Cubberley. History of Education. p. 278.

PART II

ENGLISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION TRANSPLANTED TO VIRGINIA AND ITS GROWTH IN VIRGINIA TO 1776

IV. THE EARLY SETTLERS.

The early settlers who came to Virginia were quite different from those who came to New England. On the Mayflower in 1620 were fifty-three men, twenty-one women, and twenty-eight children. The three ships coming to Virginia in 1609 contained one hundred "settlers" among whom were twelve servants, no children, and fifty-five gentlemen. ⁽¹⁵⁾ For the first ten years we find no ⁽¹⁶⁾ evidences of schools. It seems that the London Company was not pleased with the result of the first attempt to found a colony, for they encouraged a different type of emigrant to settle in Virginia. About ten years later the city of London sent over one hundred children, the Virginia company agreeing, "that all these children should be educated and brought up in some good trade or profession, so that they might gain their livelihood by the time they had served their seven years apprenticeship." ⁽¹⁷⁾

This arrangement must have been satisfactory, for the next year one hundred additional children were shipped by the company to the colony. The company bound itself in writing to educate the children in trades or professions. The boys' term of apprenticeship was to continue for

15. Slosson. The American Spirit in Education. p. 79.

16. Dexter. History of American Education. p. 2.

17. Robinson. Proceedings in Virginia Company of London. Vol. I, p. 40. Quoted from Dexter. History of Education

seven years or until the completion of their twenty-
 first birthday. ⁽¹⁸⁾ These shipments of children were the
 origin of the apprenticeship system in Virginia which
 was in reality a form of compulsory education. ⁽¹⁹⁾ In
 1617, nearly two-thousand laborers came to Virginia.
 In 1625 they had established a system of land grants
 whereby every person who brought over a servant would
 be given one hundred acres of land. This system tended
 to people Virginia with "two distinct classes, a strong
 upper or gentry class and a large servant class." ⁽²⁰⁾
 It seems there was no strong middle class for nearly
 two centuries. The upper class was naturally interested
 for the most part in an educational system that affected
 its own children. Hence it is easy to see that this upper
 class would tend to introduce the tutorial system of
 education to which they were accustomed in England.

V. BEGINNINGS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Elementary schools in Virginia begin with the trans-
 planting of English institutions to America. During the
 first half of the seventeenth century the same institutions
 were established in Virginia as had existed in England.
 Thus Virginia, "which was the first attempt made at repro-
 ducing the social system, the government, the Established

18. Bruce. Economic History of Virginia. p. 593-594.
 19. Slosson. The American Spirit in Education. p. 80.
 20. Heatwole. History of Education in Virginia. p. 17.

church, and class distinction of the mother country,
reproduced also the English educational system."⁽²¹⁾

During the early part of the seventeenth century the servant class was very important in Virginia. In 1625, there were about four-hundred and sixty-four white servants in Virginia but only twenty-two negroes.⁽²²⁾ In 1671, there were six-thousand servants and two-thousand slaves. It is only fair to say that later the demand for slaves became greater and they exceeded the number of servants, but until the middle of the seventeenth century, the slaves played only a small part in the economic life of the country. The servants played the most honorable part in the "establishing and sustaining" of the earliest colony in America.⁽²³⁾ "As a rule these servants were transported convicts, political offenders, and orphans and other children kidnapped by adventurers and sold to southern planters, who bound them to labor for a term of years. Throughout the seventeenth century the importation of white servants was encouraged, but they seem to have been more numerous in Virginia than in any other colony."⁽²⁴⁾

All the early legislation in Virginia relating to education refers either to the founding of William and Mary college or to the education of orphans or the children of the poor. In 1643 we have the first general legislation

21. Knight. Public Education in the South. p. 13.
22. Bruce. Economic History of Virginia. p. 572.
23. Ibid. p. 573.
24. Knight. Public Education in the South. p. 22.

regarding the case of these orphans. The law provides for instruction in "religion", and the "rudiments of learning." The law says:

(25)

"The guardians and overseers of all orphans shall carefully keep and preserve such estates as shall be committed to their trusts either by order of the court or otherwise. And shall likewise render an exact account once every year to the commissioners of the several county courts, respectively, of the said estates and of the increase and improvement, who are hereby to keep an exact register thereof. And all overseers and guardians of such orphans are enjoined by authority aforesaid to educate and instruct them according to their best endeavors in christian religion and in the rudiments of learning and to provide for their necessaries according to the competents of their estates."

The apprenticeship law of 1646 is a little more specific. It provides for a school building of definite size in which are to be taught trades. The act says:

(26)

"Commissioners of the several counties shall make choice of two children, male or female, eight or seven years at least, to be sent to James City (Jamestown) to be employed in the public flax factory, work under such master and masters as shall thus be appointed, in carding, knitting, spinning, and so on, and that said children shall be furnished from the counties with six barrels of corn, two coverlids, one rugg, one blanket, one bed, one wooden bowl or tray, two pewter spoons, and a sow shote of six months, and two laying hens, convenient apparel both linen and woolen, with hose and shoes. That there be two houses built by the first of April next, forty feet long apace with good substantial timber. The houses to be twenty feet broad apace, eight foot high in the pitche, and a stack of brick chimney standing in the midst of each house, and that they

25. Cubberley. Readings in the History of Education. p. 308.
26. Ibid. p. 309.

be lofted with sawne boards and made with convenient partitions, commisioners have caution not to take up children from such parents who by reason of their poverty are disable to maintain and educate them. That the governor hath agreed with the Assembly for the sum of ten thousand pounds of to-be to be paid him the next crop to build such houses."

There must have been a general sentiment in favor of education in the colony, or general laws of this kind would not have been passed.

The apprenticeship act of 1672 contains practically the same provision that we find in the Apprenticeship and Poor Laws of England, regarding "vagrants, idlers, and disaplute persons";⁽²⁷⁾ as stated above. Cubberley says, "It was not until 1705 that Virginia reached the point reached by Massachusetts in 1642 of requiring that 'the master of the apprenticed orphan shall be obliged to teach him to read and write'." This is in substance a compulsory education law requiring reading and writing to be taught.

The general law of 1748 provided that "any persons adjudged by the County Court incapable of supporting and bringing up their children in honest courses or to take due care of the education of their children and their instruction in the principles of Christianity in any such cases it shall be lawful for the wardens of the church parish which such children inhabit by order of their court to find each child apprentice in the same manner as the law directs for poor orphan children."⁽²⁸⁾

27. Law quoted on page 3.

28. Henings Statutes, Vol. VI, p. 32. Quoted from Heatwole.

The law makes it compulsory to apprentice the children of those who are not capable of educating them in what was thought to be the proper manner. However, we did not find any evidence of the enforcement of these laws. While these general apprenticeship laws were not strictly educational laws, they contained provisions necessary for the education of a large class of children in Virginia.

We have tried to show that during the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth, legislation in Virginia was in effect compulsory apprenticeship of the poor, training in the rudiments of learning and trades, and the requirements that the public authorities provide the proper facilities for this type of education. Had a common school system been desired, the large plantations, "with houses far assunder" would all but have prevented it. "Virginia stood as the type of laissez faire policy with reference to the support and control of education." (29)

VI. BEGINNINGS OF FREE SCHOOLS.

There was a great number of children in the Virginia colony who did not fall under the general apprenticeship laws, which were primarily for the poor. There were many children of parents who were more fortunately situated economically, and could afford to provide a more complete type of education for their children. A tradesman usually

provided for his apprentices instruction by some member of his own family, or sent them to one of the many different types of schools that existed in Virginia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consequently it will be our purpose here to summarize different types of schools that existed in Virginia during this time.

The year 1619 seems to be memorable for the initiation of school legislation both for the children of the colonists and for Indian children. The first general assembly to convene in Virginia commanded the authorities of each town, city, borough, and plantation in the colony to secure by peaceful means a certain number of Indian children with a view to bringing them up in "a religious and civil course of life." They were to be prepared to enter the "college" and "from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion."⁽³⁰⁾

The first attempt to establish a school for white children in Virginia was known as the "East India school." The school master was hired, steps were taken to construct a building, and the London Company was to provide the books. The Indian massacre of 1622 seems to have brought the whole venture to a premature end.⁽³¹⁾

30. Fiske. Old Virginia and Her neighbors. Vol. I. p. 246
 31. Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. Vol. I. p. 347-349.

The earliest provision for an effective free school in America was that founded thru a legacy of land and cows in 1634 by Benjamin Symmes. In 1634 the school was put into actual operation, for the General Assembly passed a special act in which it recognized the "godly disposition and good intent" of the benefactor. So far as can be learned, this school was in continuous session through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (32)

The Eaton school was established sometime before 1689. (33) This school was very similar to the Symmes school. The Symmes and Eaton schools were permanent institutions and served as models for the other sections of the colony. It is quite certain that there were a good many schools of this type throughout Virginia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. (34)

"Perhaps the greatest number of children who during the seventeenth century received an education obtained it in what became known as the "Old Field School." (35) These community schools were the result of a spirit of cooperation on the part of the leading citizens of a community. A teacher was hired for a certain sum or a fee for each pupil. In many cases the "church reader" would teach. This plan evidently

32. Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. p. 350-353.

33. Fiske. Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. Vol. I, p. 246.

34. Ibid. p. 246. See also Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. Vol. I, p. 357-361.

35. Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. Vol. I, p. 3:

appealed to the assembly, for in a recommendation to the governor they requested that he license "readers" to teach in the more remote districts.

Many of the more prosperous families found that instruction by private tutors, who lived in the family, was the most satisfactory method of educating their children. This method seems to have been especially suited to the plantation system of the South. Many of the tutors came from the indentured class which "included many cultivated Scotchmen." Private tutelage was a practice among Virginians even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and later.

From the foregoing outline of the kind of educational training that existed in Virginia, it can be observed: first, that general laws were passed providing for apprenticeship regulations containing provisions of a compulsory nature for the training of orphans and poor children in reading, writing, and the catechism, and in the art of some trade; second, free schools were established through the philanthropic effort of some men in the colony whereby many children received their elementary training; third, that most wealthy men and the leading families were able to employ private tutors in the home for the education of their children.

The instruction given by the first two types of these

(37)
 schools was mostly rudimentary. The authority was vested in a combination of church and state; the state appointed the trustees for the endowed schools and in many instances supplied the teachers. The community and family schools were independent of both church and state, and everything in the way of management was left to private opinion.

The educational activities in Virginia in its early history seem to have very little system or order. It was, as quoted earlier from Cubberley, laissez faire in its nature. During the first half of the eighteenth century the types of schools in Virginia were similar to those which had been developed earlier. There seems to have been no attempt to work out a state system of public education until Thomas Jefferson's plan of 1779.

It is important here to stop for a moment before attempting to show what Jefferson tried to do in the way of establishing a state system of education and see briefly at least what the attitude toward state education was in the middle and northern colonies compared to Virginia.

VII. GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION.

In attempting to show the type-attitudes toward education existing about the middle of the eighteenth century, Cubberley says: (38) "The first was the strong

Calvinistic conception of a religious state, supporting

.....
 37. In some instances instruction was given in the beginnings of Latin, Greek, and perhaps French.

38. Public Education in the United States, p. 23-24.

a system of common schools, higher Latin schools, and a college, both for the religious and civic ends. This type dominated in New England, and is best represented by Massachusetts.... The second, was the parochial school conception of the Dutch, Moravians, German Lutherans.... This type is best represented by the Protestants in Pennsylvania and the Catholics of Maryland. It stood for church control of all educational efforts, resented state interference, was dominated by church purposes only, and in time came to be a serious obstacle in the way of State organization and control.

"The third type, (represented by Virginia) into which the second type tended to fuse, was the attitude of the Church of England, which conceived of public education, aside from collegiate education, as intended chiefly for orphans and children of the poor, and as a charity which the State was under little or no obligation to assist in supporting.... These three types or attitudes toward public education became fixed American types and deeply influenced subsequent American educational development."

From the foregoing it may be seen that during the middle of the eighteenth century in all the American colonies the church was the dominating influence in question pertaining to education. The settlers in Virginia were adherents of the English church, while the New England settlers were dissenters and had come to America to obtai

freedom in religious worship. "During the entire colonial period the indifference of the Mother country to general education was steadily reflected in Virginia." (39)

Education was not considered as the business of the state, and the church gave very little attention to it. With the plantation type of settlement, the introduction of "indentured white servants", and later negro slaves, it may be seen that in Virginia, classes were so sharply defined that, it was almost impossible at this time to establish a system of common schools. With these thoughts in mind concerning the general educational conditions and attitudes of the people toward education, we shall take up the reforms which Jefferson tried to bring about in the College of William and Mary and his bill for the general diffusion of knowledge.

PART III

EDUCATIONAL WORK ACTUALLY ATTEMPTED AND ACCOMPLISHED
BY THOMAS JEFFERSON

VIII. REFORMS INTRODUCED AT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

The attitude toward higher education in Virginia had been favorable from the beginning. The Indian massacre of 1622, as we previously mentioned in this paper, hindered the successful establishment of a college in Virginia. The first step toward the establishment of a college was in an act of 1660 by the General Assembly, which says, "His Majesties Governor, Council of State, and Burgesses of the present grand Assembly have severally subscribed several considerable sums and quantities of tobacco," to be paid upon demand after a place has been provided for educational purposes. A petition was presented to Governor Berkeley which recommended that the king be petitioned to authorize collections from wealthy Englishmen "for the erecting of colleges and schools in this countrye."⁽⁴⁰⁾ When Governor Berkeley said, "Ithhakk God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years," he seems not to have been voicing the general attitude that existed among the people at that time. This quotation of Berkeley's is perhaps too often given to show the real sentiment of Colonial Virginia toward education. But a petition that

40. William and Mary College; Circular of Information, 1887, No. p. 13.

emanates from the people would be more likely to show the general attitude of the people toward schools and colleges than the dictum of a crusty old governor. Even Governor Berkeley himself actually subscribed, with other gentlemen of the colony, for "a college of students of the liberal arts and sciences."⁽⁴¹⁾

The purposes of the founding of William and Mary College it seems were to foster the educational ideas of the old dominion in the training of ministers of the gospel, and to propogate the "glory of Almighty God amongst the western Indians." Consequently, the curriculum of the college was modeled to suit the kind of training needed by the ministry.

In 1779, Thomas Jefferson, a graduate of the College of William and Mary, was elected to the Board of Visitors of that college. In his description of the college from his autobiography he says:⁽⁴¹⁾ "The college of William and Mary was an establishment purely of the church of England; the visitors were required to be all of that church; the professors, to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; its students to learn the catechism and one of its fundamental objects was declared to be to raise up ministers for the church...."

