

GLIMPSES OF SOUTHERN CULTURE: MASCULINITY, SOCIAL CLASS, AND
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA STUDENTS, 1866-1900

by

JAMES INGERSKI

(Under the Direction of Andrew David Gitlin)

ABSTRACT

To better understand a culture, one must analyze the individuals within it. This study examined students' personal documents from the University of Georgia as cultural artifacts to reveal the forces driving student actions in the American South during Reconstruction and the runup to the 20th century. Historical document analysis was incorporated with the grounded theory method to present a thematic social history delving into student life at the University of Georgia between 1866 and 1900. A close examination of candid documents of college students during the period shed considerable light on an area of inquiry left untreated in many institutional histories and revealed a detailed portrait of the intricacies embedded within college student life. The narrative provides a candid glimpse into student life during the studied period, and the author theorizes that the resources analyzed showed trends of continuity and change in southern culture. Continuity was identified within rules, violence, conformity, culture, inclusion and exclusion, and resistance. Change occurred in fraternity membership, masculinity, student composition and student housing. The author concludes by arguing that cultural reproduction in the South during this period was perpetuated through social processes, including violence, group inclusion and exclusion, and conformity and resistance. The analysis suggests that inter-subjective histories

and knowledge of school culture is critical prior to implementation of policy reform or curricular change.

INDEX WORDS: Historical cultural analysis, social history, higher education, social class, masculinity, University of Georgia, cultural reproduction

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to the students whose work I have read, and re-read, during the course of my research and who live on through their documents, unaware that their stories would be shared in a dissertation more than 100 years later. It is because of you there is a fascinating, diverse record of events that can be shared about your time in college at the University of Georgia and what made this investigation possible.

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM AND RATIONALE

This study touched on sociology and history to tell a story of post-Civil War university life as much as possible through the eyes and subsequent words of University of Georgia students. Students' personal documents authored between 1866 and 1900 were examined as cultural artifacts. I used qualitative methods to collect and analyze resources in order to clarify the distinctive culture in the southern US region during the postbellum period. In addition to detailed primary documents, I analyzed peripheral primary sources and secondary-source documentation to furnish the local context to provide more background for the reader. I set out to investigate the construction of masculinity, social class, and religion in the post-Civil War South to provide insight into aspects of southern culture by listening to the stories that students told in the documents they left behind. While examining student documents, I found that religion often was a dimension of social class and therefore explored from that perspective. Influential motifs of social life became evident in students' documents and helped identify how students conceived and perpetuated social norms. Analysis of the social structures of masculinity, social class, and religion allowed recurrent themes to emerge from the documents, which suggested continuity and change in southern culture. Chapters present a blended narrative history, with some chapters presented thematically and others as case studies. The final chapter concentrates on discussion and analysis of the research, emergent themes, theory development, and directions for further study.

The antecedents of this project began in the summer 2005 when, at the age of 23, I became a Resident Director in a residence hall on the campus of Radford University in the New River Valley of Virginia as a way to help pay for my Master's Degree in Education. The experience allowed me to see if my passion for working with middle-school students was transferable to college students. I found I had a deep passion for working with college students academically, but also found their lives outside the classroom fascinating. During this two-year assistantship, I lived in a coeducational residence hall housing almost 1,000 students ranging from freshmen to seniors, and I supervised four undergraduate resident assistants. I worked with four other graduate assistants, and 24 undergraduate resident assistants. I became so interested in the work I was doing, I added a minor in student affairs administration to my Master's degree.

My work with college students, as well as my time living with college students, did not end after this two-year stint. I applied for and was accepted to a doctoral program at the University of Georgia for entrance in fall 2007 and spent three more years working with, teaching, and living with college students as part of my assistantship—all freshmen this time. My first two years were spent working in Morris Hall near the University of Georgia's historic North Campus. I then spent one year working in Russell Hall, a well known high-rise residence hall located in the epicenter of freshman students, owing to its proximity to two other high-rise buildings on the west side of campus. Working in student affairs added to my interest in furthering the development of college students inside and outside of the classroom. Contemporaneously, I began to realize how new, in conception at least, the field of *student affairs* actually is. Of course, student life at colleges in the United States has existed, at least to some extent, since students began attending institutions of higher education, and student affairs professionals first appeared toward the end of the 19th century as dean of men, dean of women,

and dean of students. Personnel, and subsequently, the student affairs field grew as colleges expanded, student population increased, and the responsibility to attend to so many students by one dean became too great. A study of college student life and student development prior to the formal establishment of the student affairs field is important because there is a general lack of understanding about the evolution of student life on college campuses—especially historically.¹

The tendency to incorporate or introduce initiatives working well at other institutions without taking into account the unique culture of the school or region occurred frequently at both Radford University and the University of Georgia. My work at two institutions of higher education made me realize how unique school communities can be. Specifically, I noticed social class distinctions on the University of Georgia campus were clearer than they had been at Radford University, especially with upper-social-class students belonging to Greek social organizations and mainly socializing within those organizations. This phenomenon became the elephant in the room—the disparity widely known and recognized but rarely, if ever, talked about by those of us working in the Department of University Housing.

Religious affiliation is another aspect of University of Georgia culture, especially the tendency to be overtly Christian on campus, which was evident to me immediately. I was never really able to tell if this staunch religious affiliation was unique to the university culture or if it was because I was farther south than I had been in Virginia and it was perhaps a regional phenomenon, but I knew I was working with a different population of student than I had in the past.

¹ John Seiler Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*, 4th edition (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 335.

Studying education and working in the student affairs area are two of my passions that overlap often. I found, though, that I have always been fascinated with history and that the historical aspect of education and student affairs was always something that interested me. I wondered if I could use this interest in history to illuminate aspects of the past that I noticed missing in my current work in student affairs.

In fall 2007, I was teaching a section of ECHD 3010, Paraprofessional Helping Strategies, a course designed to help first-year resident assistants transition into the position. I read *The Resident Assistant* by Gregory Blimling because I had assigned it as required reading for my students. I came across this passage, written by Frederick Rudolph, about students living on campus:

In the commons room of the dormitory at South Carolina College in 1833, two students at the same moment grabbed for a plate of trout: only one of them survived the duel that ensued. [This violent student culture was apparently not uncommon during early years at some institutions of higher education, and is an aspect of student life Rudolph refers to as the “collegiate way.”] Among the victims of the collegiate way were the boy that died in a duel at Dickinson, the students who were shot at Miami in Ohio, the professor who was killed at the University of Virginia, the president of Oakland College in Mississippi who was stabbed to death by a student, the president and professor who were stoned at the University of Georgia, the student who was stabbed at Illinois College, the students who were stabbed and killed at the University of Missouri and the University of North Carolina. For this misfortune these victims of the college life could thank the dormitory, the time house of incarceration and infamy that sustained the collegiate way.²

This passage, written by Frederick Rudolph, led me to read his book *The American College and University: A History*. At about this time in fall 2007, I was beginning my doctoral coursework and was enrolled in my department’s historiography course. This course introduced me to the archives and manuscript collections at the University of Georgia’s Hargrett Library and

² Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 97; Gregory S. Blimling, *The Resident Assistant: Applications and Strategies for Working with College Students in Residence Halls*, 5th edition (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1999), 26.

to a respectable paper on the duel that never transpired between professor Charles McCay and a University of Georgia student. Realizing I could combine my affinity for history into my studies on the foundations of education and my work with college students was encouraging. The next semester I enrolled in EDHI 8000, the Institute of Higher Education's History of American Higher Education course. In this class, I was introduced to work by Bernard Bailyn, Lawrence Cremin, Roger Geiger, Jurgen Herbst, and Richard Hofstadter, to name a few. This course again resulted in a historical paper about the University of Georgia, delving into issues of illness and disease on the campus during the antebellum period. And while this paper did not focus directly on university students, this project furthered my experience in the archive and manuscripts section of the library and an angle on the University of Georgia's institutional history that centered on a perspective left out of, or only briefly mentioned in, many schools' histories.

While exploring the literature and some of the primary documents that were of interest from the postbellum period for my preliminary examination, I noticed gaps in the writings, especially as the publications addressed or overlooked questions about masculinity, religion, and social class in the literature treating aspects of the South in the decades immediately following the Civil War. In response to this lack of scholarship, I considered how I could use the historical primary source material from University of Georgia students—material I was also navigating through for my preliminary examination—to help fill these gaps. I wondered what these primary documents composed and collected by college students could tell me and other researchers about student life and southern culture. As I thought more about this question, I realized that the work left by students says a great deal. As Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz pointed out in her work, college students in the past and present are not all alike, but the past can provide a foundation for the

present. She believed that many student subcultures are passed down from one generation and help shape the next generation, and that colleges and universities are not static over time.³

As so many philosophers and others have pointed out, the past needs to be understood to understand the present. Aminzade explained “...that contemporary outcomes may be highly sensitive to initial conditions. It also suggests the need for an event-centered study of history in order to understand the present.”⁴ Thus, a better understanding of and foundation for the present can be provided by a thorough investigation of the past.

The era immediately after the Civil War in the American South became prominent in my quest to help elucidate aspects of the University of Georgia’s past because of the culture shift scholars contended were occurring and was decisive with the northern victory over the South. Whites’ stated that “[t]he nineteenth century was, for the country as a whole, a period of astonishing social transformation” and that “[i]n the South, this transformation of a traditional to a modern social order was experienced in a particularly extreme wrenching fashion.”⁵ She argued that some believe the South did not achieve a *modern* social order until the 20th century, and “Perhaps no single event in the nineteenth century so disrupted the normal functioning of the social order, so destabilized relations between classes, races, and genders than the Civil War.” Southern society was in transition, and individuals were trying to figure out exactly who they were amid the confusion and devastation wrought by the Civil War.⁶

³ Helen L. Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), x.

⁴ Ronald R. Aminzade, “Historical Sociology and Time,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 20, no. 4 (1992): 463.

⁵ LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

Did the post-Civil War cultural shift that LeeAnn Whites mentions, or the realities of social hierarchy and biracialism prevalent in southern culture that David M. Potter mentions⁷, affect college students and how they made sense of their worlds as young, and, for the most part, socially dominant and future influential leaders in the South? What was on the minds of students who attended the University of Georgia during this era? Were students progressive in their thinking and actions, or were they retrogressive, wanting to recapture or immortalize an earlier era? Were students influenced by a dichotomous struggle between a progressive movement toward a New South and a regressive attempt to re-establish the culture of the Old South? According to Paul Gaston, the New South Movement was a myth perpetuated by southerners to re-form and re-establish the social and cultural ideal of the antebellum era. The New South Creed, as Gaston called it, was rife with contradiction, including the dream of a prosperous New South, while adhering to the myths and glamorized rendition of the Old South. The creed of the Old South somehow complemented the newly emerging mantra of the New South. Other examples of paradoxes in the New South Creed included:

...an institutional explanation of industrial backwardness in the Old South coupled with the faith that natural resources could not help but assure industrialization in the New; an elaborate propaganda campaign to attract immigrants into the region negated by hostility to the immigration pool easiest to tap; a gospel of economic interdependence and reconciliation with the North as part of a campaign for independence and domination; a lauding of freedom for the Negro in a politics of white supremacy; dreams of equal treatment of allegedly unequal races in separate societies devoted to mutual progress—these are among the most obvious.⁸

⁷ David M. Potter, “The Enigma of the South,” in *Myth and Southern History*, vol. 2 of *The New South*, 2nd edition, ed. Patrick Gerster and Nicholas Cords (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 42.

⁸ Paul M. Gaston, “The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking,” in *Myth and Southern History*, vol. 2 of *The New South*, 2nd edition, ed. Patrick Gerster and Nicholas Cords (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 18; 32.

This project, rather than piecing together resources from many schools or people throughout the South, focused on college students and provides insight into what well-educated young men in the South, most of whom would become influential leaders in law, politics, and other facets of southern society after their departure from the university, thought and felt about their interrelationships while in school. Masculinity, class, and religion are social structures and “...all historical systems have structures, and rules/norms/values corresponding to these structures, which are part of their operation. These structures always include some kinds of mechanisms that partially constrain deviance in some fashion.”⁹ A focus on these structures through the analysis and interpretation of student documents will help make sense of the material, but also permit it to be compared against how other scholars have used these structures in their analyses of the post-Civil War South. This examination resulted in theory generation regarding the development of southern culture through the utilization of college students’ voices from the postbellum South.

Historical scholars have not sufficiently addressed masculinity, class, and religion during the postbellum period because most of the accounts have a broad focus. These issues during that period are complex, and an indepth study of individuals will provide a deeper understanding of southern culture during this time. If we continue to view the South from only a broad, sweeping perspective, we may never be able to fully comprehend the importance masculinity, class, and religion played in southern society in the decades after the Civil War. A close study of college students during the period can shed considerable light on this area of inquiry and reveal a much

⁹ Immanuel Wallerstein. “What Can One Mean by Southern Culture?,” In *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, ed. Numan V. Bartley (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 9.

more detailed portrait than currently exists of the forces driving student actions during Reconstruction and the runup to the 20th century.

This study examines, through a narrative lens focused on social status, historical documents located in the archives and manuscripts section of the University of Georgia library to paint a picture of student life at the university during this time. They provide views of college students and a backdrop of the college culture they were a part of presented through a narrative history examining the social distinctions and expectations of masculinity, social class and, to a lesser extent, religion. Studying college students at the university during this period has implications for a more thorough understanding of southern culture including social class, masculinity, race, and religion. Dey and Hurtado stated:

The relationship between higher education and society is one in which students play an unrecognized, yet influential role. Students bring values and attitudes associated with larger social forces into academe, thereby creating change within the higher education system. At the same time, students transmit to the wider society ideas, interests, and attitudes cultivated within colleges and universities, thereby helping to bring about change in other social, cultural, and political institutions. In short, the continuing relationship between students and higher education is reciprocal and dynamic, and is informed by and shapes American society.¹⁰

This interdisciplinary investigation, sociological and historical in method, adds to the literature on University of Georgia history, augments the social history of the postbellum South, and may prove useful for theorists and practitioners of education, higher education, history, and student affairs in the future.

Research Questions:

1) What was most important to the student culture at the University of Georgia between 1866 and 1900?

¹⁰ Eric L. Dey, and Sylvia Hurtado, “College Students in Changing Contexts,” in *Higher Education in American Society*, 3rd edition, edited by Philip G. Altbach, Robert O. Berdahl, and Patricia J. Gumpert (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994), 249.

- 2) What social concerns did college students involve themselves in and concentrate on most in the resources they left behind?
- 3) Did students resist conforming to societal norms or a dominant social culture?
- 4) How did students at the University of Georgia resist societal norms perpetuated in the South during the subject period?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

University of Georgia Culture

Today, the University of Georgia is a bustling campus of nearly 35,000 undergraduate and graduate students located in Athens, Georgia. Founded in 1785 and open for classes in 1801, the university has more than 200 years of rich history attached to it. This center of higher learning is now a large, comprehensive research institution, but it has not always been this way. During the 1800s, the university struggled to stay open amid a multitude of setbacks, including chronic underfunding and insufficient enrollment, and had an unclear future. Still, it did manage to stay afloat until it had to close in October 1863 because of the state's involvement in the Civil War.

The University of Georgia of the postbellum South was no longer part of an era that educated only privileged males. An agricultural and mechanical program, necessary to fund the institution's existence, brought a new group of students to campus, as well as a large number of Confederate veterans. The university became a mishmash of students who were probably forward-looking in some regards, certainly regressive in their perspective at times but, to be sure, unique in their own way. Much of the fate of the University of Georgia came from the decisions made by the state legislature, the Chancellor, and the faculty at the institution, but what did the students provide to this discussion? How did students fit into this dynamic of molding and shaping the institution? Did students act and react in a way that was typical or atypical of social and cultural norms of the South during this period? Some of the distinctive qualities and spirit of

any school comes from the students enrolled at the institution. Because of this uniqueness created by student culture, it is imperative to try to discern what it was that made the school unique through a study of the students. Typically left out of the conversation, college students can provide their own distinct perspective, situated within the context provided by the region, state, and community. Their story can tell a great deal about the University of Georgia from a bottom-up perspective—from those who were influenced by a number of factors but also were influential and significant to the formation of the institution as well as the larger culture in their own right.

College life in the South was disrupted with the onset of the Civil War because many students and faculty members enlisted in the Confederate Army to ensure they saw action before the war was over. Most southern institutions of higher education closed owing to lack of students and slowly reopened after the war because of the economic blow felt by the South following the conflict. Higher education in the South led a peculiar existence during the months and years immediately following the end of the Civil War. Although the University of Georgia falls into this category and struggled to come back to life after the end of the fighting, most other institutions did not fare so well as Georgia's flagship institution. The effects of the Civil War:

...and its social and economic consequences had a profound influence upon Southern higher education. The region's colleges were all but destroyed, and their clientele and financial support lost. Colleges that prospered in the antebellum era entered the latter years of the 1860s with great apprehension and little cause for optimism. Endowments had disappeared, students and faculty were in disarray and facilities were often in ruins. The War resulted not only in the closing of colleges but in a complete reversal of the pattern of antebellum expansion and prosperity.¹¹

¹¹ Joseph M. Stetar "In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education After the Civil War," *History of Education Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1985): 343.

When the University of Alabama attempted to reopen in 1865, only one student enrolled and it subsequently decided against reopening. When it did finally reopen in 1868, its enrollment ranged between 10 and 30 students until 1871. Louisiana State University was able to keep its doors open but could only claim four enrolled students. Some of these problems stemmed from a struggling economy, but they also came from lack of funding through Radical Reconstruction, which did not allocate as much money for higher education in the South as for the North. For example, institutions of higher education in New York received \$2,260,000, while only \$222,000 was allocated for funding of colleges in Georgia in 1870. This lack of funding and poor financial standing at colleges and universities in the South was the rule rather than the exception. The University of North Carolina found itself holding worthless Confederate bonds, as well as over \$100,000 in debts, which contributed to its closing between 1870 and 1875.¹²

Colleges in the postbellum South shifted their main objective from that of a classical education to one seen as more pragmatic. Educators in the New South understood the importance of science and engineering, which led to a shift in higher education that was different from what was prominent under the social order of the antebellum South.¹³ The South no longer placed as much importance on producing orators and statesmen, and it understood that a thriving southern economy would benefit from offering a more practical college education. The students, however, were not devoted to their studies, and many did not graduate because they opted for or thought it more practical to work and to make money than spend a number of years in college.

