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Cover: Faculty and students of Transylvania University, ca. 1871. The Filson Historical Society

Contributors

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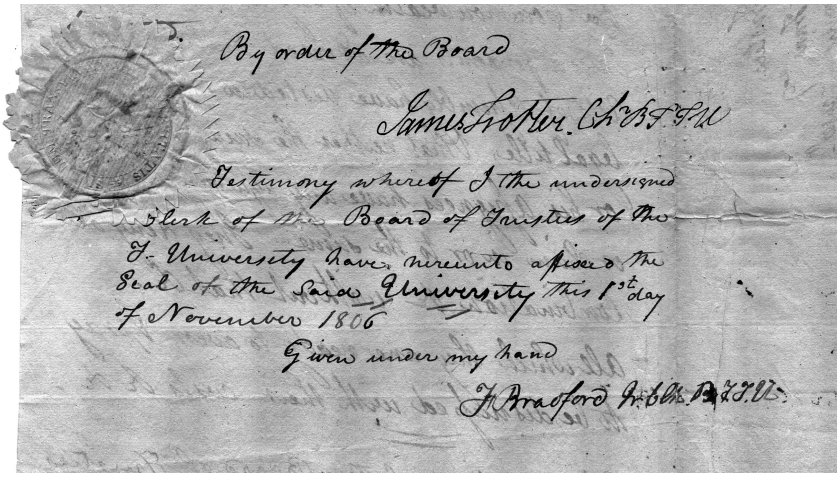
Promise, Pessimism, and Perseverance:

An Overview of Higher Education History in Kentucky

By James C. Klotter


By order of the Board
James Trotter Ch Bd of Trs
Testimony whereof I the undersigned
Clerk of the Board of Trustees of the
Transylvania University have hereunto affixed the
Seal of the said University this 1st day
of November 1806
Given under my hand
J. Bradford

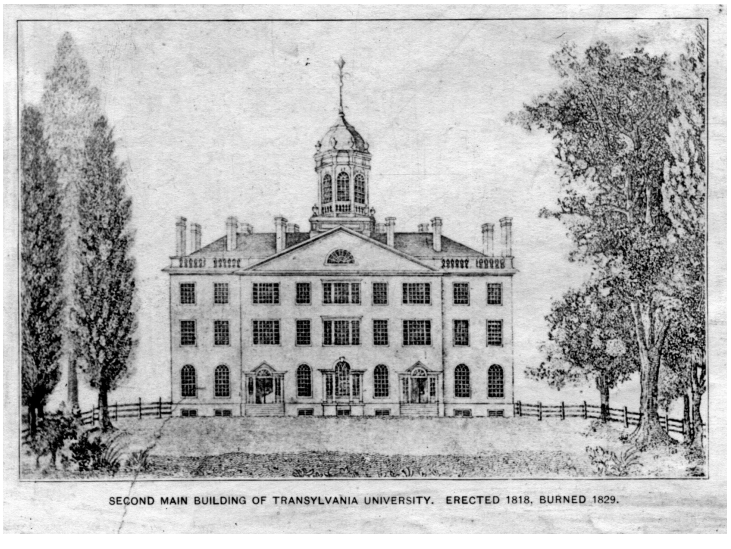
Order of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania University, with the university's seal, November 1, 1806. The Filson Historical Society

The general outline of the story is often repeated and usually well-known: How Kentucky before the Civil War showed promise in higher education, founded numerous schools, but somehow missed its opportunities. How in the four decades after the Civil War, what is now the University of Kentucky and Kentucky State University began, but received meager state funding. How denominational schools continued to appear—and sometimes disappear. How between 1906 and 1922, four teacher training schools started: Eastern, Western, Morehead, and Murray. How between 1949 and the 1960s, colleges and universities integrated. How in the 1940s with the GI Bill and then in the 1960s with the "baby boomers," an explosion of growth occurred, and how community colleges and two new state-supported institutions in Louisville and northern Kentucky resulted from that. And, finally, how there continues a search for balance, mission, and funds.[1] Looking back at that historical panorama is like watching some confusing motion picture, whose plot changes constantly within the film—seemingly even without the actors knowing it—whose images occasionally appear bright and colorful, but also frequently look dark, drab, and out of focus, whose multiple story lines become so confusing that few understand the big picture, so to speak. Focusing the spotlight of history on the actors in that story reveals, however, at least a half-dozen discernable patterns in Kentucky higher education over two centuries.

First, a look at that initial pattern reveals much about the future. In the fitful first century of educational history in the commonwealth, people searched for solutions, for order, for a workable system. That search began in 1780 when

Virginia chartered Transylvania Seminary, in its far-off counties in Kentucky. With the Revolutionary War raging, the area at the time seemed more a battleground than schoolyard.[2] The timing, though, of Transylvania's founding is interesting. Some scholars depict Kentucky as almost anti-intellectual, and note that it did not even provide for public education in a constitution until fifty-eight years after statehood. Perhaps aspects of that story ring true. Yet in 1780, people wanted an institution of higher learning, even though they lived in a dangerous frontier setting, with probably not more than ten thousand people in the entire region. And despite the state's tardiness in setting up a comprehensive public school system, by the time of the Civil War it did have one of the two best such systems in the South.[3] The people *did* care, but perhaps they did not care enough. Moreover, their answers to educational needs unfortunately often proved to be the wrong answers. Still, in the antebellum years, Kentucky actually did quite well educationally, at least in the context of the region and of the times. The sad thing, however, is that it could have done so much more, and that its bright promise faded as the years passed.