41. Ibid. p. 13.

42. Ibid. p. 38.

"On the first of June, 1779," he continues to say in his autobiography, "I was appointed governor of the Commonwealth and retired from the legislature. Being elected also one of the visitors of William and Mary College, a self electing body, I effected, during my residence in Williamsburg that year, a change in the organization of that institution, by abolishing the grammar school and two professorships of divinity and oriental languages, and substituting a professorship of law and police, one of anatomy, medicine and chemistry, and one of modern languages; and the charter confining us to six professorships, we added the law of nature and notions and the fine arts, to the duties of the moral professor, and natural history to those of the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy." (43) In the place of the Indian school called the "Brafferton" Jefferson says, "The purposes of the institution would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes, the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of christianity, as the founder requires, should be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances which might lead to a discovery of their relation with one another, or descent from other nations." When the missionary had

43. Compare with Jefferson's description in his notes on Virginia, query XV, and in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. II, p. 206-215.

accomplished these worthy objects with one tribe he might
 "pass on to another."⁽⁴⁴⁾ Any valuable materials that
 might be collected were to be placed in the college library
 at Williamsburg. These changes effected such a reorgan-
 ization that what before was a grammar school now became
 a university. The school of law proposed by Jefferson
 was, according to Bruce,⁽⁴⁵⁾ the first collegiate school of
 its kind to be established in the United States; so also
 was the professorship of modern languages founded at
 William and Mary the first professorship to be establish-
 ed at a seat of learning within the same area of the
 continent. "These propositions," comments professor
 Adams,⁽⁴⁶⁾ "represent the first current of modern ideas,
 which began in 1779, at Williamsburg, to flow into
 American academic life."

These innovations brought about thru the efforts
 and influence of Jefferson were for the purpose of making
 William and Mary College the apex of his plan for
 universal education that we shall soon discuss. "The
 Bill for Amending the Constitution of William and Mary
 College and Substituting more certain Revenues for its
 support," that is, making it a State University, failed
 of enactment into law. The chief trouble came in doing
 away with the religious tests for professors and students.

44. Writings of Thomas Jefferson. (Monticello edition)
 Vol. II, p. 210.

45. Bruce. History of the University of Virginia, p. 53-54.

46. William and Mary College. Circular of Information,
 No. I. (1887) p. 39.

(47)
 Adams says: "The religious jealousies of all the dissenters took alarm lest this might give an ascendancy to the Anglican sect, and refused acting on that bill." The local eccentricity together with the said to be unhealthy climate influenced the rejection of the bill.

(48)
 Patton says: "And even this strong man (Jefferson) could not at that day convert William and Mary into a University such as the age required." Although Jefferson failed in the effort to make the College of William and Mary the head of his educational system, his work probably gave him a greater insight into the need for a State University that he later worked so hard to consummate.

IX. PLAN FOR A GRADED SYSTEM OF STATE EDUCATION

a. "Bill for a General Diffusion of Knowledge."

The first of Jefferson's practical measures for public education was the bill of 1779 which provided for the general diffusion of knowledge. The bill was not expected to have any ^{effect} beyond the borders of the state of Virginia, yet, "as it was based upon the principles that went down to the foundation of society, its scope in its broadest significance, was really as universal as the scope of the Declaration of Independence itself." (49) This bill of 1779 brings us to Jefferson's most interesting career as an educational reformer previous to his work in the

47. Circular of Information, No. I. p. 38.

48. Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia. p. 15

49. Bruce. History of the University of Virginia. p. 65.

the establishment of the University of Virginia. The bill in reality was drawn up in the form of three bills which provided, first, for the erection of primary schools, second, for the establishment of a University in the broadest sense of the word, and third, for the collection of a great library to be used not only by students but readers of all ages. (50)

In 1776, while a member of the General Assembly, Jefferson was chosen chairman of a committee to revise the laws of the Commonwealth. This committee was finally composed of Wythe, Pendleton, and Jefferson. It was while a member of this committee that Jefferson drew up his famous bill for the general diffusion of knowledge.

An examination of the preamble of this famous bill reveals that it must have been written under some of the influences and emotions of the Revolutionary period that were so much in evidence at that time. Since it shows so well Jefferson's philosophy of how persons in power are inclined to use that power for the ends of tyranny and also how oppressed peoples respond to education, the preamble is here given in full.

"Whereas it appeareth, that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time themselves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience hath shown, that, even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time,

by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be to illuminate as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes. And whereas it is generally true that that people will be happiest whose laws best, and are best administered; and that laws will be wisely formed and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive and able to guard, the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstances; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expense, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments of the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expense of all, than that the happiness of all should be confided to the weak or wicked." (51)

The practical clauses of the bill provided for the election in every county of three persons to be known as aldermen, who were to meet at the court house and divide the county into hundreds of five or six miles square and establish a school for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Sl. Morrison, A. J. The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia. (Documentary) p. 17.

The hundred was to pay the expense and the students were to be taught gratis for a period of three years. Next, ^{the State} was to be divided into groups of counties with a view to the establishment of colleges of a secondary education. In these twenty colleges were to be taught Greek and Latin languages, English grammar, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic. Each college was to be under the control of a rector and board of visitors, who were to select its teachers and administer its finances. Every elementary school in each group of counties was to have the right to enter its most promising scholar each year, without charge, in the college of that district, if his father or guardian were too poor to ~~pay~~ ^{provide} for his necessary expense. Each year one-third of the boys advanced were to be dropped from the roll and of ^{those} who should succeed in remaining two years because of their industry or talent one was to be retained with the privilege of staying two years longer in the college. These students were to be chosen as seniors, and every year one senior was selected from the whole number of those in attendance at each of the colleges to be sent to William and Mary College, which was to be converted into a University as we have seen.

The best description of the plan is given by Jefferson
 (52)
 in his notes on Virginia of which enough is here given
 to show the practical part of his plan.

52. Jefferson's Complete Writings. Vol. II, p. 203-208 or see Query XIV, in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia."

"Another object of the revision is to diffuse knowledge more generally through the mass of the people. This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor who is annually to chuse the boy of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and ~~the~~ ~~higher~~ ~~branches~~ ~~of~~ ~~numerical~~ ~~arith-~~ ~~metic.~~ Of the boys thus sent in one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residus dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense, so far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six year's instruction, one-half are to be discontinued (from among them the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters); and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall chuse at William and Mary College, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will be hereafter explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching of all the children of the State reading, writing, and common arithmetic; turning out ten annually, of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic; turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to; the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools at which their children may be educated at their own expense....

"By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the State of those talents which nature has sown as liberally

among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated. But of the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where they will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the action and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people."

There appear to be about four outstanding features of this plan for public education. The first was that regarding children of the entire white population. They were to be grounded in History, for as Jefferson says, "by apprising them of the past they will be able to judge the future and be better able to know ambition under every guise it may assume and knowing it, to defeat its views." The second feature is that the poorest boys who have outstanding talent are ~~are~~ to enjoy educational advantages equal

to those of the wealthy. And third, the promotions from the elementary school to the University would tend to unite into one whole all parts of the school system. Fourth, the money for the support of the schools was to come from the parents of the localities immediately benefitted. Local expenditures would probably insure a more careful attention to the proper use of funds.

The legislature received the plan with interest but never acted on it. (The frequent attention given by the legislature to proposed educational legislation), shows Jefferson's influence and the influence of the bill of 1779. The confusion of the times and the heavy expense which the system would have involved helped to work its defeat. (53) "Had Jefferson not been kept out of the state by his mission to France and afterward by his occupancy of a seat in Washington's cabinet, his energy and persistency, brot to bear directly on the spot, would perhaps have led to the early adoption of his scheme of popular education. (54)

This plan of public education appeared to serve Jefferson as a basis for all subsequent thinking. "For more than forty years his mind moved along these three lines of institutional reform for his native state: (1) subdivisions of the counties into hundreds.... (2) grammar schools, classical academies,

53. Knight. Public Education in the South. p. 125-126.

54. Bruce. History of the University of Virginia. p. 72.

or local colleges; (3) a state university." ⁽⁵⁵⁾ "The proposed admission of girls appears to have been a step in advance of the times, for not until the year 1789 did Boston allow the female sex to attend her public schools." ⁽⁵⁶⁾ The books that were to be used in the elementary schools for the purpose of teaching reading were to be such that the child would obtain a knowledge of Grecian, Roman, English, and American History. "This was advanced ground for an eighteenth century educator; indeed the nineteenth century is likely to pass away before all American teachers reach any such rational standpoint." ⁽⁵⁷⁾ "But the credit due him (Jefferson) should not be diminished but enhanced by the deferred consummation of his complete design for it proved that his foresight was one hundred years in advance of the vision of the great body of his countrymen." ⁽⁵⁸⁾

b. "An Act to Establish Public Schools."

The State Legislature of Virginia did not adopt any practical plan for education until 1796. In that year an act was passed to go into effect January 1, 1797, which in the main embodied the first part of Jefferson's plan of 1779. The sentiment of its preamble is characteristic of Jefferson's educational philosophy: ⁽⁵⁹⁾

"WHEREAS, it appeareth that the great advantages

55. Jefferson and the University of Virginia. Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 34.

56. Ibid. p. 32.

57. Ibid. p. 33.

58. Bruce. History of the University of Virginia. p. 72.

59. Morrison, A. J. Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860. (Documentary) p. 22.

which civilized and polished nations enjoy, beyond the savage and barbarous nations of the world, are principally derived from the inventions and use of letters, by means whereof the knowledge and experience of past ages are recorded and transmitted; so that man, availing himself in succession of the accumulated wisdom and discoveries of his predecessors, is enabled more successfully to pursue and improve not only those arts, which contribute to the support, convenience, and ornament of life, but those also, which tend to illumine and enoble his understanding and his nature;

And whereas, upon review of the history of mankind, it seemeth that however favorable republican government, founded on the principles of equal liberty, justice and order, may be to human happiness, no real stability, or lasting permanency thereof can be rationally hoped for, if the minds of the citizens be not rendered liberal and humane, and be not fully impressed with the importance of those principles from whence these blessings proceed, with a view therefore, to lay the first foundations of a system of education, which may tend to produce those desirable purposes;

BE IT ENACTED BY the General Assembly etc."

(60)

According to Herbert Adams the measure was "freely and warmly recognized"; yet a fatal mistake was made in the amendment: it left the initiation of schools for the people to the majority of acting justices in each county.

(61)

The amendment provided:

"That the court of each county, at which a majority of the acting magistrates thereof shall be present, shall first determine the year in which the first election of sh^{er}iff and alderman shall be made, and until they so determine no such election shall be made. And the court of each county shall annually, until each election be made, at their court in the month of March, take this subject into consideration and decide thereon."

60. Jefferson and the University of Virginia; Circular of Education, No. 2, 1888. p. 35.

61. Morrison, A.J. *op. cit.*, p. 23.

In a letter of January 27, 1800, to Dr. Joseph Priestly, Jefferson says, ⁽⁶²⁾ About three years ago they enacted that part of my bill which related to English schools, except that instead of obliging, they left it optional in the court of every county to carry it into every county or not." The part providing for the middle grade of education was left out of the bill of 1796, and speaking of this omission in the same letter, Jefferson says, "I think it probable the part of the plan for the middle grade of education may be brought forward in due time." It is generally agreed by interpreters of Jefferson's writings that the bill failed to be carried out in practice at this time because the greater burden of educating the children of the community would have fallen on the wealthier part, and since the county magistrates were usually wealthy country gentlemen, it is not surprising that the plan was not generally adopted. Most authors agree that nothing was done under the law of 1796. However, ⁽⁶³⁾ Chandler says: "The provisions of the act of 1796 became operative in a number of the counties, "but he does not cite any definite references to prove his assertion. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ Jefferson remarked in 1816, ⁽⁶⁵⁾ The experience of twenty years has proved that no court will ever begin it."

62. Jefferson's Complete Writings, Monticello edition. Vol. X, p. 147-148.

63. Colonial Virginia, p. iii.

64. Morrison, A.J. Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860. p. 9. In a footnote the author says, "In 17798 Norfolk County elected its three alderman. See History of Norfolk County. By Wm. H. Stewart. Chicago, 1902. p. 178.

65. In his autobiography he gives his reason for the failure of the legislature to establish the higher education in part of

In spite of the appeals of public-spirited leaders, nothing was done in Virginia to promote education until the creation of the literary fund in 1810.

X. FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY

a. Intervening Interests.

To better appreciate the fullness of Jefferson's work and to show his never changing attitude toward education in spite of the great amount of other work that he tried to do for his country, it seems logical to pause here for a moment before taking up the actual work that Jefferson did in founding the University of Virginia and show a few ^{of the} things he tried to do for education during the years 1784, when he received an appointment as minister to France, to 1809, when he retired from the presidency to his home in Monticello. These years, 1784 to 1809, might be properly classified for our purposes as years in which Jefferson had little opportunity to promote properly his educational ideas in his home state of Virginia. Let us briefly notice the positions Jefferson so honorably held during those years when great revolutions changed and convulsed the civilized world.

In 1776, he was elected to the lower house of the Virginia General Assembly, where he assisted in the revision of the laws, secured the abolition of entail and the bill referring to William and Mary College by writing: "The religious jealousies of all the dissenters took alarm that this might give an ascendancy to the Anglican sect, and refused acting on that bill".

vision of the laws, secured the abolition of entail and primogeniture, and the separation of the Church and State. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ In 1779 he was elected and in 1780 re-elected governor of Virginia. In 1781 he published his "Notes on Virginia." ⁽⁶⁷⁾ The state legislature of Virginia, in 1783-85, sent him to the congress under the Articles of Confederation. Next he received an appointment from Congress as minister to Europe for two years to make treaties of commerce. In 1785, he was appointed to succeed Dr. Franklin as minister to France, which position he held for four years. The year 1790 finds him as secretary of state to George Washington. He became vice-president of the United States in 1796 and president in 1801. It was not until 1809 the close of his presidential term, that Jefferson was completely released from all official responsibility and allowed to retire and live at his home at Monticello where he devoted more of his time to the furthering of universal education. He says, "As it (universal education) was the

66. The abolition of entail and primogeniture seems to have had a tendency to break up the old aristocracy and consequently add to the need of more universal education. The law for the separation of Church and State probably helped to take the influence of the Church out of educational affairs.
67. See bibliography.

earliest so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest."⁽⁶⁸⁾
 During these busy years (1784-1809) Jefferson was acquiring ideas and gathering information that was to aid him in bringing about the establishment of the University of Virginia. The interest Jefferson had in higher education appears to have been hastened greatly during his residence abroad from 1784 to 1789, thru his acquaintance with Queenay's project of establishing a university of national and international character in Jefferson's home state of Virginia.⁽⁶⁹⁾

While upon foreign missions in the interest of his government, Jefferson wrote many letters regarding the respective merits of European Universities. These letters show that Jefferson's keen interest in educational reforms brought about at the College of William and Mary turned more and more strongly toward universities.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In a letter of 1785, to J. Bannister, Junior, Jefferson writes, that the results of his investigations rest between Geneva and Rome. He says, "They are equally cheap, and probably are equal in the course of education pursued. The advantage of Geneva is, that students acquire there the habits of speaking French.... I think the balance in favor of Rome.... But why send an American youth to Europe for education? What are the objects of an useful American education? Classical

68. Letter to Cabell, January 14, 1818. Jefferson's Writings Vol. XIV, p. 417.

69. See page 28 of this paper dealing with sources of Jefferson's ideas.

70. College of William and Mary; Circular of Information, No. I, 1887, p. 39.

knowledge, modern languages.... It is true that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America, but every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary College, as at any place in Europe...." He says further, regarding the merits of colleges in America that one can prepare himself better in law and physics at William and Mary College. Towards the end of his letter he sums up his ideas on an American youth being educated in Europe by saying, "It appears to me, then, that an American, coming to Europe for an education, loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits and in his happiness."

