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# Race, Religion, and Redemption: William Henry Ruffner and the Moral Foundations of Education in Virginia

by Thomas C. Hunt and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr.

TODAY, IT IS COMMONLY ASSUMED IN AMERICA that the state, the civic entity, has a basic right to educate, and that this right is to be exercised through schools that are public in access, control, and support. In the nineteenth century, however, the government's right to educate and to levy taxes for school support was repeatedly questioned and often strongly resisted. In Virginia and throughout the South as well as in other parts of the nation, attempts to establish and maintain public schools were fraught with controversy over questions involving race, religion, and the redemptive or morally elevating possibilities of nondenominational education.

Much of the credit for establishing a tax-supported system of public schools in Virginia must go to William Henry Ruffner, an ordained Presbyterian minister, who in 1870 became Virginia's first Superintendent of Public Instruction.<sup>1</sup> Ruffner's efforts in behalf of public education, however, were severely circumscribed by attacks from coreligionists. The Reverend Robert Lewis Dabney of the Union Theological Seminary of Virginia and later founder of the Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, emerged as one of Ruffner's most vocal and hostile critics.<sup>2</sup> In the mid-1870s, Dabney joined in on an assault against Ruffner and the public school system that was being spearheaded by Baptist opponents, Professor Bennett

Puryear of Richmond College and J. William Jones, a Baptist clergyman who wrote a series of articles under the nom de plume "Civis" in the *Religious Herald* and in the widely circulated *Southern Planter and Farmer*.<sup>3</sup> In combination, the charges these religious spokesmen hurled against Superintendent Ruffner and the public schools generated a crisis of confidence in public education in Virginia that quite literally threatened its survival in its infancy stage.

To probe into the debates that divided these Protestant Christians over the propriety of public schooling is to uncover the roots of a concern that has again resurfaced in contemporary arguments over the nature of public education. The fundamental question addressed by both Ruffner and his critics in the 1870s was that of the "morality" of public schooling. These debates not only brought into question the morality or "rightness" of taxation in support of common schools for blacks as well as whites even in separate schools, but more fundamentally focused on the "moral foundations" of any form of public education. Critics of public schools maintained that by their very nature state-supported schools had to be secular and therefore could not but be immoral. Ruffner and his allies argued that, although nonsectarian, public schools could and would in fact be guardians of morality. The struggle surrounding the beginnings of

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the public education system in Virginia was thus essentially a “moral struggle,” a contest in which men took sides based on their perception of what would best serve to protect or strengthen—or prevent the further erosion of—the “moral fiber” of citizens, black and white.

### Establishment of the Public School System

Virginia, in spite of several decades of relatively intense pro-public school sentiment expressed by many of its citizens and in spite too of Thomas Jefferson’s proposal back in 1779 for a public school system, entered the Civil War with less than a dozen towns and counties operating public “common schools.” There was no state-wide system of education. Prejudice against the public “pauper schools” had led the wealthier whites to support private institutions, and half of the white children of the state had never been inside a public school. Nearly twenty-two percent of the white population was illiterate in 1860.<sup>4</sup>

The Act of Congress by which Virginia was readmitted to the Union in 1869 declared in Article VIII, Section 3, that “the Constitution of Virginia shall never be amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said state.” Thus, to the body of citizens to be educated was added the entire black population recently freed from slavery. Freedmen constituted nearly one-half the population of the state and the 1870 census indicated that 207,000 freedmen were totally illiterate.<sup>5</sup> Such were the conditions confronting William Henry Ruffner when he took office in 1870 as the first Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Superintendent Ruffner, like his father Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College, had been an outspoken opponent of slavery. As a young man in the 1840s, William Henry Ruffner had organized the first Sunday school for blacks in Lexington where “some hundreds, young

and old, were taught reading and the fundamentals of religion by white teachers” including Presbyterian deacon Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson.<sup>6</sup> Some years later, while living in Harrisonburg, he opened another Sunday school for local blacks and served for a time on the Board of Directors of the African Colonization Society. William Henry and his father were both Presbyterian ministers who professed belief in the unity of the human race and brotherhood of man.<sup>7</sup>

