The Rise and Fall of South Carolina College

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THE RISE AND FALL OF SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE

By

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Abstract

Through a thorough examination of the underpinnings of Classical education, as well as the history of South Carolina College, it is clear that the classical system is superior to the later University system imposed upon the College during the Reconstruction period. Classical education began in the Greek philosophic schools, such as the Academy and the Lyceum, and was intended to enrich the soul of its students, as well as to equip them for leadership in the future. But the most important aspect of this education was its universality. It is highly ironic that the original concept of the University began with a hope for universality as well. After all, the very meaning of the word University reflects this high purpose. However, by the late nineteenth century, the University model had become polluted, and was used to promote skills-based learning, as opposed to the universal model it originally represented. When South Carolina College was forced to embrace the new system of specialized education, its set curriculum vanished, and its reputation vanished along with it.
Introduction

Education is in peril. Our modern American system fails to properly equip students for their lives, both current and future. However, the solution to our present ills exists in the past, both in the recent, American past, and in the systems of antiquity. The most viable cure for our modern dilemma is a return to classical education. Classical education is the system of education that has existed since the days of Greek educational institutions, including the Academy and the Lyceum of Plato and Aristotle, respectively. The Classical model includes forms of inquiry and incorporates the Socratic method, which is exclusively discussion-based. The most defining characteristic of the classical mode is its insistence upon the unification of subjects.

Modern classical education owes a great debt to one intellectual in particular. Dorothy Sayers, an intellectual peer of C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien bemoaned a similar set of circumstances to the present, as she noted the effects of a lack of classical education, in a speech delivered at Oxford in 1947. Her speech rang through the halls, and has significantly influenced classical educators today. She first demonstrated the shortcomings of the educational standards of her day, when she proclaimed:

It is not the great defect of our education today—a defect traceable through all the disquieting symptoms of trouble that I have mentioned—that although we often succeed
in teaching our pupils ‘subjects,’ we fail lamentable on the whole in teaching them how to thing: they learn everything, except the art of learning.\footnote{1}

Sayers’ essay stands as the defense used by many modern apologists of the classical system. In recent years, the classical movement has bolstered its credentials by returning to her Lost Tools of Learning essay.

In the very beginning of her work, Sayers states: “too much specialization is not a good thing.”\footnote{2} In her estimation, our world has focused too much on the subjects, which are “divided by watertight bulkheads from all other ‘subjects.’”\footnote{3} She argues that this leads to a defect in which educators “fail lamentably on the whole in teaching them how to think: they learn everything, except the art of learning.”\footnote{4} Sayers states that the point of education is not only learning, but learning how to learn. The goal should not just be rote memorization of facts, effects, and causes, but learning how to learn. The form of education she yearns for informs the student how to learn, and instills that student with a love for learning. She quotes Sir Richard Livingstone’s “Some Tasks for Education,” written in England a year before her own seminal work. In his work, Livingstone concurs with the classicists, arguing against subject specialization, claiming,

More than once the reader is reminded of the value of an intensive study of at least one subject, so as to learn the meaning of knowledge and what precision and persistence is needed to attain it. Yet there is elsewhere full recognition of the distressing fact that a

\footnote{2}{Sayers.}
\footnote{3}{Sayers.}
\footnote{4}{Sayers.}
man may be master in one field and show no better judgement than his neighbor anywhere else; he remembers what he has learnt, but forgets altogether how he learned it.\(^5\)

Sayers, through Livingstone, asserts that those who devote their life to the study of a subject seem to fall short in all other aspects. However, his critique leaves only problems, not solutions. Is there a remedy for overspecialization? Is there a cure for the epidemic of students who do not enjoy learning?

In the modern day, we face many of these same problems. The liberal arts are in decline, and universities have abandoned any semblance of a classical education. They exist primarily to satisfy their students, not to provide them with an excellent education. Dr. Zena Hitz, who teaches law, virtue, and philosophy\(^6\), opined in *First Things* a few years ago,

> What is the point of studying the humanities? The question reflects the current climate among humanist educators: anxiety shading into despair. As enrollments decline, programs are cut, and tenure diminishes, mainstream educational institutions are becoming uncomfortable places for teachers who want to pass on a zeal for humanist learning.\(^7\)

Study of the humanities seems to be on a continual decline. Dr. Hitz encourages the reader to consider the value of the intellectual life in and of itself, without considering the financial implications, which is a view roundly rejected in our day and age. She not only disagrees with the purveyors of the modern educational system, but also with the two camps of the defenders of


\(^6\) “About,” [https://zenahitz.net](https://zenahitz.net), accessed April 28, 2020

the humanities: “those who think the liberal arts promote the effective acquisition of wealth, and those who think they promote social and political goods.”8 Too many of today’s humanists wish to monetize and harness the study of the humanities for their own purposes, whether economic, political, or business related. The commodification of education is a practice that both philosophers of antiquity and educators of modernity reject. Instead, a classical model ought to focus on the development of the student’s soul and love for learning. Through exploration of the classical past, as well as the American university system, several key principles emerge.

The education provided by American Universities, particularly before the Civil War, owes a debt of gratitude to the earlier forms of education laid down by the Greek philosophers and educators. South Carolina College found its foundations in the earlier Greek and Roman educational movements, before abandoning her classical principles by becoming the University of South Carolina. The state of South Carolina’s success was directly tied to the curriculum offered at her flagship institution; when South Carolina College employed a set, classical curriculum, the state and her people thrived, but when the College became the University, and abandoned any semblance of a liberal arts education in favor of specialized majors, the state as a whole suffered. The curriculum of South Carolina College throughout the eighteenth century was superior to the elective curriculum of the later University of South Carolina, due to the former’s connection to the great conversations of antiquity.

8 Ibid.
Chapter 1.

The Underpinnings

The definition of classical education is elusive in academic circles. For some, it is the study of classic works, Greek and Roman, in their original languages. For others, it encompasses a philosophy of education, centered around discussion and classroom interaction. Still others believe that classical education involves interrelated subjects, with the artificial walls between fields broken down. One of the modern leading voices on classical education, Classical Conversations, describes classical education as using the three stages of learning: the grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric stages, and involving classical texts. And for some, this may be enough of an answer. However, their description only covers the mechanics of the method, and not its purpose or uniting philosophy. Some defenders of classical education claim that the primary purpose of education is training students for future leadership. While it can be argued that a proper instruction in qualities necessary for leadership can result from a classical education, the original intent was not any sort of job training, but instead an education and preparation of the soul. It is necessary to dig deeper, into the works of classical authors and thinkers, in order to divine the original purpose and motives of what we now deem classical education.

Today, proponents of classical education divorce the mechanics of classical education from their original aims, to their detriment. While the methods provide some value to the

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educator, far more valuable are the accompanying philosophical underpinnings. Today, students who are classically educated have the ability to participate in the great conversation, one which stretches back to the Academy and Lyceum of Aristotle and Plato, respectively. Through thorough study of the ancient texts and philosophic musings, students have the ability to interact with thinkers now long dead, as they ponder relevant questions of meaning and existence. This tradition has been handed down from Greco-Roman antiquity, safeguarded in the Middle Ages, and deposited in the willing hands of higher educational institutions, including colleges and universities.

Every culture needs some form of education. From the cave-painters imparting their secrets of paints and dyes to the Jewish peoples passing down their religion and traditions, to the Sumerians and their cuneiform alphabet, the passing of information from one generation to the next has been a hallmark of human existence for thousands of years. However, the emergence of classical education begins with the Greeks. Classical education today is based upon the principles set out by Greek philosophers and educators, and it is there contributions that must be examined in an effort to What set the Greeks apart from their predecessors was their philosophy of education, one which encompassed all modern subjects, viewing them collectively as part of one course of study. In his two-volume work Paideia, Werner Jaeger explains the Greek mindset,

Long before they conceived it, they had looked at the world with the steady gaze that did not see any part of it as a separate and cut off from the rest, but always as an element in a living whole, from which it derived its position and its meaning.10

He continues by asserting that it is through the Greeks that the foundations of philosophy were first laid. But the most significant contribution is the Greek placement of man in the center of all thought. This, in Jaeger’s mind, is the great differentiator between the Greeks and their peers. “Other nations made gods, kings, spirits: the Greeks alone made men.”

This human-centered form of thinking is now known as humanism, and has been used and rediscovered for millennia, most notably rediscovered in the Renaissance.

While the heritage of Classical Education is the product of Greece as a culture, and not just the result of a few men, there are a few whose writings summarize the classical ideal. These writings, however, did not just serve as a description of the author’s present, but they have influenced the curricula of schools, universities, and individuals to this very present day, more than two millennia in the future. From its inception to the late nineteenth century, South Carolina College both assigned these great works to their students, while simultaneously emulating the theories espoused within their pages. Examining the works of Homer, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle allows a definition of classical education to emerge.

Before beginning to examine these thinkers, however, it is necessary to reflect upon the hierarchical nature of Greek society. The ideals espoused were ideals for the upper societal classes, not for every member of their society. In the opinion of the Greek educators, not all were qualified for education, including women and men of lower classes. Admittance into their halls of learning was predicated on class, and not on merit. While this does not discredit every ideal espoused by these thinkers, it does place their principles in context.

The works of Homer demonstrate an earlier understanding of Greek education in the Archaic period. Though Homer’s identity is unknown, and his epics focus on the interplay

11 Jaeger, xxiii.
between gods and men, they also give a window into the early world of Greek culture. The story of Telemachus in the Odyssey shows one aspect of their education, the relationship between the older and wiser tutor and the younger pupil. Telemachus was the son of Odysseus, and while his father was away, it was Telemachus’ duty to protect his house and mother from the men who had overstayed their welcome. One man stood with Telemachus, delivering advice. He was aptly named Mentor, and was a “comrade in arms of the prince Odysseus, an old man.” At times, Mentor would give advice to Telemachus, while at other times, the grey-eyed goddess Athena would assume his guise and advise him in the ways of leadership. Jaeger analyzes this relationship, “This idea seems to derive from the custom of sending a guardian with every noble youth when he left his home on a journey. Mentor watches every step his pupil takes, and helps him at every turn, with kindly words and wise advice.” In Greek tradition, the connection between mentors and mentees, tutors and pupils was deeply personal. The mentor was to lead by example as much as through verbal guidance. This principle of the relationship between pupil and teacher is one that pervades Classical education.

Before the famous philosophers who virulently disparaged them were the sophists. The sophists categorized a theory and system of education designed to educate leaders. As a result, they taught their followers to specialize their message. “The sophists always addressed themselves to a select audience, and to it alone.” This selection infuriated Plato and Aristotle, who published polemics detailing the dishonesty of such tactics. But at the same time, the

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13 Jaeger, 29.
14 Jaeger, 31.
15 Jaeger, 290.
sophists “have been described as the founders of educational science. They did indeed found pedagogy, and even to-day intellectual culture largely follows the path they marked out.”

Jaeger argues that the sophists were vital to the success of Greek education, and without them, the later systems developed by Plato and Aristotle would not have taken form. It was the sophists who used the later named Trivium and Quadrivium, which jointly are known as the seven liberal arts. These arts include grammar, rhetoric, and logic in the Trivium, and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy in the Quadrivium. The sophists added an in-depth study of music in particular, which included harmonic theory. This was a first in their world, where previous musical education focused solely on practical mechanics. Contrary to later writings, the sophists produced the educational system that the later philosophers used as their own. The Classical system of education derives much of its form from the sophists, though perhaps not its guiding philosophy.