(71)

Writing to Mr. M'alister, in 1791, "With respect to the schools of Europe, my mind is perfectly made up, and on full inquiry. The best in the world is Edinburgh.... On the Continent of Europe, no place is comparable to Geneva. The sciences are there more modernized than anywhere else." Later, when Jefferson returned to America, he spoke of these ancient seminaries as the "two eyes of Europe"

(72)

An attempt was made by Jefferson in 1794 "to translate the Academy of Geneva in a body to this country." "The faculty of that institution had fallen into disfavor with the revolutionary party in their republic, and pro-

71. Jefferson's Writings (Monticello edition) Vol. VIII, p. 274-275.

72. College of William and Mary; Circular of Information, No. 2, 1888. p. 39.

posed to emigrate to Virginia, with a considerable body of Swiss farmers, provided they should receive the necessary encouragement.... Jefferson had previously submitted the project of the Geneva professors to influential members of the General Assembly of Virginia for private discussion, but the scheme had been judged impractical, because of (1) the great expense; (2) the necessity which would arise of teaching American youth in the French or Latin languages; and (3) the very grandeur of the enterprise, which was out of all proportions to the population and needs of Virginia." (73) Jefferson then appealed to Washington to try to induce him to support the idea of bringing the Geneva faculty to Virginia, where it would be near the national capitol, but Washington favored the plan of a National University, which he tried (74) to have established on the banks of the Potomac.

In 1800, when Jefferson was in Philadelphia, he wrote to Dr. Priestly about the conditions at Williamsburg, saying, (75) "We have in that state a college (William and Mary) just well ^{and} endowed to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution has doomed it. It is moreover eccentric in its position, exposed to all bilious diseases as all the lower country is, and therefore abandoned

73. Ibid., p. 40-41.

74. For an interesting account of Washington's efforts to have a National University established see Herbert Adam's account in the Circular of Information No.2, 1888. p. 43-44

75. Jefferson's Writings (Monticello edition) Vol.X, p. 140-141.

by the public care, as that part of the country itself is in a considerable degree by its inhabitants. We wish to establish in the upper country, and more centrally for the State, an University on a plan so broad and liberal and modern, as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other States to come and drink of the cup of knowledge and fraternize with us. The first step is to obtain a good plan; that is, a judicious selection of the sciences, and a practical grouping of some of them together, and ramifying of others, so as to adapt the professorships to our uses and our means. In an institution meant chiefly for use, some branches of science, formerly esteemed, may be now omitted; so may others now valued in Europe, but useless to us for ages to come. As an example of the former, the Oriental learning, and of the latter, almost the whole of the institution proposed to Congress by the Secretary of War's report of the fifth instant." Jefferson then goes on to sketch hastily the subjects that he thinks should be included in a University, solicits suggestions from Dr. Priestly, and outlines the work to be done by the professors. This letter which sets forth Jefferson's own plan for a university, and solicits the aid of others in realizing his plan, shows that, even as early as 1800, He was greatly interested in the idea of a University.

We have tried to show here briefly that, even during the intervening period of Jefferson's early effort to establish educational reforms in Virginia (1776-1784) and the time when he returned to the state (1809), Jefferson was constantly interested in the best educational establishments for his countrymen. Not being satisfied with merely making himself thoroughly acquainted with the leading institutions of England and the Continent, he tried to bring the best of these institutions to America. There is much additional evidence which might be presented here to show Jefferson's never-waning interest in educational reform. This will be reserved and will be included in a discussion of his ideas and influences that helped to guide his work in education. We shall, then, next take up the actual and greatest practical contribution that Jefferson made to education, thru his efforts in the establishment and perpetuation of the University of Virginia.

b. Struggle for a University.

On January 19, 1810, a committee reported "a bill enacted into law February 2, 1810, providing that all escheats, confiscations, penalties, and forfeitures, and all rights in personal property found delinquent, should be appropriated to the encouragement of learning, and the Auditor of Public Accounts was directed to open an account

to be designated as the Literary Fund". (76) "It is not at all improbable that the influence of Jefferson through Cabell, was at the bottom of the enactment although the credit for it was claimed by Governor Barbour in address at a planters convention in "Richmond in 1836." (77) In 1815-1816 a law was passed increasing the literary fund by the addition of a debt due Virginia by the government of the United States, incurred in the war of 1812. By 1816 the fund had reached a value of \$1,000,000. (78) The possibilities of the Literary Fund were soon sensed by Jefferson, for in a letter to Cabell, September 30, 1814, (79) he cautions the legislature lest a part of the funds of the literary society, be lost.

The University of Virginia was finally brought about by the merging of what had been the Albemarle Academy into Central College and thence into the University of Virginia. As early as 1783 Jefferson wrote a letter (80) which contained the first intimation of an attempt to establish near his home an institution giving a liberal education. He says in part: (81) "Just before I left

76. Morrison, A. J. The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860, (Documentary). p. 25.

77. University of Virginia; Circular of Information, No. 2, 1888. p. 66.

78. Encyclopedia of Education. Vol. XIV, p. 278.

79. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

80. There is no address on this letter.

81. University of Virginia, Circular of Information. (Document) Vol. 2, 1888. p. 55.

Albemarle a proposition was started for establishing there a grammar school. You were so kind as to tell me you would write me the progress of the proposition. On my part I was to inquire for a tutor. To this I have not been inattentive." However, the legislature did not charter the academy until 1803, and then it remained only on paper until Jefferson was elected to the board of trustees, March 23, 1814. From that election dates (820) the actual establishment of the University of Virginia.

While Jefferson was a member of the board of trustees of Albemarle Academy, his colleagues requested that he report regulations for the government of ^{the} proposed academy. He did so in a letter dated at Monticello, September 7, 1814, to Peter Carr, the president of the board. This letter contains the general sentiments expressed in the preamble of his bill for the better diffusion of knowledge, which was drafted nearly forty years earlier when our country was in the midst of the Revolutionary war. Herbert Adams says this letter to Peter Carr "is the most important document in the early history of the University of Virginia, for it defines Jefferson's educational views as matured after more than thirty years of reflection, from the time when he first drafted a (830) bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge".

82. For the complete history of the establishment of Albemarle Academy and its transference into Central College see, Patton-Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia, p. 17-29.

83. The University of Virginia, Circular of Information, No. 2, 1888, p. 61.

In order to popularize Jefferson's views on public education, the letter was published in several publications. The first was the Richmond Enquirer. The letter is included here almost in full, for it is often referred to as the literary foundation of the University of Virginia:

"On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth or by accession from other quarters.

I have long entertained the hope that this our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation into that of William and Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals, on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place in such an institution. In order to prepare what I have promised our trustees, I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them--no two alike. Yet, I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection, by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the conditions of the section of society for which they have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would have suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good for us, and, with them, to erect a structure, whose arrangement shall

correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive. As I may not be able to attend the meetings of the trustees, I will make you the depository of my ideas on the subject, which may be corrected, as you proceed, by the better view of others and adapted, from time to time, to the prospects which open upon us, and which cannot be specifically seen and provided for.

In the first place, we must ascertain with precision the object of our institution by taking a survey of the general field of science, and marking out the portion we mean to occupy at first, the ultimate extension of our views beyond that, should we be enabled to render it, in the end, as comprehensive as we would wish.

Jefferson then sketches out a broad educational system providing for each grade of learning from the lowest to the highest, including the various studies as follows:

"1. Elementary schools.

It is highly interesting to our country, and it is the duty of its functionaries, to provide that every citizen in it should receive an education proportioned to the condition and pursuits of his life. The mass of our citizens may be divided into two classes-- the laboring and the learned. The laboring will need the first grade of education to qualify them for their pursuits and duties; the learned will need it as a foundation for further acquirements. A plan was formerly proposed to the legislature of this State for laying off every county into hundreds or wards of five or six miles square, within each of which should be a school for the education of the children of the ward, wherein they should receive three years instruction gratis, in reading, writing, arithmetic as far as fractions, the roots and ratios, and geography. The Legislature at one time tried an ineffectual expedient for introducing this plan, which having failed, it is hoped they will some day resume it in a more promising form. (85)

2. General schools.

At the discharging of the pupils from the

85. Jefferson here refers to his bill of 1796 which was adopted but amended so as to defeat the purpose of the bill.

elementary schools, the two classes separate -- those destined for labor will engage in the business of agriculture, or enter into apprenticeships to such handicraft art as may be their choice; their companions, destined to the pursuits of science, will proceed to the college, which will consist, 1st, of general school; and, 2nd, of professional school. The general schools will constitute the second grade of education.

The learned class may still be subdivided into two sections: 1, Those who are destined for learned professions, as a means of livelihood; and, 2, The wealthy, who, possessing independent fortunes, may aspire to share in conducting the affairs of the nation, or to live with usefulness and respect in the private ranks of life. Both of these sections will require instruction in all the higher branches of science; the wealthy to qualify them for either public or private life; the professional section will need these branches, especially, which are the basis of their future profession, and a general knowledge of others, as auxiliary to that, and necessary to their standing and association with the scientific class. All the branches, then, of useful science, ought to be taught in the general schools, to a competent degree, in the first instance. These sciences may be arranged into three departments, not rigorously scientific, indeed, but sufficiently so for our purposes. These are, I. Language; II. Mathematics; III. Philosophy."

Jefferson here sets forth in very minute detail the exact courses that should be included under each of these three heads with explanatory notes on each to make sure no mistake could be made through misinterpretation of subjects. In taking up the professional schools he says:

"At the close of this course the students separate; the wealthy retiring, with a sufficient stock of knowledge to improve themselves to any degree to which their views may lead them, and the professional section to the professional schools, constituting the third grade of education, and teaching the particular sciences which the individual of this section may mean to pursue, with more minuteness and detail than was in the scope of the general schools for the second grade of in-

struction. In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained.

They are to be the

1st Department, the fine arts, to wit: Civil Architecture, Gardening, Painting, Sculpture, and the Theory of Music; the

2nd Department, Architecture, Military and Naval; Projectiles, Rural Economy (comprehending Agriculture, Horticulture and Veterinary), Technical Philosophy, and the practice of medicine, Materia medica, Pharmacy and Surgery. In the

3d Department, Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign.

To these professional schools will come those who separated at the close of their first elementary course, to wit:

The lawyer to the law school.

The ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history.

The physician to those of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy and surgery.

The military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles.

The agricultor to that of rural economy.

The gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter and musician to the school of fine arts."

One department of the professional schools is so extraordinary in the vast number of occupations it includes, that it deserves special consideration. "And to that of technical philosophy," the statesman wrote,

"will come the mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pumpmaker, clockmaker, machinist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleacher, soapmaker, tanner, powdermaker, saltmaker, glassmaker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy, and pharmacy.

The school of technical philosophy will differ essentially in its functions from the other professional schools. The others are instituted to ramify and dilate the particular sciences taught

in the schools of the second grade on a general scale only. The technical school is to abridge those which were taught there too much in extenso for the limited wants of the artificer or practical man. These artificers must be grouped together, according to the particular branch of science in which they need elementary and practical instruction; and a special lecture or lectures should be prepared for each group. And these lectures should be given in the evening, so as not to interrupt the labors of the day. The school, particularly, should be maintained wholly at the public expense, on the same principles with that of the ward schools."

Returning again to the requirements of all the students, he says:

"Through the whole of the collegiate course, at the hours of recreation on certain days, all the students should be taught the manual exercise; military evolutions and manœuvres should be under a standing organization as a military corps, and with proper officers to train and command them,

A tabular statement of this distribution of the sciences will play the system of instruction more particularly in view:

1st or Elementary Grade in the Ward Schools.
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography.

2nd, or General Grade.

1. Language and History, ancient and modern.
2. Mathematics, viz: Mathematics pure, Physico-Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Theory, of Medicine, Zoology, Botany and Mineralogy.
3. Philosophy, viz: Ideology, and Ethics, Law of Nature and Nations, Government, Political Economy.

3d, or Professional Grades.

Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign; Practice of Medicine; Materia Medica and Pharmacy; Surgery; Technical Philosophy; Rural Economy; Fine Arts.

On this survey of the field of science, I recur to the question, what portion of it we mark out for the occupation of our institution? With the

first grade of education we shall have nothing to do. The sciences of the second grade are our first object; and, to adapt them to our slender beginnings, we must separate them into groups, comprehending many sciences each, and greatly more, in the first instance, than ought to be imposed on, or can be competently conducted by a single professor permanently. They must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage with his pupils and ease to himself. For the present we may group the sciences into professorships, as follows, subject, however, to be changed, according to the qualifications of the persons we may be able to engage.

I. Professorship.

Languages and History, ancient and modern.
Belles-Lettres, Rhetoric and Oratory.

II. Professorship.

Mathematics pure, Physics-Mathematics.
Physics, Anatomy, Medicine, Theory.

III. Professorship.

Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy.

IV. Professorship.

Philosophy.

The organization of the branch of the institution which respects its government, police and economy, depending on principles which have no affinity with those of its institution, may be the subject of separate and subsequent consideration.

With this tribute of duty to the board of trustees, accept assurances of my great esteem and consideration."

On February 14, 1816, an act was passed which changed the name of Albemarle Academy to Central College. Herbert
(86)
Adams says: "There lurked a deep meaning in that term

86. The University of Virginia. Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 67-68.

Central College. It was the idea of centralization in the higher education, first geographically, for general convenience, then economically and intellectually, for the highest good of the whole state. The great obstacles to the first success of this bold idea were:

"The democratic impulse to distribute the proceeds of the literary fund for the establishment of ~~common schools~~, which, Jefferson always urged, should be founded and sustained by local government and local taxation, or by self help in townships, wards, or school districts.

"The opposition of federalists to Jefferson's project.

"The powerful opposition of William and Mary College, which was fighting for life.

"The rivalry of Washington College at Lexington, a Presbyterian institution, second only to William and Mary in historic prestige.

"The municipal attractions of Richmond, Staunton, and other growing places.

"The Ecclesiastical opposition, directed against the proposed non-sectarianism of Jefferson's university, --another great idea in modern education.

"The policy of decentralization and local distribution of State bounties to the higher education, -- the worst of all enemies to the idea of State universities.

"That Jefferson and Cabell should have succeeded in triumphing over all of these foes, in securing a large part of the literary fund, and centralizing the higher education in the vicinity of Charlottesville, is one of the greatest triumphs in American educational history, for it was the first of its kind and cost the hardest struggle."