As early as 1795, a traveler noted that "schools are established in the several towns and in general [are] regularly and handsomely supported."[4] (If they were so supported, that might have been the last time that held true.) Yet from the very beginning, Kentucky government provided a form of state support to schools—just not in direct appropriations. Its answer to aiding education came in the form of academies. Often called colleges, most offered little more than what would now be termed a secondary education, though a few did go beyond that. Eventually the state chartered some 230 privately-run academies for both white men and women. The commonwealth gave them free land—usually around 6,000 acres—to get them started and, theoretically, to build an endowment. Kentucky provided the huge total of 450,000 acres in that way. Moreover, some schools received permission to levy local taxes, while others secured the right to operate a lottery.[5]



Transylvania University, circa 1820s. The Filson Historical Society

Charging tuition, academies provided a top-down education, one mostly for the upper classes, not the masses. They did not meet well democracy's need for a fully-educated citizenry. But more than that, most academies failed to match society's expectations due to economic reasons. The trustees frequently sold the lands cheaply, speculated with the resulting meager funds, and squandered

their opportunities. The academy idea was not necessarily a bad one, but the execution of the idea was faulty. By 1816, the governor called them failures, and he was right.[6]

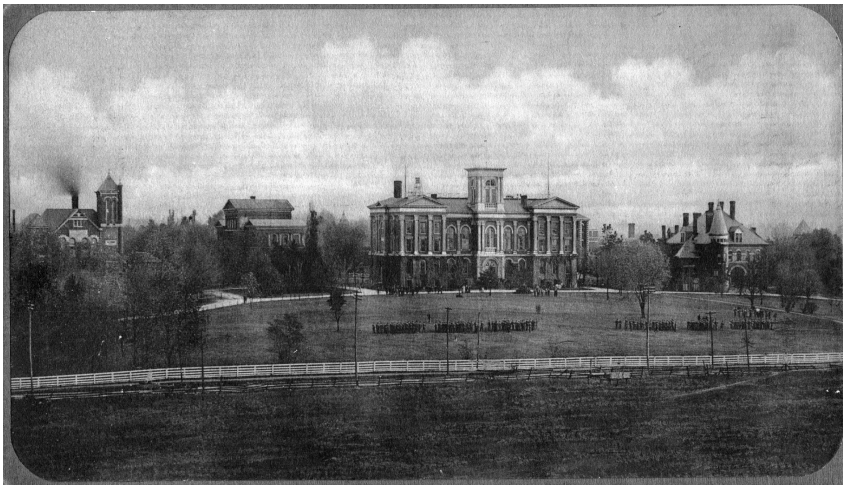
Yet not all failed. One of them grew to be the centerpiece of the whole antebellum higher education system. But it also showed the weaknesses in that piecemeal system. Transylvania University functioned as virtually a state institution in the first three decades after statehood. In those years, it received 20,000 acres of land; it got one-sixth of all surveyor's fees in the state; it collected for its coffers 2 percent of all Lexington auction sales. Beyond that, the state granted it $20,000 to buy books, directed that significant portions of the profits from state-chartered banks go to it, and allowed the school to start a lottery. By the 1820s the governor correctly stated that "Kentucky is now a great and wealthy state," and the school's finances reflected that. It stood as one of the best-funded colleges in America.[7] The funding showed, for it also became one of the best schools in the nation. But in a story that would be repeated again and again throughout Kentucky history, state funding soon slowed, and, in this case, stopped.

Postcard of Old Centre College. The Filson Historical Society

After the Civil War, Kentucky tried one last educational experiment mixing public money with private control, and sometimes denominational involvement. The new hybrid institution of Kentucky University included private-school remnants of old Transylvania University, elements of Kentucky University (whose campus had burned at Harrodsburg), a law school, a Bible College, and the new, state-supported A&M College. For a dozen years the school operated, but declining attendance and continuing anger over church control of public monies brought that experiment to an end in 1878. After that, the separation between private colleges and public ones grew clearer.

In fact, a second pattern in Kentucky higher education had already started to develop by the time the Kentucky University experiment ended: That concerned the growth of denominational colleges. The presence of several religiously-based private schools by 1840 made it easier for the state to abandon

support of Transylvania. In a commonwealth famous as the home of the Great Revival of 1801, which spread religious diversity, every major denomination had funded a college in Kentucky by 1840. Presbyterians angry at Transylvania's trends set up Centre in 1819, and Catholics established Saint Joseph College in Bardstown that same year. Three years later, Methodists organized Augusta College, the third Methodist college in America. In 1829, Baptists made Georgetown the fifth Baptist college in the U.S. and the first west of the mountains, and in 1836, the Christian Church began supporting Bacon College.



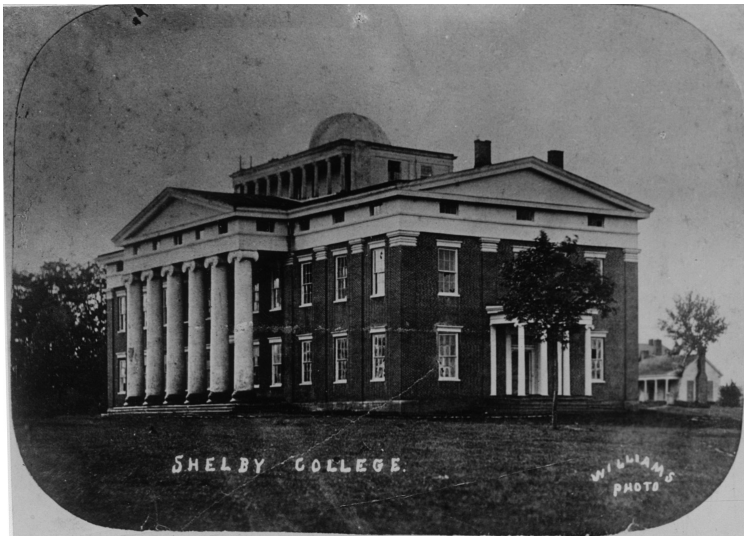
Campus of Kentucky State University, circa 1908-1916. The Filson Historical Society

In that period of proliferation, many other colleges started as well. In fact, one historian wrote in 1847 that Kentucky had more institutions of higher learning that year than any other state in the union.[8] Looking at the histories of those schools of the antebellum era reveals several repeated patterns: Virtually all of them lacked adequate funds or any real endowment. (Indeed, the first Kentucky school to have a significant endowment was Berea, which had a large one already by 1920.) Some of those schools featured a strong, charismatic and successful leader, but when that person left or died the school soon ceased to exist. Some colleges had enough support from a denomination or a community to survive or even flourish for a time, only to fail eventually as that aid weakened or ended. A few institutions lived on, sometimes as much as a result of luck as anything else. They kept just enough support; they had just enough strong leadership to offset weak; or they maintained just enough of a reputation and a constituency to endure. But many schools did not survive. The ghosts of those dead colleges dot the Kentucky countryside, with names like Shelby College in Shelbyville, Liberty College in Glasgow, Bethel College in Russellville, Daughter's College in Harrodsburg, or South Kentucky College in Hopkinsville. They lived on only in their students' memories or in the pages of a few dusty history books.