The philosophers themselves are known for their own educational institutions; the Academy of Plato, and the Lyceum of Aristotle, which were founded and maintained by the philosophers themselves. Though the works of Socrates have not survived, his teachings live on through the writings of his pupils, including Plato and Xenophon. All of his work and teachings were performed through the spoken word, not in written form. This form, however, was not without its disadvantages. Many of the pupils of Socrates diverged dramatically on their interpretation of his teachings, founding their own drastically different educational institutions.

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16 Jaeger, 298
17 Jaeger, 316.
that bore the title of Socratic. The one agreed-upon principle of Socratic thought was his question and answer style of teaching. He believed that the end of education was for the two in dialogue to find themselves in agreement, and that agreement could best be reached in the medium of dialogue. This is his most easily discernable contribution to the world of education. His other principles have been diluted by the somewhat contradictory writings of his students, and it is not as simple to untangle them. He is credited with leading educational philosophy from the purposes of the sophists. The sophists had hoped to create new politicians and orators, without any thought towards the intellectual or moral cultivation of their students. However, he still taught politics within his curricula, just with a lesser emphasis. Socrates began the work that his student Plato continued.

The student of Socrates, Plato believed that those who ought to rule were the philosopher kings. As in all societies, he realized that philosophers did not just appear, that they came from a long educational tradition. They not only thought about the world, they knew how to think about the world. In his work The Republic, which is written in a dialogic form, Plato describes what he thinks their education should consist of:

‘At the age of twenty, some of them will be selected for promotion, and will have to bring together the disconnected subjects they studied in childhood and take a comprehensive view of their relationship with each other and with the nature of reality.’

‘That is the only way to acquire lasting knowledge’

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‘And also the best test of aptitude for dialectic, which is the ability to take the comprehensive view.’

Under Plato’s scheme, the delineation of subjects was useful only to a point, the ultimate objective was their abolition in later years so that students could learn how they interrelated. For Plato and many other classical scholars, the academic study was not merely for academic achievement, but for discovery of a specific goal: the good. He articulates this in an earlier book, “the good, then, is the end of all endeavor, the object on which every heart is set, whose existence it divines, though it finds it difficult to grasp just what it is; and because it can’t handle it with the same assurance as other things it misses any value those other things have.” If indeed divining this good is the purpose of life, then all education ought to point to its divination. Plato believed that the good is in all, and that all points back to the good. In this approach, it makes little sense to segregate studies, rather, it is important to integrate all strands of subjects. He even claimed that the good is

The cause of knowledge and truth, and you will be right to think of it as being itself known, and yet as being something other than, and even more splendid than, knowledge and truth, splendid as they are. And just as it was right to thin of light and sight as being like the sun, but wrong to think of them as being the sun itself, so there again it is right to think of knowledge and truth as being like the good, but wrong to think of either of them as being the good, whose position must be ranked still higher.

This is the ultimate goal of education for Plato, to bring mankind into contact with the good. In and of themselves, the subjects are interesting, but worthwhile, however, with this explicit

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23 Plato, 230.
24 Plato, 234.
purpose, it transforms study from the mundane to the enlightened. In his estimation, education has a higher purpose than mere survival, it is a journey of exploration which culminates in the good. This is in stark contrast with the sophists, who merely desired their pupils to emulate the great statesmen and to deliver powerful orations. Plato takes aim at the mechanistic forms around him and attempts to deliver an alternative. It is important to note that Plato did not reflect the common philosophy of his contemporaries, but was responding to ills he perceived in society. While his principles were not widely disseminated in his own day, they became immensely powerful throughout the development of Classical Education. Even today, the search for the good has its place in classical schools. Plato’s ideal of education as a search for the good transformed it drastically. While previously education would be concluded once a person was proficient in the arts of persuasion and rhetoric, the search for the elusive good could never truly be over. The development of the soul was the chief aim of Plato’s education, something that future educational institutions, a principle that American colleges and universities would adapt and continue to pursue through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The education he proposed would take place after human faculties grew, usually around seventeen or eighteen. Plato separated the soul into three faculties: reason, spirit, and the appetitive faculty. Reason was the purpose of knowledge, and allows one to divine truth and falsehood. However, reason does not fully control the activity of humans. He defined the Spirit as the faculty which makes decisive actions, something similar to what we would call the will. However, he believed that the spirit always followed the commands of reason. Finally, the appetitive faculty controlled desires, such as food, drink, and shelter. These desires were split
into two forms: the necessary, basic foods and shelter, and the unnecessary, large houses and fancy foods.25 These three faculties should be balanced, according to Plato.

Plato believed that education was necessary only for those “in whom reason prevails,”26 and that they were the ones who could become guardians and the defenders of justice. This, of course, limited the population quite significantly. The question naturally arises, in whom does reason prevail? And who is the one who decides upon this criterion? Much like his mentor Socrates, Plato believed in a meritocracy, He believed that the powers of the soul only began to blossom a few years after birth. Up until seventeen or eighteen, the mind could not acquire wisdom, and even at that age, the “spirit is still unreliable, and the appetites are possessed of no stable pattern of activity.”27 Before this age, the child was to be educated with games, and then taught music, gymnastics, and rudimentary reading, writing, and science. However, the children are not exposed to most literature or music, and only the basics of science are taught, basic facts, not theories. The most curious of these subjects was the early education in music. While the literature and art of Greece has been preserved, no great study of classical Greek music exists. The classical music of today’s world is from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not the Greek era.

For the Greeks, music held the key to their society. Their laws were repeated in musical form. They believed that in the same way that music is beautiful because of the successful application of harmony and rhythm, society is made whole by order, harmony, constancy, and even calming of the spirit and unnecessary appetites.28 Beautiful music instills in the listener an

25 Price, Education and Philosophical Thought, 21
26 Price, 24
27 Price, 22
28 Compayré, The History of Pedagogy, 20
appreciation for order and regularity, while discordant music causes the listener to yearn for more harmony, for more order, and for less chaos. Similarly, physical exercise gives to the soul more order and potency.29 The rigor of physical exertion allows the body to gain strength through repetition, another key of classical education.

Plato’s next level of education lasted from seventeen to twenty, and consisted of military and difficult physical education. After that period of time elapsed, the next level included training in science, from “arithmetic, plane geometry, solid geometry, astronomy, and harmonics.”30 This is where the students began to engage more deeply with the material. From the age of thirty to thirty-five, Plato’s concept of the dialectic is finally applied. The students engage in a conversation in which they begin to divine the good. Finally, from the age of thirty-five to fifty, the students take their place among the leaders and guardians of the world.

In this education, Plato urges teachers to keep their students from inappropriate poetry, from unwholesome morals, and from discordant principles. He believed that even the study of these principles would lead students away from the good, and to a selfish life. For him, knowledge was important, but needed wisdom to direct it most prudently. He feared the uneducated mind in politics in particular. Unfettered human spirit would desire power, but would not know what to do with it once in such a position. He believed that their only motive would be economic improvement for themselves, and a continual attempt to remain in power. Desires for wealth ought to be quelled, while desire for virtue and order were the ultimate.31

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29 Compayré, 28
31 Price, 26.
the end, Plato sought to refine and develop the true man, what Jaeger calls “the intellectual part of the soul.”

Though he was a student of Plato, Aristotle’s theory is less clearly outlined, as he only wrote in one book of his *Politics* about education. His ideal curriculum included reading, writing, exercise, music, and sketching. However, it does not seem that he added the usual subjects of “grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy in the preparatory curriculum of Greek education.” Many speculate Aristotle wrote another text, *On Education*, but that it has been lost to the dust of antiquity. While Plato advocated pure public education, Aristotle concentrated on the development of the individual by their own self and their family. He still reflected the attitude of the day and advocated for a standard education with input from the State, but not from birth, as Plato proposed.

In Aristotle’s scheme, the five-year old would begin the education of the mind. Much like Plato, Aristotle believed in keeping children from corrupting influences, including bawdy plays and inappropriate literature. His inclusion of drafting was a novel idea, while the rest of the subjects included were standard for the Greek world.

While difficult to reconcile every disparate strand, much of the Greek educational system embraced theories of balance, symmetry, and harmony. This is evident in the theories that tied all subjects together in balance and harmony. To the Greeks, education involved more than the development of the mind, but effected the development of ethic, morals, and virtue. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle believed in the power of conversation and analysis to properly educate.

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33 Paul Ableson *The Seven Liberal Arts*, (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1939), 2.
34 Ableson, 2
35 Compayré 37,38
After the Greek education came the Roman. Somewhat similar to the Hellenistic curriculum, the Romans somewhat adhered to the seven liberal arts, including grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, but in an abbreviated manner, as the Roman education only lasted until the sixteenth year. Practicality took precedence over idealism, and the curriculum focused mostly on basic grammar, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, but not in great detail.\footnote{Abelson, 6}

In Rome, Quintilian emerged as the primary educational philosopher. He believed that humans had three abilities: impulse, passive understanding, and reasoning.\footnote{Price, 84} He believed that each person had a different balance of these three capacities, some were characterized by impulsive behavior, others, by understanding, and others still, but reasoning. He believed that it was quite difficult to attain a proper balance between the three extremes. Most of his work in the \textit{Institutio Oratoria} was focused on the cultivation of the future public official, whether as judges, administrators, or rulers. Rome was a bureaucratic state by the time of Quintilian, so there was a constant demand for qualified officials who could carry out the business of the massive empire. As a result of this necessity, Quintilian focused on certain skills, including eloquence. In speaking, Quintilian recommended not only the ability to speak well, but to populate speech with understanding. In the first stage of learning, the child should be in the company of those who would influence him in virtuous paths. From the beginning, Quintilian recommended that the Greek language should be taught, and then Latin later.\footnote{Price, 88} Those virtuous around the child ought to speak only eloquently, so that the child not learn improper grammar. Secondly, the child around the age of seven should begin to read and write. Quintilian even advocated the use of
ivory letters because they were the most aesthetically pleasing, and would encourage excellent penmanship by the pupil. In free time, the child should play games and reading, relaxing but instructive pursuits.

Quintilian believes that students should receive their education from a formal school. By the third level, the student should study grammar and rhetoric\(^{39}\). His version of grammar included language, history, and literature. Along with these subjects were included music, gymnastics, philosophy, and poetry. The reasoning for learning music was more utilitarian than the reasons of the Greeks. Quintilian believed that music was necessary for the alleviation of stress, the strengthening of the speaker’s voice, and for a better understanding of rhythm for the construction and performance of poetry.\(^{40}\) Finally, the fourth stage included the study of rhetoric. He had no set age for this stage, instead recommending that it be for students who were ready. In this school, reading, writing, debate, and interactive lectures were encouraged. This was to be a time where the student found their love for learning, and in some ways, began to motivate themselves. While Quintilian’s ideas only lasted until the decline of the Western Roman Empire, they would resurface with the rediscovery of the *Institutio Oratoria* in the Fifteenth\(^{41}\) Century, during the humanist movement.

Similar to Greek education, the Romans emphasized language, reading, writing, and rhetoric. They also believed the best method of education was in the public sphere. Teachers held a special role, especially to Quintilian: “His first care should be to ascertain with all possible thoroughness the mind and the character of the child.”\(^{42}\) As this was a time centuries after the

\(^{39}\) Price, 89,90

\(^{40}\) Price, 90,91

\(^{41}\) Price, 93-95

\(^{42}\) *Institutio Oratoria*, Book I, Chapter 2, 6,7.
first recorded philosophers, the Roman students explored the works of the ancients: Plato, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Pythagoras. They especially studied the competing schools of the Stoics and Epicureans. Their education overall was much more pragmatic than the Greeks, who saw education as the cultivation of the soul and virtue. The Roman ideal was that each subject would prepare the pupil for a future life in the public sphere, which is reminiscent of the sophists. A focus on the larger picture and an appreciation for the Socratic dialogue died within the walls of Rome.