There were two lines of development in Virginia that tended to merge toward a final system of education. The one was the literary fund, which took care of the financing; the other the local Academy of Albemarle County. It seems very likely Jefferson intended these two lines

of development to meet and bring about the successful establishment of a system of education. "On the 24th of February, 1816, the president and directors of the literary fund were requested to prepare and report a system of public education, comprehending a university to be called, 'The University of Virginia,' and such additional colleges, academies, and schools as should diffuse the benefits of education throught the commonwealth. The responsible member of this commission was the president of the board of directors, W. C. Nicholas, Governor of the state.... Jefferson was an acknowledged authority upon educational matters, and to him the governor turned for counsel. Jefferson gave it liberally in a long letter dated at Monticello, April 2, 1816."⁽⁸⁸⁾

In speaking of the plan for a university, he says:⁽⁸⁹⁾

"On this subject I can offer nothing new. A letter of mine to Peter Carr, which was published during the last session of the assembly, is a digest of all the information I possess on the subject, from which the board will judge whether they can extract anything useful; the professorship of the classical languages being of course to be expunged, as more effectively supplied by the establishment of the colleges.... The Elementary or ward schools are the last branch of this subject; on this, too, my ideas have been long deposited in the bill for the diffusion of knowledge before mentioned, and time and reflection have continued to strengthen them as to the general principle, that of a division of every county into wards, with a school in each ward. The details of the bill will of course be varied as the difference of present circumstances from those of that day will require."

88. Circular of Information, p. 72.

89. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIV, p. 452-453.

Before drawing up the bill for an educational system as recommended and sponsored by Jefferson, Governor Nicholas prepared a circular letter and sent it out to many of the leading statesmen of America to get their ideas on a plan for state education. After the Governor made his report, a bill was drawn up by a Mr. Mercer, entitled, "A Bill Providing for the Establishment of Primary Schools, Academies, Colleges, and an University." On the 18th of February, 1817, the bill passed the House of Delegates, but failed in the Senate. Jefferson seemed to be quite unfavorable to this bill, for we find that on October 24, 1817, he wrote to Cabell:

"A serious perusal of the bill for that purpose convinced me that unless something less extravagant could be devised the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone on that plan would exhaust the whole funds, the colleges as much more, and an university would never come into question. However slow and painful the operation of writing is becoming from a stiffening wrist, and however deadly my aversion to the writing-table, I determined to try whether I could not contrive a plan more within the compass of our funds. I sent you the result brought into a single bill lest by bringing it on by detachment some of the parts might be lost.

You ask if we should not associate with it the petty academies and colleges spread over the State in order to engage their interest? Why should we? For their funds? They have none. Scarcely any of them have funds to keep their buildings in repair. They depend on what they get from their students. Aggregated to our regular system they would make

90. The best reports presented were from Dr. Cooper a lawyer and later professor in the University of Virginia, and President Dwight of Yale College. For a digest of these reports, see Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 74-76.

91. For an almost complete text of bill, see Morrison, Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, page, 32-34.

92. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIX, p. 250-251.

it like the image of brass and clay substances which never amalgamate. They would only embarrass and render our colleges impracticable. I have always found it best never to permit a rational plan to be marred by botching. You would lose on the vote more honest friends than you would reconcile dishonest enemies, under which term I include those who would sacrifice the public good to a local interest."

The educational bill for a somewhat general plan of education that Jefferson drew up in 1817-1818 reflects his old ideas as advanced in his famous letter to Peter Carr. Herbert Adams has given an excellent summary of the bill, which contains fifteen octavo pages, when he says:

"Jefferson proposed that the judge of the superior court, in every county, should appoint three visitors of primary schools. These visitors were to subdivide their respective counties into wards, comprehending 'each about the number of militia sufficient for a company'. The visitors were then to call ward meetings, and the majority vote of the warders was to determine the location of the school-house and how it should be built. A plurality vote was to elect a resident warden to direct the process of building, and to care for school property. All persons liable to work on the highways were to be subject to the warden's call to work on the school-house, unless it should be built by pecuniary contributions. Ward meetings were to be held in the school-house after its completion. This place should become the center of local government as well as of local education. The selection of teachers and the examination of schools were to be intrusted to the county board of visitors."

After outlining a plan for collegiate districts, Jefferson added a proposition for a university "in a central and healthy part of the state." For this he gave one general plan whereby the power of selection was to be given to a board of eight visitors, which was

.....
 93. For complete text of bill, see Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XVII, p. 417-441.
 94. Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 82-83.

to be approved by the board of public instruction; the other was a definite plan for the acceptance of Central College with all its material belongings.

On January 6, 1818, a communication to the legislature was written by Jefferson and signed by the other officers of Central College. The communication offered Central College as a gift to the State of Virginia, providing the state would convert the college into a university. After citing the costs of an institution of this kind, Jefferson states that the funds and revenues at hand were insufficient, but revenues at the command of the legislature alone would be adequate. (95)
In regard to the purpose of the university he says:

"A purpose so auspicious to the future destinies of our country, which would bring such a mass of mind into activity for its welfare, cannot be contemplated without kindling the warmest affection for the land of our birth, with an animating prospect into its future history. Well directed education improves the morals, enlarges the mind, enlightens the councils, instructs the industry, and advances the power, the prosperity and the happiness of the nation. But it is not for us to suggest the high considerations, which their peculiar situation will naturally present to the minds of our lawgivers, encouraging a pursuit of such incalculable effect; nor would it be within the limits of our dutiful respect to them, to add reasoning or inducements to their better understanding of what will be wise and profitable for our country. But observing in the bill presented for public consideration a combination of public and private contributions has been

contemplated; and considering such an incorporation as completely fulfilling the view of our institution, we undertake to declare, that if the legislature shall think proper to proceed to the establishment of an university, and to adopt for its location the site of the Central College, we are so certain of the approbation of those for whom we act, that we may give safe assurance for the ready transfer to the State of all the property and rights of Central College, on possession or in action, towards the establishment of such an University and under such laws and provisions as the legislature shall be pleased to establish; and that we ourselves shall be ready to deliver over our charge to such successors, or such other organizations, as the legislature shall be pleased to ordain, and with increased confidence of its success under their care."

There were many opponents to Jefferson's bill and it received very few votes in the House Committee of the Whole, but a substitute offered by Mr. Hill, of King William County, was recommended for adoption. In Mr. Hill's substitute for Jefferson's bill, there was proposed, "the appointment by local courts of school commissioners in every county, city, and corporate town, 'to determine what number of poor children they will educate', and what should be paid for their education. The commissioners were to select the children and send them, with the assent of parents or guardian, to some convenient school to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The money for tuition, books, and etc., was to come out of a \$45,000 reservation from the income of the literary fund, to be

paid over to local school commissioners of counties, cities, and towns, in proportion to the free white population etc. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ Such was the wretched provision for primary education as a local charity, dependent upon state aid and parish spoils. The House of Delegates had apparently no conception of the importance of establishing common schools and of supporting them by local taxation." ⁽⁹⁷⁾ Thus, it is shown here that the state was not willing nor ready at this time to adopt any state school system financed through local taxation, in spite of the effort, that Jefferson put forth in trying to establish universal education. There was, however, an effort in the right direction when a \$15,000 appropriation was attached to the bill for a university.

C. The University Founded.

This amended bill of Jefferson's passed February 21, 1818. The essential provisions engrafted on to the bill for establishing schools for the poor children were: ⁽⁹⁸⁾ "The establishment of a university to be called 'The University of Virginia' in some convenient and proper part of the state; the appointment by the Executive, of a body of twenty-four discreet persons as a Board of Commissioners for the University; secondly, a plan for

96. Under this plan of the Hill Substitute Adams says that there were 10,226 indigent children sent to school in ninety-eight counties reporting, during the school year, 1824-25.

97. Adams, Herbert. Circular of Information, No.2, p. 48.

98. Patton. Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia, p. 44.

the building thereof; thirdly, the branches of learning which should be taught therein; fourthly, the number and description of professors; and fifthly, such general provision as might properly be enacted by the legislature for the better organizing and governing of the University." A committee was appointed to make a report on the provision of the bill to the next meeting of the General Assembly.

This committee, headed by Jefferson, and composed of many other leading citizens, met on August 1, 1818, at the tavern near the top of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Rockfish Gap, and adopted a full report. The report provided for the establishment of the University at Charlottesville (Central College), and outlined a complete plan for the curriculum and administration of the University. Authors seem to agree that Jefferson was the moving spirit and the leader in the preparation of this famous report. Slosson says it shows the hand of Jefferson, "in both its inclusions and omissions." (99) One of Jefferson's biographers says: (100) "Yet it was remarked by one of the lookers-on that Mr. Jefferson was the principal object of regard both to the members and spectators; and he seemed to be the chief mover of the body- the soul that animated it, and

99. Slosson. The American Spirit in Education, p. 88.

100. Circular of Information. No. 2, 1868. p. 86.

some who were present struck by these manifestations of deference, conceived a more exalted idea of him on this simple and unpretending occasion than they had ever previously entertained."

When the session began, it appears that Jefferson was made chairman of a select committee of six to report on everything the legislature had asked the commission to do except the selection of a site, which was to be considered by the entire board. Jefferson, it is said, submitted a long list of octogenarians who lived in Albemarle county as proof to show the healthfulness of the section. He then exhibited a model of the state made of cardboard, which demonstrated that Charlottesville was not only the nearest center of the State geographically, but the nearest to the center of white population. The efforts of Jefferson were successful, for on August 3, the final vote was taken selecting Central College as the site for the University. (101)

The report of the select committee of six was "probably prepared by Jefferson before he came to the meeting at Rockfish Gap, for it is an elaborate production, indicating careful thought." The report was published in the *Analytic Review*, and the introductory comment points out that the report is said to be "from the pen of Jefferson and contains many new suggestions worthy the

attention of our seminaries of learning already established." (102) The report is all-inclusive in argument and complete in schemes for higher education. It deals with the recommendation of Central College as the site for the University; the academical village plan of building to be used; the professorships, with the branches of learning to be taught and General legislative provisions were recommended for tuition of students, board, lodging, government, prizes, degrees etc., details to be left to the board of visitors. We shall give here only excerpts (103) of the report of the commission.

The objects of primary education would be:

"To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

"To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts, and accounts, in writing;

"To improve his reading, his morals and faculties;

"To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

"To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion and fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgement;

"And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed."

102. Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 88.

103. Ibid., p. 88-95.

And this brings us to the point where the higher branches of education commence. These were designated:

"To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

"To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

"To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

"To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order;

"To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

"And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves;"

The report continues into a rather lengthy argument for the practical value of the sciences, and closes with the national benefits of education. It says:

"Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think that they do not better the condition of man; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private individual effort;

not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage or not exist at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require.... Nor must we omit to mention the incalculable advantage of training up counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; Nothing more than education advances the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation."

Regarding the relation of education to morals and religion, the report says:

"Education generates habits of application, of order, and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organisation. We should be far, too, from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier, or better than our forefathers were. As well might it be urged that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better; yet we know that the grafting art implant a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, ingrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth.. And it can not be but that each generation, succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well being of mankind, not infinitely, as some have said, but indefinitely, and to
a term

which no one can fix or foresee.... But what but education has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness but a bigoted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their forefathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization?"

The following gives the plan set forth, according to the report, of the ten different professorships with the branches of learning to be "Within the power of a single professor:"

1. Ancient Languages, - Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.
2. Modern Languages, - French, Spanish, Italian, Anglo Saxon.
3. Pure Mathematics, - Algebra, Fluxions, Geometry, Architecture, Military and Naval Science.
4. Physico Mathematics, (a) Mechanics, Statics, Dynamics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Astronomy, and Geography.
5. Physico Mathematics, (b) Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy.
6. Natural Sciences, - Botany, Zoology.
7. Natural Science, - Anatomy and Medicine.
8. Science of Government and Politics, - Government, Political Economy, Laws of Nature and Nations.
9. Science of Government, - Municipal Law.
10. Ideology, General Grammar, Ethics, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres, Fine Arts.

The report closes with a solution of the denominational difficulty when it says: "We have proposed no profes or of divinity. This will be within the province of the professor of ethics. We have thought it proper at this point to leave any sect to provide as they think fittesttthe means of further instruction in their own particular tenets."

(104)

Slosson says that Jefferson put the study of Anglo-

Saxon among the modern languages because he thought it would "recruit and renovate the vigor of the English language, too much impaired by the neglect of its ancient constitution and dialects." "Under Ideology'," he says, "a term introduced by Count Destutt de Tracy of the French Institute, Jefferson hoped for the development of a new philosophy free from the theological and metaphysical postulates of the old and leading toward a democratic instead of a monarchical ideal of society. His ideal of Jefferson's has not been realized, although we may discern an approach toward it in the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey, hotly opposed in the monarchical countries of Europe because of its democratic implications."

The document as finally passed by the committee was written in Jefferson's hand. Other copies were made and transmitted to the speakers of the two Houses, where the report was read and received with great attention. The fate of the University seemed to be in the hands of Cabell in the Senate and of Jefferson at Monticello. Finally, on the 25th of January, 1819, the University of Virginia and Central College were legally united. The bill provided that the immediate control of the university was to be vested in a rector and a Board of Visitors composed of nine men appointed by the governor. (105) "at a meeting of the

105. Patton. Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia, p. 45-54.

Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University on Monday, the 29th day of March, 1819, being the day prescribed by the governor for their first meeting....., the Board proceeding to the duties prescribed to them by the act of the General Assembly, instituted 'An act establishing an University,' appointed Thomas Jefferson as their rector and Peter Minor their secretary." (106)

The immediate task of the Board of Visitors was to secure funds to erect buildings for the university and to employ a faculty of instructors. These two matters seem to have been left almost entirely to Jefferson, who gave his personal attention to even the details of them .

"One of the most extraordinary features of Jefferson's management of the University was his financial policy." (107)

Central College had been organized and put into readiness for college work before the legislature had chartered it. It was surely in the mind of Jefferson that Central College should form the basis of the University. All the land and rights of Central College were transferred to the university. The total funds of this college alone amounted to nearly \$47,000. (108) We have seen that the annual appropriation to the University from the literary fund was \$15,000 a year, which was directly available for the use of the Board

106. Jefferson's Writings. Vol. XIX, p. 373.

107. Circular of Information. No.2, 1888. p. 102.

108. Patton. Jefferson, Cabell, and the University of Virginia. p. 40.

of Visitors. The Visitors would petition the Legislature from year to year for additional funds or for the power to borrow funds. Since the annual \$45,000 appropriation from the literary fund for the children of the poor was not used, Jefferson asked for the surplus. In his report of October 6, 1825, to the president and director of the literary fund he states: ^(108A)

"The several sums advanced from the Literary Fund as loans, when the balance of the last shall have been received, will amount to 180,000 dollars, bearing a present interest of 10,800 dollars. This, with the cost of the necessary care and preservation of the establishment will leave, of the annual endowment of the University, a surplus of between two and three thousand dollars only, with its compound increase for the redemption of the principal. This being as before mentioned, of 180,000 dollars, will be extinguished by the annual payment of a constant sum of 2,500 dollars at the end of twenty-five years, a term too distant for the education of any person already born, or to be born for some time to come; and within that period a great expense will be incurred in the mere preservation of the buildings and appurtenances. These are views which it is the duty of the Visitors to present, and to leave to the wisdom and paternal consideration of the legislature, to whose care are confided the instruction, and other interests of the present, as well as of the future generations proceeding from us."

This report shows the method used by Jefferson and Cabell to secure funds from the Virginia Legislature.