A few schools from the antebellum era—Transylvania, Centre, and Georgetown—did survive. After the Civil War, they would be joined by a host of new schools. But once again most of those colleges displayed similar patterns of development. They started as a high school or teacher-training (Normal) school, usually connected to a religious group (thus further fragmenting meager denominational support). They sometimes changed their name, frequently merged with another school, moved at least once, and then transformed into

a junior college. If providing only single gender education, they eventually became coeducational—often by merger—and finally emerged, butterfly-like, as a four-year college, then a university. Some—like Berea and Asbury—had a more stable story, but most did not. Cumberland, for example, started as Williamsburg Institute in 1889, became Highland College and then Cumberland College in 1913, transformed to a junior college five years later, evolved into a four-year school in 1959, and changed its name only recently to the University of the Cumberlands.[9] As a result of all that small college growth, Kentucky produced several strong academic schools and a few still-struggling ones, all seeking success in an increasingly crowded academic world.

Over the years, a third pattern in Kentucky higher education has been the search for adequate funding. University of Kentucky (UK) president Frank McVey wrote in his educational history that "in 1900 . . . there was not a single Kentucky college, public or private, that was adequately supported or housed." His school provided a perfect example. In the 1860s, Regent John Bowman told of his dreams for the then-new school: "I want to build up a *People's Institution*, a great University eventually open and accessible to the poorest boy in all the land. . . . We want ample grounds and buildings, and libraries and apparatus and museums and endowments and Prize funds, and Professors of great hearts and heads. . . . Indeed, we want everything which will make this Institution eventually equal to any on this continent." Over a half century later, in 1922, a Lexington *Herald* editor told of his "fancies of the future." One was that Kentucky would devote the finances and the attention necessary to make one "great university," the rival of Oxford and Cambridge.[10]

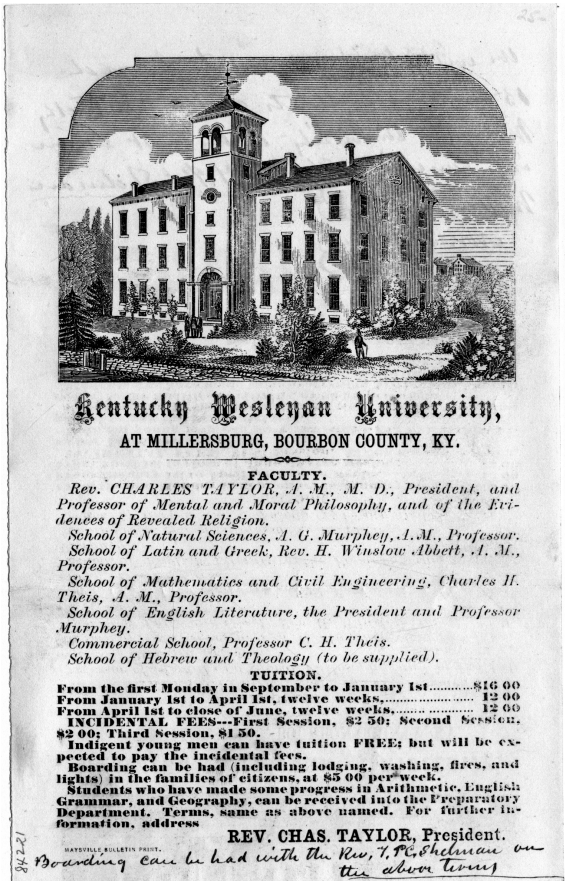


Shelby College, circa 1930. The Filson Historical Society

But great universities require not only great hopes and dreams but also great funding. The situation by the time the editor wrote told a sad story. From 1880 to 1913, the state had given an average of under $67,000 per year to what is now the University of Kentucky. In contrast, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota gave their state universities more in one year than UK received in all thirty-three years. In 1904, a typical year, UK got state appropriations totaling $36,000. Wisconsin gave its university $471,000 that same year, thirteen times as much.[11]

Similar statistics show up in the regional universities as well. Limited funding meant that each school fought even harder for its piece of the educational

money pie. William E. Ellis in his history of Eastern Kentucky University, echoes Lowell H. Harrison in his study of Western, who wrote that relations among state-funded schools were "a mixture of hostility, suspicion, and cooperation." Significantly, cooperation was listed last. Those funding struggles grew particularly intense after the University of Louisville (U of L) and Northern Kentucky entered the state system by 1970. UK, for example, saw its percentage of state higher education dollars fall from 53 percent in 1970 to 41 percent a decade later. The other older regionals experienced similar declines. A state that had shown only limited interest in spending much money on higher education was spreading its meager resources even thinner. Reporter Richard Wilson noted that in 1975 Kentucky stood ninth of fourteen southern states in the personal income spent on higher education.[12]