Both before and after the Civil War, William Henry Ruffner argued against those whose minds were closed on the question of educating blacks, but as architect of the law which established public schools in Virginia, he recognized that only a dual school system had any chance of surviving in the racially divided commonwealth. Even the idea of a “separate but equal” system of schools proved to be a cause of continuing controversy and provoked hostile attacks by conservative Virginians who objected both to public schools in general and schools for freedmen in particular. Nonetheless, the arrival—if not the survival—of a new order was announced in July of 1870, when Governor Gilbert C. Walker signed into law a bill entitled “An Act to Establish and Maintain a Uniform System of Public Free Schools.” Although Walker in time proved to be less than enthusiastic in his support of public schools, he boldly proclaimed in his inaugural address that “free education for all” (including the “colored,” who have the “franchise”) would be one of the “chief tenets” of his political faith.<sup>8</sup>

Ruffner’s labors during his first few years as Superintendent of Public Instruction resulted in significant gains in the number of teachers and pupils of both races who constituted the human capital of the new system of public schools. He informed local superintendents where they might secure competent black teachers and encouraged white southerners to engage in the instruction of freedmen “with a view to elevate their character, and





William Henry Ruffner and  
W.H. Ruffner Campbell

to adapt them to the successful discharge of the new duties imposed upon them by their changed condition." Ruffner exhorted his local superintendents to "lead a educational revival among the people" and compared their undertaking to a religious crusade.<sup>9</sup>

Ruffner's crusade did not lack enemies. Hostile public opinion against which he and his lieutenants battled for years galvanized with threats of the impending passage in 1874 and 1875 of a federal civil rights bill that contained a clause mandating "mixed schools." Ruffner believed, as did Barnas Sears of the Peabody Fund and other advocates of public education in the South, that if the civil rights bill passed with the mixed school clause intact, the system of public education in Virginia and throughout the region would receive its death blow. Ruffner thus joined forces with those who labored to kill the mixed school clause while endeavoring at the

same time to keep alive public school support and educational opportunity for Virginia blacks and whites alike.<sup>10</sup> The heightened controversy over the role of race and religion in the fledgling public school system threw Ruffner and his allies into a battle that gained the intensity of a holy war.

### War Against the Public Schools

Guerrilla attacks against the public schools that had been occurring for several years erupted into an open declaration of war against the schools in 1875. The escalation of conflict was announced by Professor Bennett Puryear of Richmond College who proclaimed in the pages of the *Religious Herald* that the provision for public schools amounted to state paternalism and tended to "relax individual energy and debauch private morality." Puryear contended that the entire system of public education violated the American principle that allowed each citizen to conduct his own affairs without undue governmental interference. Charging that "the public school is atheism or infidelity" in that it substituted state control over the child in place of parental control, he condemned the enterprise as a "negation of God's authority." Moreover, Puryear held that education was both unnecessary and unwise for those who were destined to perform the menial tasks of society; if an exceptional child should spring from the lower social stratum, he reasoned, then private charity could provide for his education.<sup>11</sup>

Puryear's salvo against the schools was soon followed by an even heavier barrage unleashed by conservative Baptist J. William Jones. In a series of articles over the signature of "Civis," published in 1875 and 1876 and reprinted for even wider distribution by the *Southern Planter and Farmer* in 1877, Jones expanded upon the criticisms voiced by Puryear. As had Puryear, "Civis" declared that the political principles "which are invoked in the support of the public school are foreign to free insti-

tutions and fatal to liberty." He maintained similarly that "the education of children is not the business of government, but the sacred and imperative duty of parents" and that state involvement in education "is a wicked and dangerous denial of the reciprocal relations and obligations of parent and child, as proclaimed by nature and taught with solemn emphasis over and over by God, by Christ and his Apostles."<sup>12</sup>