In a long letter to Dr. Thomas Cooper on August 14, 1820, Jefferson says, regarding the possibility of the

(109)
 legislature voting funds for the university: "The completing all our buildings for professors and students by the autumn of the ensuing year, is now secured by sufficient contracts, and our confidence is most strong that neither the State nor their legislature will bear to see those buildings shut up for five or six years, when they have the money in hand, and actually appropriated to the object of education, which would open their doors at once for the reception of their sons, now waiting and calling aloud for that institution."

"Jefferson's financial policy in dealing with the Legislature of Virginia was something like the camel's method of entering an Arab's tent, or like a woodman's method of splitting a log. To follow one's nose, or to drive a wedge is a very simple procedure, but it requires discretion. Jefferson had it."⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The Board calculated that when the institution opened there would be additional funds. Each student was to pay a tuition fee of twenty-five dollars, which would go to make up a portion of that student's professor's salary. In the annual report of 1823 they calculate "that in future years, in addition to the annuity of 15,000 dollars, they may count on the rents of six

109. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XV, p. 268.

110. Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 102-103.

hotels at 150 dollars each, of 100 dormitories at sixteen dollars each, of nine others smaller at twelve dollars each, and an additional rent from 218 students at twelve dollars each, for their participation in the uses of the public apartments; making a total income of 21, 224 dollars.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Not only were these operating funds from the university calculated so closely, but every item of no matter how small consequence was supervised by Jefferson. In a report to the directors of the literary fund, December 23, 1822, he says:⁽¹¹²⁾ "From this it will appear that, in the course of so great expenditure, every article (a single one excepted of scarcely-five cents only) has been satisfactorily vouched as faithfully applied to the purposes of the institution, with the sanction of the Visitors."

The frankness with which Jefferson admits any mistake that he might have made in the expenditures under his direction may be seen in this report of November 29, 1821, to the Directors of the Literary Fund:⁽¹¹³⁾

"Another instance was the importation of a fine artist for the carving of the capitals of the more difficult orders of the buildings. The few persons in this country capable of that work were able to obtain elsewhere such

111. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIX, p. 430.

112. Ibid., p. 419.

113. Ibid., p. 405-406.

high prices for their skill and labor that we believed it would be economy to procure an artist from some country where skill is more abundant, and labor cheap. We did so. But on trial the stone we had counted on in the neighborhood of the University was found totally susceptible of delicate work; and some from a very distant, but the nearest other quarry known, besides a heavy expense attending its transportation, was extremely tedious to work, and believed not proof against the influences of the weather. In the meantime we had inquired and learned that the same capitals could be furnished in Italy, and delivered to our own ports for a half, or third, of the price, in marble, which they would have cost us here in doubtful stone. We arrested the work here, therefore, and compromised with our artist at the expense of his past wages, his board and passage hither, amounting to 1,390 dollars, 56 cents. These are the only instances of false expense which have occurred within our knowledge."

Not only were the funds looked after so closely by Jefferson but he also supervised to the smallest details the plans of and the construction of the buildings. As early as April 2, 1816, Jefferson wrote to Governor Wilson C.

(114)

Nicholas:

"As the buildings to be erected will also enter into their report, I would strongly recommend to their consideration, instead of one immense building, to have a small one for every professorship, arranged at proper distances around a square, to admit extension, connected by a piazza, so that they may go dry from one school to another. This village form is preferable to a single great building for many reasons, particularly on account of fire, health, economy, peace and quiet. Such a plan had been approved in the case of the Albemarle College, which was the subject of the letter above mentioned; and should the idea be approved by the Board, more

may be said hereafter on the opportunity these small buildings will afford, of exhibiting models in architecture of the purest forms of antiquity, furnishing to the students examples of the precepts he will be taught in that art."

This shows that the ideas Jefferson had regarding the plan of architecture for Albemarle Academy were to be carried over into the plan for the University of Virginia.

The whole plan of construction may be found in the records of the first meeting of the trustees of Central College on May 5, 1817. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ It was at that meeting that "Mr. Jefferson presented to the Board of Visitors (Central College) a plan for erecting a distinct pavillion or building for each separate professor and arranging them around a square. With the certainty that characterized all his purposes, he suggested and the Board approved the drawing of parallel lines, and the locating of the pavillions on one or the other of them. In time one of these lines became East Lawn and the other West Lawn. The proctor was empowered, as soon as funds were in hand, to agree with proper workmen for the building of the first pavilxon, and for the erection of dormitories to a number not exceeding ten

115. "The 'minutes' of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, under the rector of its father and founder, Thomas Jefferson, are far more interesting than the mere reports of business meetings. They contain an account of the actual growth of that famous institution" See Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIX, p. 360-499.

on each side of the building. The erections were to be
 (116)
 of regular architecture." On October 26, 1818, he
 wrote:

"The plan of the building is not to erect one single magnificent building to contain everybody, and everything, but to make of it an academical village, in which every professor should have his separate house, containing his lecturing with two, three or four rooms for his own accomodation according as he may have a family or no family, with a kitchen, garden, etc., distinct dormitories for the students, not more than two in a room and separate boarding-houses for dieting them by private housekeepers." (117)

Year by year, as funds became available, the pavilions for the professors and dormitories for the students were completed.

It is revealed in a report of November 29, 1821, to the Directors of the Literary Fund that, in the planning and construction of these buildings, Jefferson must have had a constructive imagination of the highest
 (118)
 order, for he said:

"We had therefore, no supplementary guide but our own judgments, which we have exercised conscientiously in adopting a scale and style of building believed to be apportioned to the respectability, the means and the wants of our country, and such as will be approved in any future condition it may attain. We owed to it to do, not what was to perish with ourselves, but what would remain, be respected and preserved through other ages. And we finally hope that the instruction

116. Patton. Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia. p. 177.

117. Ibid., p. 265.

118. Ibid., p. 407-408.

which may flow from this institution, kindly cherished, by advancing the minds of our youth with the growing science of times, and elevating the views of our citizens generally to the practice of the social duties, and the functions of self government, may ensure to our country the reputation, the safety and prosperity, and all the other blessings which experience proves to result from the cultivation and improvement of the general mind. And, without going into the monitory history of the ancient world in all its quarters, and at all its periods, that of the soil on which we live and of its occupants, indigenous and immigrant, teaches the awful lesson, that no nation is permitted to live in ignorance with impunity."

The idea that Jefferson himself had of the buildings of the University may be seen by a letter of November 24, 1821, now in the department of State at Washington, written to an unknown person, in which he says:

(119)

"You inquire also about our University. All its buildings except the Library will be finished by the ensuing spring. It will be a splendid establishment, would be thought so in Europe, and for the chastity of its architecture and classical taste leaves everything in America far behind it. But the Library, not yet begun, is essentially wanting to give it unity and consolidation as a single object. It will have cost in the whole but 250,000 dollars. The library is to be on the principle of the Pantheon, a sphere within a cylinder of 70 feet diameter, -to wit, one-half only of the dimensions of the Pantheon, and of a single order only."

The construction of the buildings of the University did not progress so rapidly as Jefferson had expected, but he continued to report the progress from year to year until 1825, when the University was open to students.

He did not care to see the institution organized for instruction until it was entirely completed, for he says in his fourth report, in 1822:

"The Visitors, from the beginning, have considered it as indispensable to complete all the buildings before opening the institution; because, from the moment that shall be opened, the whole income of the University will be absorbed by the salaries of the professors, and other incidentals and current expenses, and nothing will remain to erect any building still wanting to complete the system. They are still of the opinion, therefore, that it is better to postpone for a while, the commencement of the institution, and then to open it in full and complete system, than to begin prematurely in an unfinished state, and go on perhaps forever, on the contracted scale of local academies, utterly inadequate to the great purposes which the report of 1816 and the legislature have hitherto had in contemplation. They believe that, in that imperfect state, it will offer little allurements to other than neighboring students, and that professors of the first eminence in their respective lines of science will not be induced to attach their reputations to an institution defective in its outset, and offering no pledge of rising to future distinction."

It was Jefferson's policy in building to create something a little more impressive than existed anywhere in America. Charlottesville did not have anything in its neighborhood to attract either professors or students. His building policy appears to be defined in a letter to Cabell in 1822, when he says:

"The great object of our aim from the beginning has been to make the establishment the most eminent in the United States, in order to draw to it

120. Jefferson's Writings. Vol. XIX, p. 412.

121. Circular of Information. No. 2, 1828. p. 100.

the youth of every state, but especially of the South and West. We have proposed, therefore, to call to it characters of the first order of science from Europe, as well as our own country, and not only by the salaries and the comforts of their situation, but by the distinguished scale of its structure and preparation, and the promise of future eminence which these would hold up, to induce them to commit their reputation to its future fortunes. Had we built a barn for a college and log huts for accommodations, should we ever have had the assurance to propose to an European professor of that character to come to it?"

The personal contributions that Jefferson made to the construction of the buildings seem to be well summarized by Henderson, (122) when he says: "He, himself, drew the plans for the edifices which were to be arranged in a parallelogram and connected with each other by piazzas. Each of the buildings was to be of different style to illustrate the styles of the ages. The small village near where Jefferson lived was to become an academic town. The houses of the professors were to be artistically located. Every day when the weather was fair and the venerable statesman was strong enough to do so, he might be seen riding on horseback to inspect the rising walls of the new center of learning, or looking at them through a telescope from a terrace near his mansion. Sometimes he would give the workmen plans, drawn by his own hand, to guide them in their work."

In the selection of the faculty for the University of

122. Henderson. Jefferson's Views on Public Education. p. 41-42.

Virginia, Jefferson seems to have been well qualified in training and experience. He had a wide acquaintance with the scholars of Europe and America, and frequently secured their assistance in the selection of the best trained men for the position. He was determined to secure a faculty of the most distinguished men that the old world produced. He wrote to Cabell, February 13, 1824, regarding the training and qualifications of the professors to be selected:

(123)

"You know we have all, from the beginning, considered the high qualifications of our professors, as the only means by which we could give to our institution splendor and pre-eminence over all its sister seminaries. The only question, therefore, we can ask ourselves, as to any candidate, will be, is he the most highly qualified? The College of Philadelphia has lost its character of primacy by indulging motives of favoritism and nepotism, and by conferring the appointments as if the professorships were entrusted to them as provisions for their friends. And even of Edinburgh, as you know, is also much lowered from the same cause. We are next to observe, that a man is not qualified for a professor, knowing nothing but merely his own profession. He should be otherwise well educated as to the sciences generally; able to converse understandingly with scientific men with whom he is associated, and to assist in the councils of the faculty on any subject of science on which they may have occasion to deliberate. Without this he will incur their contempt, and bring disreputation on the institution. With respect to the professorship you mention, I scarcely know any of our judges personally; but I will name, for example, the late Judge Roane, who, I believe, was generally admitted to be among the ablest of them. His knowledge was

confined to the common law chiefly, which does not constitute one-half of the qualification of a really learned lawyer, much less that of a professor of law for an University. And as to any other branches of science, he must have stood mute in the presence of his literary associates, or of any learned strangers or others visiting the University. Would this constitute the splendid stand we propose to take?"

The seriousness of selecting the professors and the efforts that Jefferson seems to have put forth in doing it, may be shown in the many letters he wrote to his friends respecting the selection of suitable candidates. Mr. Francis Gilmore was actually sent to Europe to secure suitable scholars for the faculty of the University of Virginia. The letter Jefferson wrote April 6, 1824, to his friends in England, introducing Gilmore, seems so important that we are including certain portions of it here:

"As to these (professors) we have determined to receive no one who is not of the first order of science in his line; and as such in every branch cannot be obtained with us, we propose to seek some of them at least in the countries ahead of us in science, and preferably in Great Britain, the land of our own languages, habits, and manners. But how to find out those who are of the first grade of science, of sober, correct habits and morals, harmonizing tempers, talents for communication, is the difficulty. Our first step is to send a special agent to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, to make the selection for us; and the person appointed for this office is the gentleman who will hand you this letter, - Mr. Francis Walker Gilmer, - the best educated subject

we have raised since the Revolution, highly qualified in all the important branches of science, professing particularly that of law, which he has practiced some years at our Supreme Court with good success and flattering prospects. His morals, his amiable temper and discretion, will do justice to any confidence you may be willing to place in him, for I commit him to you as his mentor and guide in the business he goes on. We do not certainly expect to obtain such characters as were the Cullens, the Robertsons and Persons of Great Britain, men of the first eminence established there in reputation and office, and with emoluments not to be bettered anywhere. But we know that there is another race treading on their heels, preparing to take their places, and as well and sometimes better qualified to fill them. These while unsettled, surrounded by a crowd of competitors, of equal claims and perhaps superior credit and interest, may prefer a comfortable certainty here for an uncertain hope there, and a lingering delay even of that. From this description we expect we may draw professors equal to those of the highest name....

"Your knowledge of the state of things, your means of finding out a character or two at each place, truly trustworthy, and into whose hands you can commit our agent with entire safety, for information, caution, and co-operation, induces me to request your patronage and aid in our endeavors to obtain such men, and such only as will fulfill our views. An unlucky selection in the outset would forever blast our prospects. From our information of the character of the different Universities, we expect we should go to Oxford for our classical professor, to Cambridge for those of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Natural History, and to Edinburgh for a professor of Anatomy and the elements and outlines only of medicine....

"Although I have troubled you with many particulars, I yet leave abundance for verbal explanation with Mr. Gilmer, who possesses a full knowledge of everything, and our full confidence in everything. He takes with him plans of our establishment, which we think it may be encouraging to show to the persons to whom he will make propositions, as well to let them see the comforts provided for themselves, as to show by the extensiveness and expense of the scale, that it is no ephemeral thing to which they are invited.

"With my earnest solicitations that you will give us all your aid in an undertaking on which we rest

the hopes and happiness of our country, accept the assurances of my sincere friendship, attachments and respect."

Many people appear to have differed in opinion from Jefferson regarding the selection of European scholars for positions in the University of Virginia. In a letter, July 21, 1825, to Edward Everett there is a somewhat convincing argument in which Jefferson gives his reasons (125) for selecting some of the professors in Europe. He says:

"I knew the range of your mind too well ever to have supposed for a moment you could view but with contempt the miserable sneers on our seeking abroad some of the professors for our University. Had I thought them worth notice I should have asked those wits and censors these questions only. The seminaries of the United States being all of them first served for the choice of the talents of our own country, were we to take the refuse and place ourselves thus at the fag end of the whole line? Would it have been either patriotism or fidelity in us to have sunk the youth of our State to a half lettered grade of education by committing them to inferior instruction and rejecting them of the first order merely because offered from without the limits of our Union, and the mass of science among us still further reduced by the refusal of many eminent characters to accept academical instruction, and in this way to advance the American character? We thought otherwise and as yet believe we have reason to be satisfied with the course we have pursued. I hope the only rivalship with ur elder sisters will be in honorable efforts to do the most good possible."