With the rise of Christianity and the decline of Rome came new foci in the educational field. Moral instruction was the new focus of the educational institutions. Much of the early Christian world was predicated upon the rejection of the pagan worlds of Greece and Rome, instead creating a new identity based upon common Christian values. Some subjects, including literature and rhetoric were seen as valuable to the Christians. Towards the end of the Roman Empire, the great theologian Augustine created his own curriculum, including familiar subjects: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, and music. In many ways, his writings laid the foundations for the seven liberal arts, as they would come to be known in the Medieval world. Before his conversion to Christianity, Augustine studied the pagan myths in the worldly schools of his day. However, after conversion, it was said that he could not read too far in the Aeneid without breaking into tears. When he left his sinful passions behind, Augustine also rejected the literature and philosophy of the ancients. He instead focused on the use of education for Christians. The work of Augustine in this sphere heavily influenced all forms of subsequent

43 Compayré, 52
44 Compayré, 60
45 Abelson, 8
46 Compayré, 64
classical education. No longer were Christianity and the classics held separate, but together they formed a unified scheme.

The Augustinian form of education relies heavily on the teacher, similar to the Greek tradition. For the student to succeed, the teacher must succeed. He focused in particular on the use of language in education. To Augustine, words were signs. Every spoken word is the name to something. Some name individuals, while others name universal concepts, words such as girl, building, and even conjunctions, verbs, non-proper nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. When one speaks, they are stringing together names which refer both to the individual and universals. One must be familiar with the thing to which the name refers, and this is where education is necessary. This is why teachers must use proper language when teaching, otherwise, the teacher fails and so does the student.47

In Augustine’s view, knowledge did not come from external means, but from within. The visible must be seen, they must be experienced, and it is the teacher’s job to show the visual to the student, but the student’s responsibility to actually learn from the visual. The external forces cannot make the student learn. Some facts of life Augustine considered innate, including, “two plus three equals five, that a building whose windows are symmetrically placed is more beautiful than one whose windows are not, and that to lobe God is the best of all actions.48 There is an interior light within mankind that allows man to know and understand these irrefutable facts of life. He believed that it was God who allowed man to understand, to use reason to see the world around him. At the same time, Augustine did not abandon external teaching. Language increased the educational process, as it helped stimulate student’s internal light.

47 Price, 126,127
48 Price, 128
In a similar manner to Plato, Augustine sought the good in the world, but he goes a step further than the ancient philosopher, identifying the good as God. Augustine believed that God is order, that He is over the world, and that through education, mankind can know Him better. Augustine believed that all men crave happiness in their life, and that this can be achieved by obedience to God and through understanding of God’s laws and the world He created.\(^\text{49}\)

Even for those who espouse the theory of darkness, Charlemagne remains as a shining example of innovation in education. He educated himself in the languages of antiquity, Greek and Latin, and sought manuscripts from the various monasteries. The monasteries had set themselves up as repositories for ancient texts, and it was these that Charlemagne sought. He also brought Alcuin from England to France, and with him established the Palatine school, which educated first the children of the great Emperor. Alcuin taught through interrogation, which might be reminiscent of Socrates, but in actuality was the exact opposite. The student, not the teacher, was the one who should ask the questions.\(^\text{50}\) The goal of his schools was the establishment of a Christian Athens, but after the reign of Charlemagne, the educational push was abandoned. His sons were focused on the maintenance of the empire, and the defeat of various enemies across the lands.

After Alcuin and Charlemagne’s structure, the Medieval people began to think about a standard curriculum. One scholar claims that this marked the shift from “the pagan curriculum into the mediæval world of letters.”\(^\text{51}\) The concepts of trivium and quadrivium were codified at this time. However, also in this time, there was a withdrawal of education from the general masses. The wealthy and nobles learned to read and write, without a greater understanding.

\(^{49}\) Price, 130-144
\(^{50}\) Compayre, 72
\(^{51}\) Ableson, 9
This seems to be the result of the Roman pragmatic view of education, in which the subjects were useful only for their utility. However, this was taken to an even greater extreme in the Middle Ages.

As mentioned earlier, the monasteries remained a place of learning, both for the brothers of the order, and for their local communities. For instance, in the third Lateran Council, the church decreed that monasteries would have tutors to help the poor children learn to read, that they would educate future clergy, and that scholars might use the monastery as a place of study. But at the same time, manuscripts from the Greek and Roman world were disappearing, and scholars could not access many works unless they petitioned the pope and asked to see his personal library.

In the twelfth century, there was a new interest in scholastic works, now deemed Scholasticism. However, all subjects were held subservient to theological thinking. For instance, philosophy could be studied, but only under the careful eye of the theological order of the day. It was also during this time that the trivium and quadrivium were created, together comprising the Seven Liberal Arts. The trivium included grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The quadrivium consisted of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The Socratic method of interrogation slowly perished, replaced with memorization and lectures. Austere institutions engaged in corporal punishment, and the goal of the student was to memorize all that was set before them. At the same time, the University model began to emerge.

The establishment of Universities saw a return to the Greek structures laid out by Plato and Aristotle, including the original purposes: “to produce learned men, to educate in virtue, or

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52 Compayré 69,70
53 Abelson, 9,10
to satisfy the material need of society.” Other than the Catholic church, the University model is
the longest lasting vestige of the Middle Ages. Universities signaled the beginning of more
intellectual freedom in Medieval Europe. The University found its foundation in the Academy
of Plato, as well as Aristotle’s Lyceum. It was in Paris that the first European University was
birthed, then spreading to Naples, Prague, Vienna, and Heidelberg over the course of about a
century. The Universities began under the authority of the church as a guild. They quickly
abandoned off the auspices of the church, attempting to reestablish themselves as independent of
the dogma that had entrenched the church.

Even the title of University signals something to the observer. It is intended to refer to
the institution’s place in a proud tradition of education, and establishes the institution as the
continuation of these goals and values. Most of the Universities in the Medieval age claimed the
title of Academy, directly claiming the tradition of antiquity. Scholarship was the aim of the
Medieval University, and is still the self-described aim of universities today. The university is
the result of a particular time and a particular place, argues Frederick Eby, as it required a world
that acknowledged universal ideals. One characteristic of the medieval university was its lack of
reliance on buildings and materials. Universities were places that any student could attend, no
matter their nation of origin. Universities were afforded numerous liberties and freedoms by
their local governments. In the Holy Roman Empire, students were allowed to be tried by their
own professors in matters of law. Scholars were often exempted from taxes, and impoverished
students were allowed to beg in the cities. A series of price controls on the cost of lodging and

54 Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, A History of the University in Europe, Vol II, (Cambridge, UK:
55 Compayré, 76-78
56 Ridder-Symeons, 48, 49
food were created by localities in an effort to ease the life of the scholars. The license to each
was the most controversial characteristic. Professors were required to teach in accordance with
the unified church, and their lessons were carefully observed so that they did not err.\textsuperscript{57}

The codification of degrees was an evolutionary process, arising out of need rather than
original intent. At first, degrees were issued to teachers, to signify that they had special
privileges to teach a specific subject, usually law, theology, and medicine. These degrees also
began to form a hierarchy, beginning with the baccalaureus, or beginner, and then the masters,
which was requisite for teaching. Finally, the doctorate was instituted, and was the highest level
of accomplishment.\textsuperscript{58} Professors were expected to adhere to a strict curriculum consisting of a
lecture, repetition, disputation, and examination. Any violations or derivations could result in the
termination of one’s degree.

The development of a curriculum is an under-studied field, as the full intent of the
professors and university presidents is not clear in the individual class listings and examinations
that are available as primary sources. According to Hilde De Ridder-Symeons, a professor of
Medieval History, “it is assumed that every university consisted of four distinctive faculties: arts,
theology, law and medicine. In reality, this was only true of the northern European universities
modelled on Paris and Oxford.”\textsuperscript{59} While other university models took hold in southern Europe,
the primary influence on American higher education was from northern European institutions,
and as such, shall be the focus of this study. The curriculum, much like the codification of
different degrees offered, arose from a need, rather than the original intent of the educators.

\textsuperscript{57} Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowood, \textit{The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient
\textsuperscript{58} Eby, 784,785
\textsuperscript{59} Ridder-Symeons, 564
Many of the now-codified classes and methods were in existence far before they were written as University law. Classes offered included ancient and modern languages, theology, arts, and literature, to name a few.\textsuperscript{60} Many colleges began to formulate a central form of authority, in which the administration would ensure the success of future generations, by setting a standard curriculum. The study of languages also encompassed the study of literature in their original tongue. Common sources included the works of Horace, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and Ovid, while Homer, Demosthenes, and Lucian were commonly studied Greek authors.\textsuperscript{61} The fields of History and Geography were also covered, first with outside secondary sources, but as universities grew, they produced their own textbooks. The study of philosophy heavily relied on the ancient philosophers, continuing the great philosophic conversations of antiquity, though a far greater emphasis was placed on Aristotelian philosophy as opposed to Platonist schools.\textsuperscript{62} Mathematics, science, theology, and study of the law all featured heavily in the curriculum of early universities. These are the same fields that were discussed and debated in antiquity, and preserved in the middle ages. The University became the successor to the \textit{Academy} and \textit{Lyceum}, and preserved their traditions and classical form of education.

The modern conception of classical education often rejects the whole picture. Often focusing on the mechanics, educators either explicitly or implicitly reject the philosophic worldview that has accompanied classical education for millennia. But the classical view of education explores every aspect, every subject, in pursuit of the good. Even after the classical age ended, educators including Augustine, Alcuin, and Charlemagne continued the tradition.

\textsuperscript{60} Ridder-Symeons, 566-568
\textsuperscript{61} Ridder-Symeons, 573
\textsuperscript{62} Ridder-Symeons, 580
From antiquity to the middle ages, a semblance of classical education remained, with the University emerging to bear the torch into the future.
Chapter 2
The Ascension of a College

In the days of South Carolina College, several principles of education varied from administration to administration, most prominently the importance placed upon oratory. However, one principle remained immutable: that the purpose of education was foremost to cultivate the minds of students, not to simply train them for future employment.

The history of Classical education informed the educational practices at Universities and colleges across the New World, including the nascent South Carolina College. Founded in Columbia, South Carolina, the College was the second collegiate institution in the state of South Carolina, second only to the College of Charleston. In 1805, after heated negotiations with the state legislature, South Carolina College emerged as the premier institution in the Southeast. The desire of the legislators and board of trustees, as stated in the law, was the “establishment of a college in the central part of the State, where all of its youth may be educated, will highly promote the instruction, the good order and the harmony of the community.” (Green, 12). In 1804, the new board circulated a letter to potential candidates for president and professorships, in which they offered two thousand five hundred dollars to the future president, fifteen hundred dollars to the Professor of Natural Philosophy and Science, and one thousand dollars to all other professors. Not only were the professors and president afforded a generous salary, they were

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63 Edwin Luther Green, A History of the University of South Carolina. (Columbia: The State Company, 1936), https://archive.org/details/historyofunivers00greerich/page/2/mode/2up. 12
64 “Charleston, South Carolina, January [31] 1804. [circular letter giving information on election of president and professors for South Carolina College],” University of South Carolina
also given lodging on the campus, with the president receiving a house of his own. In an effort to allay concerns about residing in the state of South Carolina, the board wrote that although “Columbia, the Place where this Institution is established, is imperfectly known in the distant parts of the Union; and some Prejudices prevail, too generally, against a Residence in our State, I beg leave to assure you, that whether we consider Health, Beauty, Convenience, or Society, it is in all these Respects an eligible Situation.”