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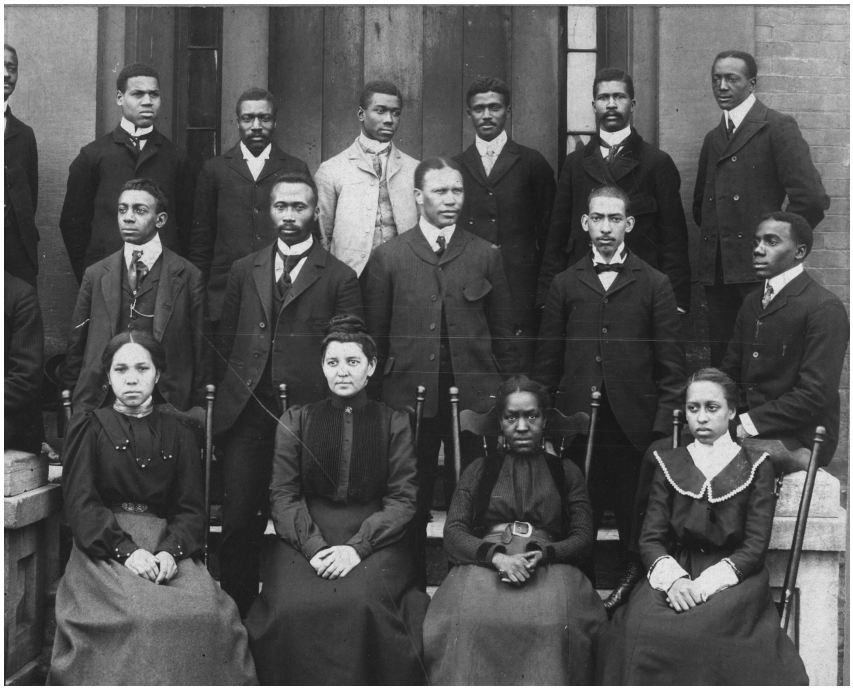
Advertisement for Kentucky Wesleyan University, November 23, 1867. The Filson Historical Society

Historically, the times when the state has devoted significant attention, energy, and funding to education overall have been few: The 1908 education legislature, the sales tax financing of the 1960s, the Kentucky Education Reform Act (KERA) in 1990, the funding under Governor Paul Patton, and some others. Those times of reform and support stand out like flashes radiating from an educational lighthouse, briefly sweeping brightly by, then leaving behind darkness for most of the moments. Over seventy years ago, a Kentuckian noted one effect of that educational disinterest: "I drove by a $500 schoolhouse on a $1,000,000 highway. . . No bargain roads," he noted, "but bargain education everywhere." Currently, the state ranks fourteenth nationally in highway spending, but last in education spending per person. The will to build better roads, and to fund other things, still remains stronger than the will to build—and maintain—a better higher education system. Asphalt often seems more valued than a young mind.[13]

A fourth pattern in Kentucky education is that, over time, the student population in colleges and universities has become more diverse in terms of gender and race. Young men and women attended schools together from the earliest days of European settlement. Yet they typically went to separate schools at the highest rungs of the education ladder. Eventually, almost all Kentucky colleges became coed, though at widely different times. Berea College, for example, started that way; what is today UK first admitted women in 1880; Georgetown did so in 1885; Transylvania four years after that; and Wesleyan in 1892. Centre, however,

became coeducational only in 1926, and women did not reside on the campus until 1962. Women's colleges changed even more slowly. Villa Madonna College (today's Thomas More College) admitted men in 1945, and Spalding University did so in 1973. Only Midway College has resisted the co-educational trend. But change did occur over time. By 1929, UK had more women than men on campus, as did other schools. Attitudes, however, adjusted more slowly. Historians Dwayne Cox and William Morison note how, at U of L, women were not allowed to wear slacks in the library or in classes as late as 1967. But the situation has changed drastically, for women now outnumber men in most Kentucky institutions. Given that the future demands a well-educated workforce, one demographer has concluded that in Kentucky, "Bubba is in trouble."[14]



Kentucky State Normal School class of 1902. The Filson Historical Society

The racial makeup of the commonwealth's colleges has also changed. In antebellum times a fifth of the state's population—its enslaved people—had almost no access to any formal education. With the end of slavery that situation altered some, but higher education choices remained limited. Berea provided truly integrated classes until the infamous Day Law ended them in 1904. Moreover, most whites, and many blacks, stressed that African-American education should be vocationally oriented. The two state-supported black schools—West Kentucky Industrial College in Paducah and the school it merged with in 1938, present-day Kentucky State University (KSU)—both emphasized that philosophy. KSU, founded in 1886, was a college in name only for its first four decades, not granting its first AB degree until 1929. Until then, most African Americans in Kentucky who received a college education did so at Berea, and later, with its forced segregation, the State University in Louisville. Formed in 1879, the privately-operated State University (later renamed Simmons University) offered teacher training, college courses, and professional schools of medicine, nursing, and the law. Hard hit by the Great Depression, it was taken over by the U of L, and became the segregated arm of that school until desegregation took place.

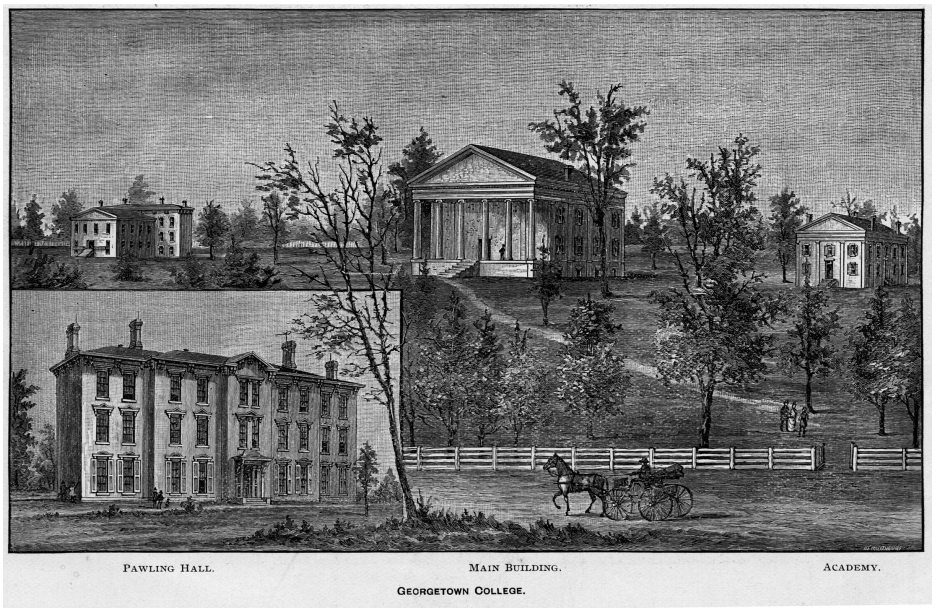
For forty-four years, then, from 1904 to 1948, blacks and whites could not attend school together in Kentucky. Segregation established an expensive, separate system that put stress on the poorly-funded higher educational core. More than that, segregation had a cruel human cost, even more hurtful to the state. Lyman Johnson, the first African American to attend UK, spoke of that cost when he told how he and some friends once visited a segregated eastern Kentucky restaurant. They were shuttled to the kitchen, away from the dining room. There they were given good food, he noted. In fact, he said, "They gave us everything but respect."[15]