Again, in the "minutes" of the board of visitors dated (127) October 25, 1824, he says:

"The Visitors were sensible that there might be found

126. Jefferson's Writings. Vo. XIX, p. 284.
127. Ibid., 456-457.

in the different seminaries of the United States persons qualified to conduct these several schools with confidence; but it was neither probable that they would leave the situations in which they then were, nor honorable or moral to endeavor to seduce them from their stations; and to have filled the professional chairs with unemployed and secondary characters, would not have fulfilled the object or satisfied the expectations of our country in this institution. It was, moreover, believed that, to advance in science, we must avail ourselves of the lights of countries already advanced before us. It was, therefore, deemed most advisable to resort to Europe for some of the professors, and of preference to the countries which speak the same language in order to obtain characters of the first grade of science in their respective lines."

By these arguments for European professors we must not suppose that Jefferson was opposed to the selection of Capable Americans. "Our wish is," he says, "to procure natives, where they can be found,.... of the first order of requirements in their respective lines; but preferring foreigners of the first order to natives of the second, we shall certainly have to go for several of our professors, to countries more advanced than we are." (128) At another time he says: (129) "No secondary character will be received among them. Either the ablest which America or Europe can furnish or none at all. They will give us the selected society of a great city separated from the dissipations and levities of its ephemeral insects." (130)

128. Jefferson's Writings. Vol. XV, p.207.

129. Ibid., p. 222- 223.

130. When the University was first opened the two professorships of Law and Natural History were occupied by two Americans, the other five being selected from the old world. See Patton, Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia.

As on practically all the other phases of education necessary to the operation of the University of Virginia, Jefferson had very definite ideas on Student government. In the Rockfish Gap Commission report submitted to the legislature Jefferson laid down some standards^d concerning the government of the young. In speaking of fear as a motive of conduct he writes:

"The best mode of government for youth in large collections is certainly a desideratum not yet attained with us. It may be well questioned whether fear, after a certain age, is a motive to which we should have ordinary recourse. The human character is susceptible of other incitements to correct conduct more worthy of employ, and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition, and moral dispositions are innate correctives of indiscretions of that lively age; and when strengthened by habitual appeal and exercise, have a happier effect on future character than the degrading motive of fear. Hardening them to disgrace, and to corporal punishments, and servile humiliations can not be the best process for producing erect character. The affectionate deportment between father and son offers, in truth, the best example for that of tutor and pupil; and the experience of other countries, in this respect, may be worthy of inquiry and consideration with us."

Student self-government in the University of Virginia seems to have an interesting historical significance. "Jefferson desired to apply to the University the same theory that he advocated for the states- that the best government is the least government. He wished to do away with corporal punishment, espionage, and 'useless observances which merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience, and revolt'." (132) (133) Herbert Adams appears to

131. Circular of Information. No.2, p. 94.

132. Slosson. The American Spirit in Education. p. 92.

be quite outspoken in his praise for the student self-government when he says:

"It is very generally known that at the University of Virginia exists a remarkable system of student self-government, by which a high morale and a manly tone of self-reliance have been successfully maintained. In sharp distinction to the old-time method of tutorial supervision and professorial espionage, this system of self-government has developed the most honorable relations between faculty and students. It has established a frank and kindly spirit of co-operation between master and pupil. It has repressed all dishonorable practices of cheating in recitations and examinations, so common under the old reign of terror, and it has prompted a spirit of independence and self respect. This condition of student society in Virginia is in no small degree the result of the teachings of Jefferson. While his ideal of student self-government was not immediately realized in that lawless period that followed the first introduction of his ideas, yet a wholesome harmony between liberty and law was soon and easily secured."

There seem to be four things that Jefferson distinctly emphasized in "the new educational departure in Virginia."

"The abolition of a prescribed curriculum for all students, and consequently the overthrow of the class system.

"The introduction of specialization, or, (exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them (students) for the particular vocations to which they are destined).

"The elective system, or 'uncontrolled choice in the lectures they all choose to attend'.

"The reduction of discipline to a minimum, 'avoiding too much government, by requiring no useless observances, none which shall merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience, and revolt'." (134)

133. Circular of Information. No. 2, p. 94.

134. Ibid., p. 127.

In a letter, July 16, 1823, to George Ticknor of
Harvard regarding the elective system, Jefferson writes: (135)

" I am not fully informed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in their lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualifications only, and sufficient age. Our institution will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can without consulting its own pride and ambition; of letting everyone come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind."

Mr. William P. Trent praises the elective system by saying: (136)

"The fact that under the elective system poor men who desire to become proficient in one study can come to the University at a moderate expense, and in one year by hard work fit themselves as thoroughly in that special study as they can under the ordinary college system in three or four years. It is easy to see what a powerful lever this has been for raising the poorer classes throughout the South; nor is the beneficial reaction upon the wealthier classes less apparent or important."

The members of the governing board are formed by the faculty of the University. "At a meeting of the faculty of professors, on matters within their functions, one of them shall preside, by rotation, for the term of one year each." (137)

135. Jefferson's Writings. Vol. XV, p. 455.

136. Circular of Information. No. 2, 1888. p. 156.

137. Jefferson's Writings. Vol. XIX, p. 441.

A chairman is selected annually by the board of visitors from among the professors and in reality becomes the chief executive of the University.

This republican feature of rotation in office seemed to be of great importance to Jefferson. At a meeting of the Board of Visitors on April, 3rd, and 4th, 1826, an attempt was made to alter this plan of a faculty chairman and create the office of president, especially to secure the services of William Wirt who was then Attorney-General of the United States. Jefferson entered a protest (138) in the following words:

"The subscriber, rector of the University, fully and expressly concurring in the appointment of William Wirt to the professor of the school of law, dissents from, and protests against, so much of these enactments as to go to the establishment of the office of president of the University, for these reasons:

1. Because the law establishing the University, delineating the organization of the authorities by which it should be directed and governed, and placing at its head a Board of rector and Visitors, has enumerated with great precision the special powers it meant to give to the Board, in which enumeration is not to be found that of creating a president, making him a member of the faculty of professors, and with controlling powers over that faculty; and it is not conceivable that, while descending, in their enumeration to give specially the power of appointing officers of the minutest grade, they should have omitted to name him of the highest, who was to govern and preside over the whole. If this is not among the enumerated powers, it is believed it cannot be legitimately inferred, by construction, from the words giving a general authority to do all things expedient for promoting the purposes of the institution;

for, so construed, it would render nugatory the whole enumeration, and confer on the Board powers unrestrained within any limits.

2. Because he is of opinion that every function ascribed to the president by this enactment can be performed, and is now as well performed, by the faculty, as now established by law.

3. Because we owe debts at this time of at least 11,000 dollars beyond what can be paid by any means we have in possession, or may command within any definite period of time; and fixes on us permanently an additional expense of 15,000 dollars a year.

4. Because he thinks that so fundamental a change in the organization of the institution ought not to be made by a thin Board, two of the seven constituting it, being now absent.

For these reasons the subscriber protests against both the expedience and the validity of the establishment of this office.

The faculty plan of government with an annually selected chairman seems to have been quite successful at the University of Virginia, for John B. Minor, one of the professors of that institution, writing as late as 1888, says: (139) "The system is not without its disadvantages, but its benefits decidedly preponderate. The chairman does not monopolize the administration, as a president would do, but each professor, feeling that he is a constituent element of the governing body, with his proper share of influence in shaping its destiny and fortunes, is animated at once by a sense of duty, of responsibility, and of ambition to devote his utmost powers of thought, care, and assiduous effort to augment its usefulness and prosperity." (140)

139. John B. Minor, Present Organization and Conditions of the University of Virginia. Published in the Circular of Information, No. 2, by the Bureau of Education. (1888) p. 177.

140. However the duties of the chairman became so great that it was impossible to perform the duties of both professor and chairman. The Alumni valued the importance of Jefferson's views and kept a change from taking place until 1905, when an "executive head" was appointed. See Patton, Jefferson, Ball and the University of Virginia. p. 346-351.

It was contrary to Jefferson's ideas that the University should confer any degrees of honor or titles. He favored a simple certificate of graduation specifying the subject to which the student had devoted most attention. Jefferson has not been followed in this respect, (141) for degrees have multiplied amazingly. However, we cannot expect posterity to adopt all his ideas.

Many recent students of Jefferson's educational accomplishments and efforts have written excellent summaries on his most important and practical achievements in the successful consummation of the University of Virginia. (142) Bruce writes:

" He was not merely the father of it in the spiritual and intellectual sense; he was father of it in a corporal sense also, for he designed the structure from dome to closet, and he superintended its erection from the earliest to almost the last brick and lath. It was he who carried at the front of his mind for more than a generation the unrealized conception of a university for his native commonwealth; who through all this long period of disappointment, but not of discouragement, pressed it upon the attentions of the General Assembly; who, when it was at last incorporated in its earliest form as a college, selected its site and surveyed its boundaries; who, after, its final charter was granted, kept up a persistent and successful struggle with faction, prejudice, and ignorance, to obtain from the State the funds needed for its completion; who, after its doors were thrown open, thought out minutely and laid down with precision its courses of instruction; who chose many of the text-books; formed the library; nominated all the professors; and finally drafted all the laws for the general administration of the institution, and all the

141. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was created in 1848, followed by the Bachelor of Science degree in 1868. See Patton-OP. Cit. p. 328-331.

142. Bruce. The History of the University of Virginia. p. 4-5.

regulations for the enforcement of discipline among the students. Almost daily if the weather was fair, he rode down from his mountain-top to the University to watch the progress of the building; and when prevented from doing this, turned from that lofty height upon the unfinished structures the far-reaching eyes of his telescope."

William P. Trent pays Jefferson a glowing tribute
(143)

when he writes:

"It suffices to say that the broadness of Mr. Jefferson's views and the suggestive quality of his genius are nowhere more strikingly displayed than in his choice of the lines along which the work of his favorite institution was to run. These lines the University in the main has adhered to. The combination of the monastic with the democratic spirit, the high standard and the broad scope of study which he advised, the honor system of discipline, and the merging of party and sect into literary and scientific fellowship all survive in the University, and in their results bear testimony to the wisdom of the mind that first combined them."

Professor John B. Minor has written an excellent article on the present organization and condition of the University of Virginia, in which he lauds the work of Mr. Jefferson:
(144)

"The organization of the University, its government, discipline, and methods of instruction were virtually left to be prescribed by Mr. Jefferson alone; and they still retain in a great degree, the impression derived from him, and in many respects bear the stamp of his characteristic traits."

The influence of the University of Virginia has probably been important and far-reaching, but is something that

143. The Influence of the University of Virginia Upon Southern Life and Thought. Published by the Circular of Information. No. 2. (1868) p. 151

144. Ibid., p. 176.

is very difficult to measure. Professor William P. Trent has made a special study of the influence of the University on Southern life and thought. (145) This study traces the history of the University since the time of Jefferson, and endeavors to show its extent and character. "The chief causes or working forces," according to Trent, may be stated as follows:

"The continued refusal of the faculty and visitors to rest satisfied with the present standard of requirement in the several studies or with the number of subjects taught, and the constant tendency to improvement in both of these particulars.

"The substitution of the elective for the curricular system of instruction.

"The honor system of discipline.

"The even balance held between sects and parties.

"The high qualifications, of both mental and moral, of the high men chosen as instructors.

"The unique position of the University in the South; a position largely brought about by the existence of the above-mentioned causes."

There were numerous reforms made at Harvard College in the early part of the nineteenth century by George Ticknor, many of which perhaps, were copied from the work of Jefferson at the University of Virginia. In a special article entitled, The University of Virginia and Harvard College, (146) there is much evidence presented to show

145. The Influence of the University of ~~Virginia~~ on Southern Life and Thought. Published in the Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 150-175.

146. See Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 122-134.

that the reforms were brought from Virginia to Harvard because of the interest taken by Ticknor in his visit to Charlottesville and his interested correspondence with Jefferson. However, Ticknor speaks of his reforms at Harvard as of his own creation.

d. Summary.

We have tried to show the reforms that Jefferson brought about in his Alma Mater, the College of William and Mary, which was under the control of the Established Church founded primarily for the education of the clergy. Being unsuccessful in his attempt to make William and Mary into a free and secular university, he sought to work out a complete plan of education that would include all from the "highest to the lowest" with ^uState university forming the apex of the system. While Jefferson was unsuccessful in getting adopted his plan of universal education whereby each community would tax themselves and be responsible for the education of all their youth, he was successful in his plan of higher education. In tracing Jefferson's work both in his attempts to establish institutions of elementary and higher education, we have tried to show for the most part, in the words of Jefferson himself, how he finally became not only the actual founder but the father of the University of Virginia.

PART IV

JEFFERSON'S IDEAS AND INFLUENCES

XI. INFLUENCES AFFECTING IDEAS.

a. European Influences.

It seems advantageous here to attempt to show the sources of the influences that were brought to bear on Jefferson which helped to shape his work. He seemed to enjoy a rare combination of academic training, philosophical culture, wide observation, in both domestic and foreign travel, and an extensive correspondence with many of the leading scholars of his time. It appears that he had great ability in getting the best that existed in education and adapting it to the needs of his country. It is, therefore, interesting to point out some of the important men and movements that seemed to have had an influence on Jefferson's educational efforts.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, a remarkable attempt was made to establish an institution of higher learning on a grand scale in this country. It grew out of the French Alliance with the United States, and was an attempt to establish a French Academy of the arts and sciences at Richmond, the capitol of Virginia. The institution was to be of national and international character, with branch

offices in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, and be affiliated with royal societies in London, Paris, and Brussels, and with other learned bodies in Europe. The promoter of this brilliant scheme was Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire. The corner stone was laid at Richmond, Virginia, June 24, 1786, with masonic ceremonies in the presence of a great many citizens. The building was completed and served as a "monumental place in the history of Virginia architecture."⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Jefferson was residing in Paris at this time and was mentioned by Quesnay as favorable to the plan. Herbert Adams says: "If circumstances had favored Quesnay's project, it is probable that the University of Virginia would never have been founded.... Indeed, Quesnay's idea was similar to that afterwards cherished by Jefferson himself.... The idea of distinct schools of art and science which is so prominent a characteristic of the University of Virginia today, is the enduring product of Jefferson's observation of the schools of Paris and of his association and correspondence with their representative men."⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

It is quite evident that Jefferson was influenced

148. Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 30. For a complete account of this plan see this same reference, pages 21-30.

149. Ibid., p. 27.

by the Europeans in his attempts at educational reform. He had made himself familiar with the leading institutions of Europe, and it is only natural that he should be influenced by what existed there. On October 15, 1785, he writes from Paris, respecting the institutions (150) of Geneva and Rome: "They are equally cheap and probably are equal in the course of education pursued. The advantage of Geneva is, that students acquire there the habit of speaking French. The advantages of Rome are, acquiring a local knowledge of a spot so classical and so celebrated." At this time he is inclined to favor Rome because of its general culture and the fine arts. Six years later he appears to have revised his opinion for he writes; (151) "With respect to the schools of Europe, my mind is perfectly made up, and on full inquiry. The best in the world is Edinburgh. Latterly too, the spirit of republicanism has become that of the students in general, and of the younger professors; so on that account also it is eligible for an American. On the Continent of Europe, no place is comparable to Geneva." He points out that the sciences there are more modernized than elsewhere, and that the "spirit of Republicanism" is favorable.

150. Jefferson's writings, Vol. V, p. 185.

151. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. VIII, p. 274-275.