¹² John S. Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, 2nd edition (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1975), 256-258; Joseph M. Stetar "In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education After the Civil War," *History of Education Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1985): 342.

¹³ Dan R. Frost, *Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000).

Many colleges and universities were also plagued with “strong religious orthodoxy, and lingering sectional prejudice often interfered with freedom or intellectual inquiry and exchange of ideas.”¹⁴ Further, all-male colleges were much more prevalent in the South than in northern states, showing that regional distinctiveness played a part in the shaping of higher education in the South and sending the message, at least tacitly, that higher education was still reserved only for men, which was the case for the University of Georgia through the end of the 19th century.¹⁵

The University of Georgia was different once it reopened in 1866 than it had been during the antebellum era. Many campus buildings were used throughout the Civil War as an infirmary and to house Union prisoners of war, and even after the school reopened, it housed Federal troops for a short time. Boney contended that tensions were high on campus for the few years after the university reopened with Radical Reconstruction. Boney stated, “Former slaves now wandered freely around Athens, but when some attempted to enter university buildings, they were driven away by armed students.”¹⁶ In January 1866, the university had an enrollment of 78 students. Enrollment rose to 265 in 1867, with a little less than a hundred of those students attending the University High School, most of whom were Confederate war veterans.¹⁷ The University High School, a new preparatory branch of the institution, could also be found at other colleges and universities throughout the South because of the lack of qualified collegiate-level students.¹⁸

The composition of college students was much different. Before the War, students enrolled at the university were typically from wealthy southern families who wanted a classical

¹⁴ Ezell, *The South Since 1865*, 262.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 262-263.

¹⁶ F. Nash Boney, *A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia*, 2nd edition (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2000), 46.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁸ Stetar “In Search of a Direction,” 342.

education for their sons. Immediately following the Civil War, it was evident that not all of the students still fit the antebellum college-student mold. Chancellor Andrew Adgate Lipscomb realized the new students were different from the ones attending before the War. Lipscomb noted that the students were “much more manly in their sympathies and aspirations; and much more obedient as to the real spirit of submission to discipline and consequently much more thoughtful and prudent as to matters of personal control.”¹⁹ Many of these students were Confederate veterans, older and more mature than the traditional student, and were able to enroll at the university for a short period free of cost because of an act passed by the Georgia House and Senate Committee. Although this bill providing monetary support for “indigent, maimed soldiers” allowed wounded war veterans to get free tuition and living expenses in return for the students working as teachers in Georgia for as many years as they received monetary educational support from the state, it was repealed not long after its passing. Even though the bill was short-lived, it did have an effect on the university, prompting an enrollment surge. As a result, there was not enough room on campus to house all of the new students. They would have had to live in boarding houses outside the campus had the university not decided to accommodate these men in what became known as the University High School. According to the Chancellor’s 1867 report, 93 students from 37 counties were enrolled at the university and received state funding. However, since the legislation was quickly repealed only several months after it was passed, most of the students lodged at the University High School did not continue with their enrollment, and the university administrators closed the High School facility in winter 1870. The university itself struggled to stay open amid funding problems and its inability to settle on what type of school the institution would be, since it was dabbling in the agricultural and mechanical arts but

¹⁹ Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 111.

did not really deviate too far from the classical education it had always provided to wealthy Georgia residents.²⁰

To receive funds from the Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the university established the Georgia State College of Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts in 1872. This new aspect of education did not change the composition of the University of Georgia much, except for the student population, because as Boney stated, “Technically it was a separate school, and, unlike the old university, it charged no tuition and required no entrance examination. Yet in reality the two schools were one, with the same faculty, the same facilities, and the same Board of Trustees.”²¹ The number of students continued to grow, exceeding 300 by 1873, but more than half of these students were enrolled in Georgia’s agricultural and mechanical school. The students who did attend the university’s agricultural and mechanical school were none too pleased with the setup of the college. The university did not have an entrance examination to get into the agricultural and mechanical school; therefore, many of the students could not handle the academic workload or found themselves spending much of their time in remedial classes in an attempt to rectify their academic deficiencies. Many went back to their family’s farm without a degree, having gained little from their experience at the Georgia State College of Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts. These students and farmers began to “...turn against the university, increasingly convinced that it remained what it had always been to them, a small, isolated, rich boys’ school with no concern for the rural masses.”²²

²⁰ Derrell Roberts, “The University of Georgia and Georgia's Civil War G.I. Bill,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 49, (1965).

²¹ Boney, *A Pictorial History*, 50.

²² *Ibid.*, 54.

The Panic of 1873, which led into a long depression for the South, also brought another setback to the University of Georgia, which suffered declining enrollment and the retirement of the visionary Chancellor Lipscomb, who tried to push the university forward into a more modern institution of higher education. Lipscomb saw higher education as the economic and social vehicle to aid in reconstructing the state. He believed the classical curriculum was holding the university back from venturing into more practical education, such as those that could be provided through the addition of science and agricultural studies to the curriculum. A boost in monetary aid from federal land-grant funds²³ and higher student enrollment provided optimism to Lipscomb's vision, but

Lipscomb's vision of a modern, public service oriented university proved premature in Georgia, his educational ideas ultimately doomed to failure because of conditions peculiar to the South. In a region impoverished by war and encumbered with a political leadership which made a virtue out of reactionism, the idea that a state university could lead in the reconstruction of the state seemed to many a strange and unworkable idea. A continuing anti-intellectualism, the disinterest in providing a sound system of public education, and the university's persistent reputation as a finishing school for the privileged made it highly unlikely that the process of modernization [would continue].²⁴

The University of Georgia, one of few higher education institutions without religious influence at the time,²⁵ continued down an unsure path during the postbellum years, with enrollment fluctuating, inadequate funding, and frequent attacks by religiously affiliated colleges and universities, which accused "...the University of godlessness and debauchery."²⁶ The university's chancellors during these years had varying perspectives of how the institution ought to function. For example, Andrew Lipscomb was replaced with Henry Holcombe Tucker, who had previously worked as the president of Mercer University and who was also a Baptist

²³ Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1991).

²⁴ Dyer, *The University of Georgia*, 122.

²⁵ Coleman, *A History of Georgia*.

²⁶ Boney, *A Pictorial History*, 62.

minister. Tucker was much more conservative than Lipscomb had been and eliminated some of the progressive measures Lipscomb had put in place, including an elective curriculum.²⁷ Tucker was replaced by Patrick Hues Mell, another Baptist clergyman who was not especially dynamic in leading the university or procuring funding for its advancement. Mell died in 1888 and was succeeded by William E. Boggs. Boggs, a Confederate chaplain during the Civil War and Presbyterian minister, continued to lead much in the conservative manner as his predecessors Tucker and Mell. The 1880s and 1890s, "...a time when many state universities had started broadening their curricula and emphasizing research and public service," were part of an era when the University of Georgia remained relatively stagnant.²⁸ While "...the state's population climbed toward two million, enrollment at the University of Georgia continued to fluctuate around 200, although the number did edge up to about 300 by the end of the century. The university continued to serve an infinitesimally small percentage of the people of the state."²⁹ The university, by the end of the 19th century, was still largely a liberal-arts college and "...seemed increasingly obsolescent; it looked more and more like an antebellum institution trying to live beyond its time."³⁰

Although the 1880s and 1890s were not dynamic years for significant growth, curricular change, or social foresight by University of Georgia decision makers, these were the decades when student life at the university began to flourish. Social life for the students took a different shape from what existed during the antebellum years, as shown by the emergence of baseball and the university's eventual plunge into intercollegiate sports in the 1890s. Social fraternities also began to take hold almost immediately after the university resumed classes. Sigma Alpha

²⁷ Ibid., 52.

²⁸ Ibid., 54.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 62.

Epsilon appeared on campus in 1866 and Chi Phi, Kappa Alpha, and Phi Delta Theta followed shortly thereafter. Campus life was changing and by the “...1880s eight fraternities flourished. The old Phi Kappa and Demosthenian literary societies began to fade as athletics and social fraternities reshaped social life on the campus.”³¹ Students now faced many more distractions than they had known during the antebellum period, and an extracurricular life now dominated much of the time they spent on campus. The shifted focus from scholastic endeavors to more social activities on campus prevailed. Some observers, such as historian E. Merton Coulter, have looked back unfavorably on this culture shift at the university because, as he put it, there was “...less depth of learning” in the traditional sense during the postbellum period. Nonetheless, the social aspect at the University of Georgia was there to stay.³²

Southern Culture

College students can add to the discussion of the reshaping of southern social identity during the postbellum period. Robert Pace’s *Halls of Honor* noted southern social norms and expectations during the antebellum era through an investigation of college students; however, it left the period after the Civil War largely unexamined. Pace thought honor was the main underlying theme and the catalyst for conformity in the antebellum college. Still, he concluded, “When the dominant Southern culture came tumbling down at the hands of Federal troops, college life in the South fell with it,” and unlike Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Pace believed the role of honor in southern society shifted and did not survive into the postbellum era.³³ He assumed the strict adherence to the code of honor that had been so prevalent in guiding the youth toward

³¹ Ibid., 52.

³² Ellis Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South: As Seen at the University of Georgia* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), 276.

³³ Robert F. Pace, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 117.

adulthood was no longer intact. Pace maintained that once colleges and universities began to reopen and rebuild after the War, the shifts in society created new parameters for southern college students and their life on campus, although he did not delve into this area of inquiry.

According to Wynes, two major factors affected the culture of the South after the Civil War. One was the retrogressive perspective of the Old South perpetuated through books, newspapers, and plays. Another and similar problem was the attempt, through these same outlets, to find and rework southern identity. Defeat and the resentment toward Reconstruction devastated the South, creating an uncertainty in social distinctions. This uncertainty provided southern artists with the opportunity to perpetuate old ideals or provide a space to suggest new social norms. This reculturing of “Old South” social distinctions and reestablishment of southern identity may have also helped southerners embrace the inevitability of change in the new era.³⁴

Students at the University of Georgia can help make sense of and add to the discussion of the changing shape of southern society during the post-Civil War era. However, little has been published about it, so a review of the literature on how other scholars have broached this topic is not feasible. Understanding how scholars have used masculinity, class, and religion to make sense of southern culture during this period—and the conclusions they reached—is necessary. Such awareness allows comparison of the student perspectives with those held by the larger culture and referred to throughout the analysis section of this study. This research will lead to new knowledge because it encompasses an intimate look into the minds of college students in the decades after the Civil War and describes how they made sense of their reality.

The following cultural aspects examined in this section are important because, more than anything else, they are what southerners relied on to get past the negative aspects of losing a war

³⁴ Charles E. Wynes, “Education, Life, and Culture, 1865-1890,” in *A History of Georgia*, 2nd edition, ed. Kenneth Coleman (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 250.

and moving on with their lives.³⁵ The years between 1866 and 1900 are important because social life and social norms not only were reshaped after the War but also went through a transition of several revisions and in some senses a reversion back to the antebellum era. Much of the late 1860s and the 1870s was spent recovering from the War's devastation, but by the late 1880s and certainly in the 1890s, a new era had been created owing to the passing of most of the generation that had fought in the Civil War and against Reconstruction. Nonetheless, the budding prosperity of the new era was soon halted by an economic depression. The 1890s also brought about the first Jim Crow laws in Georgia, creating for the first time since emancipation an explicit sharp division between blacks and whites.³⁶ All of these factors impacted southern culture and therefore probably influenced the students at the University of Georgia.

The historical narrative delves into and presents the perspective of University of Georgia students through a lens focused on social structure and hierarchy. The resulting discussion in the concluding chapter will present a summation of the completed work, analyze aspects of student culture in relation to the larger southern culture, and provide an opportunity to elaborate on the particular social and cultural factors during this period as well as avenues for future research.

³⁵ Horace H. Cunningham, "The Southern Mind Since the Civil War," in *Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green*, ed. Arthur Stanley Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 386.

³⁶ Wynes, "Education, Life, and Culture," 254; William F. Holmes, "Civil Rights, 1890-1940," in *A History of Georgia*, 2nd edition, ed. Kenneth Coleman (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 277-279.

Masculinity

Masculinity, class, and religion have been discussed by social theorists to help explain social reproduction and resistance to hegemonic norms in education. The concept of reproduction posits educational institutions as key components and substantial forces in the intergenerational transference of gender, race, and class stratification. While this belief maintains that schools, like society, has a tendency to push people toward conformity,³⁷ others contend schools also are places of resistance to counteract social norms and shifts toward hegemony,³⁸ thereby making it important to examine the dynamics between conformity and resistance of societal expectations for this analysis of student life at the University of Georgia.

According to recent scholars,³⁹ the study of masculinity has become popular only recently among scholars and came out of the Women's Liberation movement, with extensive emphasis on feminist research beginning toward the end of the 1960s. Connell contended that gender scholars and gender theory do not look deeply enough into their understanding of men or women. Gender scholars focus on the differences of men and women rather than trying to dig deeper in an attempt at understanding the complexities that lie within each gender.⁴⁰

Weaver-Hightower pointed out that scholars have not thoroughly examined the topic of boys, masculinity, and education, but research on gender and education is vast. Because of this largely unexplored area of specific inquiry, more comprehensive analysis and discovery of

³⁷ Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004).

³⁸ Judith Preissle-Goetz and Linda Grant, "Conceptual Approaches to Studying Gender in Education," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 19, No. 2 (1988).

³⁹ R. W. Connell, "The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History," *Theory and Society* 22, no. 5 (1993); R. W. Connell, Jeff Hearn, and Michael S. Kimmel, "Introduction," in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, ed. R. W. Connell, Michael S. Kimmel, and Jeff Hearn (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005); Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett, eds., *The Masculinities Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ Connell, "The Big Picture."

possible gaps is necessary.⁴¹ Historically men have been expected to enter the public sphere and have more connections with the outside world, while the expectation of women was to stay within the private sphere of the home. This is important in that both males and females typically grow up under the protection of the private sphere of their home, but at a certain point males are expected to break away and become independent from their families.⁴² College can be that first independent experience filled with new surroundings, exposure to new ideas, and the formation of romantic relations and relationships with friends. According to Stone and McKee, time spent by men in college should bring about a great deal of growth and a better understanding of the self.⁴³ Further, Connell explained, “It is not too strong to say that *masculinity is an aspect of institutions*, and is produced in institutional life, as much *as it is an aspect of personality* or produced in interpersonal transactions.”⁴⁴

Kimmel contended that manhood can be thought of as constant, biological, and generational, yet masculinity is constantly evolving. He argued that masculinity is constructed through personal reflection and relationships with others in the world and that masculinity, rather than being static or timeless, is historically and socially constructed.⁴⁵ Moreover, as Edley and Wetherell pointed out paradoxically, “...men are simultaneously the producers and the products

⁴¹ Marcus Weaver-Hightower, “The ‘Boy Turn’ in Research on Gender and Education,” *Review of Educational Research* 73 no. 4, (2003): 471-472.

⁴² The expectation of women staying home and being responsible for child rearing remains in the American psyche. However, women now make up the majority of college students and are entering higher paying careers than men, a trend likely to continue in the future. Liza Mundy, “Woman, Money and Power,” *TIME*, 26 March 2012.

⁴³ Linda Stone and Nancy P. McKee, *Gender and Culture in America*, 2nd edition (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002).

⁴⁴ Connell, “The Big Picture,” 602.

⁴⁵ Michael S. Kimmel, “Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity,” in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994).

of culture; the masters and the slaves of ideology.”⁴⁶ In other words, men construct what it means to be masculine; however, they are also, ironically, bound by their own creation of what it means to be a man.

Historically, men have always been the privileged sex and dominated the roles of power.⁴⁷ This is also true in the United States in the private and public sphere. Schooling, according to Apple and Bourdieu and Passeron, is a place of social reproduction, and schools are an agent in the reproduction since they provide a setting for the construction of particular forms of gender roles and perpetuation of hegemony.⁴⁸ However, some scholars, such as Connell, do not support this theory, stating that while there may be a dominant masculinity among a community or culture, there are combinations of a plurality of masculinities as well as a hierarchy of masculinities.⁴⁹ This means there is a constant shift in masculinities on a horizontal scale, as well as an ever-changing shift in masculinities on a vertical scale, and that the dominant masculinity is place specific.

One limitation to masculinity studies, Connell warned, is the attempt at overgeneralization. A large part of the problem, Connell stated, is that of ethnocentrism. Connell maintained that the discourse of masculinity was constructed from a small portion of the world’s population of men connected to one culture, during one specific period in history. Because of this, Connell believed that masculinities were dependent on and changed within each culture and region. To fill this void in the literature, Connell introduced the concept of

⁴⁶ Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, “Masculinity, Power, and Identity,” in *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*, ed. Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1996), 109.

⁴⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁸ Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*; Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1992).

⁴⁹ Connell, “The Big Picture.”

hegemonic masculinity.⁵⁰ Hegemonic masculinity is associated with the second wave of masculinity studies in sociology and is the idea that while all men are different and possess different masculinities, there is a dominant masculinity within each culture that men are expected to abide by. This conception of masculinity compared men's individual masculinities to the one that was considered the social norm of the dominant culture.

Connell and Messerschmidt explained that the concept of hegemonic masculinity does not support the theory of social reproduction. Rather, Connell and Messerschmidt believed that recognizing social struggles where subordinated masculinities influence dominant norms is necessary and that these subsidiary masculine forms ought to be brought to the forefront for further discussion. They believed that a hierarchy of masculinities is present in society and point to several levels of masculinity, but even these subsections are complex and can be "...crosscut by other social divisions and are constantly renegotiated in everyday life."⁵¹

In a great deal of sociological work, as well as the historical work on masculinity, women are excluded from the discussion or analysis. This should not be the case, as Brod pointed out, because the way men react and show or prove their masculinity to women is extremely important. Theorists tend to explain masculinity as if men and women live in a vacuum, separated from each other's existence.⁵² While men at the University of Georgia may have only been around other men for much of their time on campus, they were certainly not prohibited from interacting with females of the town of Athens or the nearby, all-female, Lucy Cobb Institute. Thus, Brod's pragmatic approach will be kept in mind and adhered to, to ensure that

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 835.