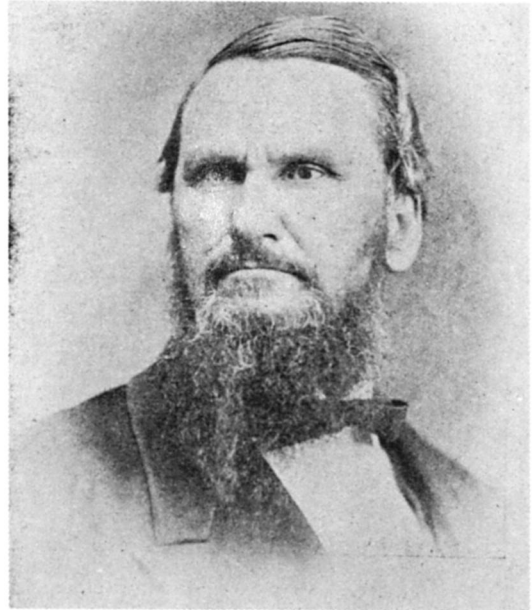
Declaring himself a "friend of the negro, but a friend to him in his proper place of subordination," the author of the "Civis" articles elaborated at length upon his objections to public schooling generally and especially education for blacks. The "Civis" articles were steeped in racist assumptions and open endorsements of inequality. While "Civis" conspicuously refrained from making any reference to Jefferson in his articles, like Jefferson, he frequently invoked the Creator in support of his view of the natural scheme of things. Among typical invocations of the Divine in support of the doctrine of inequality were these statements by "Civis":

The line of demarcation between the races is not accidental or the result of outward surroundings; it has been fixed by the finger of God. . . .

The law of nature, which is always the law of God, is inequality, not equality; diversity, not uniformity; and the happiness of the whole animal kingdom is best subserved by this arrangement. . . .

*The whites and the negroes cannot live together as equals.* Why cannot this be done? our modern reformers ask. I answer: because God, for wise reasons not difficult to be understood, has made it impossible. It is forbidden by a law of nature. . . .<sup>13</sup>

Unreconstructed Baptists were not alone in their battle to repel the public school crusaders following the banner of Superintendent Ruffner. Ruffner was particularly stung by the entry into the fray of Robert Lewis Dabney, his former classmate at Union Theological Seminary and one with whom he had "walked in peace as friend and brother" for thirty years.<sup>14</sup> In



Robert L. Dabney

the April, 1876 edition of the *Southern Planter and Farmer*, Dabney, then on the Union Seminary faculty, blasted the public school system as a "quixotic project . . . the cunning cheat of Yankee state-craft." Dabney condemned the "unrighteousness" of a system that "wrung by a grinding taxation from an oppressed people" enormous sums for use in the "pretended education of freed slaves." Expenditures for public education were all the more deplorable, stated Dabney, at a time "when the state can neither pay its debt nor attend to its own legitimate interests." Asserting that many intelligent white citizens were keeping their children at home to labor in the fields "to raise . . . taxes to give a pretended education to the brats of the black paupers" who "loaf and steal," Dabney maintained that the freedman's low character, ignorance, low morals, dependent nature, and his lack of ambition could not be cured by education. He regarded as "utterly deceptive, farcical and dishonest" the argument that the black deserved and required education in order to become a responsible citizen.<sup>15</sup>

Dabney rehearsed the full litany of the

perceived dangers of black education. Educated blacks, he asserted, would develop "foolish and impossible inspirations." They would become surly and insolent and disinterested in their true calling, manual labor. An even greater danger, Dabney prophesied was that of miscegenation. He charged that the real goal of the state school board was to bring about the "amalgamation" of the races and he urged the state government to act to thwart the plans of the Congressional Radicals which would lead to the mingling of the blood "which consecrated the battle fields of the Confederacy, with this sordid, alien taint. . . ." Dabney predicted that "Yankees" would eventually experience the "curse of mixed blood" which, like a cancer, would spread across and "putrify" the entire country.<sup>16</sup>