In many of his writings he refers to Edinburgh and Geneva as the "two eyes of Europe." Jefferson seemed to be greatly pleased with the Genevan faculty, for he endeavors "to translate the Academy of Geneva in a body to this country."⁽¹⁵³⁾

Most writers agree that there existed a definite French influence on the development of education in America, but it is an influence that seems difficult to estimate. "The French influence," Slosson⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ says, "prevailed for about half a century, but accomplished very little except to start the Universities of Virginia, New York, and Michigan." When the break came with England and we formed an alliance with France, it seems likely that there existed a more favorable attitude for at least a democratic-Republican interest in French educational institutions.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ "With the treaty of 1778," Paul Monroe says, "begins a period in which we might reasonably look for a definite and specific French influence. Spiritual influence is of necessity subtle, intangible, difficult to determine." Regarding the educational influence and labors of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia he says, "but a definite application of French ideas may be noted as demonstrable or probable." After

.....
153. See page 38 of this study.

154. The American Spirit in Education, p. 172.

155. Encyclopedia of Education, Vol. III, p. 708-710.

mentioning Jefferson's "bill for the general diffusion of knowledge," he continues, "The whole scheme is strikingly similar in essential principles to those mapped out by Rolland in 1768-1783, by Tallyrand in 1791, and by Condorcet in 1792. It is, indeed, decidedly more analogous to the French plans than was the University of the State of New York. Tallyrands system, for instance, -- l'ecole Cantonal, L'ecole d' arrondissement, les ecoles speciales (professional) and l'institute nationale, -- is practically an exact version in French of Jefferson's scheme in 1779 or the revised scheme suggested in his letters of September, 1814, to Peter Carr. The analogy is so close, the plan so foreign to anything hitherto planned in America or England, and Jefferson's French proclivities so clear, that a definitely French influence may be inferred with practical certainty." Regarding the reforms brought about in the college of William and Mary, Monroe says: "Their source may be seen at a glance at any one of the many proposals for university reform made in France, from Rolland to Napoleon." After speaking of higher education respecting the colleges of William and Mary and the University of Virginia, he says that Albemarle Academy, "became Central College-- a name borrowed from the familiar E'cole Centrale of France.... In the new

University were embodied the ripest fruits of Jefferson's observations and experience in Europe. In its aim of making worthy citizens, its reliance on state support, its freedom from church influence, its subordination of the classics to the modern languages, and the political sciences, it reflected the whole current of French educational theory and practice. Its division into schools rather than into the ancient four faculties (arts, theology, law, medicine) had been clearly outlined in Diderot's plan d'un Universite' (1776) and in Dupont de Nemours' work Sur l' Education nationale dans les Etats- Unis (1800)"

It is likely that some of Jefferson's ideas were influenced by German Universities. The immediate governing board of the University of Virginia under the board of visitors is composed of the Faculty as a whole, each of whom is at the head of a separate school. The faculty is presided over by a chairman appointed annually by the board of visitors. This was "a pet idea of Jefferson's derived, perhaps, from the annual election of a rector magnificus in the German Universities." The elective system seems also to have had an influence. "Another principle of German University organization was introduced into this country at the inception of the University of

Virginia, sixty years ago, that is, Freiheit des
 Lernens (freedom of learning)."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

b. Other Influences.

In addition to the ideas and influences that Jefferson may have gathered from the old world, he must have been aided also by his associations and extensive correspondence with the learned men of his own country. The man who probably did more to put Jefferson's ideas into practice than any other was Joseph C. Cabell. Many of Jefferson's ideas as used in this paper have been taken from the correspondence of Jefferson at Monticello to his friend Cabell in the Virginia Legislature. Cabell had been educated in Europe, and it was because of this that Jefferson became interested in him. In 1809 he became a member of the House of Delegates, and two years later he was elected to the State Senate, where he remained until the year 1829. He was, "the most efficient champion of Jefferson's three great ideas,-- local government, popular education, and a State university. It is the simple truth to say that, without Joseph Carrington Cabell's persistent labors in the Legislature, his self-sacrifice and indomitable courage, his wonderful political tact and unfailing diplomacy, Jefferson's university

156. Garnett, J. M. The Elective System in the University of Virginia. Published in the Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 191, 192.

ideal would never have been realized, at least in his lifetime. It was once publicly stated in the Virginia Senate, in 1828, that in promoting 'that monument of wisdom', the university, Cabell was second only to Jefferson."⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Jefferson sought the ideas of many of the leading scholars of his time. In a letter, August 25, 1814,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ to Dr. Thomas Cooper, whom Jefferson selected as his first professor of natural science and law,⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ he writes:

"But what are the sciences useful to us, and at this day thought useful to anybody? A glance over Bacon's Arbor Scientiae will show the foundation for this question and how many of his ramifications of science are now lopped off as nugatory. To be prepared for this new establishment, I have taken some pains to ascertain those branches which men of sense as well as of science deem worthy of cultivation."

It can be seen that the educational reforms attempted and effected by Jefferson were not all original or experimental in their nature. He seems to have had the ability to select the best that existed in Europe and adapt it to the needs of his country. In addition to soliciting suggestions from his colleagues Jefferson received material help from them. There were many minor forces and subordinate characters that entered into the accomplishment of so great a task.

.....
157. Circular of Information, No. 2. p. 54.

158. See footnote on page 52 of this study.

159. Jefferson's writings, Vol. XIV, p. 173.

XIII. ON THE AMERICAN IDEALS OF EDUCATION.

The chief objective of education according to Jefferson was to fit a man for citizenship. Alluding to a certain provision of his bill of 1817, he said:

"what is proposed here is to remove the objection of expense, by offering education gratis, and to strengthen parental excitement by the disfranchisement of his child while uneducated. Society has certainly a right to disavow him whom it offers and is not permitted to qualify for the duties of a citizen. If we do not force instruction let us at least strengthen the motive to receive it when offered."

In this same bill Jefferson provided that women who could not read should not be recognized as citizens of Virginia. In the closing words of section six he emphasizes the need of education for citizenship as follows: "And it is declared and enacted that no person unborn or under the age of twenty years at the passing of this act, and who is compos mentis, shall, after the age of fifteen years, be a citizen of this commonwealth until he or she can read readily in some tongue, native or acquired."

And again, Jefferson asserts his attitude on the

160. Henderson. Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education, (1890. p. 344-345.

161. Jefferson's writings, Vol. XVII, p. 424.

educational requirements of citizenship in a letter dated April 24, 1816, to Dupont De Nemours when he (162) wrote:

"In the Constitution of Spain, as proposed by the late Cortes, there was a principle entirely new to me, and not noticed in yours, that no person, born after that day, should ever acquire the rights of citizenship until he could read and write. It is impossible sufficiently to estimate the wisdom of this provision.... Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.... But if what I have heard of the ignorance and bigotry of the mass be true, I doubt their capacity to understand and to support a free government; and fear that their emancipation from the foreign tyranny of Spain, will result in a military despotism at home. Palacios may be great; others may be great; but it is the multitude which possesses force; and wisdom must yield to that."

It seems well to notice here that Jefferson's educational ideas corresponded with his political ideas.

(163)

In a long letter to Cabell in 1816, he says:

"Let the national government be entrusted with the defense of the nation, and its foreign and federal relations; the State government with the civil rights, laws, police and administration of what concerns the State generally; the counties with the local concerns of the counties, and each ward direct the interests within itself. It is by dividing and subdividing these republics from the great national one down through all its subordinations, until it ends in the administration of every man's farm by himself; by placing under every one what his own eye may superintend, that all will be done for the best."

162. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIV, p. 491-492.

163. Ibid., p. 421.

The whole plan of Jefferson's educational ideas seems to have been to improve the material condition of the people. With a statesman's eye he observed the conditions of the people in Europe. In the following letter of August 13, 1786, to George Wythe, his old law professor and close friend in William and Mary College, he sets forth the underlying motives of his plan for education:

"I think by far the most important bill in our whole code, is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness, send him here. It is the best school in the universe to cure him of that folly. He will see here, with his own eyes, that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved, than in this country particularly, where, notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible; where such a people, I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are loaded with misery, by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance: establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests and nobles, who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance."

(165)

And again, to James Madison he writes:

"Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a degree of liberty."

Jefferson valued primary education as a means of bettering the material condition of the people to a greater extent than he valued higher education.

"Were it necessary, he says, "to give up either the Primaries, or the University, I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened, than a few in a high state of science, and many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be. The nations and governments of Europe are so many proofs of it." (166)

It was the policy of Jefferson to see that not only all the white people were educated, but he also advocated the educating of the Indian. In an address which he made May 4, 1808, to some chiefs of the
(167)
Cherokees he said: My children, I shall rejoice to see the day when the red-men, our neighbors, become truly our people with us, enjoying all the rights and privileges we do." In an address made as far back as 1781, to an Indian, he said: "You ask us to send you schoolmasters to educate your sons and the sons of your people. We desire above all things, brother, to instruct you in whatever we know ourselves.... as soon

165. Forman. Thomas Jefferson, His Life and Writings. p. 198.

166. Williams. Thomas Jefferson. p. 281.

167. Henderson. Jefferson's Views on Public Education, p. 369-370.

as there is peace we shall be able to send you the best of school masters."

In his belief in the liberty of the people, Jefferson was decidedly opposed to the institution of slavery. In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, his views are set forth as evidently meant to be the most foreful part of the Declaration. The only words that were underscored in the whole document (168) were the following:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce."(169)

In his notes on Virginia he writes in regard to (170) slavery:

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever;.... We must be contented to hope that they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit

168. Jefferson's writings.(fac-simile of rough draft) p. Vol. I, p. 28.

169. This paragraph was struck out because it displeased some members from the South.

170. Jefferson's writings, Vol. II, p. 227-228.

of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

Since it is clear that Jefferson opposed the institution of slavery, it might be interesting to notice in the following letter dated at Paris, June 7, 1785, to General Chastellux his final plan for a reformation:

"It is possible, that in my own country, these strictures might produce an irritation, which would indispose the people toward the two great objects I have in view; that is, the emancipation of their slaves, and the settlement of their constitution on a firmer and more permanent basis. If I learn from thence, that they will not produce that effect, I have printed and reserved just copies enough to be able to give to every young man at college. It is to them I look, to the rising generation, and not to the one now in power, for these great reformations." (171)

It seems to have been Jefferson's aim to improve the material conditions of the people in every way he could. In a letter to John Wyche, May 19, 1809, he advocates the establishment of circulating libraries as a means of improvement, and offers advice concerning the kind of books needed:

"I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well-chosen books, to be lent to the people of the country, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time. These would be such as would give

171. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. V, p. 3-4.

172. Similar intentions were expressed in letters to Madison and Monroe.

173. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XII, p. 282-283.

them a general view of their history, and a particular view of that of their own country, a tolerable knowledge of Geography, and elements of Natural Philosophy, of Agriculture and Mechanics. Should your example lead to this, it will do great good."

The private library of Jefferson consisted of nearly ten thousand volumes. About seven thousand of these were purchased by congress and formed the nucleus for a new congressional library. (174) The collection of books and the method of collecting them is interestingly described by Jefferson in a letter dated September 21, 1814, to samuel H. Smith: (175)

"You know my collection its condition and extent. I have been fifty years making it, and have spared no pains, opportunity or expense, to make it what it is. While residing in Paris, I devoted every afternoon I was disengaged, for a summer or two, in examining all the principal book-stores, turning over every book with my own hand, and putting by everything that related to America, and indeed everything that was rare and valuable in every science. Besides this I had standing orders during the whole time I was in Europe, on its principal book-marts, particularly Amsterdam, Frankfort, Madrid and London, for such works relating to America as could not be found in Paris. So that in that department particularly, such a collection was made as probably can never again be effected, because it is hardly probable that the same opportunities, the same time, industry, perseverance and expense, with some knowledge of the bibliography of the subject, would again happen to be in concurrence. During the same period, and after my return to America, I was led to procure, also, whatever related to the duties of those in the high concerns of the nation. So that the collection,

174. Henderson. Jefferson's Views on Public Education, p. 337.

175. Jefferson's Writings, Vol. XIV, p. 191-192.

which I suppose is of between nine and ten thousand volumes, while it includes what is chiefly valuable in science and literature generally, extends more particularly to whatever belongs to the American statesman. In the diplomatic and parliamentary branches, it is particularly full. It is long since I have been sensible it ought not to continue private property, and had provided that at my death, Congress should have the refusal of it at their own price. But the loss they have now incurred, makes the present the proper moment for their accomodation, without regard to the small remnant of time and the barren use of my enjoying it."

It appeared to be Jefferson's ideal for America to remain an agricultural country. He believed that a scientific study of agriculture was needed and that it should be made one of the subjects in the curriculum of the school for the education of the common people. (176)
Writing to David Williams, November 14, 1803, he says:

"The class principally defective is that of agriculture. It is the first in utility, and ought to be the first in respect. The same artificial means which have been used to produce a competition in learning, may be equally successful in restoring agriculture to its primary dignity in the eyes of men. It is a science of the first order. It counts among its handmaids the most respectable sciences, such as Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Mathematics generally, Natural History, Botany. In every College and University, a professorship of agriculture, and the class of its students, might be honored as the first. Young men closing their academical education with this, as the crown of all other sciences, fascinated with its solid charms, and at a time when they

are to choose an occupation, instead of crowding the other classes, would return to the farms of their fathers, their own, or those of others, replenish and invigorate a calling, now languishing under contempt and oppression."(177)

About the time Jefferson was president of the United States, Dupont de Nemours visited America. At Jefferson's special request Dupont wrote and published a treatise on National education in the United States. In the preface to his work he states that he prepared the work "a la demande de M. Jefferson, alors vice-president, et depuis president des Etats-Unis d' Amerique; il a eu le suffrage de ce grand magistrat et de son respectable successeur." (178) And in the closing lines of his volume he again alludes to Jefferson in a very complimentary manner and states that he had requested him to write the volume. "This book," (179) Henderson says, "exerted an important influence in (180) France where its recommendations were partially adopted."

"Dupont enlarged," he continues, "with eloquence upon

177. Jefferson made many contributions to the development of agriculture principally in the way of the adoption of plants, inventions of implements etc. For a complete account of Jefferson as a man of science, see Jefferson's writings, Vol. XIX, p. iii-x.

178. Circular of Information, No. 2, p. 49-50.

179. Henderson. Jefferson's Views on Education, p. 30.

180. Henderson says in another capacity with respect to the influence of Jefferson's ideas on the French: "It is interesting to observe that the memorable Constitution which Lafayette and his colleagues helped to give France contained provisions for public education which so much resembled Jefferson's bill for the diffusion of knowledge in Virginia, that one may naturally infer that that part of the Constitution for the French Republic was suggested by the Virginia statesman. (For the French influence upon Jefferson see page 38 of this study).

some of the principles which Jefferson had himself brought forward in the assembly in Virginia in 1779." The book advocated the establishment of a secretary of education in the presidents cabinet. Herbert Adams says, "The influence exerted by Dupont de Nemours must be regarded as one that strengthened and confirmed ideas already in Jefferson's mind. The thought of state education was in the air."⁽¹⁸¹⁾

In two annual messages to Congress, Jefferson made suggestions respecting certain educational advantages.⁽¹⁸²⁾ In his sixth annual message to Congress he says:

"Education is here placed among the articles of Public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but a public institution can alone supply those sciences which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation...."