⁵² Harry Brod, "Some thoughts on some histories of some masculinities: Jews and other others," in *Theorizing Masculinities*, eds. Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994).

the totality of the circumstances and persons involved are taken into account during this analysis and when presenting information to the reader.

According to Whitehead and Barrett, “The sociology of masculinity concerns the critical study of men, their behaviors, practices, values, and perspectives.” In the theoretical debate addressing masculinity, there have been three distinctly defined movements among scholars. The first stage, starting in the 1950s, was “...concerned with the problematics of male role performance and the cost to men of attempting to strictly adhere to dominant expectations of masculine ideology....” The 1980s saw the second wave of scholarship addressing the sociology of masculinity, with scholars such as Connell and the introduction of the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the idea of an archetype of masculine dominance around which individuals fit into and are compared against in society. The third stage of masculinity scholarship in sociological debates has been heavily influenced by feminist post-structuralism and postmodernist theory. This new wave of literature emphasizes “...how men’s sense of identity is validated through dominant discursive practices of self, and how this identity work connects with (gender) power and resistance.”⁵³

I position myself in this third wave of the post-structuralist or postmodernist approach to sociological masculinity. I think of masculinity in a more fluid, complex way than simply gender (first wave) or a belief that a society has a dominant masculinity (second wave) to which all other males are compared. Social class, age, race, ethnicity, religion, education, sexual orientation, and so on shape men and the masculinities they present in society.⁵⁴ Gardiner contended current post-structuralist and postmodernist thinkers are influenced by feminist theorists who want to push past the simple dichotomous split between males and females.

⁵³ Whitehead and Barrett, *The Masculinities Reader*, 14-15.

⁵⁴ Connell, Hearn, and Kimmel, “Introduction,” 3.

Gardiner went on to state, “[Post-structuralist] feminists tend to see gender as fluid, negotiable, and created through repeated performances rather than as fixed or innate. They believe their view is more liberating than the ideas of either traditionalists or other feminists. Although they do not claim that androgyny or gender convergence has already been achieved, their theories forecast a multiplicity of gendered possibilities for people rather than only two opposed conditions.”⁵⁵

Postmodernism’s adherence to the subjective and the complexities present in everyday life “...can be useful not only for rethinking governing cultural values but also as a framework for actively seeking social change. Indeed, postmodernism’s focus on instability, multiplicity, and contingency, as well as its subsequent celebration of difference, provides an extraordinary basis for interrogating the cultural scripts of normative masculinity.”⁵⁶ While a wide-sweeping social change is not the goal of this study, it does seek a change in the way scholars approach historical studies on masculinity and the context within which they are embedded and that taking subjectivity, identity, and agency into account, as Gutterman suggested, is highly important in this type of research to understand not only the societal effect on the individual but also the individual’s effect on society.

Masculinity in historical studies, in recent years, has also become important to the scholarship of the South. It has evolved over the years and, as mentioned in the sociological work on masculinity, is currently seen as an offshoot of gender studies that initially emerged out of the 1970s and 1980s as women’s studies but is still a fairly recent focus in historical writing.

⁵⁵ Judith K. Gardiner, “Men, Masculinities, and Feminist Theory,” In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, eds. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R. W. Connell (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005), 45.

⁵⁶ David S. Gutterman, “Postmodernism and the Interrogation of Masculinity,” in *The Masculinities Reader*, eds. Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 61.

Males have once again turned the direction of gender studies back onto men, those who have dominated the discussion throughout history. However, scholars such as Stephen Berry believed that a new, more narrowed focus on men can shed light on an area that is “vital” yet not thoroughly researched. Berry presented diaries of young southern men to highlight their inner feelings and beliefs, and thinks a focus on masculinity will “...naturally seek better to understand how such systems work and have worked, change and have changed” over time.⁵⁷ In *Princes of Cotton: Four Diaries of Young Men in the South, 1848-1860*, Berry, suggested that scholars such as himself and Craig Thompson Friend propose that there are a range of models for manhood, but all are interrelated. Berry adds that new studies of different subgroups within masculinity research can provide clues as to how men from these different groups related to one another, to women, to themselves, and to the larger society (P. x-xi).⁵⁸

Although Berry did not make explicit his sociological stance on masculinity, he clearly noted how he perceives masculinity’s influential role in the Civil War. A focus on masculinity studies, Berry stated, is critical in understanding the effects of the Civil War because

The Civil War was, like all wars, essentially ironic. Supposed to enforce, amplify, and clarify gender roles, it instead made them murky, distorted, and even inverted. Women had to protect their farms, attend to business, and provide for their families. Men had to cook, clean, and nurse each other like women; take orders and, in the case of imprisonment, wear shackles like slaves; have their time structured and endure punishment like children. In dispensing death and punishment upon themselves en masse men created a kind of violence that did not regenerate but enervated white masculinity—and patriarchy with it. Thus, the war was simultaneously hypermasculine—a license to kill, gamble, drink, chew, curse, and fornicate—and infantilizing, enslaving, and emasculating. *During* the war, not after, many men felt helpless, dependent, and no longer in control of their destinies. Defeat and Reconstruction constituted a *second* crisis in Southern masculinity; the war experience itself constituted the first.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Stephen Berry, ed., *Princes of Cotton: Four Diaries of Young Men in the South, 1848-1860* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2007), x.

⁵⁸ Ibid., x-xi.

⁵⁹ Ibid., xiii.

If it is accepted that defeat from the North in the Civil War, and the struggles with resituating and regaining political power, was an attempt to reclaim and reinstitute manhood in the South, then the decades immediately following the War are crucial to making sense of this area of research. Berry stated that his work in *Princes of Cotton* fills a void in masculinity studies during the antebellum era because he focused on young, single men he claimed have been a group of individuals left out of the discussion. Concentrating on college students in this study can add to the discussion and literature on masculinity as much as the focus on masculinity can add to the discussion of students in higher education. Studies on masculinity must continue, according to Berry, because although “most of Southern history has been written by men about men,” most of them do not specifically center on masculinity or attempt to link public consensus of this gender role with “...men’s inner experience of the attempt to fulfill such roles.” Therefore, he says, the study of masculinity is in need of more research, and the “...revolution in women’s studies has not been matched by a comparable advance in our understanding of men *as men*.”⁶⁰

Craig Thompson Friend’s use of masculinity studies to present the history of the postbellum era is similar to that of Berry. According to Friend, the South’s loss shook the principles of white southern manliness to its core. Friend, much like Berry, contended that the literature on masculinity is incomplete, especially in the South in the period immediately following the Civil War. Berry’s edited volume posited that race, class, age, sexuality, and place all had an influence on individuals and communities in their perceptions of and conditions of what it meant to be manly. Friend asserted that manliness shifted in the late 1800s as physical

⁶⁰ Ibid., xiv.

demands of agriculture and frontier life led manhood to be proven in sport and leisure events instead.

While many northern males subscribed to the idea of self-made manhood, men in the South “...viewed themselves in opposition to what they described as urban, industrial, liberal, corrupt, effeminate men of the North,” and the southern males held on to previous ideals of manhood and codes of honor that were proven communally.⁶¹ Another important aspect Friend wanted the reader to understand through the presentation of his case studies in *Southern Masculinity* is that masculinity is not simply a neat division with femininity, but race, class, and sexuality are also integral to the understanding and can create “...multiple masculinities reacting to multiple influences.”⁶²

Although Friend’s work tries to make sense of multiple masculinities and how these masculinities have been shaped by the southern region and vice versa, the essays he presented in *Southern Masculinity* cover from 1865 to 2000, which provides a long-term perspective of shifting masculinities but does not allow for much depth during any one particular period; nor does it allow for a cross analysis between cases. Friend, much like Berry, did not make clear his stance on or perspective of masculinity. He presented multiple examples of masculinity to the reader, but does he believe there are multiple masculinities surrounding a centered, hegemonic masculinity? Or does he subscribe more to the belief that masculinity is fluid, and society consists of a complex system of multiple masculinities? Another aspect that is missing from Friend’s edited volume is that there was not a focus on college men. Friend did include men of varying ages in different parts of the South, but he was attempting to paint a broader brushstroke

⁶¹ Craig Thompson Friend, ed., *Southern Masculinity: Perspectives on Manhood in the South since Reconstruction* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2009), x.

⁶² *Ibid.*, xiii.

of the history of masculinities in the South and left out this aspect in his work. Filling that gap is vital to forming a better understanding of southern masculinity, and it is even more important to creating a focused analysis of similar individuals, in this case college men in the South attending the University of Georgia after the Civil War.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown contended, much like Friend, that several dimensions of masculinity existed in the postbellum South. In *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1880s*, Wyatt-Brown presented the complexities and peculiarities of the post-Civil War South and how a study of honor, religion, and effects of the War are crucial to understanding southern society and southern culture. Honor, according to Wyatt-Brown a term synonymous with reputation, was the only aspect of southern manhood that survived the War and one that he believed is the entire embodiment of masculinity. I see the importance of honor in southern society but view honor as an aspect or subcategory of masculinity rather than honor as the main force behind all social factors in the South as Wyatt-Brown presented to his readers.

Honor, a pervasive concept used by scholars such as Wyatt-Brown, Ownby, and others, is an aspect of southern culture used to frame historical accounts of the antebellum as well as the postbellum South. Ownby described honor as “a system of values within which you have exactly as much worth as others confer upon you.”⁶³ It was a quality that all southern men were expected to possess, and they strictly adhered to the code they observed. It was, though, a character trait that was not so much unique to the South as it was important to the regular functioning in southern social relations. Honor, practiced and evoked from the individual, actually came from others—pressure from society, not from within, and a man had to be willing to protect it in public when challenged. Ownby stated that visitors from other parts of the

⁶³ Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 13.

country were often surprised at how important and frequent fighting was in southern culture. He added, “The driving impulse was not primarily a taste for blood but rather a constant readiness for confrontation.”⁶⁴

Honor, while distinctively a masculine trait, was also reinforced by females in the South. For example, “Young men who did not enlist speedily enough [into the Confederate army] might find a petticoat draped ominously over a chair in their quarters. From the very start, Southern ladies helped sustain the common principle of honor.”⁶⁵ The works Wyatt-Brown, Ownby, and Friend differ slightly, however, in regard to honor. While Wyatt-Brown presented honor as a trait that transcends characteristics of manhood and that affects the entire culture of the region, it can be thought of better in terms of a dimension of masculinity. Violence and competition are also dimensions of masculinity discussed throughout texts on masculinity construction during this period.

Southerners, both men and women, were unsure of their identity individually and collectively in the years after the Civil War and throughout the 1870s, but they created and shaped their new identity in the 1880s and 1890s. Masculinity and violent encounters during this time were much more covert than they had been before the War too. Honor, according to Wyatt-Brown, by the 1880s “...was no longer chastened but was in the process of being redeemed.”⁶⁶ To achieve this sense of honor, southerners utilized two modes of violence. The first was between whites in personal matters, and the second “...and more tragic set whites against the lately freed people in mob actions as if the black race collectively bore total responsibility for the

⁶⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁶⁵ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1880s* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 211.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 270.

failure of Rebel arms.”⁶⁷ The first matter involved dueling between men, but according to Wyatt-Brown, dueling had somewhat fallen out of fashion. In antebellum times, a few members of the Baptist and other Protestant churches denounced the practice, but most members more or less condoned or at least overlooked it. After the Civil War, a number of religious groups and southern newspaper editors condemned dueling, calling “The code of Honour,” [*sic*] the cause for most duels, a disgrace that needed to be wiped out. Since many in southern society no longer regarded dueling as the honorable event it had once been, violence and murder between whites by way of explosive encounters or planned ambush became the norm instead.⁶⁸

There were also differences in masculinity construction between the North and the South. According to Wyatt-Brown men who fought in the Civil War from the North cared about their reputation as viewed by others. Men from the South, however, cared more about how they viewed themselves and equated honor with self-respect.⁶⁹ After some of the facts of the Civil War came to light and northern military leaders denounced southern generals and other high-ranking officers for executing unarmed prisoners toward the end of the War, these southern men felt as though this was a direct assault on the honor of their manhood and challenged the northern officers to a duel. In many cases, the northern officers simply did not respond to this challenge—something that southerners viewed as cowardly and did not understand how such a challenge could be extended without as much as a response.⁷⁰ Distinctions between these two regional constructions of manhood continued through the postbellum period with a reshaping of southern masculinity brought about by the restructuring of southern culture and lingering influence provided by the results of the War.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 271.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 215.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 235.

LeeAnn Whites, rather than focusing only on aspects of masculinity, used a more traditional approach of gender studies to analyze the Civil War and the postwar South in *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* and *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890*. In *Gender Matters*, Whites studied how both masculinity and femininity played a role during and after the Civil War. This book used a biological focus on gender and analyzed more of the dynamic relationship between men and women, as well as on the interaction between women, than the interrelationships between and among men. Whites believed southern households were turned *inside out* because women assumed the lead role when their husbands were fighting in the War and even stayed the head of the household if their husband died as a result of the war. Although Whites was not concentrating specifically on aspects of masculinity, her focus on gender is important because as she pointed out, gender has mostly been invisible in the social order since it is overshadowed by race and to a lesser extent class. She stated that "...gender matters as much across the racial and class lines of the social order as it does between men and women of the same race and class" and that gender "...constructs individual's [*sic*] sense of themselves and their place in the social order."⁷¹ Because gender shapes an individual's sense of reality, it is vitally important to use that characteristic in the telling of history. Gender and gender roles are taken for granted in most texts because they are so ingrained in the social order, but because gender and gender roles are so deeply steeped in the subconscious, that is all the more reason they ought to be treated and analyzed in regard to their importance and influence on the shaping of history. Whites wrote, "Like the overvisibility of race, the undervisibility of gender as a factor that matters in the telling

⁷¹ Whites, *Gender Matters*, 1.

of ‘mainstream’ Southern history needs to be problematized.”⁷² Class, Whites asserted, is another aspect, similar to gender, that is in need of treatment because of its general invisibility, or at least its subjugation, owing to the clear distinction provided by race and that “...historical subjects at the time have seen race when we should at times more appropriately have seen class.”⁷³

One key factor that Whites brought up that is important to this study is that it is crucial to analyze historical events, especially those that involve mostly or all affluent white men. In her view, “...those on the dominant side of the relationship, the wealthy, the white, and the male, were also defined by their participation in them, both as systemic social categories, as well as being individual burdens to bear and to somehow negotiate and perhaps even overcome.”⁷⁴ Simply because the students at the University of Georgia, for the most part, were part of the dominant social group does not make them unimportant to the discussion of southern social history. In fact, their membership in that dominant social group may be even more important. It may help to fill in gaps in knowledge because the viewpoints of these individuals of the dominant group have been studied as the norm rather than as extremely influential in the shaping of southern culture and the perpetuation of the dominant culture of the region and the culture of other nondominant groups. Social dominance should not simply be viewed as a given or seen as a platform; it is shaped and cultivated by individuals and groups. To better understand southern culture, it is essential to analyze the view and influences of individuals on society, and it is necessary to examine the influence social contexts have on individuals.

⁷² Ibid., 2.

⁷³ Ibid., 2-3.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 3.

Similarly, in *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender*, Whites commented on gender in Augusta, Georgia, in the decades during and after the Civil War. She used many primary-source documents from the city to show Augusta as an example of how gender was an influencing factor during the Civil War as well as in the restructuring of the South. The book focused greatly on the relationships between men and women, especially those within the confines of marriage and the household. The South's defeat changed the concepts of masculinity for both men and women. Whites stated, "What sectional reconciliation required of ex-Confederates was nothing less than a reconstructed understanding of what it meant to be a free white man. When they 'divorced' themselves from the 'causes' of the war, they were actually divorcing themselves from the antebellum construction of their manhood as heads of independent, potentially slaveholding households."⁷⁵

Southerners tried to fight against this restructuring of their manhood by continuing to latch onto the idea that they had fought for the more worthy cause. Wives of ex-Confederates, whose main duty was to support the men and the southern cause, became increasingly present in their husband's public lives and still did not believe that all Confederate soldiers were like their husbands. It is true that all Confederate soldiers were not alike, and as time passed, it was easier to use the collective sympathy of the Confederate dead. That allowed for a homogenization of Confederates and reinforced the myth that all soldiers, regardless of class, were fighting to keep the southern head of the household gentleman in power. Opinion molders, in an attempt to keep the antebellum hegemonic structure in place, used the shared admiration for the Confederate dead to perpetuate the notion that there was a "familial bond" among all the soldiers.⁷⁶ Hanging

⁷⁵ LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 163.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 166-167.

on to the old order during the late 1860s proved difficult, however, in that many previously prosperous planters and property holders found it increasingly hard to retain their wealth.⁷⁷

The loss of the Civil War, although creating a restructuring of manhood in the South, also allowed southerners an opportunity to reframe the War as a struggle benefitting their own ideals. Whites (1995) stated that the North "...had been unmanned by [its] honorless pursuit of material gain [and that] while 'industrial might' may have given the North victory in battle, Southern white men's dedication to their 'honor' had given them the greater, moral victory."⁷⁸ Whites believed honor, a quality more associated with antebellum men, was widely interpreted. She viewed manliness, a term more associated with the postbellum South, as more "narrowly defined," focusing mainly on the protection of family.⁷⁹

One of the hugely overlooked aspects of the Civil War, as it shows in these accounts, is that southerners simply reframed the conflict to provide a sense of justification rather than accepting defeat. While individuals in the South may have been depressed and did not know what to do with themselves or how best to deal with the fate of their culture, they seem to have turned to alternative ways of viewing their reality, and some even believed they won the War—at least the parts that mattered to them, such as honor, manhood, and religion. Since the loss of power politically and economically in the postwar South was so complete, leaning on the significance of cultural matters unique to the region to cope with the defeat to the point of near delusion—where some did not even believe the South had lost the War—provided a much needed diversion from the devastation.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 170.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 223-224.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 224.