Respect finally came in stages. In a legislative action often ignored by scholars, the Kentucky General Assembly began breaking down educational segregation in 1948, when it passed an act allowing black nurses to receive training in white hospitals. Two years later, another state act amended the Day Law and said if classes were not available for African Americans at Kentucky State, private schools could admit those students. Berea and several Catholic schools quickly did so. In fact, by the time of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, some 600 African Americans had already attended integrated classes in Kentucky schools.[16] After *Brown*, the integration process moved sporadically forward. KSU admitted white students the same year. Western and Morehead had black students in 1956, and Eastern two years after that. Change had started. Currently, African American students attend college in Kentucky in a greater percentage than their numbers in the state's population.[17]

A fifth pattern has been the somewhat unchanging nature of student life, and the only slowly-changing nature of administrative rules governing those students. As the historian of Transylvania University writes, it has long been a "perennial struggle between the dynamic, rebellious spirit of adolescence" and the "entrenched discipline" of the institution.[18]

In the nineteenth century, the rules made it clear that colleges expected full obedience, with no deviations. The Baptists at Georgetown College in the 1850s declared that "no student shall attend any exhibition of an immoral tendency or frequent any barroom." Transylvania went further with even more specific warnings: students could not go to the races, the theater, billiard halls, or barrooms, nor could they "criticize the school in any way." Rules also indicated that "no student shall frequent Taverns, nor places of licentious or unprofitable amusement, nor use any immoral or indecent language, or behavior, nor play at cards, dice, or any unlawful game," nor practice "gross immoralities."[19] Those immoralities apparently posed such ever-present dangers to womanly virtue at nearby Hamilton College for Females, then a part of Transylvania, that the school put up a barbed wire fence around its campus, to try to stymie the most dedicated male infiltrators. In general, women's colleges had similar rules as men's, plus a few different ones. One school at Greenville forbade picking fruit or flowers from the garden, laughing out loud, and talking to "gallants."[20]

Then as now, drinking, gambling, swearing, sexual hijinks, and criticizing the college were favorite student pastimes. Indeed, as far as can be determined students ignored such rules just about as often then as they do now. Disciplinary actions reveal that if the rules were numerous, attempts to evade them were even more numerous. Georgetown, for example, forced two students to leave in the 1850s for yelling, "Down with the Yankees." Transylvania dismissed a student for carrying a weapon and visiting "a house of ill fame." Berea expelled a student in 1874 for, of all things, "improper correspondence." And Kentucky Wesleyan suspended nine students five years after that for dancing, an activity that Georgetown banned until 1968.[21]



Postcard of Georgetown College, 1901. The Filson Historical Society

In the twentieth century, strict rules existed at least into the 1920s, and at some schools, well beyond that. For instance, in the "Roaring Twenties" Eastern Kentucky prohibited "all forms of dancing permitting undue familiarity," while Western Kentucky banned dancing in all forms until the decade's end. Morehead suspended two girls in 1927 for "automobile riding at night"—a sure sign of sinful intent. Alice Lloyd College had the strictest rules of all, and held to them the longest. Regulations there mandated no smoking, no drinking, no guns, and no contact with the opposite sex. Men wore coats and ties, women uniforms, and breaking any rule meant expulsion. Such restrictions lasted into the late 1960s, but by then most schools began modifying the old regulations to resemble more those of today.[22]

Yet if the rules changed, students seemingly did not. Reading the letters to parents over the centuries reveals words that could have been written in almost any decade. Students complained about dull teachers, explained eloquently why their grades were not better, and almost always asked for more money. Letters to parents, of course, often did not tell all. Students filled their private diaries and letters with concerns over dating, with worries over admission to secret societies or fraternities or sororities, and with usually-exaggerated hopes about sporting events—much more so than with student concerns over grades. But those words on paper also reveal serious thoughts that show the maturing of a mind and the joy of what college learning can bring.[23]

Occasionally, a somewhat less mature action takes place, such as in 1913 when several hundred UK students celebrated a football victory by confiscating not one but two beer wagons. The record remains silent on what happened next, though contemporary imaginations can likely fill in that historical void. And there is the Kentucky Wesleyan student action on Halloween night 1920. They placed a cow—*Animal House*-like—on the portico of the administration building. Unfortunately, the porch collapsed, and a derrick had to be procured to remove the poor cow. Apparently, some aspects of student life never change.[24]