Dabney's attack on black education and its consequences led him, like "Civis," into a rejection of all public schooling. Dabney's anti-public school argument was based on the theory of the family as the independent unit in society. He maintained that the parents were, or ought to be, the sole responsible agents of the family; the state's duty was to protect the family, not to interfere with it, and certainly not by assuming one of the family's chief functions, that of the training of children. Dabney reasoned that God commits the education of children to their parents, who alone are responsible for their intellectual, moral, and spiritual training. "There can be no true education without moral culture and no true moral culture without Christianity," Dabney contended. To Dabney it was essential that teachers be professing Christians and that teaching be understood as a "spiritual function," for "the soul is a monad and its training cannot be divided, it cannot be equipped as to its different parts at different times and places." Dabney condemned "natural theism" as "wholly inadequate." Since the state was secular, Dabney stated, "it is totally disqualified to conduct schools for all the people." He argued that the state and

the church should recognize the parent as the primary educating agent and "should assume an ancillary instead of a dominating attitude. The state should only encourage individual and voluntary efforts and aid those whose poverty and misfortunes disable them from properly rearing their own children."<sup>17</sup>

Articles, pamphlets and speeches of this stripe were rife in Virginia in the mid 1870s, as they had been in earlier years. Ruffner had dedicated his first annual report in 1871 to similar objections and was forced to lead a counter attack again in 1876 in the face of a threat he felt could cause the collapse of the whole system of public education.

#### **Ruffner and the Public School Counteroffensive**

Ruffner presented arguments to counter each of the objections Puryear, Jones, Dabney and others had put forward. With regard to the issue of black education, Ruffner expressed the belief that education "would foster among the Negroes a pride of race which would have a purifying and stimulating power and will gradually overcome that contemptible ambition to associate with white people, which has been instilled into their minds by the blundering policy of the Northern people and the Federal government."<sup>18</sup>

Ruffner, like Horace Mann and others, used many standard arguments to support the merits and benefits of black education. He talked of improved efficiency in labor, responsible citizenship, and reduction of crime and pauperism. Rejecting outright the claims that blacks were intellectually inferior, Ruffner declared: "It is utterly denied that there is any such difference between the two races in susceptibility of improvement, as to justify us in making the Negro an exception to the general conclusion of mankind in respect to the value of universal education."<sup>19</sup> Some years earlier in a sermon Ruffner had stressed the same point: "No one . . . can



assign any limit to the improvement which may be effected under suitable culture; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Negro has abundant capacity for all the ordinary affairs of human life, including self-government, and may attain to as high a degree of civilization as any other race." In this same sermon (1852), Ruffner counseled: "Remember, the Negro is our brother and our ward; and God will hold us responsible for his training and for his end, temporal and eternal. He may, by suitable effort, become a blessing and an ornament to the earth. . . ." <sup>20</sup>

#### AFRICA'S REDEMPTION.

A DISCOURSE ON

#### AFRICAN COLONIZATION

IN ITS MISSIONARY ASPECTS,  
AND IN ITS RELATION TO SLAVERY AND ABOLITION.

PUBLISHED BY SARAH'S CHURCH, JULY 2ND, 1852, IN THE SEVENTH FLOOR,  
NORTHALL CHURCH, FINE SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA.

OF  
WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER,  
PASTOR.

In his 1871 *Report*, Ruffner proclaimed that evidence of the improbability of the Negro abounds. He noted that millions of native Africans had learned to read Arabic. Benjamin Banniker's *Almanac*, which had greatly impressed Jefferson, also, said Ruffner, offered proof that the Negro's mind could pursue "abstract investigations." The flowering Republic of Liberia, whose founding Ruffner had worked for, gave further evidence of progress, he asserted. Attendance records and study habits in Freedmen's Bureau schools showed the Negro's "desire for education and capacity for learning." Ruffner noted also that many antebellum slaves and free Negroes exhibited a shrewdness, enterprise, and "noble spirit and superior capacity" that their descendants continue to evidence. <sup>21</sup>

These and other arguments certainly did not convince Dabney and other con-

servatives of the intellectual equality of blacks, and even "liberal" University of Virginia Professor John Minor informed Ruffner of his reservations regarding Ruffner's tendency to "dogmatize upon a subject where experience has as yet taught little. . . ." <sup>22</sup>

It is not surprising then, that when faced with the threat of the mixed school clause in the civil rights bill, Ruffner, with Sears and other educational reformers, strained to kill the offensive measure. In an article in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1874 on "The Co-Education of the White and Colored Races," Ruffner tried to inform the North that forced integration would undo all the progress that had been made in the South. He asserted that in both ancient and modern history power had destroyed slavery, but the same force had not been able to legislate the psychological attitudes of the free born toward the ex-slave or the existing moral, intellectual, and cultural gaps between the two classes. Only "the disintegrating work of time" could eliminate these attitudes and differences. At present, said Ruffner, there existed in the South "a most aggravated case of social aversion on the part of the whites toward the colored races. . . ." <sup>23</sup>