Social Class

According to bell hooks, race and gender often direct attention away from matters of social class. She pointed out that while a focus on race and gender is important, class ought to be explicitly addressed and understood separately since these categories are often woven tightly together. In a bit of a contradiction, hooks stated that the connection between race, class, and gender is so strong that they ought to be treated perhaps as one rather than three separate perspectives.⁸⁰ The perspective hooks offered, of combining social class with race and/or gender, is similar to those of other scholars on issues of social class. Most contemporary publications about class and education do not divorce class from race, or more specifically (and in more recent literature) ethnicity. As most authors in the Weis⁸¹ and Weis and Fine⁸² collections explained, it is not that this aspect of class has been overlooked but rather that the two distinctions are so inextricably intertwined that it would do their research a disservice and make their conclusions less valid. Ogbu suggested "...where castelike stratification or racial stratification co-exists with class stratification, as in the United States, it is the former that is more basic to social structure and therefore the ultimate determinant of inequality in school outcomes and in adult socioeconomic status between the racial minorities and the dominant group."⁸³

While it may be true that a current study of social class in schools should not be undertaken without acknowledging how racial structures influence class, this does not clearly

⁸⁰ bell hooks, *Where We Stand: Class Matters* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁸¹ Lois Weis, ed., *Class, Race, and Gender in American Education* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

⁸² Lois Weis and Michelle Fine, eds., *Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

⁸³ John U. Ogbu, "Class Stratification, Racial Stratification, and Schooling," in *Class, Race, and Gender in American Education*, ed. Lois Weis (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 166.

address my particular study because all of my subjects are white, but it can offer insight into the distance between the in-group (dominant) and the out-group (non-dominant) that appeared on the University of Georgia campus between 1866 and 1900. Morris does not limit his research by the same reasoning⁸⁴; however, he still brings race into his study of middle and lower class white students in a predominantly minority school by focusing on teacher perceptions of these students and how they differ between white and black teachers. Ream and Palardy⁸⁵ and Martin⁸⁶ focused on students' social capital and the likelihood of their success after high school and college, respectively.

Apple put the division of positions in the study of social classes into perspective. He warned about a narrow, single focus on class in the sociology of education and explained this concept as "class reductionism." Class reductionism is the idea that all social problems are a result of and emerge from class issues. Class is important, as Apple noted, but he informed the reader, "There is a world of difference between taking class as seriously as it deserves and reducing everything down to it."⁸⁷

Sleeter and Grant indicated that a focus only on class may not provide the best results in a study; such is the case in Marxist theory because of the "...tendency to give primacy to class

⁸⁴ Edward W. Morris, "From 'Middle Class' to 'Trailer Trash:' Teachers' Perceptions of White Students in a Predominantly Minority School," *Sociology of Education* 78, no. 2 (2005).

⁸⁵ Robert K. Ream and Gregory J. Palardy, "Reexamining Social Class Differences in the Availability and the Educational Utility of Parental Social Capital," *American Educational Research Journal* 45, no. 2 (2008).

⁸⁶ Nathan D. Martin, "Social Capital, Academic Achievement, and Postgraduation Plans at an Elite, Private University," *Sociological Perspectives* 52, no. 2 (2009).

⁸⁷ Michael W. Apple, "Power, Meaning and Identity: critical sociology of education in the United States," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 17, no. 2 (1996): 133.

relations over race or gender relations.”⁸⁸ Sleeter and Grant used Giroux’s example that while Marxist theory is “...committed to emancipatory concerns...” it contributes to reproduction in gender and racial positions and actions.⁸⁹ As an attempt to solve this problem, they maintained, “There is a need for the continued development of theory and research that emphasizes social justice and emancipation. Such theory must, however, see race, gender, and class as equally important and as enduring forms of oppression that are interrelated but not reducible to one form.”⁹⁰

Rose believed that class structures culture in two ways—through direct experiences and through institutions such as schools that socialize members of distinct classes for work.⁹¹ Apple explained this dichotomous debate among sociologists of education on class issues, believing each group is becoming more and more polarized owing to the more orthodox perspectives of the neo-Marxists and the unconventional views of the postmodern/post-structuralist group. Apple blamed both sides by stating, “Some of this is caused by, but not limited to, the rejectionist impulses, partial loss of historical memory, overstatements, and stylistic peculiarities of some postmodern and poststructural writings and some of it is caused by an overly-defensive attitude on the part of some neo-Marxists.”⁹² Although this divide exists, Apple thought the friction between these two stances could be productive and lead to more literature in this area. A combination of these two areas, a neo-Marxist perspective focusing on the state and a post-structuralist concentration on the local, subjective, and individual identity, “can creatively work

⁸⁸ Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, “A Rationale for Integrating Race, Gender, and Social Class,” in *Class, Race, and Gender in American Education*, ed. Lois Weis (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 144.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 144-145.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁹¹ Fred Rose, “Toward a Class-Cultural Theory of Social Movements: Reinterpreting New Social Movements,” *Sociological Forum* 12, no. 3 (1997).

⁹² Apple, “Power, Meaning and Identity,” 133.

together to uncover the organizational, political, and cultural struggles over education.”⁹³ Apple argued, however, and I agree that while postmodern/post-structuralist researchers in the sociology of education are doing great work focusing on identity and the subjective particularities of students and teachers on race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and so on, they leave out what he called the “very real structurally-generated conditions of this society” at the expense of or at least the marginalization of class issues.⁹⁴ Although the work accomplished by the postmodern/post-structuralist researchers has allowed the voices of more people to be heard than in the past, researchers should not forget that the role the state plays in the structure of society and class is an important issue that would benefit from more analysis.

In most historical literature on the South about the postbellum era, race is often used as the defining factor of social class between two groups. What is often overlooked in the literature from this period is the distinction between blacks and whites in regard to class as well as distinctions of class within these two groups. Painter stated, “Although the word *class* rarely appeared in turn-of-the-[20th] century writing about the South, the hierarchy of racism expressed a clear ranking of classes, in which the word *white*, unless modified, indicated a member of the upper class and *black*, unless modified, equaled impoverished worker. So deeply embedded in racial categories were assumptions about class that deviation from these assumptions required the use of adjectives: *poor white*, *middle-class black*.”⁹⁵

The bifurcated focus on class, between whites and blacks in the postbellum South, is present in many articles and books about the social and economic climate of this period. Articles

⁹³ Ibid., 134.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 135.

⁹⁵ Nell I. Painter, “‘Social Equality,’ Miscegenation, Labor, and Power,” in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, ed. Numan V. Bartley (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 54.

such as those written by Wilson, Woodman, and Wiener and books such as C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, Ransom and Sutch's *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*, and Gavin Wright's *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* are examples.⁹⁶ These publications presented strong arguments covering social class on a large scale and how it affected and was affected by the economy of the region and the rest of the United States. These publications also addressed the separation of poor blacks and poor whites from the planter elite, as well as the effects of tenant farming and cotton production, but I was interested in class relations/interactions by college students who mostly would have been in the upper social class, and who probably spent most of their time with individuals who would have placed themselves in the same category. Of particular interest were at least three exceptions where this association might not be true at the University of Georgia during this era: interaction with Confederate veterans admitted to the university or the University High School, students who attended the agricultural and mechanical college, or individuals in the city of Athens who were not affiliated with the institution. Any of these scenarios ought to be covered in an analysis of college life in

⁹⁶ William J. Wilson, "Class Conflict and Jim Crow Segregation in the Postbellum South," *The Pacific Sociological Review* 19, no. 4 (1976); Harold D. Woodman, "Sequel to Slavery: The New History Views the Postbellum South," *The Journal of Southern History* 43, no. 4 (1977); Harold D. Woodman, "Class, Race, Politics, and the Modernization of the Postbellum South," *The Journal of Southern History* 63, no. 1 (1997); Jonathan M. Wiener, "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865-1955," *The American Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (1979); Comer Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

the postbellum South because such study would delve deeper into interpretations of class relations and perhaps allow for more discussion of class among these privileged individuals.

Contemporary scholars such as Stevens and Archer, Hutchings, and Ross⁹⁷ have attempted to make sense of social class divisions created through institutional reproduction or other objective means. Even so, analyses centered on a divide created by social class subjectively between college students, or an historical approach calling attention to this vital issue, has been neglected and has needed research. Class is certainly a dividing component in society, but it also appears in groups of individuals who all are associated with one class standing. Although the students at the University of Georgia usually were upper class, and to a lesser extent the middle class, the possibility remained that there were sharp divisions between the haves and the have-nots. Thus, an investigation of college life might provide insight into how individuals were affected by or conformed to the influence of class in society, and also how they might have resisted conforming to the class boundaries in the postbellum South.

Religion

Religion in schools has not been the subject of rigorous analysis by sociologists of education, but it has been a focus of more general sociologists and sociologists of religion. One of the main points of contention surrounding religion in higher education is whether attending college is the catalyst in turning religious young adults into skeptical critics or nonbelievers by the time they graduate.

College is an area of growth for most students: a time when students leave their home and enter an environment different from what they are accustomed to experiencing. Kaufman and

⁹⁷ Mitchell L. Stevens, *Creating A Class: College Admissions and the Education of Elites* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007); Louise Archer, Merryn Hutchings, and Alistar Ross, *Higher Education and Social Class: Issues of Exclusion and Inclusion* (London and New York: Routledge Falmer, 2003).

Feldman stated that college provides a new cultural world to students, one the students have not been exposed to before, and one that ultimately creates mixed feelings in many students regarding their religious beliefs. Although students are less inclined to change religions, Kaufman and Feldman found that college students are provided more exposure to other faiths through religion courses and others of different religions than those who do not attend college. In this study, Kaufman and Feldman also concluded that "...students were forming a new sense of who they were in direct relation to their social location."⁹⁸

Social class can also play a role in a student's determining his or her religious beliefs. Wuthnow and Glock found that students who are more financially secure are more likely to fall into the category they classify as "religiously nonconventional" than poorer students.⁹⁹ Thus, one might conclude that middle and upper class students are more likely to be accepting and open to other religions than their lower class counterparts.

Stark contended that religion has an impact on adolescents in terms of delinquency when the rest of their peer group is also religious. Religion, however, has no impact on delinquency of adolescents if the group is not religious, even if the individual is religious. Social pressure among peer groups, Stark found, has more of an effect on individuals than religion alone.¹⁰⁰

Mayrl and Oeur acknowledged that research on college students in terms of their religious beliefs is scant and the research that does exist tends to generalize its theoretical claims without much empirical evidence. Their review of literature points out that college students are more religiously affiliated than previously believed. Mayrl and Oeur also outlined what they see

⁹⁸ Peter Kaufman and Kenneth A. Feldman, "Forming Identities in College: A Sociological Approach," *Research in Higher Education* 45, no. 5 (2004): 487.

⁹⁹ Robert Wuthnow and Charles Y. Glock, "Religious Loyalty, Defection, and Experimentation among College Youth," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12, no. 2 (1973): 175.

¹⁰⁰ Rodney Stark, "Religion and Conformity: Reaffirming a *Sociology of Religion*," *Sociological Analysis* 45, no. 4 (1984).

as the three main lines of research regarding religion and higher education: (1) What do college students believe, and how do they practice their faith? (2) How does the college experience affect students' religious beliefs and practices? and (3) How do students' religious commitments affect their college experience? It is important to understand too that most studies on religion in higher education are done using large-scale surveys. Students' responses to these surveys show that most believe in God and consider themselves religious; however, they do not pray often or attend religious services regularly.¹⁰¹

The percentage of religious students on college campuses is on the rise. No one knows exactly why, but some observers believed the upswing could be due to the increasing number of African-American, Latino, and Asian male students, as well as female students in general, on college campuses; all of these categories are statistically more religious than white males.¹⁰² The UCLA Higher Education Research Institute National Study of College Students' Search for Meaning and Purpose surveyed 100,000 college students at 236 schools and found that approximately 80 percent of them believe in God and attend religious services at least occasionally. The survey showed that students who engaged in religious practices reported greater satisfaction in their social life, more positive interactions with other students, higher evaluation of their overall college experience, and higher grades.¹⁰³ Mooney's inquiry adhered to the quantitative approach found in most religious studies of college students. Her study concluded, as most others do, that students with regular religious attendance have higher a grade point average and that "...both religious observance and religious attendance increase

¹⁰¹ Damon Mayrl and Freeden Oeur, "Religion and Higher Education: Current Knowledge and Directions for Future Research," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48, no. 2 (2009): 261-262.

¹⁰² Margarita Mooney, "Religion, College Grades, and Satisfaction among Students at Elite Colleges and Universities," *Sociology of Religion* 71, no. 2 (2010): 197-198.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 198.

satisfaction with college.”¹⁰⁴ Mooney noted that further research in particular areas could add to the discussion and knowledge about religion in higher education. She stated that future work should focus on how religion influences students’ social lives, social networks, dating, participation/membership in campus organizations, how they deal with personal hardships, and how religious diversity impacts students.¹⁰⁵ She concluded by stating, “More studies of religion and higher education would continue to help sociologists of religion refine the much-debated relationship between secularization and higher education.”¹⁰⁶

William Velez used religion in his study of youths as one predictor to calculate the odds a high school senior will earn a bachelor’s degree. His other factors consisted of whether a student starts out at a two-year college or a four-year college, educational aspirations, living on campus, participation in a work-study program, as well as academic performance while in college. Velez concluded that religion is an important factor in obtaining a bachelor’s degree, although he found the single most important variable in determining a student’s likelihood of graduating from a four-year college is where a student begins his or her college career.¹⁰⁷

Uecker, Regnerus, and Vaaler, stimulated by outdated studies on the religiousness of college students, and not satisfied with researchers’ attempts to announce a direct correlation between college and a reduction in religious affiliation, set out to find their own answers to the decline in religious tendencies in young adults. They contended, “Young adults are vastly more likely to curb their attendance at religious services than to alter how important they say religion

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 211.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 212.

¹⁰⁷ William Velez, “Finishing College: The Effects of College Type,” *Sociology of Education* 58, no. 3 (1985).

is in their life or to drop their religious affiliation altogether.”¹⁰⁸ Further, they stated that young adults are simply more likely to be distracted by other responsibilities and opportunities than they once had, and therefore religion is not of the highest importance during this time in life. Uecker, Regnerus, and Vaaler concluded that cultural broadening through attendance in higher education is not the reason for young adults becoming less religious and that the current generation’s religious involvement (or lack thereof) is not a priority among contemporary youth and young adults.¹⁰⁹ Lee came to the same conclusion and stated, “...the widely ‘secularizing’ effect of college on students is overgeneralized.”¹¹⁰

One critically important aspect about the study of religion Smith, Faris, Denton, and Regnerus pointed out is that “American youth pass through time in culturally-shaped generations which can change significantly from decade to decade.”¹¹¹ This observation is important and relevant to this study because it occurs over approximately 35 years; religious feelings and affiliations could change drastically over a short period.

Religion, and more specifically Christianity, became extremely important to the South during the Civil War. In his essay on the “Confederate Sacrifice and the ‘Redemption’ of the South,” Berends, like most other scholars, noted that it was not this way before the Civil War. In fact, it was not manly to be religious and attend religious services. As the War progressed,

¹⁰⁸ Jeremy. E. Uecker, Mark D. Regnerus, and Margaret L. Vaaler, “Losing My Religion: The Social Sources of Religious Decline in Early Adulthood,” *Social Forces* 85, no. 4 (2007): 1681.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1686.

¹¹⁰ Jenny J. Lee, “Religion and College Attendance: Change Among Students,” *The Review of Higher Education* 25, no. 4 (2002): 376.

¹¹¹ Christian Smith, Robert Faris, Melinda Lundquist Denton, and Mark Regnerus, “Mapping American Adolescent Subjective Religiosity and Attitudes of Alienation toward Religion: A Research Report,” *Sociology of Religion* 64, no. 1 (2003): 112.

southern soldiers relied more on religion than they had at the onset of hostilities.¹¹² The uncertainties of battle made southern men more reliant on religion as a tool to soothe their worries.¹¹³ The work of evangelical ministers also perpetuated the importance of religion in southern society. Many observers believe Christianity replaced or became fused with honor in creating the foundation for southern culture and identity. Southerners viewed the Civil War as a holy war, and “...saving the Confederacy became tantamount to saving Christianity.”¹¹⁴

In the study, an effort was made to find out whether this culture shift, one with an overwhelming spotlight on religion, could be found in student documents and whether the students viewed religion as the foundation for the society or whether honor was still more pervasive in their day-to-day lives. Berends used as an example a student attending the University of North Carolina during the 1850s who admitted he saw importance in Christianity and its message. The student talked about how in theory Christianity was a great way to live life, but he said that in reality it did not align itself with the way men were expected to act, and that if men did not stand up for themselves, they would fall beneath the societal norm of honor.¹¹⁵ This view from the antebellum South was restructured during the War and spread throughout the region. Soldiers heard that the more devout the Christian, the better the soldier, and the point was driven home that piety does not make one “effeminate or cowardly.”¹¹⁶

Religion, once a constant and foundation of southerners, was turned upside down after the War because they believed that “...God favored people as righteous as themselves...” and

¹¹² Kurt O. Berends, “Confederate Sacrifice and the ‘Redemption’ of the South,” in *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*, ed. Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

¹¹³ Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture*, 206.

¹¹⁴ Berends, “Confederate Sacrifice,” 104-105.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹¹⁶ Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture*, 207.

because of their perceived misfortune in the outcome of the War “...churchgoers felt mortified and apathetic.”¹¹⁷ Many in the South were simply distraught from defeat and wanted to try to get back to some sort of normality in their lives immediately after the War’s end. The use of religion as a force in creating a homogenous southern culture and takeover in the political arena through the Lost Cause movement would not be enacted until years later when southerners thought it was time to move on and concentrate on their efforts during the Civil War in a positive light.¹¹⁸

Berends acknowledged that there is still much to be done to fully understand Christianity in southern society and its relationship with the Confederacy, especially how these two closely linked movements progressed and affected the South in the decades after the War. He pointed out, “The tremendous amount of blood shed during the war by Christian soldiers on behalf of a Christian Cause sealed the relationship between Confederate ideology and Christianity.”¹¹⁹

Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920, by Ted Ownby, analyzed religion in the postbellum South under the assumption that men forced themselves to suppress their masculine instincts by engaging in events that channeled unbridled masculinity into constructive competitive forms. He “...examines...the fighting white South and the religious white South—and the evolution of each” and his “...aim is not to offer yet another explanation for Southern men’s combative temperament, but to show how that temperament operated in recreations.”¹²⁰ Ownby told the story of the South using aspects of religion and masculinity to describe its culture and evolution but also how they were interrelated. Christian evangelism was pervasive in shaping the South, and because of this subdued expectation from

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 258.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 246.