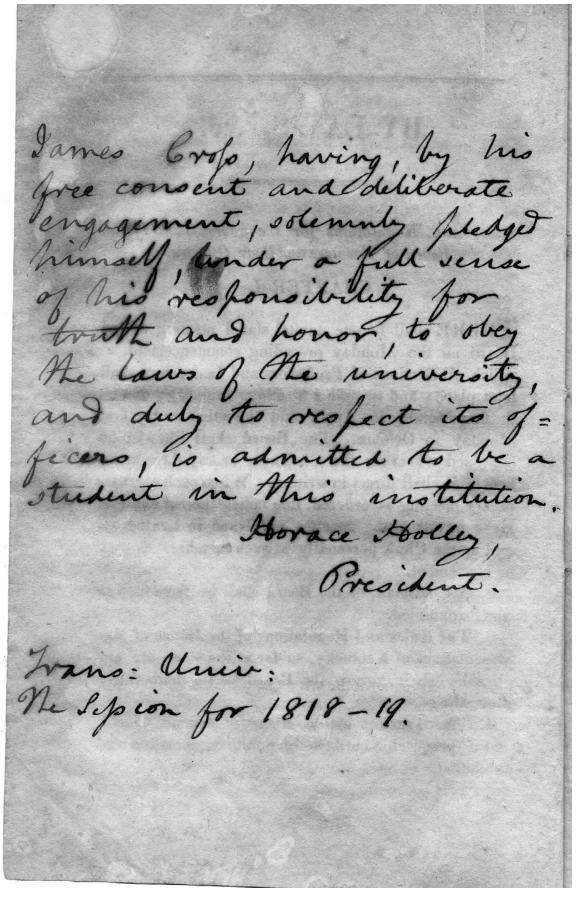
Horace Holley (1781-1827). The Filson Historical Society

Finally, a sixth, last, and unfortunately obvious pattern: The fact that politics often plays an important role in higher education decision-making. Many examples exist to support this conclusion, but a few must suffice. One of the most wide-ranging ones concerned antebellum Transylvania and its dynamic president Horace Holley. During his 1818 to 1827 term, the school had many strengths and much promise. Its medical school held some of the brightest minds of the time; its law school had as one of its professors the chief justice of the state's highest court and it featured lectures by Henry Clay; its library ranked as perhaps the best in the nation. Academically, it had 282 students in 1821, more than Princeton and about the same number as Harvard. In fact, when one-time Transylvania student Jefferson Davis went to Congress, he found that 10 percent of the senators were graduates of that school. Indeed, the success of Transylvania spurred Thomas Jefferson to call for a new university in Virginia for without one, he noted, "We must send our children for education to Kentucky or Cambridge."[25]

But the school's bright promise soon faded. Religious politics, party politics, power politics—all operated against the president. Critics attacked him for his so-called improper conversations, for having undraped female statues in his home, for singing "carefree songs," for going to the races and the theater, and for expressing sympathy for antislavery advocates.[26] He was opposed by the governor as well, another common pattern in the history of higher education in Kentucky. Holley could not overcome the forces of sectarianism, class, and politics, and he resigned. Enrollments fell, the college declined, and by the time of the Civil War it existed as little more than an extended grade school. The state's best opportunity for a world-class university had passed.

Political involvement actually seemed to grow in the twentieth century, particularly in the selection of presidents and in the placement of universities

and community colleges. In fact, in that century, the most effective means to get an institution of higher learning located in a community was to have a powerful political ally in Frankfort. It also helped if an earlier, preferably empty, campus already existed in town, in order to cut down on construction costs. For example, Morehead's historian concludes that "politics dictated the selection of Morehead as the site for a state school in 1922." One of the political bosses of the time, state senator Allie Young, lived there. When the time came to locate the site of the new school, the vote was 4-4 between Morehead and Paintsville. At the time, Paintsville best met the needs of a mountain region without such a school. Then one man from Prestonsburg changed his vote to Morehead. He said he had heard the voice of God. Others suggested he had actually heard the voice of Allie Young. Later, the college had a saying: "Moslems worship Allah; Moreheadians . . . worship Allie."[27]


James Cross, having, by his free consent and deliberate engagement, solemnly pledged himself, under a full sense of his responsibility for truth and honor, to obey the laws of the university, and duly to respect its officers, is admitted to be a student in this institution.
Horace Holley,
President.
Trans: Univ:
Ses. for 1818-19.

Letter from Horace Holley admitting James Cross to Transylvania University for the 1818-1819 session. The Filson Historical Society

The choice of a college president, especially at the regional universities, also often owed more to politics than educational abilities and vision. When Western Kentucky's President H. H. Cherry died in 1937, Democratic governor Albert B. "Happy" Chandler got involved in selecting his replacement, threatening to remove trustees if they did not pick his choice, Paul Garrett. A Lexington paper noted, "That it was a political appointment nobody can doubt." Western's historian concludes of the man so picked: "He loved fishing and reading . . . and he spent more time with those loves than he did with the boresome details of administration."[28] Less than a decade later, Republican governor Simeon Willis viewed the situation at Morehead and wanted to place in power a man more favorable to his party. The existing president was soon fired by a 3-2 vote. As that school's historian writes, the decision "had little to do with his performance and everything to do with politics." It was so blatantly political that Morehead lost its accreditation for two years.[29] Down the road at Eastern Kentucky, trustees later made Robert Martin president by a 4-3 vote. He had been the campaign manager of the new governor, Bert Combs, who explained: "I wanted the Board of Regents to appoint him, and I let that be known." And then there was the strange case of outgoing Governor Wallace Wilkinson trying to appoint himself to UK's board. Perhaps he just sought to be closer to the university faculty, a group he had criticized as "just doing research and writing letters to each other in itty-bitty journals."[30]

In discussing these six patterns in Kentucky's higher education history over two centuries, obviously much history has been omitted—including that of community colleges, professional schools, sports, and more. And much of what has been offered could be debated. For example, perhaps it is a pipe dream to think a more positive alternative history could have resulted over the years. Still, models exist that suggest it could happen. The University Press of Kentucky, for instance, consists of a consortium of sixteen academic institutions, public and private, and its cooperative spirit has prevented duplication and given it a strong status nationally. The question of finances is also debatable. This survey has emphasized that Kentucky has seemed to want first-class colleges on the cheap, through second-class appropriations. But we should note also that schools have not always used wisely the funds they did receive, nor have they made compelling cases to the legislature as clearly as they might.

Still, despite such stories of gloom and doom, we should also stop and recognize all those throughout history who taught so long and well in those colleges and universities, and praise all those who have learned and achieved in those classrooms. Most overcame adversity; most persevered; most progressed. Those successes, in a sense, represent another, perhaps the most important, pattern. As Henry Adams said: "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."[31] Kentucky teachers and students have accomplished much, often with little. But what *could* they have done, what could they *do*, if the state and its people had demonstrated the will and had devoted the resources to achieve the dreams of so many, over so many years?