Ruffner observed that the situation in the North was not much different, even though there blacks were fewer in number and had enjoyed freedom for a longer period of time: "The social repugnance between the races has not been obliterated anywhere. . . ." Integrated schools in Boston are "barely tolerated" he observed, and they are "avoided by large classes of the people." <sup>24</sup>

Ruffner also put forward a moral reason for opposing mixed schools. However much he believed in the brotherhood of man and the potential for progress on the part of the black, he stated in this 1874 article that Negroes as a class "move on a far lower moral plane than whites." Given the observable gap in manners and morals between whites and blacks, Ruffner concluded that it was understandable that whites in the South would "refuse to asso-

ciate their children with [blacks] in the intimate relations of a school." Ruffner asserted that the moral and wide social differences between the races made the attempt to mix the races in the schools both "vain and foolish . . . base and malicious." He was convinced that legislated mixed schools would result in parents keeping their children out of the schools and would force their eventual closing. If the mixed school clause passed, he said, public education in the South would last "just as long as would be required to go through the forms of law needed to destroy it." To Ruffner, the choice was simple: dual schools or no schools.<sup>25</sup>

Ruffner was optimistic about future relations between the races and hinted at the possibility of integration in coming generations. "Our children will be sufficiently progressive," he declared. "The prejudices which disturb us now will run their natural course. . . . Unquestionably the tendency of mankind is toward the obliteration of race-distinctions."<sup>26</sup>

Conditioned by place and time, Ruffner thus championed universal public education as a moral and social necessity. While his statements and his actions, both before and during his superintendency, caused him to be labeled a "Negrophile,"<sup>27</sup> he found it necessary and expedient to argue for segregated education. Ruffner maintained that blacks have a "moral claim" on society and that it would be unjust as well as unwise to place them "outside the pale of our Christian sympathies." Ruffner reasoned further that the state educates for the same reasons that it punishes, that is, to promote order, honest industry, and the development of its citizens for its own advancement. He concluded that blacks were "improvable under culture" and that there were the same redemptive reasons for educating blacks as for educating whites: members of both races could "be made more intelligent, more moral, more industrious, and more skillful."<sup>28</sup>

As the attacks by Puryear and Dabney made clear, opposition to the system of

public education in Virginia was grounded not only in racism, but also in the belief that, as a Methodist minister phrased it in 1874, public schooling breeds "infidelity and atheism. . . ."<sup>29</sup> No doubt some of Ruffner's critics were drawn to this critique in recognition of the fact that public schools were pulling children away from private, church-supported secondary schools. As today, however, there were also those who maintained that schools supported by a secular state were by definition and constitutional constraint prevented from providing sound religious and moral instruction.

In annual reports, speeches, and articles Ruffner repeatedly endeavored to argue that public schools could be and were in fact moral agencies and that while schools "cannot be made up to teach the particular religious views of any [individual] man or any [single] church," public schools could and should "formally teach the recognized morality of the country, and the will of God as the standard and ultimate authority of all morality. . . ." In an 1876 response to one of Dabney's diatribes, Ruffner suggested a strong kinship with Martin Luther by proclaiming that "every teacher has an *ethical* work to perform, which is second only to the work of the Christian pastor. . . ." Ruffner hastened to add, however, that "the school teacher's business is Christian ethics, not Christian theology. . . ."<sup>30</sup>

Ruffner was in solid company with nineteenth century educational reformers who fervently believed that the common school could be infused with a "common religion" that would unite "not only all professing Christians and Jews, but unbelievers of every grade."<sup>31</sup> In his *First Annual Report* Ruffner defined this common religion as consisting of the cardinal religious doctrines, and a complete code of the highest and purest morality. . . . The common American religion embraced recognition of the "existence and government of God" which "constitutes its great controlling feature, and from that is developed the whole code of moral duties."<sup>32</sup>