¹¹⁹ Berends, “Confederate Sacrifice,” 114.

¹²⁰ Ownby, *Subduing Satan*, ix, 16.

religion, men were constantly trying to figure out ways to release their inner manliness in constructive ways. Two ways were hunting and sports, but many times they favored gambling, fighting, and drunkenness. Ownby contended that while aspects of manhood and combativeness have been around much longer than evangelical culture, men in the South during this time could not reject religious beliefs because religion held the truth to the meaning of life and the “key to eternal life.” “[T]o reject it was to reject Southerners’ only explanation of the meaning of the universe and humankind’s place within it.”¹²¹ Therefore, masculinity was always confined by the belief and structure of religion provided by the dominant culture.

Men had lives outside the home, while women’s lives centered on the home. It is this theme, that men sought recreation outside the home to fill a need for excitement, that Ownby focused on throughout his work, describing the various aspects of male recreation in the decades following the Civil War and also how religion shaped culture. Ownby’s research on recreation is closely linked with religion and is presented using extensive primary-source documentation to illustrate examples in *Subduing Satan*, which allows for a more thorough investigation of manliness because when people “...are enjoying themselves, people express not only who they are, but, very often, who they are not.”¹²²

Religion was an important aspect in restoring southern culture after the War, even more so than has been believed in past examinations of the tie between these two areas. Charles Reagan Wilson pointed out the denominations prevalent in both the North and the South recognized that religion was different for the South than for the North and addressed its

¹²¹ Ibid., 15.

¹²² Ibid., 2.

distinctiveness accordingly. With the region predominantly rural, religion also provided “a sense of community,” which also led to a unique southern identity.¹²³

Wilson related religion to the idea of the Lost Cause, meaning the ideology of the Confederacy whose fight against the North ended in defeat. He emphasized the reliance on religion during unsure times and that by 1865 “...conditions existed for the emergence of an institutionalized common religion that would grow out of the antebellum-wartime religious culture.” This common religion provided “...meaning to life and society amid the baffling failure of fundamental beliefs, offering comfort to those suffering poverty and disillusionment, and encouraging a sense of belonging in the shattered Southern community.”¹²⁴

The South was distinct and created its own offshoot of American civil religion, which started in the pre-War South, but evolved into a religion that was different from the rest of the nation after the War.¹²⁵ After the conflict, southerners began to tie their religion to the cause of the Confederacy and especially to a “mythology” that enveloped the Lost Cause.¹²⁶ This mythology is what Wilson said is how the South used Confederate soldiers and leaders as martyrs who attempted to create a southern nation by battling the North, a group that wanted to prevent them from doing so. This myth “...enacted the Christian story of Christ’s suffering and death, with the Confederacy at the sacred center. But in the southern myth, the Christian drama of suffering and salvation was incomplete. The Confederacy lost a holy war, and there was no resurrection.”¹²⁷

¹²³ Charles R. Wilson, “The Religion of the Lost Cause: Ritual Organization of the Southern Civil Religion, 1865-1920,” in *Religion and American Culture*, ed. David G. Hackett (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 232.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 233.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Some observers believe that Confederate Memorial Day began in Georgia in 1866 when a Confederate widow appealed to southerners to set aside a day to remember the fallen soldiers of the Confederacy by adorning their graves with flowers. An official memorial day was not agreed on until 1916, but the roots of this idea started much earlier, not long after the War. Other rituals in the South followed, and southern men and women believed, “These ceremonies reiterated what southerners heard elsewhere—that despite defeat the Confederate experience proved that they were a noble, virtuous people,”¹²⁸ almost in such a way as to tell themselves that their fighting and their cause had not gone in vain.

Southerners, according to Wilson, thought Union deaths were justified and vindicated with the winning of the War, but what about the Confederate dead? The Civil War made southerners want to be more distinct because they viewed their loss as damaging southern identity. To commemorate the dead, justify their cause, and create a sense of unity apart from the rest of the nation, the South turned to religion to address and provide comfort for these issues. In the decades after the War, Confederate veterans became more and more religious as they became older, and so too did many southerners who were not immediately involved in the fighting. The religion of the South became known as the “single-option religious culture,” meaning Christianity, which “taught an inward, conversion-centered religion.”¹²⁹ And although denominations within Christianity existed, the Lost Cause religion, as Wilson called it, permeated all denominations and created an overarching theme among them all. However, neither southerners nor southern churches worshiped the Confederacy even though religion was closely linked with the Confederacy and its cause.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ibid., 235.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 238.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 238-239.

One aspect of the Lost Cause religion in southern culture, which Wilson addressed, was the attempt to influence the educational system. This happened through textbooks, as well as through the veterans and the widows and daughters of veterans, teaching “the Southern tradition.”¹³¹ Higher education in the South also showed the influence of the Lost Cause religion and the southern tradition, and Wilson presented two clear examples in the University of the South and Washington and Lee University. These schools, in particular, focused on the southern tradition and prided themselves on the Confederate faculty. On Robert E. Lee’s death in 1870, the University of the South suspended classes and held religious services.¹³² The University of Georgia held a similar event, and this study examined both the official descriptions of the activities, as well as any student writings, for roles in or related to them.

According to Wilson, religion is a key factor to understanding southern culture and recognizing that “[t]he southern civil religion emerged because defeat in the Civil War had created the spiritual and psychological need for Southerners to reaffirm their identity, an identity which came to have outright religious dimensions.” Therefore, it is necessary to understand how religion influenced and became so closely entangled with southern culture.¹³³

Wilson’s book chapter and his other book, *The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*, both furnished extensive detail about religion in the South after the Civil War and addressed many of the same issues. He began with a look at religion in the antebellum South to provide background and to show that the unified, civil religion that he would talk about throughout the book was not established until the mid-1860s. Wilson defined the unified, civil religion “...as the religious dimension of a people through which it interprets its historical experience in the light of

¹³¹ Ibid., 239.

¹³² Ibid., 240.

¹³³ Ibid., 241.

transcendent reality.”¹³⁴ The civil religion of the South came about with the acceptance of the loss of the Civil War and the realization that “a Southern political nation was not to be...but the dream of a cohesive Southern people with a separate cultural identity replaced the original longing.”¹³⁵

Wilson believed that since the goal of the South to become its own nation and govern itself did not come to fruition, cultural ideology replaced that goal. The South wanted to be known for something, and that something became religion. As he stated, “The Lost Cause was therefore the story of the linking of two profound human forces, religion and history.”¹³⁶ This link between religion and history was made in and by the church. The church helped form public opinion, and leadership within the church promoted this form of southern identity. Churches, as Wilson contended, were the “...most effective moral-building agencies.”¹³⁷ Humans are always looking for ways to make sense out of their reality and as a way to control events, even if only symbolically. Religion became a crutch of support for southern people to deal with the defeat and despair they experienced after the War and also a way for them to celebrate the “Confederate nation that still lived in their minds.”¹³⁸

In southern memory, the North would be remembered as the antagonist and the reason for any of the South’s struggles. Wilson explained this idea well and stated, “The Yankee represented the monster against which heroes must always contend. In the minds of the ministers of the Lost Cause, the Yankee monster symbolized a chaotic, unrestrained Northern

¹³⁴ Charles R. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 12.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16-18.

society that had threatened the pristine, orderly, godly Southern civilization.”¹³⁹ This idea created an us-versus-them mentality and also provided a scapegoat and origin for any and all problems that arose between white southerners and any other group that did not adhere to their explicit and implicit ideology.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 40.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

The purpose of this study was to instill a deeper understanding of the social past through a thorough examination of documents from the period. Studying historical meanings and outcomes that result from the interaction or struggle between meaningful actions and structural contexts can engender a clearer understanding of the foundations of the past. In other words, the individual has as much of an effect and influence on a group as a group or groups have on an individual. Skocpol maintained that to best understand social change, one must study individuals, and to comprehend individual transformation, one must study society. She indicated the dynamic between an individual and a group or groups is instrumental to our comprehension of social formation.¹⁴⁰ Given this direction, the study focused on social developments embedded within historical context. A blend of methods was used, including historical and social science methods, to best expose and attempt to understand group and individual dynamics and transformation.

Historical and more traditional social science approaches to research fall under the larger umbrella of qualitative methods, and they were utilized to collect and analyze primary documents authored by students who attended the University of Georgia between 1866 and 1900. The study harnessed the individual perspective of college life with a focus on students' feelings and their understanding of group interaction, especially the extracurricular aspect of student involvement in college, and used it as a vehicle to tell a story of University of Georgia students.

¹⁴⁰ Theda Skocpol, "Sociology's Historical Imagination," in *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*, ed. Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 3.

Supplementation from university records and third-party accounts bolstered the research and provided multiple perspectives for an enriching narrative analysis. These primary-source documents, written and collected by students during their time at the University of Georgia, are important, and I gleaned considerable information from them. The letters, diaries, recollections, scrapbooks, and photographs hold a wealth of information about the institution and the region, as well as relationships among students, faculty, and Athens citizens, all of which are facets of the local culture. The materials studied present to the reader a clearer and more complete picture of the collegiate experience than an institutional history can provide, and they elucidated specific social and cultural characteristics of the university during the postbellum era.

The students' stories mentioned in subsequent chapters weave a rich narrative and present material to the reader in a fashion that does not deviate from the students' voices so as not to speak for them as a representative, but rather taking more of a neutral stance or acting as a medium allowing students to provide a *countersentance* that suggests a new or alternative historical narrative.¹⁴¹ The qualitative method will provide the best results for this study because qualitative "...data, with their emphasis on people's lived experience, are fundamentally well suited for locating *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them."¹⁴²

Research Design

This study, situated at the intersection of sociology and history, integrated social concerns within the confines of narrative history. The narrative of college student life explored aspects of

¹⁴¹ Linda Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others," *Cultural Critique* 20, (1991/1992): 23.

¹⁴² Matthew B. Miles, and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), 10.

masculinity, social class, and to a smaller extent, religion, three important strands of inquiry still relatively unexplored by researchers, and it relayed a descriptive story of college students' struggle for status through the use of the case study method, to narrate a "...past social development in all its particularity."¹⁴³

Although complementary, there has also been a long-standing divide between social scientists' and historians' methods. I did not intend to delve into the complete epistemological underpinnings of these two fields, but some distinctions between the two do stood out and needed addressing for the purposes of this research. While historians concern themselves with "...unique historical phenomena...", social scientists have emphasized "...empiricism, quantification and the use of theoretical models." Additionally, "historians have tended to focus much less on social groups, social structures or patterns in human behavior or events than those who work in the social sciences." Both historians and social scientists use generalizations, but traditionally social scientists have used them to "...explain mainly current events and offer reliable indicators about future events." Historians, on the other hand, "...employ generalizations to assist our understanding of specific past events."¹⁴⁴ Further, "Social scientists cannot always focus exclusively on contemporary social structures without considering the historical background of the subjects they investigate. A society cannot be fully understood unless it is viewed in its historical context. The strength of explanations in the social sciences is

¹⁴³ Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "Can One or a Few Cases Yield Theoretical Gains?" in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 306.

¹⁴⁴ W. H. McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), 15.

bolstered through a recognition of the interplay between unique events, which are often studied by historians, and general patterns evident in the functioning of societies.”¹⁴⁵

The qualitative case study works well to accommodate and incorporate these two similar fields. A qualitative case study describes a unit of analysis, “...in depth and detail, holistically, and in context.”¹⁴⁶ A thorough description, providing as much detail as possible of those studied, “...takes the reader into the setting being described” and “...provides the foundation for qualitative analysis and reporting.”¹⁴⁷ This research resulted in a case study of the University of Georgia using students and their experiences as subunits within the case. According to Yin, a case study can be helpful for looking into the past to elucidate foundations of contemporary events or phenomena, and this is where historical methods, “...overlap with that of the case study.”¹⁴⁸

In this instance, the investigation drew on two case-study subcategories: historical and sociological. According to Merriam, “The key to historical case studies...is the notion of investigating the phenomenon over a period of time” and using mainly primary-source material.¹⁴⁹ For this research, sociological case studies picked up where historical case studies left off in that sociologists are interested in “...social life and the roles people play in it; the community...” and various social institutions.¹⁵⁰ The case study from a sociological approach

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Q. Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002), 55.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 437.

¹⁴⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edition. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2009), 11.

¹⁴⁹ Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 35.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 37.

“...strives to highlight the features or attributes of social life.”¹⁵¹ The goal of using both of these styles of case studies was to provide an interpretive case investigation¹⁵² because, like a descriptive case study, it contains “rich, thick description,” but it can also be used to “illustrate, support, or challenge” assumptions that exist before gathering data.¹⁵³

The blending of sociology and historical methods to create a history highlighting aspects of culture fit well with this study because that approach focuses on the importance of social factors, grounded in place and time. Although both methods overlapped, in simplest terms, historical methods were implemented for the collection and presentation of resources, while social science methods helped with the analysis and interpretation of the resources to push deeper into their meaning by way of social and cultural dissection to generate theory regarding masculinity and social class development in southern culture from a college student’s perspective.

Theda Skocpol provided a definition and goals of incorporation of a blended sociological and historical method of study:

Truly historical sociological studies have some or all of the following characteristics. Most basically, they ask questions about social structures or processes understood to be concretely situated in time and space. Second, they address processes over time, and take temporal sequences seriously in accounting for outcomes. Third, most historical analyses attend to the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts, in order to make sense of the unfolding of unintended as well as intended outcomes in individual lives and social transformations. Finally, historical sociological studies highlight the *particular* and *varying* features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change. Along with temporal processes and contexts, social and cultural differences are intrinsically of interest to historically oriented sociologists.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., 38.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Skocpol, “Sociology’s Historical Imagination,” 1.

The four points Skocpol mentioned were important for this project because of their concentration on the specific actions of individuals and how those people are affected by and affect social norms within a particular structure or framework during a set period. The place where contention or difference in society and culture is found is of particular interest to a historically minded sociologist. Probing the depths of social structures to go beyond their surface meaning, in this case through the use of documents of college students, allowed for a more personal, comprehensible analysis of the social complexities of southern culture and therefore provided a perspective to the reader that was more specific, indepth, and relatable on a personal level, because of its rich description of ordinary events.

Research blending both historical and social science methods emphasizes the specific (particular) and fluctuating (varying) aspects of specific social structures and the continuity and evolution within them. Temporal sequences and understanding how time plays a crucial part in both an individual's specific perspective and how the individual perceives his or her own and others' actions, as well as the influence on these individuals provided by the larger social context of the period, are also important. They had to be taken into account in a study such as this where the goal was to provide the reader not a general story of the university or of university students that a traditional history might furnish, but rather a narrower focus on the particular research questions mentioned at the beginning of this paper, which are important to me and have emerged from my life experiences working with college students inside and outside of the classroom.

Contemporary historians recognize that other disciplines, including sociology, have influenced and affect what historians study, and have been influential in broadening historians' range of inquiry. For instance, the blending of methods or conception of alternative approaches

to research have influenced, not what is studied, but how historians study it—or, “...what [historians] think they can know and how they think they can know it.”¹⁵⁵

Social historians seek to find the “most intimate details of ordinary life.”¹⁵⁶ They often look to resources that were never meant for, nor ever envisioned by their authors for publication. This approach of a *history from the bottom* provides another or alternative perspective of history and historical development, but should not be accepted uncritically. Brundage stated, “While the authors of such documents were no doubt blissfully unconcerned about the opinion of posterity, their writing, too, can be expected to reflect the normal human biases and blind spots. These ‘shortcomings’ need not necessarily get in the way of our understanding; they may indeed be precisely the sort of thing for which we are looking.”¹⁵⁷

Newer scholarship attempting to create social histories often addresses ethnic or cultural related analyses of individuals who are traditionally a part of an underrepresented group. As Brundage put it, “[S]ome of the most vigorous and interesting debates within the profession occur in these newer, albeit politically charged, areas.”¹⁵⁸ And although the students at the University of Georgia during the study period were part of the white, male, middle or upper-class, socially dominant group, an approach of this sort was still warranted and conceptually sound because their position or status as students placed them in the category of *traditionally underrepresented*—especially in terms of our understanding of dominant roles in society and variance within culture.

¹⁵⁵ Martha Howell, and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 89.

¹⁵⁶ Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 150.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2002), 19.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

Blending historical with social science methods, as opposed to a more traditional approach to social science, is explicit in stating that it is time and place specific but could be useful to derive conclusions about the larger population. Sociologists “...typically work hard to escape the spatial and temporal constraints of their studies by showing that their samples are representative of more inclusive populations, and/or that they are studying an instance or example of a theoretically general process even if the inquiry is of phenomena occurring at only one point in time and/or in one place.”¹⁵⁹ “Although certainly motivated by general sociological issues and questions, most historical sociologists, on the other hand, do concretely situate actions, events, and processes in their broader temporal (and more generally historical) contexts. They then use these contexts in one fashion or another to construct causal inferences and generalizations that are relative to those particular historical contexts.”¹⁶⁰

Time is what matters when blending history with social science and what distinguishes it from a more orthodox approach to sociology. Sociologists have trouble getting away “...from the challenges that temporality poses to received conceptualizations, analyses, and explanations of social action and social structure.”¹⁶¹ Blending sociology with history uses “...narrative mode to examine and exploit the temporality of social action and historical events.”¹⁶² Time, context, and social and cultural variance or disparity are all useful—especially to a historically minded social science researcher—in developing a theory to explain past events.

Chapters in this study present a thematic historical narrative of student life and student culture at the University of Georgia during that student’s attendance at the institution. According

¹⁵⁹ Larry J. Griffin, “Temporality, Events, and Explanation in Historical Sociology,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 20, no. 4 (1992): 406-407.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 407.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 403.