Further Reading

Many of the generalizations in this article come from a reading of various histories of higher education in Kentucky. Others came from the author's research in various manuscript sources. For the national scene, see John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); and Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962). Overviews of Kentucky specifically include: Alvin F. Lewis's excellent (if dated) *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899); Moses E. Ligon's book-length article, "A History of Public Education in Kentucky," *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service* 14 (1942), especially 3-51, 256-357; and Frank L. McVey, *The Gates Open Slowly: A History of Education in Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1949). For overviews of African-American education see, John A. Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); and M.B. Lucas and George Wright, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky*, 2 vols. (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992).

Briefer mentions appear in Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997); Thomas D. Clark, *A History of Kentucky* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937); Hambleton Tapp and James C. Klotter, *Kentucky: Decades of Discord, 1856-1900* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1977); James C. Klotter, *Kentucky: Portrait in Paradox, 1900-1950* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1996); and F. Garvin Davenport, *Ante-Bellum Kentucky: A Social History* (1943; rep., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983).

Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky, mid 1960s. The Filson Historical Society

Various public universities have fine histories. Among those are James F. Hopkins, *The University of Kentucky: Origins and Early Years* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951); Charles G. Talbert, *The University of Kentucky: The Maturing Years* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); and Carl B. Cone, *The University of Kentucky: A Pictorial History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1989). For the state's second oldest publicly-supported institution, see John A. Hardin, *Onward and Upward: A Centennial History of Kentucky State University, 1886-1986* (Frankfort: Kentucky State University, 1987). The last university to enter the public system has had its story told well in Dwayne D. Cox and William J. Morison, *The University of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000). For the regional universities, Lowell H. Harrison, *Western Kentucky University* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), and William E. Ellis, *A History of Eastern Kentucky University* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005) are models for the state. Jonathan T. Dorris, ed., *Five Decades of Progress: Eastern Kentucky State College, 1906-1957* (Richmond: Eastern Kentucky State College, 1957) is an earlier factual study. Donald A. Flatt's, *A Light to the Mountains: Morehead State University, 1887-1997* (Ashland: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 1997) has much good information. See also Harry E. Rose, "The Historical Development of a State College: Morehead State College, 1887-1964" (Ed.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1965). On Murray State University, see Ralph Woods, *Murray State University: Fifty Years of Progress, 1922-1972* (Murray: Murray State University, [1973]).

The histories of the various private colleges range from the excellent to the superficial. One of the best is John D. Wright Jr., *Transylvania: Tutor to the*

West (Lexington: Transylvania University, 1975). See also the earlier Walter W. Jennings, *Transylvania: Pioneer University of the West* (New York: Pageant Press, 1955). A good study focusing on the early struggles at that school is Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). Centre College's history can be found in Hardin Craig, *Centre College of Kentucky* (Louisville: Gateway Press, 1967), and Georgetown College's in Robert Snyder, *A History of Georgetown College* ([Georgetown: Georgetown College, 1979]). Berea College has had several histories and many studies, each with its own strengths, beginning with John A. R. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College* (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1904), followed by Elisabeth S. Peck and Emily Ann Smith, *Berea's First 125 Years, 1855-1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), and Shannon H. Wilson, *Berea College* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005). A fine study of another private school is Lee A. Dew and Richard A. Weiss, *In Pursuit of the Dream: A History of Kentucky Wesleyan College* (Owensboro: Kentucky Wesleyan College Press, [1992]). P. David Searles's *A College for Appalachia: Alice Lloyd on Caney Creek* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995) is excellent also. Among the numerous other studies of state colleges, see W. G. Marigold, ed., *Union College, 1879-1979* ([Barbourville]: Union College, 1979); James H. Taylor *"A Bright Shining City Set on a Hill"* [University of the Cumberlands] (Williamsburg: Cumberland College, 1988); and Wade Hall, *High Upon a Hill: A History of Bellarmine College* (Louisville: Bellarmine College Press, 1999). Various now-dead schools have also had their histories written. Among some of the better such studies are: Lynn E. Niedermeier, *"That Mighty Band of Maidens": A History of Potter College for Young Ladies, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1889-1909* (Bowling Green: Landmark Association, 2001); James Blaine Hudson, "The History of Louisville Municipal College" (Ed.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1981); and Lawrence H. Williams, *Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1879-1930: The History of Simmons University* (Lewiston, NY: Miller Press, 1987).

Many books and articles also exist on more specialized parts or aspects of colleges and universities. A sampling of these include: J. Allan Smith, *The College of Agriculture of the University of Kentucky: Early and Middle Years, 1865-1951* (Lexington: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1981); Ray H. Bixler, "The Psychology Department at the University of Louisville, 1907-1953," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 57 (July 1983), 253-69; Terry L. Birdwhistell, "An Educated Difference: Women at the University of Kentucky Through the Second World War" (Ed.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1994); Mary Linehar, "Serving Cross-Purposes: Catholic Women and the Creation of Nazareth College, 1920-1950," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 75 (Summer 2001), 297-329; Ash Gobar and J. Hill Hamon, *A Light in the Forest: Natural Philosophy in Transylvania University, 1799-1859* (Lexington: Transylvania University Press, 1982); Eric Christianson, "The Conditions for Science in the Academic

Department at Transylvania University, 1799-1857," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 79 (Autumn 1981), 305-25; Gregory K. Stanley, *Before Big Blue: Sports at the University of Kentucky, 1880-1940* (Lexington: University of Press of Kentucky, 1996); Marion Lucas "Berea College in the 1870s and 1880s: Student Life at a Racially Segregated Kentucky College," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 98 (Winter 2000), 1-22; Susan H. Gooden, "Turning the Local Network to a National Channel: Education Leadership and the College of Education at the University of Kentucky, 1917-1927," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 93 (Summer 1995), 307-32; and Terry L. Birdwhistell, "Divided We Fall: State College and the Normal School Movement in Kentucky, 1880-1910," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 88 (Autumn 1990), 431-56.