"The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income."

In Jefferson's last annual message to Congress after recommending a National University in the city of Washington,

181. Circular of Information. No. 2, p. 51.

182. Messages and papers of the Presidents. p. 409.

(183)

he added: "A primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature than to patronize a plan for communicating to it those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country."

It is interesting to note what Jefferson did when he was president of the United States toward the cause of public education in the way of rendering national aid. With the admission of Ohio in 1802 our land grant policy really begins. A precedent was established that was followed in the admission of subsequent states. In 1803 Jefferson signed a bill by which public land was set apart for a university to be established in Ohio, and the sixteenth section of public land was given to the inhabitants of each township for the support of public schools. In the same year provisions of the Ohio act were extended to the territory "south of the state of Tennessee." Where land was appropriated for a college, and every section of land numbered 16 in every township was consecrated to the support of public schools. (184) For the use the college of Tennessee thirty sections of land were appropriated, and in honor of Jefferson the college was named "Jefferson College". On

183. Messages and Papers of the Presidents. p. 456.

184. Encyclopedia of Education. p. 373-374.

March 3, 1803, section 16 in every township was reserved within the present states of Alabama and Mississippi " for the support of schools within the same." (185)

In 1804 Jefferson signed a bill for the Indiana Territory that, in addition to section sixteen for the schools, three entire townships should be reserved "for the use of a seminary of learning." In 1806, he signed a bill, in settling a dispute with Tennessee, which set apart 100,000 acres of land for two colleges and a like amount for the use of academies. Jefferson also had the honor of signing the bill by which the military academy of West Point was founded. (186) Without pausing to point out all the ways in which Jefferson when president of the United States helped to inaugurate a policy by which the national government has helped the states establish and maintain school systems, it may here be noticed that after the purchase of the vast Louisiana Territory, Jefferson helped to foster the cause of education. In 1806, when this territory was being opened up for settlement, he signed a bill which reserved section sixteen of each township for schools and an entire township for "a seminary

185. Swift, Fletcher Harper. Federal Aid to Public Schools. Bureau of Education Bulletin. 1922, No. 47, p. 7.

186. Blackmar, Frank William. The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States. Circular of Information. No. I, 1890. p. 14-9.

of learning." (187) "The federal government has done much in aiding the states to establish and maintain school systems, but probably in no administration did it do as much, as under Jefferson's.

The ideas of Jefferson regarding the promotion of education among all the people are somewhat in accord with our American ideals of today. We have seen that he suggested the compulsory training of all children for citizenship, as well as the educating of the American Indian. He was opposed to the institution of slavery and looked to the colleges to effect its reform. He offered his private library to Congress and it formed the nucleus of a new Congressional Library. A national university would have been acceptable to him, although his desire for national aid was not as pronounced as his desire for state aid. As president of the United States, he signed many bills in which the government of the United States gave millions of acres of land in the support of education. His efforts in the encouragement of agriculture among the people have been extended through the granting by the Federal government of many acres of land to our colleges of agriculture.

PART V

S U M M A R Y

The early educational growth in the colony of Virginia owes its origin to the influence of the English. The colony in Virginia was founded and settled by the English under the crown and the English laws were put directly into force. Due to certain social and economic changes there was created in England at the time of the settlements in America a large dependent class of people who were aided through apprenticeship and poor laws. The apprenticing of the children of the poor, and the requirement that they be taught the elements of religion, had become fixed English practices, and in the seventeenth century this idea was carried to the American Colonies and firmly established there. The Latin-Grammar schools were supported and controlled largely by the church with the primary object of training the clergy. The idea regarding schools was carried to the Anglo-Saxon Colonies in America.

During the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth, legislation in Virginia was in effect compulsory apprenticeship of the poor. This type of education merely provided for the rudiments of learning and preparation for a trade. Many free

schools, where many children received an elementary training, were established thru the philanthropic effort of some men in the colony. The authority of these schools was vested in a combination of church and state; the state appointed the trustees for the endowed schools and in many instances supplied the teachers. The community and family schools were independent of both church and state.

The early educational activities in Virginia had little system or order. Education was not considered as the busy of the state, and the church gave very little attention to it. With the plantation type of settlement, the introduction of "indentured white servants," and later negro slaves, the development of classes, it was almost impossible to establish a system of common schools. Such were the educational conditions in Virginia in 1776, when Thomas Jefferson was elected to the House of Burgesses, where he became a member of a committee to revise the laws of the Commonwealth. It was while a member of this committee that Jefferson began his attempts at educational reform.

One of Jefferson's earliest educational reforms in Virginia was effected in 1779, when he was elected rector of his old alma mater, William and Mary College. This was an establishment purely of the church of

England and "one of its fundamental objects was declared to be to raise up ministers for that church." Jefferson changed the organization of that institution by abolishing the grammar school and two professorships of divinity and oriental languages, and substituting a professorship of law and police, one of anatomy, medicine, and chemistry, and one of modern languages. To the duties of the moral professor were added the law of nature and notions and the fine arts; and to the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, was added natural history. These reforms represent the first current of modern ideas which began in 1779 at Williamsburg, to flow into American academic life. These innovations brought about thru the influence of Jefferson were for the purpose of making the College of William and Mary the apex for his plan of Universal education.

The bill for the general diffusion of knowledge which was drawn up by Jefferson in 1779, provided: first, for the erection of primary schools, in which the children of all classes were to be taught the rudiments of education, and of colleges in which all higher grades were to be open to older pupils; second, for the establishment of a university in the broadest sense of the word; and third, for the collection of a

great library, to be used by students and readers of all ages. The practical clauses of the bill provided for the division of the county into hundreds, with the establishment of an elementary school in each, where the students were to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic for three years free of charge. Next the state was to be divided into groups of counties with a view of establishing colleges of secondary education. A State University was to be founded to form the apex of the system. Every elementary school of each group of counties was to have the right to enter its most promising student annually into the college of that group free. Finally, one of superior talents was to be selected from each of the colleges and sent gratis to the state University for three years of further study in the highest branches of learning. "The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching of all the children of the State reading, writing, and common arithmetic; turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts who, to those branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to; the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools at which their children

may be educated at their own expense." This plan created a great deal of interest but was not acted upon by the Virginia Legislature for nearly twenty years.

In 1796 an act was passed which embodied the first part of Jefferson's plan of 1779. This act failed of practical value because it was amended to leave the initiation of schools for the people to the majority of the acting justices in each county. These county magistrates were wealthy country gentlemen and were not willing to tax themselves for the support of the common schools.

Jefferson retired from public life in 1809 and gave more of his attention to the fostering of education. In 1818 he founded the University of Virginia and became its first rector. He drew the plans for the buildings, which form an "academic village," and supervised their construction. The funds for the University were supplied from the Literary Fund which was created in 1810, and thru appropriations from time to time by the Virginia Legislature. The faculty was selected by Jefferson from some of the best men of learning in both the Old World and America. In a report Jefferson gave a complete plan for the organization and government of the University. It was thru his untiring efforts

during the years 1809 to 1826 that the University was finally opened for instruction.

The University of Virginia has undoubtedly exerted an important and far-reaching influence on the development and perpetuation of higher education throughout the United States, but far more especially in the South. Some of the more important features of the University that Jefferson established or caused to be established may be summarized as follows:

1. Much emphasis was placed on the knowledge and training of the faculty. The guiding thought seemed to be, "Is he the most highly qualified?" Jefferson held that a man was not properly qualified who was merely highly trained in one field,-- he must have that broader education that would enable him to converse intelligently on all subjects. The high qualifications of the professors were to give to the institution "splendor and pre-eminence over all sister seminaries."
2. The buildings were modeled after the Old World architecture, and were of different styles to illustrate the styles of the ages. Each professor had a separate house containing his lecture room with other rooms for accommodations according to his needs. The architecture was to be superior, in order to attract the best professors to the institution.

3. An even balance was held between all sects and religions. There was no professor of Divinity created, as this field was left to the professor of Ethics. "We have thought it proper at this point to leave any sects provide as they think fittest the means of further instruction in their own particular tenets." The Ecclesiastical opposition directed against the Non-sectarian University shows a great idea in modern education.
4. The curriculum of the University gave a prominent place to the sciences, which Jefferson, even at this early date, deemed of very great significance. He emphasized the importance of agriculture as a science of the first order. The school of law, (at William and Mary College), proposed by Jefferson was, according to Bruce, the first collegiate school of its kind to be founded in the United States; so also was the professorship of modern languages the earliest of the kind to be established of an incorporated seat of learning within the same area of the continent. Men were to be trained as able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments. Jefferson hoped, too, for the development of a new philosophy free from the "theological and metaphysical postulates of the old and leading toward a democratic instead of a monarchical ideal of society."

We may discern an approach toward this in the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey.

5. Student self-government accorded with the theory which Jefferson advocated for the state-- that the best government is the least government. He wished to do away with corporal punishment, espionage and useless observances which merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience and revolt. This theory is said to have developed a fine morale, and a manly tone of self-reliance has been successfully maintained. It has established a frank and kindly spirit of cooperation between master and pupil.
6. The elective system appears to have been established here, the first in America. Jefferson says that he is opposed to the practice followed at Harvard of "holding the students all to one prescribed course of study." He says: "We shall allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend." This plan is said to have "especially benefitted the poorer classes throughout the South;" "nor is the beneficial reaction upon the wealthier classes less apparent or important." The abolition of the prescribed curriculum for all students has helped to overthrow the class system.

7. The immediate governing board of the University under the board of visitors is composed of the faculty as a whole, each member of which is at the head of a separate school. A chairman was selected annually by the Board of Visitors, who acted as the executive of the University. This republican feature of rotation in office seemed of great importance to Jefferson. (An "executive head" was appointed in 1905).
8. Degrees, honors, and titles were not to be conferred at graduation. A simple certificate of graduation was favored. However, this practice has not been followed by our universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Adams, Herbert Baxter.
Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia.
 Authorized sketches of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, Emory-Henry, Roanoke, and Richmond Colleges. Washington and Lee University, and Virginia Military Institute.
 United States Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. II. 1888.
 Government Printing Office,
 Washington.
2. Adams, Herbert Baxter.
The College of William and Mary: A contribution to the history of higher education, with suggestions for its national promotion.
 Bureau of Education Circular of Information. No. I. 1887.
 Government Printing Office.
 Washington.
3. Blackmar, Frank William.
The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education in the United States.
 United States Bureau of Education Circular of Information. No. I. 1890.
 Government Printing Office.
 Washington.
4. Bruce, Philip Alexander.
The Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. An inquiry into the origin of the higher planting class, together with an account of the habits, customs, and diversions of the people.
 Whippet and Sheppardson.
 Richmond, Virginia. 1907.
5. Bruce, Philip Alexander.
Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. An inquiry into the religious, moral, educational, legal, military, and political condition of the people. Two Volumes.
 G. P. Putnam's Sons.
 The Knickerbocker Press.
 New York and London. 1910.

6. Bruce, Philip Alexander.
Economic History of Virginia in the Nineteenth Century. An inquiry into the material condition of the people based upon original and contemporary records. Two Volumes.
 The Macmillan Company.
 New York. 1907.
7. Chandler, J. A. C. and
 Thames, T. B. Colonial Virginia.
 Times Dispatch Company.
 1907.
8. Cheyney, Edward P.
Industrial and Social History of England. Revised Edition.
 The Macmillan Company.
 New York. 1920.
9. Cheyney,
European Background of American History.
 The American Nation Series. Volume I.
 The Macmillan Company.
 1908.
10. Cubberley, Ellwood P.
Readings in the History of Education.
 A collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational practices, theory, and organization.
 The Houghton Mifflin Company.
 The Riverside Press.
 Chicago. 1920.
11. Cubberley, Ellwood P.
Public Education in the United States.
 A study and interpretation of American educational history, dealing with the larger problems of present-day education in the light of their historical development.
 Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919.
12. Cubberley, Ellwood P.
The History of Education. Educational practice and progress considered as a phase of the development and spread of western civilization.
 Houghton Mifflin Company.
 New York. 1920.

13. Dexter, Edwin Grant.
A History of Education in the United States.
The Macmillan Company. 1904.
14. Eggleston, Edward.
The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century.
D. Appleton and Company. 1901.
15. Encyclopedia of Education, Edited by Paul Monroe.
16. Encyclopedia of Social Reform. Edited by Funk and Wagnalls Company. New York.
17. Fiske, John.
Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. 2 Vols.
Houghton Mifflin Company. 1897.
18. Forman, S. E.
The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Includes all his important public questions, compiled from state papers and from his private correspondence.
The Bowen-Merrill Company.
Indianapolis. 1929.
19. Heatwelle, Cornelius J.
A History of Education in Virginia.
The Macmillan Company. 1906.
20. Henderson, John
Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education.
G. P. Putman's Sons.
New York. 1890.
21. Hirst, Francis W.
Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson.
The Macmillan Company.
New York. 1926.
22. Jefferson, Thomas
The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.
The Monticello Edition in twenty volumes, including his autobiography, notes on Virginia, parliamentary manual,

official papers, messages and addresses, and other writings, official and private, now collected in their entirety for the first time.

Issued under the auspices of
The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association
of the United States.

Washington, D. C. 1904.

23. Knight, Edgar W.
Public Education in the South.
The Athenaeum Press.
Ginn and Company. Boston. 1922.
24. Morrison, A. J.
The Beginnings of Public Education
in Virginia, 1776-1860. A Study of
the Secondary Schools in Relation to
the State Literary Fund. (Mostly
documentary). Issued by the State
Board of Education as a Report Intro-
ductory to the series of Annual Reports
of the Superintendent of Public Instruc-
tion.... Davis Bottom Superintendent
of Public Instruction. Richmond. 1917.
25. Messages and Papers of the Presidents. Published
by James G. Richardson. 1900.
26. Nicholls, Sir George.
A History of the English Poor Law.
Concerning the state of the country
and the condition of the people.
P. G. King & Son,
Orchard House, Westminster. 1904.
27. Patton, John S.
Jefferson, Cabell and the University
of Virginia.
The Neale Publishing Company.
New York and Washington. 1906.
28. Randall, Henry S.
The Life of Thomas Jefferson.
Three volumes.
J. P. Lippincot. 1871.
29. Scheuler, James.
Thomas Jefferson. (Makers of America).
New York. 1893. Dodd and Company.

30. Slosson, Edward E.
The American Spirit in Education.
Chronicles of America series.
Abraham Lincoln Edition, Vol. 33.
Yale University Press. 1927.
31. Swift, Fletcher Harper.
Federal Aid to Public Schools.
Department of the Interior, Bureau
of Education Bulletin, No. 47, 1922.
32. Watson, Thomas E.
Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson.
D. Appleton and Company.
New York. MCMIII.
33. Wolstach, Paul.
Jefferson and Monticello.
Doubleday, Page and Company.
New York City. 1925.
34. Williams, John Sharp.
Thomas Jefferson, his permanent
influences on American Institutions.
Columbia University Press.
New York. 1913