¹⁶² Ibid., 405.

to Shafer, the three main elements of historical method include: 1) Learning what the categories of evidence are, 2) Collecting evidence, and 3) Communicating evidence.¹⁶³ After narrowing down an area of inquiry and deciding what evidence ought to be collected, the job of the historian is to communicate the evidence to the audience, typically by telling a story of the past. Storytelling, the general concept behind a historical narrative, is an art most historians use.

Conkin and Stromberg addressed the focus of a story or narrative in historical research:

...the word ‘story’ and its more pretentious twin, ‘narrative,’ stand for inescapable elements in any history. For example, a history always relates events separated in time. Some events must come before others. Thus it is possible to locate beginnings and endings. And given some relationship between events, one may emphasize patterns and themes. These characteristics—beginnings and endings, development in time, continuity or thematic unity—are all properties of stories.¹⁶⁴

As was the case with this study, Conkin and Stromberg pointed out that social historians do not focus on leaders or elites but on less influential individuals who are part of an entire group or whole population. The goal of the social historian is to characterize or trace changes within a group.¹⁶⁵ Rather than focusing on historical aspects at the University of Georgia from a top-down approach, focusing on less-distinguished individuals, in this case separate students at the university, provides a different perspective in understanding socio-historical events. Students at times can be viewed as an oppositional force to an educational institution, thus they hold and can furnish a perspective that is not normally the subject in much of the writing about the University of Georgia.

As so many observers have noted, it is important to know what came before to better know the present. One technique for this storytelling is what Aminzade called “analytic

¹⁶³ Robert J. Shafer, ed., *A Guide to Historical Method*, 3rd edition (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1980), 40-41.

¹⁶⁴ Paul Keith Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge: The History and Theory of History* (Arlington Heights: Forum Press, 1989), 132.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

narratives.” Aminzade described them as “...theoretically structured stories about coherent sequences of motivated actions [These devices] can contribute to the construction of explanations of why things happened the way they did. Such narratives construct causality and meaning in terms of temporal connections among events....”¹⁶⁶ These analytic narratives come from time spent in the archives, “...trying to find out how things happened in order to understand why they happened.”¹⁶⁷ This approach combats presentism, or the concept of using present phenomena to explain past events, because a socio-history approach is its own method of inquiry. Neither of these methods is utilized simply to explain the other; they are complementary and used to enhance both methods in content and validity. As Aminzade stated, “Rather than readily imposing abstract theoretical schemes on accounts of the past provided by historians, or using historical evidence to illustrate sociological theories, historical sociologists must make the critical assessment of historians’ accounts and the careful reconstruction of past sequences of concrete social events a central part of their task.”¹⁶⁸

Elizabeth Danto noted that attempts to better understand the past add a foundation or framework to contemporary and future social research inquiries. She said, “If we believe that the past is a record of the multiple dimensions of human experience, then researching history can add depth to our efforts to address contemporary social problems.”¹⁶⁹ Although I worked with college students in the past and am acknowledging that I had my own subjectivities to watch out for during this study and throughout the analysis, my contemporary work piqued my interest in this study of the past and therefore would only be, as Conkin and Stromberg stated, the basis for

¹⁶⁶ Aminzade, “Historical Sociology and Time,” 458.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 459.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Historical Research*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18.

the selected topic and not an attempt to use contemporary feelings to make sense of the past.¹⁷⁰ Further, Wise pointed out that experience does matter in an individual's interpretation of historical documents and that the individual does not have to be a trained historian to provide insightful details about a past event or events.¹⁷¹ Thus, I refrained from using recent experiences to explain past events, but my experiences may have been useful in analyzing, interpreting, and perhaps noticing deeper meaning than others may find in the historical documents examined.

Data Collection and Identification

I combed through archive and manuscript collections at the University of Georgia and searched through the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections to identify relevant sets of material, especially those containing numerous diaries, letters, and scrapbooks. Resources were collected from multiple sources, including students at the university during the period, but also primary- and secondary-source material that could provide corroborative or alternative perspectives to the information contained in students' documents.

The most relevant student collections identified are outlined below:

Within the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia are collections that contain several student resources valuable to this investigation. Several hundred letters between Walter B. Hill and his family include rich descriptions of everyday college life as well as Hill's involvement in many student activities and are found in manuscript number 834.

¹⁷⁰ Conkin and Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge*, 204-205.

¹⁷¹ Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 70.

Gerald Ray Mathis also published an edited volume of Hill's letters pertaining to the university.¹⁷²

Edward Thomas Bishop kept a sporadic journal between July 28, 1877 and January 5, 1880, mostly pertaining to social life in Athens, Georgia, and his religious activities. This diary is in the E. Merton Coulter Manuscript Collection II of the Hargrett Library, manuscript number 2345.

Thomas Walter Reed, a University of Georgia student between 1885 and 1889, wrote a 4,000+ page history of the university. Reed's retrospective, written between 1945 and 1950, added much to the discussion of student life at the school even though his work is anecdotal and not always accurate in the dates of and people involved in specific events. Gerald Ray Mathis sifted through Reed's history of the institution and focused directly on the areas where Reed, supplemented by newspaper accounts and Board of Trustee minutes, reflected on his time as a student there. The editor also offered footnotes with corrections to Reed's misstatements.¹⁷³

From 1892 to 1893, Telamon Cruger Smith Cuyler attended the University of Georgia for law school. Within the Cuyler manuscript collection, number 1170, is a diary with near-daily entries. Cuyler's journal is the most indepth and insightful of any sources available on daily life during this period at the university. In addition, Cuyler kept two scrapbooks and took numerous photographs of day-to-day activities, some of which he referred to in his diary.

¹⁷² Gerald R. Mathis, ed., *College Life in the Reconstruction South: Walter B. Hill's Student Correspondence, University of Georgia, 1869-1871* (Athens: University of Georgia Libraries Miscellanea Publications, 1974).

¹⁷³ Gerald R. Mathis, ed., *"Uncle Tom" Reed's Memoir of the University of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Libraries Miscellanea Publications, 1974).

The Bower Family Papers collection, manuscript number 14, consists of hundreds of letters between Byron Beaufort Bower, Jr., and his family while he was at the university between 1890 and 1894.

Student newspapers preserved at Hargrett Library include 25 issues of *The Georgia Collegian* between 1870 and 1872, 18 issues of the *University Reporter* between 1883 and 1889, as well as 85 issues of *The Red & Black* between 1893 and 1900, which are available online at <http://redandblack.libs.uga.edu/xtf/search>.

Smaller collections of other relevant student documents exploited for this study are included in Table 1 and reflect a comprehensive list from my research of primary student and corroborative resources relating to student life at the University of Georgia from 1866-1900.

In addition to primary documents, I analyzed peripheral primary sources and secondary-source documentation that provide local context and add dimension to the historical narrative. A broad context is important because context constructs the framework, the “...physical, geographic, temporal, historical cultural, aesthetic [backdrop]—within which action takes place.” The “...reference point, the map, the ecological sphere; it is used to place people and action in time and space and as a resource for understanding what they say and do. The context is rich in clues for interpreting the experience of actors in the setting. We have no idea how to decipher or decode an action, a gesture, a conversation, or an exclamation unless we see it embedded in context.”¹⁷⁴

Online newspapers available from the Digital Library of Georgia were extremely helpful and served in providing context to student resources and also in providing a perspective from the citizens of Athens in regard to university matters. These newspapers are keyword searchable and

¹⁷⁴ Patton, *Qualitative Research*, 63.

can also be viewed by year or issue date. Newspapers are categorized by city with a large portion of Georgia represented and are available from varying periods. The Historic Libraries of Georgia Online Newspaper Archive is available online:

<http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/MediaTypes/Newspapers.html>

Other online resources providing primary source documentation relating to larger school-related issues can be found on the University of Georgia's Digital Collections at the Hargrett Library page. This collection is continuously growing and provides access to digital copies of historical material possessed by the archives division that adds digital material on a regular basis. The materials within this collection were extremely helpful in providing the faculty and board of trustee perspective, but the collection also contains digital copies of the *Red & Black*, the student-run newspaper, from 1893-1980, and copies of the *Bumble Bee*, a satirical student newspaper voicing student concerns regarding policy, procedures, and ethic of the university, especially its faculty, and the board of trustees. This collection can be accessed at:

<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/digital/index.html>

The *University of Georgia Centennial Alumni Catalog, 1901*, and the *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Alumni and Matriculates of the University of Georgia at Athens Georgia, 1785-1906*, were both helpful in identifying years of student enrollment at the institution, majors, school involvement, later occupation, hometown, current town, marriage status, as well as other information, and are available online:

<http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/centennialcatalog/>

<http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/1906catalogue/>

Table 1. University of Georgia Manuscripts and Archival Resources of Faculty and Students

<u>University of Georgia Manuscripts Collection</u>	<u>Location</u>
W. W. Fisher letters, 1867	(ms 3148)
Joseph S. Powell letters, 1869-1870	(ms 2280)
Robert E. Bruce letters, 1869-1872	(ms 428)
Judson Larrabee Hand scrapbook, 1870-1871	(ms 888)
H. F. Strohecker letter, 1872	(ms 2448)
John T. Cobb Lampkin papers, 1873-1875	(ms 1668)
George Ernest Cunningham letters, 1874	(ms 2679, box 1, folder 2)
Cornelis De Witt Willcox scrapbook, 1876-1880	(ms 48)
Miller-Morris Collection, 1890 UGA manual	(ms 755, box 19, folder 1)
Miller-Morris Collection, 1899-1900 UGA handbook	(ms 755, box 18, folder 32)
Paul Lamar Fleming scrapbook, 1892-1894	(ms 128)
Fred Morris scrapbook, 1894-1896	(ms 217)
Charles Cotton Harrold papers, photographs, 1896-1898	(ms 139)
John Houston McIntosh photograph album, 1896-1899	(ms 2219)
James Walter Mason papers, 1897	(ms 16, box 2)
University of Georgia senior class photograph album, 1898	(ms 1011)
University of Georgia photo albums, class of 1898	(ms 2312)
<u>University of Georgia Archives Collection:</u>	
Demosthenian Society Minutes	(UGA 97-106a)
Phi Kappa Society Minutes	(UGA 97-106a)
<u>Online Collections:</u>	
<i>Bumble Bee</i> student newspapers, 1889-1900	http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/bumblebee/
Five issues	
<i>Pandora</i> Yearbook, 1886-1899 ¹⁷⁵	http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/pandora/1886-1899.html
Historic photographs of Athens, Georgia	http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/selections/athens/uga_rev.html

¹⁷⁵ Excluding 1889 and 1891 editions, which were not made.

Data Analysis

Historical methods were used to collect documents and initiate document analysis. The ensuing case study resulted in a historical narrative focusing on social aspects of students at the University of Georgia between 1866 and 1900. While document analysis and initial drafts of the historical narrative were being conducted, grounded theory was implemented and allowed themes to emerge from further analysis of the resources and early compositions during the writing process. Documents were analyzed using Strauss' method of open coding and memoing¹⁷⁶ through Bryant and Charmaz's grounded theory method¹⁷⁷, and they resulted in a thematic social history peering into the lives of the students during the subject time. The goal of a social history is to characterize or trace change within a group¹⁷⁸, and this inquiry followed Boyatzis' idea of thematic patterning.¹⁷⁹ Coding and memoing allow themes or patterns to emerge inductively from the resources that drive the students' stories and identify consistencies between and among them. The union of these two complementary research approaches allows for data collection from numerous resources analyzed for emerging conceptual categories from the individual documents. Student concerns and stories that surfaced constituted the thematic narrative and provide an intimate account of particular social developments of these college students.¹⁸⁰

Qualitative inquiry leans heavily on the importance of the descriptions of events given by the individuals studied, and "[t]he analytical process is meant to organize and elucidate telling

¹⁷⁶ Anselm L. Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹⁷⁷ Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2010).

¹⁷⁸ Conkin and Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge*, 112.

¹⁷⁹ Richard E. Boyatzis, *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 1998).

¹⁸⁰ Rueschemeyer, "Theoretical Gains?," 306.

the story of the data. Indeed, the skilled analyst is able to get out of the way of the data to let the data tell their own story. The analyst uses concepts to help make sense of and present the data, but not to the point of straining or forcing the analysis.”¹⁸¹ Maxwell explained that, entering one’s own data or resources as a subjective participant for research is not a bad thing. He believed, “Separating your research from other aspects of your life cuts you off from a major source of insights, hypotheses, and validity checks.”¹⁸² Indeed, from the subjects I studied and from the synthesis I created through writing and constructing the narrative from the resources, I learned a great deal about the individuals and the society in which they were a part. Working in this capacity and from this perspective also provided me with an opportunity to show how my perspective may or may not have changed or developed as the inquiry proceeded. The information uncovered and learned during this project increased the validity of conclusions made and theory generated, because my immersion in the research increased my depth of understanding.¹⁸³ This concept of continuous learning throughout the research process is also the reason why the analysis section is the last chapter and why it is so critical to the entirety of the project. Laurel Richardson pointed out writing is its own *method of inquiry* and one way to find out more about yourself and your research. She suggested that writing is a, “...way of ‘knowing’—a method of discovery and analysis.”¹⁸⁴ Thus, writing, and rewriting, helped me to

¹⁸¹ Patton, *Qualitative Research*, 447.

¹⁸² Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, 2nd edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005), 38.

¹⁸³ Patti Lather, “Fertile Obsession: Validity After Poststructuralism,” in *Power and Method: Political Activism and Educational Research*, ed. Andrew Gitlin (New York: Routledge, 1994), 41-42.

¹⁸⁴ Laurel Richardson, “Writing: A Method of Inquiry,” in *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 345.

identify conceptual trends and thereby create theory based on what emerged through my own connection with the resources and the narrative.

Although primary sources are the most in-demand and relied-on sources for historical studies, a further explanation of their reliability, unreliability, and realistic use is in order. According to Wise, primary sources are not an original experience. Human experiences are “...inevitably grounded in time and place and circumstance and social milieu”¹⁸⁵, meaning experiences are always filtered through the mind of an individual whose background, perspective, sex, personality, and so on influence the documents the person writes and keeps. A primary document “...may be *an* original experience—but only for the framer(s) of that document. Which means it’s already filtered by the time the historian gets to it. It’s not the full happening, it’s someone’s particular image of that happening.”¹⁸⁶ A true primary source is not an original document, it is an original experience exactly as it happened. A real primary source is one in which an individual “...could experience this experience *only* by being there; even then it would be just *his* or *her* particular experience, not the full thing. The full experience...cannot possibly be recaptured. All we can hope for is to catch some of its residue as it comes down to us in sources filtered through particularized perspectives.”¹⁸⁷

Given Wise’s definition that a primary source is not an original experience for anyone except the person who was involved in the incident, it is the researcher’s job to be realistic in expectations about what primary-source documents can and cannot provide to the discussion, as well as to realize that primary sources are never absolute fact. Or, more simply, a historical researcher ought to read and analyze resources analytically, realizing they are embedded with

¹⁸⁵ Wise, *American Historical Explanations*, 57.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

opinion and personal perspective, not unadulterated facts. Of course, the documents written by and about University of Georgia students from this period were as close as I could get to the students in this inquiry, but I still needed to critically analyze their documents in an attempt to present the resources as evidence, not absolute fact.

Materials studied encompassed a breadth of primary sources, including letters, newspaper articles, documents, autobiographies, and diary entries, as well as photographs, scrapbook collections, and photograph collections. Photograph collections and scrapbook collections are different from a sole photograph or a box of photographs in that the order, content, notes, and so on are important because the researcher can infer from the organization and notes written within them the owner's intent and value of the documents. Scrapbook collections are especially unique. Some of these collections viewed for this research contained a rich assemblage of photographs with captions, newspaper clippings referencing particular events or individuals, awards, poetry, drawings and sketches, invitations to events, letters from the school, and various other keepsakes. These items created more evidence of what individual students cared about, what they liked, how they spent their free time, who they socialized with, and what they viewed as important enough to hold on to for a memento of their years spent in college, which was important in furthering my understanding of students and their development in college.

There are certainly varied interpretations of what constitutes an original source, but there is always more to the source than its simply being the best material to use for historical research. Primary sources, as Wise pointed out, are not created perfectly or as exactly as something that happened without any sort of filter. Behind a camera there is always a subject. That subject determines where the camera is pointing and who or what are to be in the photograph. Thus, when examining nontraditional primary sources, researchers must consider the same rules that

are typically thought about when using more traditional primary sources. Among these are the following: Who is the author or creator of the source? Who is the author creating the document for? What tone or voice does the author take? What is the author trying to convey? Are there assumptions the author makes? What is the perspective of the author and what are his or her conclusions? The idea is to spend considerable time with the documents and collections to come to the best possible conclusion and make the best possible case from the information that is available.

Grounded theory methods were used in this study to produce, through careful interpretation, "...theory from data systematically obtained from social research."¹⁸⁸ Grounded theory generates theory rather than abiding by or testing existing theory.¹⁸⁹ The grounded theory approach, according to Glaser and Strauss, means that theory is generated from the data found during the research and that "...most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research."¹⁹⁰ The grounded theory approach and the comparative-analysis method were useful because they allowed for the collection and analysis of data to happen simultaneously and without presupposition. According to Glaser and Strauss, generating theory from one's data and seeing the importance of the theory generated are better than trying to fit data into a prescribed theory. Although this is not the belief held by other scholars who lean on other methods of research, Glaser and Strauss suggested that this model works best when entering data or resources not

¹⁸⁸ Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 1999), 2.

¹⁸⁹ Patton, *Qualitative Research*, 488-489.