Eventually, the Board chose Jonathan Maxcy as the first president of the College. Their vision for a well-ordered college was carried to fruition, and when South Carolina College opened in 1805, her halls were permeated with the lessons of classical antiquity. Even the motto of the College, “Emollit Mores nec Sinit Esse Feros,” was taken from the poet Ovid (Green, 21). The motto means “learning humanizes character and does not permit it to be cruel.” At the time of the College, educational institutions functioned in “loco parentis,” or in place of parents, as was fitting for their mission. As clearly stated by their motto, they sought to develop students as functional leaders of society, using classical resources, both linguistic and literary.

As was standard at colleges and universities by this time, South Carolina College instituted four classes: freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior, however, when it began, the administration only designated two classes: junior and senior. The largest distinction from today’s collegiate standards was the rigid course schedule. Every student, regardless of interest, was to learn the same subjects in the same order. Exceptions were rare, and only one was given during the presidency of Dr. Jonathan Macxy, for a student who could not study Greek because

https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/bro/id/196

65 “Circular letter giving information on election of president and professors”
66 Green, Edwin Luther, 21
of poor eyesight. In order to enter the College, prospective students simply had to pass the entrance examinations, and there was no restriction on the age of applicants at first. Later, more rules were instituted on who could enter, and during the presidency of Thomas Cooper, the minimum age was set at fifteen.

Latin and Greek dominated the early curriculum of South Carolina College. As the two languages of classical antiquity, their study never truly ceased. With the fall of the Greek empire, the Romans continued to speak Greek, as well as adding their own language, Latin. And as has been seen, the language had never been severed from its original use in scholastic circles.

Before entering the college in 1805, students were expected to translate from Latin to English Virgil’s Aeneid and Caesar’s commentaries, as well as understanding the complex grammatical system, conjugating verbs and declining nouns. In the same way, students were expected to translate the gospels from Greek to English. Students were also expected to “have a good general knowledge of English grammar, write a good, legible hand, spell correctly, and be well acquainted with arithmetic, as far as the rule of proportion.” In 1835, when the college was reorganized, the requirements were even more stringent, consisting of “an accurate knowledge of the English, Latin and Greek Grammars, including Prosody; to have studied Morse’s Worchester’s or Woodbridge’s Geography, and Ancient Geography, and to be well acquainted with Arithmetic including Fractions and the Extraction of Roots; to have read the whole of Sallust; the whole of Virgil, Cicero’s Select Orations, consisting of four against Catiline, pro lege Manila, pro Archia poeta, pro Milone, and the first Phillippie; Latin

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67 Green, 172
68 Daniel Walker Hollis, University of South Carolina, Volume I South Carolina College, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 31
Composition or Mair’s *Introduction*; Jacob’s Greek Reader; Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, four books and one book of Homer.”⁶⁹ Unlike Jefferson’s University of Virginia, the founders of South Carolina College eschewed separate colleges and specialized education. When arguing for the elective system, Jefferson said it was “letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind.”⁷⁰ Instead, they “clung to a hard core of classical studies and provided for no electives.⁷¹ This curriculum was largely derived from most New England Colleges, which in turn were borrowed from the curricula of European colleges and Universities.⁷² These debates continued into the late nineteenth century, and shall be discussed in greater detail in the third chapter.

Dr. William Mould, the Master of the South Carolina Honors College in 1976, mentions the high reputation of South Carolina College, mentioning that when some students wished to establish a chapter of the Phi-Beta-Kappa honors society, John Quincy Adams from Harvard replied, arguing that the establishment of a chapter “would be redundant at an institution of this high quality.”⁷³

Some students, including the later pastor, theologian, and president of South Carolina College, James Henley Thornwell, attempted to apply to a higher class. In a letter to his friend Mr. Robbins in December of 1829, Thornwell writes of the entrance examination:

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⁶⁹ Green, 175,176
⁷⁰ Hollis, Vol. 2, 10
⁷¹ Hollis, 31
⁷² Hollis, 31
I applied for admission into the Junior Class this morning, and was rejected. On Graeca
Minora, Xenophon, the Odes of Horace, and Cicero, I was admitted, and on part of
Mathematics. Homer, and the Art of Poetry, I was rejected on. They say, however, that
if I will stand another examination on these, about the first of January, they will admit
me. I think it advisable to do so, in preference to joining Sophomore.\textsuperscript{74}

In his letter, Thornwell continued to describe the contents of his examination, as he passed in
Geography and English grammar, though he failed in Geometry. Apparently, it was common for
students to fail their first examination, as Thornwell claimed: “The students tell me that it has
become a custom for the Faculty to reject on the first examination, and grant a second.”\textsuperscript{75}

Though it is difficult to distinguish whether or not this was just something Thornwell repeated to
himself for comfort, it does demonstrate the rigor of the College to thoroughly examine their
students on many subjects.

In their first year, students heavily studied both Latin and Greek texts, so prior knowledge
was essential for their success in classes. Though knowledge of these texts were later required
before entrance, the freshman of the 1805 college studied the Greek Testament, Xenophon’s
\textit{Cyropaedia}, Mair’s \textit{Introduction}, Virgil, Cicero’s \textit{Orations} and Roman Antiquities. In addition
to the linguistic texts, students were also to learn mathematics, English grammar, and to read
Sheridan’s \textit{Lectures on Elocution}.\textsuperscript{76} Eventually, Thornwell passed his entrance examinations
and entered the College as a Junior. As a student at the College, he studied Metaphysics,
Mathematics, and Moral Philosophy.

\textsuperscript{74} Dr. Benjamin Morgan Palmer, The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell (Edinburgh,
Scotland: This Banner of Truth, 1986), 54
\textsuperscript{75} Palmer, 55
\textsuperscript{76} Hollis, 31, 32
From the beginning of the College, a great emphasis was placed upon the powers of rhetoric and oratorical skills. During Thornwell’s tenure at the College, he was already known for his impressive speaking skills, which he further honed in his Literary Society, the Euphradian Society. President Macxy, the first president of the College, also emphasized the development of elocution and speaking skills. His emphasis was not without results, as some of the greatest speakers across the nation enhanced their education at South Carolina College, including McDuffie, Legare, and Preston. Maxcy, too, was renowned in the South as a great orator, and frequently spoke to his students on subjects pertaining to their studies. Not only did the students hone their spoken skills in the classroom, they also debated one another in their assigned literary societies, where they focused on prepared speeches, extemporaneous, and debate format. In these societies, they spoke on both current issues and the issues of the ancients, posing hypothetical and concrete questions. Much emphasis was placed on memorization of passages, as Thornwell himself recounts: “Language was my great difficulty in early life. I had no natural command of words. I undertook to remedy the defect by committing to memory large portions of the New Testament, the Psalms, and much of the Prophets; also whole dramas of Shakspeare, and a great part of Milton’s ‘Paradise Lost.’” In 1831, the future president Thornwell graduated as the first honors student.

After the death of President Maxcy, the learning of Latin and Greek declined, and other subjects were emphasized. However, a few years later, with the presidency of Thomas Cooper, College experienced a resurgence in study of the Classics, to the chagrin to some of the trustees.

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77 Palmer, 62
78 Green, 29
79 Palmer, 63
80 Hollis, 85
who expected a greater focus on the utilitarian forms, including greater focus on the sciences. In fact, in 1820, the trustees commissioned a report from President Cooper to find a way to “extend the utility”\textsuperscript{81} of the still fledgling college. Fully expecting a recommendation to add a new professorship of geology and mineralogy, or even a professor of law, the trustees were shocked to discover that their president instead brought back the study of Classical language and literature. President Cooper would address the students in Latin, and taught classes in subjects as diverse as the belles lettres and chemistry, though the trustees fought to have him removed from the chemistry classroom. Nevertheless, his diverse interests were common for South Carolina College, many professors mastered multiple subjects, including the Reverend Joseph Caldwell, who “was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.”\textsuperscript{82} After a few years, Cooper began to teach political economy, at the request of the board of trustees, with the condition that he would be allowed to finish teaching belles lettres. In the classroom, Cooper was known for his bombastic and idealistic style, championing States’ Rights and laissez-faire economic policies. Most sources agree that these courses on political economy were the first in the nation, and the effects of Cooper’s instructions are apparent in the graduates of his College.

While Cooper enjoyed instructing his students in the arts of politics and classics, he deplored the study of public speaking and eloquence. In a discussion with coworkers, including the professor of Classics, Professor Park, Cooper proclaimed that he virulently objected to the calculating nature of public speaking, which included the use of “artificial elocution, as being calculated to make mannerists, declaimers, and orators without ideas.”\textsuperscript{83} Though he opposed the study of oration for the sake of oration, President Cooper’s ideas concerning the use of empty

\textsuperscript{81} Hollis, 80
\textsuperscript{82} Green, 24
\textsuperscript{83} Hollis, 82
words was in line with the classical tradition and the former and future administration of the college. After all, it was Aristotle himself in the *Art of Rhetoric* who denounced the efforts of the sophists, those ancient orators who heaped up empty phrases, while managing to say little. Cooper decried the education of “orators without ideas,” though many of his students still studied the subtle arts of public speaking. The practice of polished public speaking thrived in the aforementioned literary societies, both the Clariosophic and their superior sister society, the Euphradian.

President Cooper also added elective classes, including French and German, which unfortunately only lasted for a short time. During his tenure, both enrollment and rejections grew, and in 1831, one hundred and fourteen students were enrolled. Cooper praised the almost wholesale elimination of the freshman class, as few students entered as sophomores and most as juniors. However, this small expansion was not enough for the board or legislature. They favored broad expansion both numerically and in the number and variety of courses offered. Several times both the board and legislature attempted to name a professor of law, though the measure was defeated in 1824. The house committee published a report that favored expansion of students and faculty to ensure that “the youth of Carolina may receive his professional as well as classical education in the bosom of his native state.” Tensions between the proponents of professional and classical education continued to spike, as college administrators often favored the continuation of classical studies over utilitarian, professional classes.

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84 Hollis, 83  
85 Hollis, 84  
86 Hollis, 86
President Cooper also pushed for the designation of South Carolina College as a University, claiming that the education received at the College was far superior to that of neighboring institutions, while still advocating for small class sizes. However, the House of Representatives ignored his request.  

In the spirit of the age, President Cooper emphasized self-government of students as opposed to the heavy-handed approach of his immediate predecessor, President Maxcy. While Maxcy would often address the students in order to admonish them, Cooper eschewed public speaking and instead allowed the students to more or less abide by their honor, even asking the board of trustees to remove as many rules that assumed the students were “mere schoolboys, and unfit for ‘self-government’ without incessant superintendence.” Unlike the earlier doctrine of in loco parentis, which governed most contemporaneous colleges, Cooper put into practice the laissez-faire policies that he championed in his political economy class.

From Cooper’s classes of students, many justices, legislators, professors and ministers emerged, including Senator James Henry Hammond, President James Henley Thornwell, Chief Justice Franklin Israel Moses, and Governor William Aiken. The students of the college were undoubtedly the leaders of their generation, thanks in no small part to the education received at the state’s flagship college.

To much of the state, however, the College reflected dangerous, anti-Christian trends. President Cooper himself embraced Deism, which while common for the founding fathers, was viewed with distrust in the heavily Anglican Low country and Presbyterian and Baptist Upcountry. However, regardless of administration or their religious beliefs, the presidents of the College continued to embrace classical learning, which did not raise the ire of the citizens.