Finally, any student of higher education in Kentucky will benefit from reading the various institutional histories in John E. Kleber, ed., *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992); and Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001); and will find material of interest in various college catalogues, as well as—at times—the Kentucky Superintendent of Public Instruction Reports. Still, to date, there remain too many gaps in the record, too few words telling the story, too much waiting to be written.

A version of this essay was presented at a September 15, 2005 conference entitled "Higher Education in Kentucky: Past, Present, and Future," sponsored by Eastern Kentucky University's Center for Kentucky History and Politics. Throughout the article, references are to the present-day names of the schools under discussion and to shortened versions of those names. I wish to thank Lindsey Apple and Terry Birdwhistell for their comments.

1. For a more in-depth discussion of the sources used to formulate generalizations and provide factual information, see the "Further Reading" section.
2. John D. Wright Jr., *Transylvania: Tutor to the West* (Lexington: Transylvania University, 1975), 2.
3. Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 117.
4. Quoted in Alvin F. Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 13.
5. Ibid., 24-28; Moses E. Ligon, "A History of Public Education in Kentucky," *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service* [University of Kentucky] 14 (1942), 18-23; James C. Klotter, "Two Centuries of the Lottery in Kentucky," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 87 (Autumn 1989), 406-7, 422-24.
6. Lewis, *Higher Education*, 26; Ligon, "Public Education," 65.
7. Lewis, *Higher Education*, 41, 55, 61; Wright, *Transylvania*, 8, 21; Ligon, "Public Education," 56.
8. Lewis Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (Maysville, KY: Lewis Collins, 1847), 272.
9. See James H. Taylor, *"A Bright Shining City Set on a Hill"* (Williamsburg, KY: Cumberland College, 1988), 13-14, 88, 95; and John E. Kleber, ed., *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 245.
10. Frank L. McVey, *The Gates Open Slowly: A History of Education In Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1949), 80; Wright, *Transylvania*, 198; *Herald* (Lexington), Jan. 8, 1922.
11. Charles G. Talbert, *The University of Kentucky: The Maturing Years* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 31; Barksdale Hamlett, "History of Education in Kentucky," *Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education* 7 (1914), 281; *Kentucky Superintendent of Public Instruction Report* (1905-07), 191. See also Dexter L. Alexander, "'A Proper Living Basis': An Economic History

of the University of Kentucky from the Passage of the First Morrill Act Through the End of the Era of University Building" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 2005).

12. William E. Ellis, *A History of Eastern Kentucky University* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 42; Lowell H. Harrison, *Western Kentucky University* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), 57; "The University of Kentucky in the Seventies," *Kentucky Alumnus* 50 (1980), 7; *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Nov. 7, 1976.
13. *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Apr. 26, 1932; *Herald-Leader* (Lexington), Aug. 15, 2005. Or, as Terry Birdwhistell notes, at the very least, road contractors have had better lobbyists!
14. Ligon, "Public Education," 350; Dwayne D. Cox and William J. Morison, *The University of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 123; Nancy Laprade, "The Competitive Edge," *Foresight*, Publication of the Kentucky Long Term Policy Research Center, No. 44 (2005), 3; comment by Ronald T. Crouch, Kentucky State Data Center.
15. Wade Hall, *The Rest of the Dream: the Black Odyssey of Lyman Johnson* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 125.
16. John A. Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky,1904-1954* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 86-87, 100-101.
17. "Undergraduates by Race/Ethnicity . . . 1995," study in author's possession; "SREB: Kentucky Featured Facts: Bachelor's Degrees Earned by Black and Hispanic students, 1993 to 2003," <www.sreb.org.main/EdData/FactBook/2005StateReports/Kentucky05> accessed last on Oct. 18, 2005.
18. Wright, *Transylvania*, 281.
19. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Georgetown College, Kentucky, 1855-6* (Louisville: Hull & Brother, 1856), 15-16; Wright, *Transylvania*, 37, 95, 210.
20. Wright, *Transylvania*, 275-76, 288; Ligon, "Public Education," 44-45.
21. Robert Snyder, *A History of Georgetown College* ([Georgetown, KY: Georgetown College, 1979]), 25, 152; Shannon Wilson, *Berea College* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 46; Lee A. Dew and Richard A Weiss, *In Pursuit of the Dream: A History of Kentucky Wesleyan College* (Owensboro: Kentucky Wesleyan College Press, [1992]), 56.
22. Ellis, *Eastern Kentucky*, 45; Harrison, *Western Kentucky*, 80; Donald E. Flatt, *A Light to the Mountains: Morehead State University, 1887-1997* (Ashland, KY: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 1997), 57; P. David Searles, *A College for Appalachia: Alice Lloyd on Caney Creek* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 87, 99, 131, 140.
23. Sample examples of student writing and recollections of nineteenth-century life for just one college include: the James Tevis Diary, 1852-53, and Ira M. Haynes to Henry Noble Sherwood, Feb. 19, 1937, Office of the President, Henry Noble Sherwood, both in Georgetown College Archives, Georgetown, KY; the *Ciceronian Magazine* (Georgetown, KY) (1856-57); and the *Georgetown College Magazine* (1857).
24. Talbert, *University of Kentucky*, 12-13; Dew and Weiss, *Pursuit of the Dream*, 143.
25. Wright, *Transylvania*, 93; Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 152. The percentage calculations are the author's.
26. Wright, *Transylvania*, 101, 105.
27. Flatt, *Light to the Mountains*, ix, 32-33, 36.
28. Harrison, *Western Kentucky*, 109, 111.
29. James C. Klotter, ed., *The Public Papers of Governor Simeon Willis* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 153-56, 154n, 156n; *Kentucky Post*, May 10, 1946; Flatt, *Light to the Mountains*, 101.
30. Ellis, *Eastern Kentucky*, 120; Cox and Morison, *University of Louisville*, 179.
31. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 300.