¹⁹⁰ Glaser and Strauss, *Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 6.

knowing what will be found and therefore should not force what emerges into preconceived categories.¹⁹¹

The comparative-analysis method utilized in grounded theory is a general method of inquiry used to generate theory. As in the experimental or statistical method, the comparative-analysis method relies on the logic of comparison. Even though the comparative-analysis method can be employed to study a social group of any size, it is especially useful in examining small groups or units and therefore was helpful in this study, considering the indepth focus on university students. Comparisons were made between and among students. Glaser and Strauss even claimed that it does not matter how different the groups are that are being studied, as long as the resources are similar and can be placed within the same categories for analysis and theory generation.¹⁹²

Glaser and Strauss advised using what they called the “discussional” form of theory generation. The authors liked this approach because it “...puts a high emphasis on *theory as process*; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product.”¹⁹³ The sociologist’s

...job is not to provide a perfect description of an area, but to develop a theory that accounts for much of the relevant behavior. The sociologist with theoretical generation as his major aim need not know the concrete situation better than the people involved in it (an impossible task anyway). His job and his training are to do what these laymen cannot do—generate general categories and their properties for general and specific situations and problems. These [general categories and properties {subcategories} within them] can provide theoretical guides to the layman’s action.¹⁹⁴

The final product of this research project provided a rich historical analysis (specific), which produced theory (general). Burke called his approach a “braided narrative” because it

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁹² Ibid., 51.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 30.

“interweaves analysis with storytelling” and can deal with experiences of ordinary people in what he called a “micronarrative.”¹⁹⁵ This micronarrative examined student life through the use of narrative history, but it went further, connecting budding concepts focused on in student documents to create theory about how these aspects emerging from student life were framed and made sense of by college students in the South.

Quadagno and Knapp stated, “The better the historical analysis [specific], the better the theory [general].”¹⁹⁶ Thus, the more indepth the narrative, the more likely it would be to come to general conclusions about the formation of student perception, college life, and southern culture during this nearly 35-year period. Quadagno and Knapp added:

Interpretive studies often use ideal types to identify the unique features of a particular case. They may also make selected comparisons with other cases, not to discover causal regularities, but rather to highlight the particularities of the case and to render intelligible what happened in history. When the interpretive mode of inquiry is applied to historical evidence, its practitioners rely on narrative to make historically and temporally grounded theoretical statements and to illustrate abstract concepts.¹⁹⁷

Crotty echoed similar sentiment regarding interpretive studies and suggested, “Interpreters may end up with an explicit awareness of meanings, and especially assumptions, that the authors themselves would have been unable to articulate.”¹⁹⁸ Crotty and Quadagno and Knapp added validity to this research approach in that the authors of the documents examined herein were not writing them for this research, and they may not have been fully aware of how they were affected by or how they influenced their surroundings or culture. Therefore, when the writings are placed against the backdrop of the South during this period, I may have more

¹⁹⁵ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 163.

¹⁹⁶ Jill Quadagno and Stan J. Knapp, “Have Historical Sociologists Forsaken Theory? Thoughts on the History/Theory Relationship,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 20, no. 4 (1992): 504.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 487.

¹⁹⁸ Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 91.

faithfully reflected the context the students were surrounded by and influential of to better tell their stories and perhaps make the meaning more explicit.

The method of data reduction, what Miles and Huberman referred to as the first step in the analysis process, used the “...process of selecting, focusing, abstracting...” and transformation of data as well as teasing out particular themes in the structuring of the individual case studies.¹⁹⁹ As previously mentioned, the case studies used the students’ writing and other documents to shape a narrative history to tell the students’ stories. That step constituted the initial part of the research analysis because the researcher decided what evolving aspect of the students’ stories to tell.²⁰⁰

The analysis section of this research provided a space to draw general conclusions about student culture and its relation to the culture of the region. Similarities and differences among the students that emerged from their writing were tested and compared for their plausibility and validity against the conclusions made from the work reviewed in the literature review to situate what was found within other scholarship of the region during this period. They were also used to confirm or refute whether these particular students were typical or atypical of what other scholars found about individuals in regard to masculinity, class, and religion.²⁰¹

The triangulation of perspectives, those of students, faculty, and third-party accounts, ensured that the study was not limited only to the student point of view and made for a more accurate historical account. The concept of triangulation in qualitative research comes in many forms, but “triangulation of qualitative data sources” was the one most pertinent to this study. This type of triangulation means “...comparing and cross-checking the consistency of

¹⁹⁹ Miles and Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 10-11.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 11.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

information derived at different times and by different means...”²⁰² Patton provided these examples: 1) Checking for consistency of what people say about the same thing over time, 2) Comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view, and 3) Comparing what people say publicly with what they say privately.²⁰³ Also, simply because different types of data may say two different things or offer different results does not necessarily mean that the data are “invalid.” “More likely, it means that different kinds of data have captured different things and so the analyst attempts to understand the reasons for the differences.”²⁰⁴

Limitations

The sample size for this research, as with most historical research, was limited by the resources left behind by students and those that are preserved in public collections. Although my sample size was not large, the resources did contain a wealth of information, and according to Patton, “There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources.”²⁰⁵ Sample size also depends on whether or not the researcher is striving for breadth or depth.²⁰⁶ This research aimed for depth, and it used many information-rich materials provided by a small number of individuals who had materials from the period studied. Many of the collections exploited contained rich caches of documents left behind and although I was limited by what was available and known to exist, the wealth of student materials that remained at the University of Georgia most likely was vast compared to other institutions’ collections from the same period. Ultimately, “The validity,

²⁰² Patton, *Qualitative Research*, 559.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 560.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 244.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size.”²⁰⁷

Elizabeth Danto reminded researchers, “All historical narratives lack evidence. Intentionally or not, populations may be omitted (usually those that are marginalized to begin with), statistics may be missing, or critical archives may have been destroyed.”²⁰⁸ The resources left behind, their ease of accessibility, and those that we are able to locate limit all historical inquiries. The content of the letters and journals for this study was limited in that there was a finite amount of materials left by students from this period. Even though there might be some material that this researcher did not uncover, there were only a limited number of documents that could be left behind by an individual. Similarly, just as the number of documents was finite and could only offer so much about this study’s particular area of interest, the authors of these documents are deceased, preventing researchers from asking them or others who would have been alive at the time for clarification or further information.

Time was another limiting factor for this research. This researcher had already spent considerable time locating the particular research subjects mentioned in the next section, but with more time and research, it could be possible to find more primary documents that could expand on this study or push its analysis and understanding further. However, given the time allotted, this study addressed an area of research that is in need of treatment and opened the possibility for future scholars to expand on what this researcher accomplished and the findings and theory produced from the resources.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 245.

²⁰⁸ Danto, *Historical Research*, 32.

CHAPTER 4

BELONGING: THE “IN-GROUP,” THE “OUT-GROUP,” AND THE PERPETUATION AND MAINTENANCE OF STATUS

Before the start of the Civil War, the University of Georgia was a fairly exclusive institution and rather homogeneous, with most students hailing from Georgia’s “plantation belt,” although a smattering of students came from various other locations.²⁰⁹ Once classes reconvened in January 1866, the make up of the university students was a bit different, with quite a few Confederate veterans enrolling at the university as well as the University High School, the university’s preparatory branch. The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 also led to diversity in the university’s student body because, although the agricultural branch of the university was more symbolic than an actual creation of a separate entity to complement the institution’s liberal arts school, it did admit students from around the region who desired a practical education that would benefit their agrarian profession. These changes brought about a new student body at the university than that of the antebellum period, and distinctions were created differentiating one group of students from another. One such institution that divided students at the university was secret societies. Secret societies, a term used synonymously with fraternities or Greek letter societies, brought exclusiveness, but also a sense of inclusiveness or belonging to students during the period examined. These organizations became highly popular during the latter part of the 1860s, despite having been banned on campus to encourage the growth and vitality of the Phi

²⁰⁹ Dyer, *University of Georgia*, 46-47.

Kappa and Demosthenian literary societies. Secret societies were later permitted and flourished under Chancellor Mell's tenure at the university.²¹⁰

Amid a light drizzle on the evening of Wednesday, January 14, 1868, Walter B. Hill traveled north from Macon in a train stopping along the way to pick up more passengers, 60 of whom were more University of Georgia students on their way back to Athens, Georgia, for the spring term.²¹¹ An omnibus wagon took Hill and many of the other students from the train depot to the university's campus. Upon arrival Hill moved his trunk into his small room in New College, a university boarding house under the care of Martha H. Moore. The quaint room was shared with two roommates, William Bailey Thomas from Cusseta, Alabama, and Herbert P. Myers, from Macon, Georgia and they all shared a second, larger sitting room.²¹²

Shortly after arriving in Athens, Walter learned that college had a less serious, non-academic social component through his interactions with classmates. By Saturday Walter had settled in, joined the Demosthenian Society, met many of the faculty, made friends with other New College boarders, and became acquainted with the town through long walks around Athens. Walter took college seriously and dove right in to his academics, studying a great deal of the time, but what he wrote home about most were the extracurricular aspects of college. The time spent with friends, joining the Chi Phi fraternity, connecting with the Demosthenian Literary Society, and college politics were of much interest to the 16-year-old Maconite. These, however,

²¹⁰ Patrick Hues Mell, Jr., *Life of Patrick Hues Mell* (Louisville, Baptist Book Concern, 1895), 189-190.

²¹¹ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 15 January 1868, in *College Life in the Reconstruction South: Walter B. Hill's Student Correspondence, University of Georgia, 1869-1871*, ed. Gerald Ray Mathis (Athens: University of Georgia Libraries Miscellanea Publications, No. 10, 1974), 17.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 18 and 187n.

were also the aspects of college that divided the students, placed barriers between the students and the faculty, and at times created tension between the university and the town of Athens.²¹³

Students divided themselves into factions where one either belonged or did not belong, and fraternities, or secret societies, were a major force that divided the students among each other. Students who did not belong to any fraternity or secret society were considered part of the “out-group.” It was better to be a part of any fraternity than it was to not partake in any Greek life at the university. One student offered, “Lettered friendships have always had a character peculiarly their own.”²¹⁴ Walter B. Hill saw his entry to the secret Chi Phi society as an exclusive membership that brought him into a closely-knit inner social circle. He often classified the students at the University of Georgia in three ways while he attended as a student. Students were Chi Phi, belonged to one of the Chi Phi’s rival groups, or were in the “out-group.” In a letter home, Hill tried to remain humble in relaying his view of students not associated with a fraternity to his family, but he could not contain his proclivity to describe his association with what he viewed as a better group of people at the university. He stated:

While I do not assume any feigned condescension, I like these ordinary boys as much as I can. There is some thing good in every character no matter how common. I associate with the oipolloi [*sic*] & have friends among them. You know, there are secret societies in College to one or the other of which, all the prominent students & debaters belong. Well, those who are not worthy enough to join any, --outsiders, as they are called—are naturally jealous of those who are Chi Phi’s or S.A.E’s [Sigma Alpha Epsilon]. Now, you know, I am a Chi Phi & the penalty I as well as every other member pay for belonging to it, is that I lay myself liable to the prejudices & enmity of these outsiders.²¹⁵

Hill viewed the exclusive group he associated with as those who are discriminated against, while the group of “outsiders” he referred to surely felt ostracized by those in Walter’s “in-group,” those who belong to a secret society.

²¹³ Ibid., 18-19.

²¹⁴ *The Georgia Collegian*, May 14, 1870, Volume I, No. 7, P. 4 “Leaving College.”

²¹⁵ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 9 May 1869, in *College Life*, 82.

According to Hill, the status of a fraternity was determined by a number of factors, and therefore he concluded that some secret societies were better than others. Obviously partial because of this membership as a Chi Phi, he stated in a letter to his mother that the Chi Phis were the best secret society to belong to, followed in rank by Sigma Alpha Epsilon and Kappa Alpha. Walter came to his conclusion based on the character of the students who belonged to each organization, their class ranking, how many anniversarians²¹⁶ were represented in each group, and how many commencement speakers a society produced every year. Hill believed that the separation and hierarchy created by secret societies were unavoidable among the students and that belonging to a particular group was a positive aspect of college culture and unique to their social order, because otherwise students would just find some other ways to sort themselves. He concluded:

You may think from the above that the Secret Societies do a great deal of injury: that they beget rivalry & enmity, &c. But I think they do more good than harm; for the rivalry they create is mostly a *generous* competition: They bind the cords of friendship together, between the students who belong to the same one. Boys will have party spirit in these canvassings. If there were no Secret societies, the boys would combine according to their homes; The Macon-ites & Columbus-ites & Augusta-boys: & thus there would be as much rivalry as ever.²¹⁷

Social relations were highly important to university students during the second half of the 19th century. An article by a student in the *Georgia Collegian* stated, “[T]he cultivation of friendship is one of the prime objects to be sought in College life...” and it even went so far as to say, “We would take up arms promptly against any man that would preach to College students a doctrine tainted with selfish unsociality [*sic*].”²¹⁸ Secret societies had a strong hold on the social

²¹⁶ Anniversarian was a student-elected honor where one member of the Demosthenians and one member of Phi Kappa were chosen to speak at their annual celebrations. The Demosthenian society celebrated its anniversary on February 19, and the Phi Kappa society on February 22.

²¹⁷ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, May 9, 1869, in *College Life*, 83.

²¹⁸ *The Georgia Collegian*, “College Visiting,” 5 March 1870, Vol. I, no. 2, p. 2.

component of college life students held so dearly. Table 2 depicts student membership in a secret society or Greek organization. Although student involvement percentage-wise was highest in the 1880s and early 1890s, belonging to one of these groups was an important facet of college life to these students throughout the latter part of the 19th century.

Table 2. Senior Class Social Organization Statistics and Students not From the State of Georgia²¹⁹

Year	Total number of senior class	Secret society or fraternity members	Students not affiliated with fraternity or secret society	Students not from Georgia
1886	50	41 (82%)	9 (18%)	1 Lebanon, TN
1887	30	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	1 Greenville, SC 1 Palatka, FL 1 Birmingham, AL
1888	47	36 (77%)	11 (23%)	1 Florence, SC 1 Grand Rapids, MI
1889	45	30 (67%)	15 (33%)	1 Palatka, FL 1 Tyler, TX
1890	37	29 (78%)	8 (22%)	1 Baltimore, MD
1891	38	28 (74%)	10 (26%)	0
1892	29	25 (86%)	4 (14%)	2 Pendleton, SC 1 Charleston, SC
1893	31	27 (87%)	4 (13%)	2 Charleston, SC 1 West Point, MS
1894	34	25 (74%)	9 (26%)	0
1895	30	19 (63%)	11 (37%)	1 Clinton, SC 1 Marianna, FL 1 Charleston, SC
1896	33	22 (67%)	11 (33%)	1 Oxford, AL
1897	43	22 (51%)	21 (49%)	0
1898	36	23 (64%)	13 (36%)	1 Spring Garden, AL
1899	35	15 (43%)	20 (57%)	0
1900	46	24 (52%)	22 (48%)	1 Allendale, SC 1 Sioux City, IA 2 Keyport, NJ 1 Camden, NJ

²¹⁹ Data gleaned from *Pandora* Yearbooks, 1886-1900. Data for 1889 and 1891, the two years during this period the yearbook was not published, was taken from the junior classes in the 1888 and 1890 editions.

A shift in the reason students joined secret societies came some time in the 1880s. Student documents from the 1860s and 1870s suggested that belonging to one of these organizations was mostly the desire by the individual to join and an acceptance of that individual by the society. By the 1880s and 1890s, students would arrive in Athens, not knowing much about belonging to any of these groups and would be pressured by the organizations to become a part of their group. It was no longer about the individual finding the secret society that he thought he would fit into best; the societies had evolved into organizations that were self-serving and wanted to ensure their status at the top of the hierarchy when compared with the other organizations.

Rather than arriving in Athens and determining whom the new student would associate himself with, new students to the University of Georgia were bombarded by fraternity members as soon as the new arrivals stepped off the train at the Athens depot. The introductory section of the 1899 *Pandora* yearbook gives an account of what it was like for a new man on campus during the first few hours when he was exposed to what the fraternity's rush or "spiking" process had evolved into:

As the train rolls lazily into the Classic City, the unwary student collects his baggage, and as he gazes out through the car-window, many questions propose themselves to him. He wonders if the town proper is far from the depot; if he will be able to secure a hack; or if some kind of friend will be awaiting his arrival. Suddenly, before the train has come to a standstill, the car-door is thrown open and he is besieged by friends who become acquainted on sight—"Why, howdy do, Mr. Wilson—here, let me have your baggage—no, no, it's no trouble whatever—come on, sir, here's your carriage—say, don't pay any attention to that fellow, I've a telegram here from your friend Mr. D----, telling me to meet you—oh, excuse me, Johnson's my name." Then another pulls the unwary youth to one side, introduces himself and several friends, and in undertones: "Now, look here, old man, you don't want to get in with that crowd—we're the people here—your cousin, Charley Hall, told me to meet you—can't go up with us? Oh, say, that's too bad—give us an engagement for ten in the morning. Thanks, don't do anything until you see us."²²⁰

²²⁰ *Pandora* Yearbook 1899, p. 83.

Fraternity recruitment did not allow a new student to find his niche or decide where he belonged—that was decided for him before he even arrived on the university's campus. Some students did not receive this sort of forced-affiliation sales pitch very well, but most did not provide much opposition to these groups. At times the pressure was so high to belong to one of these organizations that a student would simply accept the group that most eagerly pursued him, while others decided that the peer pressure to fit into one of the fraternities was too high altogether and left the university. In his recollections of his time in school during the 1880s, Thomas Walter Reed remembered just such a student who was caught between the Phi Delta Theta fraternity and the Chi Phi fraternity for his membership:

A [Phi Delta Theta] committee called for him at the Commercial Hotel about seven o'clock in the afternoon to carry him around to the hall to be initiated. But before we could get him away from the hotel we ran into trouble in the shape of a committee of the Chi Phi Fraternity, good fighters too, who had decided that they were not yet ready to give him up.

So when he came downstairs, the Chi Phis had to have a word with him, and then we reassured him and started off with him. And then they had to talk to him again. And then the two committees got to passing some pretty emphatic language between themselves. Meanwhile the young man stood as between two fires and the drummers in the hotel ceased playing setback or billiards and gathered around to witness the scrap, which had by that time assumed large proportions.

Finally about six Phi Delta Thetas got hold of the young fellow and started off with him. Then about the same number of Chi Phis nabbed him from the other side and began to pull him back. A regular tug of war was on and the young man was in danger of being drawn and halved, if not drawn and quartered. He soon appeared to have the shape of a German Dachshund.