87 Hollis, 86
88 Hollis, 88
Politicians, pastors, and professors all found themselves leading the College during different years, and most championed the curriculum created by President Maxcy in 1801, albeit each with their different foci.

The Harvard-educated President Barnwell brought a legal and legislative background to the office of the presidency, and was highly regarded as an academic who possessed the ability to speak in common parlance. He brought in new revenue from the General Assembly as a result of his political relationships, and reinvigorated the public’s opinion of the College. It was during Barnwell’s administration that the young Thornwell was brought on to the faculty as a professor of belles lettres and logic, though he later resigned in order to preach at the local Presbyterian church. Barnwell also increased the amount of graduate degrees and granted a masters of arts to any student who remained at the college in good standing for an additional year. Tuition was also raised, which caused the public to complain that the College was rapidly becoming the college for the rich. This discontent would bleed over into the legislature, which still lacked the votes to veto funding to the College. During the reigns of governors unfavorable to the College, however, the College and later University would cease their amicable relationship, and the college would eventually lose much of their funding from the state General Assembly.

From a literary sense, the students of South Carolina College were well-supplied, better supplied, in fact, than their peers at Princeton and Columbia. During the Barnwell administration, the trustees were encouraged to appropriate anywhere between two thousand and four thousand dollars for the purchase of new tomes. Not only did the College continue to collect new volumes, they also constructed an elegant new structure in which they were housed. Though probably not a direct design of the famed architect Robert Mills, the exterior,

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89 Hollis, 127, 128
nevertheless, exudes a Millsian character, with its four wide Doric columns and brick edifice. Demonstrating the influence that Washington had upon the state of South Carolina, the interior is similar to the great reading room in the Library of Congress.\textsuperscript{90} Placed at the head of the horseshoe, the library is today known as the oldest free-standing collegiate library in the New World.

After Barnwell’s tenure came another establishment choice, Robert Henry, who had previously served as a professor of philosophy, logic, metaphysics, political economy, ancient languages, and belles lettres.\textsuperscript{91} During his tenure, enrollment declined slightly, but there is no record that indicates that this decline was the fault of Henry. However, the state legislature eyed the administration more critically, and took it upon themselves to demote Henry to the chair of Greek Literature, while elevating William C. Preston to the prestigious office of president, which at that time, was viewed as equal to high political office in the state.\textsuperscript{92} Preston was an alumnus of the College, the first alumnus to ascend to its highest office, and was beloved by all accounts.

Not only did the college serve South Carolina students, it also attracted students from neighboring states, including Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. Enrollment also jumped from around one hundred students to its highest in 1849: two hundred and thirty-seven students. With an expansion in students came a necessary expansion in facilities, which greatly enlarged the horseshoe at the College.

With the advent of another presidency came imitation of larger state and federal trends, specifically the predominance of religion. President Thornwell had vacillated for years between the pulpit of First Presbyterian Church and the classrooms of South Carolina College, just a few

\begin{footnotes}
\item[90] Hollis, 140, 141
\item[91] Hollis, 143
\item[92] Hollis, 142-147
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blocks away. However, Dr. Thornwell was recruited to the prestigious presidency and eagerly accepted. Known as a disciplinarian and “Old School” Presbyterian, Thornwell’s appointment reflected the wish of the trustees to keep the school close to its traditional foundations. As president of South Carolina College in 1852, Dr. Thornwell focused on the discipline of his students and their minds. In his mind, the duty of a college was to “cultivate the mind without reference to any ulterior pursuits. The student is considered an end to himself; his perfection as a man simply, being the aim of his education.”

93 Thornwell continued by saying that the purpose of the college was to make men, and to teach them how to act, not how to conduct their careers. In developing a curriculum, Thornwell was clear: “the selection of studies must be made. Not with reference to the comparative importance of their matter, or the practical value of the knowledge, but with reference to their influence in unfolding and strengthening the powers of the mind.”

94 In a letter to Governor Manning, he further expounded upon these ideas, when he argues that the purpose of certain departments, such as science, was not the scientific discovery itself, the way in which scientific learning cultivates the mind and further prepares the student to make their own decisions.

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What was the result of a South Carolina College education? Both the legislature and future students judged the college primarily on its results. It was J. Marion Sims, an alumnus of the College, who attempted to sum up the future of South Carolina College graduates when he wrote “A Graduate of a College had either to become a lawyer, go into the church, or to be a doctor.”

96 For the most part, this was the fate of South Carolina College graduates, with one

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93 Palmer, 357
94 Palmer, 357, 358
95 Palmer, 258
96 Hollis, 255
notable exception. Those who pursued the legal profession also pursued legislative glory in the
statehouse, Governor’s Mansion, and Federal Congress. According to Hollis, a historian of the
College,

South Carolina society placed the lawyer-orator-politician high in public esteem, and in
the turbulent 1850’s, “to be a captain in the struggle against the Yankee, to be a Calhoun
or a Brooks in congress…was, for the plantation youth full of hot blood, the only
desirable career.”

As mentioned before, the curriculum for South Carolina College remained constant throughout
much of the nineteenth century, with the exception of a few additions, such as political economy.
The progress report of Andrew Charles Moore, a student in the year of 1866, details the number
of classes each student was to examine, and the grading system used. The courses offered
include Latin, Greek, French, German, English, English Literature, Logic, Psychology, Ethics,
History, Political Economy, Constitutional Law, Pedagogics, Mathematics, Surveying, Drawing,
Engineering, Physics, Mechanics, Astronomy, Zoology, Physiology, Geology, Mineralogy,
Chemistry, Applied Chemistry, Pharmacy, Botany, Agriculture, Agricultural Chemistry, and
Law. Students, of course, were not expected to take each of these subjects in the course of a
year, as Moore’s own transcript bears witness. In a semester, Moore studied Latin, Greek,
Logic, Ethics, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Botany. In addition to those classes, his record
demonstrates that he attended Prayers in the Chapel and attended Sunday services, though he
apparently skipped five services over the course of the semester.

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97 Hollis, 255, 256
98 “South Carolina College Progress Report for Term Ending, 1886 July 13, for Andrew Charles
The record also provides insight into the grading system of the College, which consisted of four grades, numbered I through IV. To obtain a grade of I, which demonstrated a proficient score, a student was expected to score between a 75 and 90. The grade of I* was also available to students who scored higher than a 90 percent. The grade II represented a class being passed, and consisted of scores between 60 and 75. Grade III were classes that the student scored between 40 and 60, and were called “‘conditioned,’ to make up a partial deficiency”99

Examinations from South Carolina College give a further explanation of the rigor of education offered at the College. Professor Lieber’s History examination from 1855 shows how students were expected to demonstrate their knowledge. In June, he issued to his students an exam “From the beginning of history, through that of ancient Greece, to the abolition of the regal government of Rome.”100 In this exam, he explored both large themes and specific questions, as well as contrasting the historical organizations to their contemporaries. For instance, he asked a question on “The Origin and History of the Achaian League, and a comparison of it with the Confederacy of the United States.”101 He also asked specific questions about the location of Sicily and where it fell in degrees of latitude. Lieber even asked the compass direction of Alexander’s conquests, according to a modern compass. This examination demonstrates two key elements of the education of South Carolina students. First, they were clearly required to memorize every detail of their professor’s lectures. The questions posed by Lieber could not be answered with a cursory glance at a book of history or a half-engaged student. Secondly, though historic exploration is traditionally constrained to one time period, Lieber asked the students to

99 South Carolina College Progress Report
101 “June Examination, 1855” History: Professor Lieber.
compare the Achaean league to the more contemporary United States as it operated under the Articles of Confederacy.

As a prolific academic, Professor Leiber also taught the senior Political Economy class in the fall semester of 1855. His final examination included questions about the monarch Louis XIV of France, and asked the students to find fault with the King’s assertion that “royal profusion is the charity of kings”\textsuperscript{102} He also asked questions regarding the economy and whether or not machines should be used to save labor. Finally, he posed a long situational question that required students to answer whether or not it was proper for people to pay for a project, in his example a bridge or railroad, that never returned a profit proportional to the amount of capital invested, though the public benefited. He asked his students to answer the question or demonstrate the “utter fallacy”\textsuperscript{103} of the dichotomy presented. These types of questions existed in the theoretical, but as Leiber pointed out, they also had real-life implications, as questions of public money spent for public good were the very questions that the fledgling nation’s legislators grappled with every day in the halls of government.

Merely two years later, in 1857, Professor Pelham gave the senior class an examination in his Political Economy class, though he focused more on the memorization aspect of the curriculum, asking questions of definition and whether or not students had learned “Aristotle’s argument against community of goods as preventing the exercise of the social duties.”\textsuperscript{104} Both examinations combined demonstrate the classical model of memorization and then dialectic and

\textsuperscript{103} “December Examination.”
rhetorical skills combined. These are the foundations of any classical education, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and it is clear that South Carolina College used historical precedence to inform their own educational structure.

An astronomy examination most likely from South Carolina College given in November of 1856, asked questions that ranged from the reasons that the weight of the sun exceeded the weight of the earth, to the diameter of the moon, to the history of Astronomy and Kepler’s role in developing the field.105 Once again, questions range from basic memorization to explanation, to even historical analysis, demonstrating once again that professors expected their students to integrate different disciplines in their learning, and not to keep their minds segregated by subject.

Students in mathematics were asked to demonstrate their understanding of mathematical laws, as well as their proficiency at solving complex equations, all without any modern calculating devices. Many of the questions are familiar to modern mathematics students, and seem to focus on geometric shapes, radians, logarithms as well as the use of sin, cosine, and tangent.106 The questions in this examination focus primarily on factual recapitulation of laws and theorems, without connecting to the broader subjects taught at the College.

Professor Reynolds assigned an examination in October of 1859 to his Latin students. He tested his students’ knowledge of the structure of the language, the subtle differences between synonyms, as well as the various conjugations and declensions in the language. The examination, which was intended for the sophomore class of South Carolina College, also asks students to

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give literary structures such as the “argument of the Satire.” The professor also requests the students to discuss different uses of words, as well as which words would be Latin synonyms. Once again, this examination demonstrates the rigor of both learning and the high expectations of professors in the pre-war South Carolina College.

In later years, attempts have been made by the University to reconstitute South Carolina College, with varying results. In 1976, the Honors College appropriated the name “South Carolina College,” which is now referred to as the South Carolina Honors College. The second Master of the College, Dr. William Mould, mentions in an interview that the name of the Honors College “identifies the unit as something very particularly South Carolina.” He also mentions that in the days before the Civil War, “this College was noted as one of the premier institutions in the United States, as an absolute hot bed of intellectual activity and academic excellence.” When establishing the College, Mould recollects that the only procedure needed was a meeting with President Holderman, who after twenty minutes, allowed Mould to establish the new College. With the establishment of the new college, administrators hoped to “attract and retain as many of South Carolina’s brightest sons and daughters.” Though a noble aim, the Honors College unfortunately simply took part of the name of the College, without importing its rigor or curriculum. Though the standardized testing minimums are high, and the honors college searches zealously for high class rank and lofty high school grade point averages, they neglect to search for the students who truly made South Carolina College the southern Ivy-League.