Arguing that even unbelievers would not be offended by the general tenets of the American common religion, Ruffner asserted that "Huxley admires the Bible as much as did Rousseau" and that he had "never heard of a man, except James Mill, who did not wish his child to be taught to reverence the Deity, however radical might be his philosophy."<sup>33</sup>

Ruffner maintained that the infusion of this "common religion" into the public schools enabled them to be "morally elevating," not simply "morally neutral." The common religion was, in his words, "highly ethical," able to train the child in "habits of reticence, order, industry, truth, self-sacrifice, and good behavior, including good manners." Ruffner professed a "religious common law accepted by everybody" which he believed "will yet be embodied in the textbooks in every school without offense."<sup>34</sup>

Far from seeing the public schools as in any way subversive to formal religion, Ruffner asserted that to the contrary public schools complemented the work of the church and family. He reasoned that since God had intended the Bible to be for all people, universal literacy was a fundamental requirement of the common religion. Public schools, by producing universal literacy, were thus instrumental in carrying out the divine plan since illiteracy was viewed as one of the great "hinderances to the progress of the Gospel."<sup>35</sup>

From a contemporary perspective, one might argue that Ruffner's advocacy of a common religion acceptable to all was somewhat compromised by his advocacy in the public schools of traditional Protestant Christian practices such as Bible reading, psalm singing, and recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Ruffner cited with approval schools he had observed in Pennsylvania and Connecticut in which such practices reflected a "full and hearty Christian tone."<sup>36</sup> Ruffner urged, however, that such activities be employed "in an edifying and inoffensive way" so as not to counter "individual rights of conscience."<sup>37</sup> If there

were parents who objected to the presence of their children at these exercises, said Ruffner, then religious sessions should be held at the first or last periods of each school day and the children of the objecting parents should be excused from attending. If even these adjustments presented criticism, then all such public practices should be omitted, Ruffner declared. In the final analysis, Ruffner reasoned that the common religion could survive and even perhaps thrive without overt religious displays. "There is no need to legislate Christianity into the schools of a Christian people," Ruffner asserted: "*it will go in of itself*, as do salt and leaven. As law need not put it in, so law cannot keep it out. All that law can do, and all that it ought to attempt, is so to regulate voluntary religious observances that the rights of minorities shall not be trampled on." Ruffner's deep-seated belief in the pervasiveness of the American common religion led him to conclude: "Schools under despotic governments might antagonize the religion of the people; schools maintained by free, popular governments of necessity express and conserve the religion of the people."<sup>38</sup>

To Ruffner, what Virginians fundamentally desired was "moral work from moral teachers."<sup>39</sup> Since Ruffner held that the "true end and aim of education is the development of character in its broadest sense,"<sup>40</sup> he maintained that all children, white and black, believer and unbeliever, should be prepared in public schools for lives "fully rounded in character, and well-equipped morally as well as mentally for all the duties of citizenship."<sup>41</sup> If his faith in the transforming power of education and the universalism of the common American religion strike our ears with tones of embarrassed naivete, we might do well to consider the alternative proposed by his detractors in the 1870s. The social and moral order envisioned by Dabney and his allies embraced economic, racial and sectarian divisions far more deliberately contrived and unapolo-

getically advocated than did the social and moral order envisioned by William Henry Ruffner. That our schools and our society continue to reflect the tensions and divisions that characterized the Virginia debates in the 1870s underscores the depth and moral intensity of the struggle as well as the class, racial, and religious differences that we will allow to divide us.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The most useful study of Ruffner and an invaluable source for material in this essay is Walter Jarvan Fraser, Jr., "William Henry Ruffner: A Liberal in the Old and New South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1970), hereafter cited as "WHR: Liberal." See also Walter J. Fraser, Jr., "William Henry Ruffner and the Establishment of Virginia's Public School System, 1870-1874," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (July, 1971), 259-79, hereafter cited as "WHR: Establishment."

<sup>2</sup> See David Henry Overy, "Robert Lewis Dabney: Apostle of the Old South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1967). See also Charles Reagan Wilson, "Robert Lewis Dabney: Religion and the Southern Holocaust," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 89 (January, 1981), 77-89.