108 “William A. Mould oral history interview”
109 “William A. Mould oral history interview”
110 “William A. Mould oral history interview”
Sources from the pre-war South Carolina College provide a snapshot of a school highly regarded by both those in state and even students from premier, now Ivy-League Universities such as Harvard. Such was their admiration for the fledgling school in South Carolina, that they would not even allow an honors society to take root on the land, as they regarded the entire school as a rigorous and excellent educational institution. A combination of excellent faculty, administration, and hand-picked students lent the College its vaunted reputation. Several components led to the success of South Carolina College graduates, including the rigor of entrance examinations, the desire of students to present their best work, and the willingness of professors to truly challenge their students. In the examinations sampled, professors did not simply ask their students to regurgitate their lectures, neither did they request their students to merely provide their opinion on the subject matter at hand. Instead, the professors set before their students’ questions of practical merit, questions that they would later have to address as leaders of the state and nation. As has been seen from their instruction, the students were heavily influenced by their professors, who instilled a fierce love for the rights of states and laissez-faire economics in their political economy classes. South Carolina College in the nineteenth century was a flourishing institution which formed some of the greatest South Carolinian lawyers, intellectuals, doctors, and ministers, who profoundly impacted their beloved state.
Chapter 3
A Mere Titular Change, or a Philosophically Seismic Shift?

The Civil War scarred the southern states physically and intellectually. It degraded her colleges and universities, forcing many to shut down. The entire southern system was destroyed, and as collateral damage, her colleges were similarly ravaged, or so the narrative traditionally proceeds. However, in the case of South Carolina College, the institution fell prey to more insidious forces, forces which coincidentally seized power at the same time as the Civil War was ending. Several seismic shifts, which, though independent, worked in concert to drastically change South Carolina College, both in terms of title, and in the education offered.

A great debate between College versus University raged on, along with the question of set curriculum versus the allowance of some, or all electives. During this time, the Colleges embraced set curriculums, while the definition of University shifted to mean institutions that used an elective curriculum. South Carolina College found itself firmly in the middle of this intellectual civil war soon after the nation had experienced her own division.

The question of electives versus set curriculum first surfaced when the University of Virginia began, and Thomas Jefferson explicitly repudiated the old classical ideal of a set curriculum for electives, which in his mind allowed the student to increase intellectually at their own pace and in their own fields of interest. Jefferson did still endorse the aims of a collegiate education, urging a young student to continue studying, and when one could “preserve the freedom of the human mind then and freedom of the press, every spirit should be ready to devote
itself to martyrdom."111 However, up to this point, most colleges in the United States still rejected these new-fangled notions, instead maintaining a steady curriculum, though debate was brewing.

However, before any questions about the type of education offered at South Carolina College could be settled, its very existence was at stake. Though the college had shuttered in 1862, due to the Civil War, the Columbia Daily Phoenix reported that “it will be the first duty of our next legislature to re-establish the South Carolina College, and to revise and reform it, as well as reestablish.”112 A mere re-establishment faced enough issues, as the city suffered great losses of property after the rampage of Sherman. Thankfully, though, the College itself was spared. When the college returned, it greatly resembled the city of Columbia; a shell of its former classical glory. Faculty were few, as the state lacked funds. The other issue was the poverty of the formerly landed gentry who made up the core of Carolina higher education. However, the federal government attempted to reconstruct the college, even as they attempted to piece back together the state under a new government. In fact, the new state legislature met in the College Hall at the College, as their new home had fallen prey to the fires of Sherman. Governor Benjamin Perry was not content with the old South Carolina College, and wished for greater reforms to take place under his administration. He argued for the conversion of the college into a university, and claimed:

In a university, a student may pursue such a course of studies as will most contribute to the particular profession or business which he expects to follow in life after college. In a

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112 Daniel Walker Hollis, University of South Carolina, Vol. II, College to University, University of South Carolina Press, 1956, 4
Cathcart college, he is required to spend four years in a regular course of studies, many of which will be of no service to him in after life, and for which he has no taste or talent…The university system of education will meet all these objections. It would bring to your institution of learning three times as many students as you could collect in a college, and in this way the salaries of the professors might be paid out of the tuition fund.¹¹³

This argument had raged around both Europe and the New World, especially in the Scottish institutions, but never had it influenced South Carolina College. In this letter, Governor Perry espoused two central ideas, which would become the most highly debated issues in education to this day; both the idea of professional education, and the expansion of the college or university in order to garner more funds, so that professors can be better paid. Both of these concerns plague modern centers of education, including the University of South Carolina, to this day.

Before the civil war, these debates raged between the proponents of the classical study, and between those advocating for a specialized, utilitarian education. The most famous of the classical advocates, Yale College, published a report in 1828, which vigorously defended the study of ancient literature and languages. They acknowledged that some areas of their education could use buttressing, but proclaimed their course of study superior to the newer elective-based specialized curriculum advanced by their opponents.

As mentioned in the nascent days of South Carolina College, the Yale report spoke of their two aims: “the discipline and the furniture of the mind; expanding its powers, and storing it with knowledge.”¹¹⁴ The cultivation of the mind was not to take place in isolation, but with the

¹¹³ Hollis, 9
full use of the “important mental faculties.” While gaining knowledge was important, equally important was the development of skills which would later allow the practitioner to hone such skills in the service of future endeavors. The proponents of classical education were not unaware or opposed to the future professional ambitions of their students, but they focused on the preparation of their minds as opposed to the preparation of their job-specific knowledge. They advocated “The ground work of a thorough education, must be broad, and deep, and solid. For a partial or superficial education, the support may be of looser materials, and more hastily laid.” This style of education imparted to its students a balance within the system. The Yale Report spoke of the significance of all subjects working in concert to ensure a proper “proportion between the different branches of literature and science, as to form in the student a proper balance of character.” Each subject, according to the authors of the report, could impart some intangible skill to the student.

From the pure mathematics, he learns the art of demonstrative reasoning. In attending to the physical sciences, he becomes familiar with facts, with the process of induction, and the varieties of probable evidence. In ancient literature, he finds some of the most finished models of taste. By English reading, he learns the powers of the language in which he is to speak and write. By logic and mental philosophy, he is taught the art of thinking; by rhetoric and oratory, the art of speaking. By frequent exercise on written composition, he acquires copiousness and accuracy of expression. By extemporaneous discussion, he becomes prompt, and fluent, and animated.

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115 Yale Report  
116 Yale Report  
117 Yale Report  
118 Yale Report
Each component was necessary for the entire proportional development of the student. In this, the authors of the report quoted Cicero, who argued “Without knowledge of many things, copiousness of words is meaningless and even absurd,”\(^\text{119}\) as they argued for the combination of knowledge and practice.

Many Scottish immigrant intellectuals also attempted to throw in their opinions about the type of higher education offered in the United States. John Witherspoon, a minister, philosopher, and president of Princeton in the eighteenth century, zealously guarded the traditional classical education. However, one hundred years later, in 1868, a new Scottish president of Princeton, James McCosh, who also practiced as both a philosopher and minister continued to guard the classical ideal against the new, creeping German interests. The German model prioritized efficiency in education, coupled with elective courses, as opposed to the traditional set curriculum. In 1885, McCosh faced off against the president of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, in an attempt to decide through debate what was the ideal form of education. Eliot, influenced by the German model, argued that the set curriculum was an antiquated relic, and that specialization and optimization of time should be the focus of higher educational institutions. McCosh countered, arguing that the German philosophy of education “destroyed the notion of a fundamental unity of knowledge, leaving everything ‘scattered like the star dust out of which worlds are said to have been made.’”\(^\text{120}\) This argument represented more than just educational differences, however, they represented shifts in larger theological and philosophic principles. McCosh was a standard Presbyterian, one who held to Aristotle, albeit “Aristotle bearing a copy of Calvin’s

\(^{119}\) Yale Report
\(^{120}\) Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of how the Poorest Nation Created our World and Everything in it*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2010), 393
Institutes." Eliot, however, was of a newer mold, a Unitarian in practice. And their differences in education belied their theological divergences. While McCosh vied for the established curriculum, Eliot chose to put faith in the ability of the student to determine their own path and specialization. Though McCosh was reputed to have won this intellectual battle, final victory belonged to Eliot, and the German system which he espoused.

This was the debate that Governor Perry was entering. Armed with none of the subtle nuances of his intellectual peers, Governor Perry nevertheless charged ahead with his mission of drastic reform, while ignoring past precedent at the College. Addressing the Synapean convention of the Clariosophic and Euphradian Literary societies in 1839, James H. Thornwell, then only a young professor argued that students would be mistaken “to suppose that the end or object of liberal education is to supply us with the practical knowledge which shall fit us to enter at once upon the practical business of life.” He also argued that a focus on specialized job-specific training stunted men, and reversed the collegiate aging process, “making men children.”

It is understandable that Governor Perry wished to cleanse South Carolina of her past sins, by blotting out that which was now unacceptable, however, in doing so, he attempted a more clean sweep, which removed formidable institutions that should have not been so altered. This thinking is made clear in the Columbia Daily Phoenix, when they wrote that “Under the pressure of circumstances, our State government has been popularized...And so it must be, or at

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122 Hollis, Vol. II, 12
123 Hollis, Vol II, 12
least ought to be, in our system of education.”\textsuperscript{124} The Daily Phoenix also mentioned the perceived success of the University of Virginia, as well as the newly reorganized University in Mississippi. Their essential argument was the abolition of the “old institutions, forms and usages,”\textsuperscript{125} which they claimed led to the old conservatism of the state. Contrary to the founders and presidents who had previously graced the College, the Phoenix claimed that the College system to the student was utterly

Useless to him in the active duties of after life; while by the University system, he could pursue those studies most congenial to him and most calculated to advance him in his future avocations, and that without the heavy annual expense necessary to support the old College system. Of one thing we are confident, the people of the State would be gratified at the change.\textsuperscript{126}

The new system advocated by the people was one which embraced the individual’s choices, not the decisions of faculty and seasoned professors. This represented a larger turn from educational orthodoxy than it may seem. To allow the student to have a heavy hand in their educational preferences abolished early precedent for the school to govern \textit{in loco parentis}, or in place of the student’s parents. Instead, this new philosophy championed the supposed wisdom of the student over the established learning of the College faculty.

Visions of the purpose of the college varied, but each side made their own ideals clear. For instance, before the war, Thornwell declared his opposition to these new, utilitarian forms,


\textsuperscript{125} Daily Phoenix

\textsuperscript{126} Daily Phoenix
claiming “Let it be our aim to make Scholars and not sappers or miners—apothecaries—doctors or farmers.” Some might claim that Thornwell’s argument was elitist, or perhaps snobbish. However, Thornwell is not denigrating the professions he mentioned, rather, he merely believed that students could learn work-related skills outside the bounds of a college curriculum. The center of South Carolina College’s purpose was the development of character and balance within their students, and not job preparation. However, the rhetoric of their founders was overpowered, and eventually, the German-style system prevailed.

Governor Perry faced no opposition against his sweeping educational mandate. Many of those who would have fought such measures found themselves rebuilding the essential aspects of their lives, and many more were without power for the first time in their lives. After the Perry administration, Governor James L. Orr took the reins in South Carolina. Orr was an alumnus of the University of Virginia, and supported the reforms for both practical and intellectual reasons. On November 29, 1865, the South Carolina College board of trustees met for the last time, and voted to transition the College into a University. As before mentioned, this was no mere titular change, but a seismic shift for the College, which would add the study of spoken languages, law, and medicine to its curriculum. Orr phrased the options to the legislature thusly; either “the alma mater of McDuffie, Harper, Preston, Legare, O’Neall, and Pettigrew [would be] permitted to pass away and perish,” or it could be reorganized into the first South Carolina University, in order for peace and prosperity to flourish. Or so Orr reasoned. Though the bill faced some opposition in the legislature, most notably from Benjamin Tillman, who would return to plague the school, the bill eventually passed, however, without the school of law, or the school of

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127 Hollis, Vol II, 12
128 Hollis, Vol II, 16
Far from finishing the education of South Carolina men, the University was now regarded with the epithet, "It takes a roughneck and makes a gentleman of him." Though the trustees and legislature believed in the salvific nature of the University, they left the institution poorly equipped to create such young gentlemen.

When the University opened, all salaries were cut from $2,000 to $1,000 for professors, thanks in large part to Benjamin Tillman. Due to insufficient funds, buildings, which were crumbling, were not fixed, leaving students and professors alike to deal with drafty classrooms and dodging leaks in the ceilings. Many of the professors who remained were from the older College, and attempted to teach in the same manner as they had earlier. For instance, the erstwhile named "departments" became "schools," or as the University deems them today "colleges." However, the chairs of the schools were also traditionally the sole professor in such school. At first, though the titles had changed, the University operated in a similar manner to the earlier College. The first chairman of the board, who would function in a manner similar to the president, was elected. Robert W. Barnwell, a former Confederate politician, ascended to the less prestigious post. Before serving as chairman, he served as president of South Carolina College, resigning due to declining health. Nevertheless, he returned to the University, and by all accounts, was a popular choice.

One of the largest apparent differences for the students between college and university was the lack of authoritarian rules, which previously dictated their every move. These requirements included daily prayers, attendance at chapel, study hours, and curfew hours. Some of the reasons for their abolishment were simply practical; the professors and administration had

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129 Hollis, Vol II, 16-18
130 Hollis, Vol II, 18
no interest in enforcing such draconian rules, and abolished them to make their own lives easier. But the abolishment of rules also spoke to a laissez-faire form of education, where the administration trusted their students to take care of their obligations, without any guidance from their college. After all, the unified curriculum was also eliminated, allowing the students a choice of classes. However, choices were and are still limited by the administration, as they make the final decision of which classes shall even be offered.

The degree program at the University closely mirrored that of the University of Virginia, by order of the governor, himself a University of Virginia graduate. In order to graduate from the University, a student had to complete all the requirements of one of the eight schools. Some students persevered, passing through multiple schools. Those who passed from two scientific schools, as well as two literary schools, and received junior status in two other schools, could receive the A.B. degree. The higher degree, that of M.A., was obtainable with passage of all eighth schools, as well as examinations before the entire faculty, and a written essay about either literary or scientific topics. The A.B. degree, according to Hollis, still “implied a fixed curriculum at a broader but lower level.”\(^{131}\) And the M.A. represented the same sort of set curriculum, allowing for no deviation from the path set before the student. However, not all students chose this path, and instead received a more fragmented education, specializing in one of the eight schools offered.

The development of the schools, difficult under normal circumstances, proved an especially difficult challenge for the impoverished University. In an effort to remedy the obvious problems in the curriculum, Governor Orr requested new chairs of modern languages, as well as a new push to create the schools of law and medicine. Concurrently, the school also

\(^{131}\) Hollis, Vol II, 28
hired a director of anatomy, and created two new degrees: bachelor of law, and doctorate of medicine, both of whom would be immediately licensed to practice in the state of South Carolina. Though the school of law received some laudation from the public, the school of medicine suffered. Opening in 1867, the school of medicine lacked basic entrance examinations, and when a request was made to shift the examinations to written, many protested that the students were somewhat illiterate. This phenomenon was not unique to the South Carolina school of medicine, even Harvard’s school of medicine faced many students who were poorly educated who graced their halls. However, the issue of illiteracy seemed to be contained to the school of medicine, and all other students demonstrated an appropriate amount of intellectual qualifications.

For a few years, the University survived, even as the state was put under the control of a military government during Reconstruction. However, rumors began to spread in the latter months of 1868 that the legislature aimed to shut down the campus, as enrollment never pushed past sixty students. The board of trustees had also been mostly replaced by the new government. The new South Carolina Constitution required that any new judges were to have a seat on the board. Also included on the board were the governor, lieutenant governor, president of the senate, and the speaker of the house. This was in addition to the already twenty members on the board. The combination of the ex officio members and the current members made thirty-eight in total. The new board raised tuition for the law and medical schools, while lowering the undergraduate tuition. Recognizing that tuition alone would not be enough to support the work of the University, the legislature also increased its appropriation. After a few years, the board also consolidated the schools at the University, creating four colleges, including arts, including
literature, science and philosophy, law, and medicine. Many of the old guard professors were removed, and new professors hired. The Daily Phoenix opined that the firing of the old professors left the University “dead as a doornail.” Even as South Carolinians deemed this period of government the “Radical Government,” they also deemed the University the “Radical University.” However, the University was finally organized in a more coherent manner.

Aided by free tuition as well as free room and board, one would imagine that the University attracted many new students; however, when it opened its doors for the new semester in 1873, six students entered. There was great hostility in the state to the new trustees and professors, among whom was an African American man, Richard T. Greener. The remainder of the faculty included both a former state Supreme Court Chief Justice, and a doctor of medicine who received the post directly after losing his job as treasurer in Marion County for corruption charges.

The curriculum of the “Radical University” somewhat mirrored that of the original South Carolina College. In order to receive a degree in classical studies, in 1875, students were required to follow a set curriculum of classes. For the freshman class, students were required to study Livy, Homer, Algebra, Universal History, and Whatley’s Rhetoric in their first semester. Their second semester consisted of Herodotus, the Greek New Testament, Horace, Geometry, Constitutional history, English history, and study of the Italian Middle Ages. Another option, the “modern course” was made available to students. This course allowed students to skip any Greek requirements, though they were still expected to learn Latin through the freshman year.

132 Hollis, Vol II, 65
133 Hollis, Vol II, 65
134 UofSC University Libraries Digital Collections, “Catalogue of the University of South Carolina, 1872-73, with the re-organization in 1873,” https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/reconstruct/id/164
The only true change between courses was the addition of French and German, both of which were to be learned by senior year. But it was the rules of admission that most changed from their antebellum form. Five requirements were listed, including


Fourth. Ability to spell words of frequent occurrence. Fifth, A certificate of good moral character.\(^{135}\)

The abolishment of lofty admission standards demonstrated the University’s desire for more students to swell their ranks and coffers. The perverse incentives that allow for the lowering of standards in order to attract more students, and therefore more funds still exist today.

Many of the examinations from the University demonstrate the change in philosophy of education. For instance, in an examination of intermediate rhetoric, in 1881, the questions focus on specific information, without a way for the student to display their understanding of the entire subject. Much of the information requested is information that would have been memorized, though students would not understand the significance of the information. For instance, one question asks the examined to recall “some words considered by Campbell in his Philosophy of Rhetoric as obsolete, and some which he hesitated about as too new.”\(^{136}\) This question, and others like it, merely request the mindless regurgitation of information memorized from a textbook, and discourage creative thinking. While an argument can be made that students ought


to learn the foundations before engaging in conversation, one would think that by college-age, students would be ready to engage in a more detailed conversation.

While the subject of history tends to invite detailed questions about causes and effects, even the examinations in history seem to focus less on larger questions, and instead on the secondary sources used by the faculty in the study of history. For instance, Professor Barnwell’s exam, while copious, asked for simple facts rather than asking the students to demonstrate their knowledge of the subject. As in the rhetorical examination, some questions even focused on what the author of their history textbook thought were the hallmarks of democratic constitutions.\(^{137}\) These questions do not allow for the student to create their own argument, or to use the knowledge they gained in class in a useful manner, but instead encourages the quick memorization and forgetting of historic facts and dates.

Legal examinations followed this same pattern, asking more questions of fact than opinion, though an argument can be made that statements of facts is the most important aspect of the legal profession. The legal courses were expected to last one year, and included the study of “Common and Statute Law, Contracts, Mercantile Law, Pleadings, Code of Practice, Constitutional and International Law.”\(^{138}\)

After the Reconstruction government ended, and the new government was instituted, the future of the University was once again threatened. Even Benjamin Perry, the former governor of South Carolina, and the founder of the University was skeptical about the future. He argued that the fiscally responsible decision was to sponsor students to attend Princeton or Harvard, and

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\(^{137}\) University of South Carolina “University Libraries Digital Collections, History, Political Philosophy and Political Economy. Graduation Paper, 1870. Professor Barnwell.”  
[https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/sse/id/524](https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/sse/id/524)

\(^{138}\) University of South Carolina Digital Collections, A circular of information. University of South Carolina, 1875, [https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/reconstruct/id/120](https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/reconstruct/id/120)
for the less academically inclined students to attend one of the Colleges in South Carolina, whether Wofford, Erskine, or the College of Charleston. The legislature largely concurred, believing that publically funded institutions were built off the back of the taxpayer, while only providing education to a privileged few. However, some legislators pointed their own experiences within the University, when they were impoverished, and the legislature provided the scholarships necessary to allow them to attend. The point was also raised that the University’s support took up only twenty-five cents from each citizen of the state, and the benefits it provided were enormous. Yet others argued against the classical bent of the University, including Senator Martin W. Gary, who proclaimed: “life is too short to study dead languages or to dream over dead issues.”

The revitalization of the University stalled for years, and the legislators soon dreamed up a new idea: an agricultural college, to allow the farmers to attend classes in an attempt to increase their crop yields. The University was once again reorganized into an agricultural University, which had four departments: analytical and agricultural chemistry and experimental agriculture; geology, minerology, botany, and zoology; mathematics and natural philosophy; English language, literature, and belles lettres. The South Carolina legislature, in conjunction with the board of trustees, sounded the death knell for classical studies, as Hollis records “the classics had been dispensed with and liberal arts practically eliminated.” The president of the University, William Miles, was the only professor who taught any type of liberal arts at the time, and he struggled to impart to his ill-equipped students even rudimentary English grammar. Though he requested at least two other professors, his pleas fell on deaf ears, and he attempted to

139 Hollis, Vol II, 87
140 Hollis, Vol II, 92
141 Hollis, Vol II, 93
push on by himself. Miles saw it as his job to preserve some semblance of a liberal arts education, and reassured himself that even if they received only a few necessary classes, his efforts were better than nothing.

After her abysmal failure as an agricultural college with a small apportionment for the liberal arts, the board of trustees in 1881 reorganized again, and created new chairs of ancient and modern languages, agriculture and horticulture, history and political economy, and mental and moral philosophy. This was to the objections of some legislators, including the future governor, Benjamin Ryan Tillman, who preferred a college that would educate farmers to the more classical aims of the newly reorganized University of South Carolina. Enrollment began at one hundred and forty-one students, and the following year, peaked at one hundred and eighty-five students. The modern programs of Bachelors of Arts and Bachelor’s of Science were introduced to the University, and a more set curriculum was instituted. Two year courses were also created, to provide more technical education. Nevertheless, the liberal art courses were still in decline. Many professors complained that the English classes were regarded as additions, and not the focus of the curriculum. Similar criticism befell the natural philosophy, geology, and scientific classes as well. Though the University was thriving, the state of the liberal arts on her campus was declining. Though the legislature and board of trustees could assure themselves that their students were receiving an adequately liberal education, professors argued otherwise. The University would face many other crises, both internally and externally, from institutions like the state legislature. But the central fact remains, after the Civil War, the University was a fundamentally different institution.