<sup>3</sup> Attribution of "Civis" to Jones is made by Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 415.

<sup>4</sup> Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, I (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," pp. 86f.

<sup>8</sup> Dabney, I, 148; Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 314ff.; *The Educational Journal of Virginia*, 1 (October, 1870), 394f.

<sup>9</sup> *The Educational Journal of Virginia*, 2 (February, March, May, 1871), 155f., 191, [272], [280] (December, 1870), 72ff. Cf. Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 326 and 321; Fraser, "WHR: Establishment," p. 267.

<sup>10</sup> See Dabney, p. 153ff.

<sup>11</sup> Puryear's comments as cited by Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," pp. 414f.

<sup>12</sup> Civis [J. William Jones], "The Public School in Its Relations to the Negro," reprint from *The Southern Planter and Farmer* (1877), p. 3, in William Henry Ruffner Papers, Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina, hereafter cited as Ruffner Papers.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 8f., 16, emphasis in original.

<sup>14</sup> William Henry Ruffner to Robert Campbell, 27 May 1898, as quoted in Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 90, 420; *Richmond Dispatch* [? April 1876], clipping, Scrapbook, Ruffner Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Lewis Dabney, "The Negro and the Common Schools," *The Southern Planter and Farmer*, 37

(April, 1876), 251ff. Cf. Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," pp. 416ff. and Charles William Dabney, I, pp. 151ff.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Lewis Dabney, "The Negro and the Common Schools," pp. 257ff.

<sup>17</sup> See Charles William Dabney, I, 155. The debate between Robert Lewis Dabney and Ruffner was initiated with the *Southern Planter and Farmer* article and included rejoinders by both men in the *Richmond Enquirer*, *Richmond Dispatch*, and the *Educational Journal of Virginia*. In all, Dabney published five and Ruffner twelve articles during the spring and summer of 1876.

<sup>18</sup> Ruffner as quoted by Charles William Dabney, I, p. 160.

<sup>19</sup> William Henry Ruffner, *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Virginia for the Year Ending August 31, 1871* (Richmond, 1871), pp. 108f.

<sup>20</sup> William Henry Ruffner, *Africa's Redemption: A Discourse on African Colonization in its Missionary Aspects, and in its Relation to Slavery and Abolition*, (Philadelphia: William S. Martien), 1852, pp. 8, 48. Cf. Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," pp. 209-15.

<sup>21</sup> Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, pp. 109-15, 117f. Cf. Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," pp. 338f.

<sup>22</sup> John B. Minor to William Henry Ruffner, 28 February 1872, as quoted in Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 342.

<sup>23</sup> William Henry Ruffner, "The Co-Education of the White and Colored Races," *Scribner's Monthly*, 8 (May, 1874), 86f.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88f.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Fraser, "WHR: Liberal," p. 363.

<sup>28</sup> William Henry Ruffner, "The Public Free School System," reprint of articles in the *Richmond Dispatch* and *Enquirer*, April and May, 1876, p. 9, in Ruffner Papers.

<sup>29</sup> *Lexington Gazette*, 9 May 1874, clipping, Scrapbook, Ruffner Papers.

<sup>30</sup> Ruffner, "The Public Free School System," pp. 27f.; William Henry Ruffner, "The Bible in the Public Schools," Ruffner Papers.

<sup>31</sup> Ruffner, "The Free Public School System," p. 28. See also David B. Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School: Protestant Ministers and the Educational Awakening in the West," *Harvard Educational Review*, 36 (Fall, 1966), 447-69 and Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," *Journal of American History*, 53 (March, 1967), 679-95.

<sup>32</sup> Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> Ruffner, "The Free Public School System," p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Ruffner, *Eighth Annual Report*, 1878, p. 60; Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> William Henry Ruffner, "What Are Normal Schools in Fact?," Ruffner Papers, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, p. 56. Cf. *Educational Journal of Virginia*, 5 (April, 1874), 261 and 6 (November, 1874), 6-11.

<sup>38</sup> Ruffner, "The Free Public School System," p. 32.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ruffner, "What Are Normal Schools in Fact?" p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Ruffner, *First Annual Report*, p. 58.