142 Hollis, Vol II, 120-127
Specialization, optimization, maximization of funds, efficiency; this is the verbiage of an economist or businessman, not an educator. Sadly, however, these terms were integrally linked to South Carolina College by both the governor and her administrators, and once so intertwined, these considerations proved impossible to uproot. This philosophic shift, from students as learners to students as consumers led to numerous curriculum changes. It allows students to avoid classes they perceive as difficult, while encouraging them to take classes that require little to no effort. The free market system, while arguably beneficial in an economic sense, encourages corner-cutting and efforts to avoid challenging one’s self. This approach encourages perverse incentives. Students will begin to search for classes that offer the greatest award, in this case, a high grade, for the least amount of effort. While highly desirable to the individual student, this approach degrades the reputation of the institution, and imparts fewer skills to the learner. If the purpose of University education is just another hoop before employment, students will make every effort to increase the size of the hoop, and therefore make it easier to move to the next stage of their life.

Though the University and her elective system were championed by the governors and legislatures of postbellum South Carolina, they initially lacked the a sufficient number of students. Though Governor Perry claimed that the University would swell to three times the size of the College, in 1866, the student population stood at only forty-five students. And the size of the University continued to stagnate. Though thirty full scholarships were allotted by the legislature, only three students took advantage of the offer.143 And the graduation rates were just as abysmal. Between 1868 and 1870, only thirteen A.B. degrees were given. Hollis attributes

143 Hollis, Vol II, 33
this to a few different factors, including an ill-suited prior education, financial difficulty, and student apathy.\textsuperscript{144} However, finances should not have been such a factor for students, as many had the opportunity to pursue scholarships if they so chose. Other students dithered, taking some courses in which they had great interest, and working as hard as a degree-earning student, however, they did not focus their studies in a manner that would earn the A.B. degree.

The lack of cohesion and success at the University led alumni of the College to highly critique the status quo of their alma mater. Many accused the University of short handing students, and giving them only a “smattering of knowledge.”\textsuperscript{145} Clearly, to the objective eye, something at the new University was lacking. Not only were the administrators attempting to force down a new system, but they also lacked funds, an ample student body, and apparently students who desired to complete their education and receive a degree. After all, what was the point of a degree if the student’s goal was to learn enough about a field to apply those skills to their future employment? And once those skills were learned, or those classes consumed, there was no purpose in continuing education in classes that some deemed antiquated and useless.

Today, much attention is paid to the increase of University land and facilities, facilities which attract new students, in an effort to further financially support the University. But in her original form, South Carolina College’s purpose was clear: to promote learning, which “produces character, and does not permit it to be cruel.”

The transition from College to University signaled larger changes in philosophy at the state’s flagship educational institution. The legislature has always had a large hand in the inner affairs of the University, and is often responsible for the seismic shifts felt on campus. The

\textsuperscript{144} Hollis, Vol II, 33
\textsuperscript{145} Hollis, Vol II, 34
University faced many challenges, both in size of enrollment and endowment. But it always managed to survive. However, survival of the University did not mean survival of the original aims and purposes of South Carolina College. When Governor Perry first proclaimed that the college ought to provide practical education and to triple in size, he instituted a new regime at the school which stripped it of its original telos, leaving the University as a self-sustaining money-making endeavor. His arguments mirrored those on the national and international stage, which demonstrated the triumph of the German University model, even as the Liberal Arts College fell from grace. When South Carolina lost her college, the University she gained was a pale reflection, without any significant organization of curriculum or purpose. Eventually, the University found its new purpose, at the expense of the liberal arts. The gain of a University necessitated the loss of a College, to the detriment of the state of South Carolina.
Conclusion

Through ample exploration of the development of classical education, as well as its specific application at South Carolina College, it is apparent that the curriculum of the college prepared its students well for the remainder of their lives. As opposed to imparting specialized, mechanized skills, the college taught students how to think. The shift to the University model, with its elective courses, began to teach students what to think, which was never the aim of this style of education. Though South Carolina’s flagship university eventually gained their much-desired high enrollment numbers, now tipping the scales at over thirty-three thousand students, they sacrificed its educational integrity. South Carolina College may have lost her way, but it can be easily found using the lessons of her history and early curriculum.

Classical education consists of a great conversation, one that South Carolina College students were able to participate in, and contribute to. This form of education also exists to impart to its students a love of life-long learning, not teaching them what to think, but how to learn. This form of education champions inquiry, and the participation of students in the classroom, which in turn engages the students and challenges them. Today, modern education presents far too small a challenge. Students pick their classes based on what fulfills their core requirements with as little effort as possible. This is not the meaning of education. Education is meant to challenge students, to push them to succeed, and it is clear that the classical system pushed its students to great success, both statewide and nationally.

When South Carolina College fell, advocates of the University model in South Carolina were abundantly clear: The College system was elitist, and created leaders with ideals contrary to the new government. However, what they failed to realize was that in hamstringing the College,
they were also creating a South Carolina without leaders who could harness the power of rhetoric, and the lessons of history to lead their state well. Instead, they succeeded in molding men, and later women, who were prepared for the workforce, but left without a common language, without a common education. And that is the legacy of those tumultuous times. South Carolina languished because her best and brightest students were funneled through the assembly line of the University, or shipped elsewhere for a classical education, never to return.

Appendix I.

South Carolina College Curriculum

From 1806 to 1835, the South Carolina College curriculum remained constant and set. A catalogue of texts and courses illustrates the rigor of the coursework expected.
Though the curriculum given to the students was strict, their code of conduct was even stricter. According to the college laws laid out in 1836, students were banned from any local tavern or restaurant, and were instead confined to eating at the University’s hall. They were also “strictly forbidden to smoke in any of the public rooms or halls of the College, in the Campus, or in the streets of Columbia.”

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In addition to their restrictive rules, students were expected to attend chapel, prayers, and Sunday services. Those who missed any of these services were reprimanded, and their attendance was marked on their semester progress report.\textsuperscript{148}

However, the most enjoyable, and some would argue, most productive time was spent in the halls of the two literary societies. Every student of the College was a member of one society, either the Clariosophic or Euphradian. In their meetings, students debated both modern politics and the issues of antiquity, easily adopting the ancient vernacular. But the most important contribution was the ability of the societies to shape the young students’ opinions. In these halls, they learned to defend their own arguments, as well as the value of admitting when they were wrong. It was in these forges of eloquence that the students learned the value of the spoken word, and how to most aptly use their rhetoric for the purposes of convincing their opponents. Through the literary societies, some of South Carolina’s greatest political orators emerged, fully educated by her flagship College, and forged by her two bastions of eloquence.\textsuperscript{149}

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\textsuperscript{148} South Carolina College Progress Report for Quarter ending 1886 April 17, for Andrew Charles Moore, University of South Carolina Digital Library Collections. Accessed from https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/hsn/id/35

\textsuperscript{149} Hollis, Volume I, 230-240
Appendix II

The New Curriculum

After researching the original South Carolina College, the research sparked an interest in

The makeup of the new South Carolina College would be forty-five students in total, divided into fifteen member classes. Entrance into South Carolina College would require an SAT score sufficient enough to garner entrance into the University of South Carolina, along with at least a 3.5 GPA in High School. However, the main focus would be on the student’s ability to communicate and learn. As a result, the main factor in a student’s admittance into the new college would be an oral examination on subjects including mathematics, rhetoric, English grammar, and a portion in
which the student asks relevant questions of the faculty. Examinations are to be performed in front of a panel of three professors within the college. The student is then to take a written examination, which involves reading a passage, and then either defending the claims made by the passage, or countering them. During both examinations, the student must demonstrate an ability to think critically, to defend their position logically, and to communicate effectively.

Before describing the specific classes, it is necessary to lay out the general format of all classes within a subject.

The first subject which students would be expected to lead two discussion sections throughout the year, while the remainder of the classes would be lecture-based. The class would meet on Tuesdays and Thursdays, with the Thursday involving lecture, and the Tuesday class revolving around student-led discussion. The professor would present the material to be discussed on Thursday, the students would be assigned readings for the weekend, and would be expected to return on Tuesday, ready to discuss. Evaluation of student would consist of participation grades, as well as evaluation of the student’s ability to lead discussion. Students would also be expected to perform well in three written examinations, as well as three papers throughout the year. At the end of each year, the students would be expected to research for and deliver a final paper, totaling around fifteen pages, on a relevant topic of their choosing.

In terms of language classes, students would focus on the aspects of Latin grammar in their Freshman and Sophomore year, coupled with study of Greek grammar. In their junior and senior year, students would be expected to translate orations and original literary works from their respective original languages into English. The classes would also consist of several examinations, as well as papers written in Latin and in Greek, which would be submitted at the end of the semester.
Scientific classes would follow a Monday, Wednesday, and Friday schedule, Mondays being days spent in the field or in the laboratory, Wednesday spent in lecture, and Friday in discussion.

Literature classes would be similar in format to history classes, albeit with even more discussion. Papers would be submitted on each piece of literature read, as well as one final paper due at the end of the year, on a relevant subject of the student’s choosing.

Curriculum:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>History of the West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural History</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judaism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Impromptu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belles Lettres: The Epic Tradition, from Homer to Milton</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

One class that would expand the entire year is a History of the West, which would center around the beginning of Western Civilization, including the development of the Fertile Crescent, and ending in the American experiment. Class themes would include the definition of the west, and whether or not it is even an accurate term. Discussion would also interact with literary discussion in the freshman year, which would be focusing on the belles lettres of the Western world. Also included would be discussions about the formation of Mathematics and how it shaped the future of Western history. In addition to those discussions, an undercurrent of Jewish
history would also be discussed. Simultaneously, students would be learning the history of art, and how it interrelates to political development and changes. The study of United States Politics would also inform students of their own political heritage, and demonstrate to them how their system of government works. The rhetorical classes, consisting of impromptu speeches, and short prepared speeches, would better prepare students to deliver their research and papers before their peers. The belles lettres course would demonstrate the value of the epic tradition from the Illiad and Odyssey, and how it influenced subsequent writings, even John Milton’s Paradise Lost.

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<tr>
<th>Second Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>Spring</td>
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<tr>
<td>History of the East</td>
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<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin III</td>
<td>Latin IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek III</td>
<td>Greek IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debate</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Carolina Politics</td>
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</table>

The sophomore year would find students continuing in their study of the foundations of the classical languages. Students would also be taking a class on the History of the East, focusing on the development of kingdoms in Asia as well as the Middle East. A study of the history and development of Christianity would also take place, as would a course on the inner workings of South Carolina and her politics. For the public speaking component, students would learn the
format of formal debate, as well as the ability to speak on weighty topics without the benefit of much preparation time.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Third Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mock Trial/Moot Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Carolina Legal System</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Spring</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Federal Legal System</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
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</table>

In this year of study, students will learn the value of geometry, as well as one of its artistic and practical applications, in a thorough study of the history and practice of architecture. Students will also learn the workings of the legal system, both state and federal, which they shall put into practice through a mock trial and moot court competitions, in which they shall prepare as either the plaintiff or defendant. Students would also discover the foundations and history of the Islamic faith during this semester. Finally, students would learn how to translate Greek and Latin passages, beginning with orations from Cicero and rudimentary fables in Greek.

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<tr>
<th>Fourth Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Practice of History</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Spring</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calculus</td>
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<tr>
<td>World Religions</td>
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<td>Philosophy</td>
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Finally, in the fourth year, students will be expected to study the practice of a historian, combing through the archives to produce an original work that interests them. They will also still be responsible for further Latin and Greek translation. Students will also be responsible for learning calculus and biology during this year. They will also learn about various other world religions, and their cultural and historical underpinnings. A study of philosophy will round out the students’ survey of the world and various worldviews. Finally, an original thesis will be expected of students, which showcases their abilities to communicate clearly, and reason well. This thesis is to be a work which contributes to the body of research already available, adding something valuable and unique to the conversation.
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