At last the Phi Delta Thetas had their way and the young man was soon wearing the sword and shield of that fraternity. After the initiation we took him around to the new theater [the Opera House on Washington Street]. As fate would have it all of us got seats alongside the very same Chi Phis with whom we had just had the scrap. It was not a very pleasant evening for any of us. Curious how wrathful a student can get under such circumstances and how quick he can cool down. Why, in that Chi Phi bunch were some of the best friends I had in college, but I could have punched their heads with a great deal of pleasure that night. In a few days we had forgotten all about the little encounter.

The next morning the university was shy one student. The newly-made Phi Delta Theta had shaken the dust of Athens from off his feet and had left for home. I suppose he figured out all coming days in college on the basis of the experience that had just come to him and had decided that such a life was far too strenuous for him. He sent back the fraternity badge and thanked the fraternity for the honor that had been conferred upon him. I do not think he ever came back to Athens.²²¹

Fraternities were growing into a large social entity at the University of Georgia, whose main objective was to attract and enlist as many good young men as possible within their organization by whatever means necessary. Students were not allowed to find where they belonged at the university; they were told where they belonged by the decisions of the fraternities. A rather macabre portrayal of this fight for position by the fraternities to secure as many of the best new recruits as possible can be seen in Figure 1, where skeletons are “fishing for freshmen,” suggesting that they were ruthless in their pursuits of the best new members.

²²¹ Thomas Walter Reed, History of the University of Georgia typescript, 1458-1459, quoted in Gerald Ray Mathis, ed., *“Uncle Tom” Reed’s Memoir of the University of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Libraries Miscellanea Publications, No. 11, 1974), 163-164.



Figure 1. University of Georgia Fraternity Artwork.²²²

Telamon Cuyler enrolled as a law student at the University of Georgia for the 1892-1893 academic year and immediately upon arriving in Athens found himself excluded from the secret societies. Cuyler's journal reflects his disdain for members of the different fraternal organizations, which he found hard to avoid. On one occasion he stated, "Went up to campus

²²² Fraternities at the University of Georgia: Fishing for Freshmen, *Pandora Yearbook* 1888, 45. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library/University of Georgia Libraries.

and saw match game of foot-ball—Oh! how the ‘fraternity’ *brothers* associate together, they are very nice, but I’ll *make* my fortune and then *laugh at them!*”²²³ In his 1893 scrapbook, he included an article that the board of visitors were toying with the notion of abolishing fraternities at the university, which Cuyler seemed enthusiastic about—having cut it out and made the notation “*Rotten nonsense*” next to it regarding how the fraternities were quoted as saying they would turn to litigious means if their organizations were abolished.²²⁴ Many of Telamon’s ill feelings toward his classmates stemmed from his first impression of the University of Georgia and their attempt to keep him out of the secret societies there. Cuyler wrote to his mother regarding his despondency over the matter:

Dearest Mama—

I am now the most unhappy boy in this town. Jean B. [Eugene Robins Black²²⁵] has ruined my college life in an awful way. No fraternity wants me because when the Chi fi’s [Chi Phis] refuse an Atlanta man, no one will have him. They have taken in every one but me. The K. A. boys were going to ask me but some one broke me up with them. I received your telegram, I told no one of my trouble with Black, so I am safe there. When one is not in a fraternity here he is social[I]y and friendshiply [*sic*] dead. The only boys I know in the Chi fi’s are Hillyer²²⁶, Armstrong²²⁷, and Paul Fleming²²⁸. They have taken in every Atlanta boy but me. I am an E. K. T.²²⁹ and so are they, and yet they don’t seem to even want to speak to me. Little did I know last Saturday when I sat on the front porch and was all happy and willing to go here and study that in one short week I would be in this fix. My chances are all gone to form any friends among the boys here. I am unable to get at just what Black has done or said, but *he* has ruined me with the Chi Phis and thus with all. My only hope is that the 2 Mr Howells[,] Clark and the Law one will

²²³ Telamon Cuyler, diary, 7 January 1893, Telamon Cuyler Collection, MS 1170, Box 97, Folder 1, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²²⁴ “May Be Abolished: The College Fraternities Assaulted by the Board of Visitors,” undated newspaper article, Cuyler Collection, Box 103, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

²²⁵ A. B., 1892. A note by Cuyler re-reading this letter in 1931 helped identify Black as the person he referred to throughout this letter. He made a notation in 1931 stating, “Eugene R. Black is now penniless—”

²²⁶ Probably George Hillyer, Jr., A. B., 1893.

²²⁷ Probably William B. Armstrong, Matriculate, 1894.

²²⁸ Paul Lamar Fleming, A. B., 1894.

²²⁹ Unidentified social group, presumably in Atlanta during the period.

write to their K. A. fraternity for me.²³⁰ If they can't aid me, my career is lost here. I have never done a single thing to a single boy in either the Chi Phi's or K. A.'s in my life and yet they scorn my society. If Jean B. [Eugene Black] has done all this, I will make him suffer for it. The only way in which he can repair this awful wrong is to make the Chi Phi's respect me again. It nearly kills me to see every boy I know in Atlanta going around here with his coat ornamented with a badge, and in the company of his brother fraternity men, and I am not in it. I loaf around alone, have no place to go like they, for they spend their few leisure hours in their beautiful rooms, for which I am for ever debarred on account of one man's perfidious behavior.

This situation can never be effaced from the memory's of the boys here, they won't ever respect me in after years, so you see how much I have been wronged. If Papa can't cause that low down sneak to set all right again, *I* can come over to Atlanta and appeal to the Law of this state to punish him for *slander*. I am utterly a *failure* here. The Lord only knows what I am to do, I don't. I am heart broken. I spent yesterday afternoon in my room thinking it all over. I came to this conclusion, I can't come home, for it will be awful to *fail* that way. Neither can I stay here and be treated thus. Gene B. [Eugene Black] *must* come over here or write in such a way that all will be settled O. K. so as to make me a Chi Phi, or I will come home and make *him* suffer in a way he will never forget. 1,000 years can never make me forget the past 7 days. I was all O. K. until he started in and in his underhand way ruined me. He knew I was to come & set *all* ag[a]in[st] me before I came. I shall (if he don't right all my wrongs,) tell every person in Atlanta, mainly the women, of his devilish work, shall live mainly to work out some awful revenge on him. *Please* write me a letter, long as this, telling me *all* about what he intends doing. Also fix my fate for me. Must I leave or stay & face it all? Write me a cheering letter, for I need it. Jim Dickey²³¹ is sticking up to me, so is Hugh Dorsey²³², my roommate. *Lend me my law books now*, I must *leave* or have them. *Don't* wait to go north. Tell Mrs. G if you want to, of Black's deeds, it is not good to hide such treachery. I want to be a success here, for as you said, so many persons *want* you to fail. I need some of your *friends* among the town people here to call on me and show me some attentions [*sic*]. I saw Prof. White today. He was very glad to see me. Wants me to study something besides law. I read each day in the big library here, it comforts me more than anyone else. Your son Cuyler S.

[Postscript] Mama – Write or see John Temple Graves²³³, he can also write me a letter of recommendation to the K. A. fraternity, Don't delay a moment. Also see 2 howells.

Be sure they do it in a way that won't show the boys that you or I put them up to it.
–C. S.^{234 235}

²³⁰ Presumably, Evan Park Howell, 1839-1905, and his son, Clark Howell, 1863-1936.

²³¹ James Lafayette Dickey, Jr., Matriculate, 1892.

²³² Hugh Mason Dorsey, A. B., 1893.

²³³ John Temple Graves, 1856-1925.

²³⁴ Telamon Cuyler to Estelle Smith, letter, undated 1892, Cuyler Collection, Box 108, Folder 9, Hargrett Library.

Cuyler's exclusion from membership in a secret society influenced his perspective on these organizations for the rest of his life. Upon re-reading the diary he kept that year in school, which he did on at least two occasions, in August 1936 and September 1942, the impact of his experience of exclusion from social organizations provided him with quite a negative view of the University of Georgia social scene as well as the students who attended the school with him. In 1936 he reflected:

During my first month [t]here, I made a careful study of the students: their nuances, dress, speech, conduct and daily habits. I found them rude buffoons utterly lacking in any of the culture of gentlemen. Clownish in their sense of humor. Dull in their perceptions, weak in expression, lacking in respect for others and themselves—indeed *genus homo* but *not sapiens*! Vulgar in speech, ignorant of even grammar “I seen him...you never knowed it...us gits plenty ter eat down thar now!” Cheap clothing, soiled and wrinkled dirty shirts and collars avec odeur de sange [with the smell of blood]! Especially repulsion in classrooms. Loafing on street-corners; idling in their nasty bedrooms. Delighting in making rude, impudent remarks; never a good word of anyone. Their jests and merriment such as yokels roar at in “back-room” of country stores.

In physical appearance, under-bred, ill-health, gaunt, tousled hair, decayed teeth, pimply faces, filthy finger-nails. Sneaky expressions of visage. A smirking when approaching you. Continually dosing themselves with medicines. Never any exercise – no care of health. Study of their conversation showed but scant reference to home, parents, friends; none whatever of ancestry or social position. Never a reference to anything approaching elegance in their norms. Ignorant of everything on this globe beyond the narrow confines of their villages and Athens. Ignorant of Georgia's history, area, climate, agriculture, manufactures, etc. Never a reference to the Atlantic seaboard. Without any interest in the sea. Judged from a social standpoint, these students, without one exception, were recruited from the lower, the middle-class of Georgia. Their most comical performance, I soon found, was when they essayed a cotillion of the “O. B. German Club!” Hoofs more suited to furrows, to flat-footing around a village, “capered nimbly to the dulcet strains of fiddles!” Thus these young nobodies “discovered society!” That is, what their addled brains fancied it to be! Of all the blossoms that flowered out in old, dirty, tawdry “Dupree Hall”, was Byron B. Bower²³⁶, of Bainbridge – swamp, Georgia! President of *the* “O. B.'s”! Actually attired in “black, full-dress evening-suite” by golly! Grinning, bowing – and exalted was this silly village youth. His Brainless was asked, at

²³⁵ Another letter concerning Telamon's exclusion from fraternities at the university between Cuyler's mother and Professor H. C. White provides more information about this matter. H. C. White to Estelle Smith, letter, 3 November 1892, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

²³⁶ Byron Beaufort Bower, Jr., A. B., 1894.

Commencement '93, by a Lady of Distinction, what he intended to do? His reply – “Why, all I want to do is to see girls!” Why comment? 40 years of poverty and obesity in village obscurity in a. d. 1936 is the answer. Of all the dewy buds that came simpering out on that rough old floor, the most perfect, skinny, dull-minded, quarrelsome female was Alice Williams²³⁷. Nervous, shabbily dressed, winky-eyed. As usual, an old maid was “wished” on me at the first cotillion – aged bag-o-bones Annie Crawford, daughter of the Postmaster of Athens in '61.²³⁸ – *quite* over 35 in '92 and larked it! *Such* a dress & hair! Soon I realized what a nasty place I was in. Being so young, I took them too seriously in making the best I could of the situation. If you think I am wrong in my estimates, I ask you to study the pitiful lives of *all* these creatures! Poverty, village-life, seasoned by a few petty Governors of Ga, a Senator of U. S., Judges and a General or two. I have been indeed fortunate in not being bored or annoyed by the majority of these creatures in after years.²³⁹

After re-reading this rant in September of 1942 Telamon simply wrote, “I do regret, but above are *facts*.”²⁴⁰

Secret societies created a distinction between students, but the barriers between them were not always clear-cut. They varied depending on the situation and on which groups and individuals were involved. In a response to an article in the student-run *Georgia Collegian*, an anonymous student calling himself “I. R.” fired off a letter to the editor expressing his feelings toward the divisions as well as the unions social organizations like the secret societies created.

He wrote:

While we allow that the members of these secret societies generally possess a high degree of talent, we wish it to be borne in mind that they *do not* possess *all* the talent in the University! We claim that there are many, possessed of the highest order of talent, who are connected with the University, and who, not only do not belong to secret societies, but bitterly oppose them. This fact has been acknowledged repeatedly, by the members of these secret organizations, in that, they have on many occasions, earnestly solicited members of the College to join their societies, who have positively refused, simply because they do *not* approve of them!

²³⁷ Unidentified Lucy Cobb Institute student.

²³⁸ Thomas Crawford, identified in *Annals of Athens*, 299; Thomas Crawford married Julia E. Hayes, December 12, 1860, and Annie was presumably one of their daughters, *Annals of Athens*, 486.

²³⁹ Cuyler, diary, August 1936, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

²⁴⁰ Cuyler, diary, September 1942, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

I. R. maintained that secret societies were not allowed at the university before the Civil War, but that regardless of these new social organizations, division among the students was inevitable.

The anonymous writer stated these societies should not be blamed as the only reason for student exclusion or discontent in colleges, but he asserted that these organizations were especially bad in creating division at the University of Georgia. He said, “We do not claim that there are no *other* causes of dissension in Colleges save secret societies; but we do claim that they are one of the causes in every College where they exist, and that in our College they are the *sole* cause of the ill-feeling among the students.” It must have been around this time when students at the university began joining the “non-fraternity” club, as they called it, for the students who felt they did not belong in or were excluded from the secret societies. They got a chance to get together, pool their resources, and create their own social club, even though it was in direct opposition to the established social clubs. It would be an outsider’s, or inclusive, club for excluded students. I. R. explained, “Here, in our own University, they [secret societies] have become so powerful and oppressive in their sway that forbearance has long ceased to be a virtue. Consequently, have arisen [*sic*] an anti secret society party, who differ from them in the openness and scope of their principles, and whose sole object is to secure to themselves that justice of which they have been so long debarred.”²⁴¹

In response to the anonymous student’s letter to the editor, one student replied that while there were many points of contention or social division among students, it is unfortunate that secret societies have taken the brunt of the blame because they are not the only faction creating disgruntlement between students, but are merely one facet in a myriad of social status creation and sustainment. He wrote:

²⁴¹ *The Georgia Collegian*, “Secret Societies,” 19 March 1870, Vol. I, no. 3, p. 2-3.

In Virginia, there is a College where no secret societies exist, but where the students are divided into parties during society elections; those from certain States grouping themselves together against those from other States. I. R. says that here, almost all are Georgians; and therefore no such feud is likely to arise. We grant this; we used the illustration simply to show that *all* College boys are sure to find some ‘bone of contention.’ But while we do not come from different States, we *do* come from different cities. It would be easy for those from Augusta and Savannah to form a conclave in opposition to those from Atlanta and Columbus and Macon. Indeed, we have been assured by a graduate of the College, now residing in Athens, that this was once the case.—There were then no secret societies. Those from smaller towns sided with one or the other city combination; and the champions of the respective factions indulged in logomachy not less fiery than that of Mr. Jefferson Brick. At another time, they divided on the principle of classes. The Sophomore Class, being very large, set up a flag of opposition to the united Juniors and Seniors. The election contests were waged with whig and tory rancor. This proves that College boys are bound to split in College politics. Opposing candidates will always run; the voters will differ as to their merits; and each candidate will inevitably have zealous gladiators. Thus some dissensions are sure to arise in every College. These dissensions (if we can rely on the testimony of alumni) have prevailed here—at the time of elections—ever since there were students in Athens. They prevailed years and years, before a secret society was brought here; yet the whole odium of engendering dissension is now straddled upon *secret societies*.

The secret organizations, which the College authorities before the war discountenanced, were drinking clubs, &c, formed by the rowdy class of students. Now, I. R. admits that the secret clubs here *now*, are literary in their object; and while we grant with the most genuine pleasure, that they do not possess all the talent in our University, yet I. R. will not deny that the secret societies, as a general rule, are composed of men who stand high in their classes, their societies, and in social circles.²⁴²

After the editors of the *Georgia Collegian* stated they would not set aside any more space in their paper for this argument between fraternity members and non-fraternity members to continue, they reconsidered and opened up the discussion to several other students who wanted to express their feelings in the matter in their successive issues for a few weeks, because the editors realized the importance placed on discussing the matter voiced by the student body.

The argument about belonging or not belonging to a secret society raged on and on between students who, once part of a distinct group, were highly loyal to that faction and looked down on others who were not in it but were especially hesitant to affiliate with those who were

²⁴² *The Georgia Collegian*, “Secret Societies,” 2 April 1870, Vol. I, no. 4, p. 3.

not deemed part of an equivalent social class. What constituted affiliation to the “in-group” or “out-group” by students was hazy and hard to distinguish at times. Social belonging among college students was complex, and at times contradictory. One might assume that being from a family with strong social connections or that was rather wealthy would guarantee admittance to one of the secret societies, but this was not always the case. Evidence from two students who attended the University of Georgia in the late 1860s and early 1870s showed that two similar students did not receive the same treatment or regard from their classmate Walter B. Hill.

One scenario where two similar students received different treatment from a third student helps show the complexities among students and the social relations that connected them to each other. Nathaniel E. Harris and J. A. Robson²⁴³, both graduated from the University of Georgia with an A. B. in 1870. Both Harris and Robson were Confederate veterans, both from families that were quite wealthy, and both became lawyers. For Walter B. Hill, the differences between these two classmates were far more important than their similarities. Hill became close friends with Harris, but he despised Robson for what he saw as a divided faction between the students who cared for and put their efforts into improving the university, such as himself and Harris, and those who only took from the university what was most beneficial for them personally, like Robson.

²⁴³ It is unclear exactly which J. A. Robson, Hill referred to in his letters. US Census records show a Jesse A. Robson (also recorded in some of the census records as “Robison”) born about 1844, and a James Robson born around 1838. *The Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Alumni and Matriculates of the University of Georgia, 1785-1906* showed that only a James A. Robson graduated in 1870 and had no record of a Jesse Robson ever attending the university. Hill, however, referred mostly to “J. A. Robson,” and wrote “Jess. Robson” once in his letters. James Robson would have been about 32 years old in 1870, while Jesse would have been around 26, both quite a bit older than the average age of a university student and much older than Walter B. Hill, who was 19 at the time. The 1870 census mentioned “Jesse Robison” in law school at the age of 25 with his permanent residence still being in Sandersville, GA, leading the author to believe that Jesse was most likely the person Hill wrote of in his letters.

Hill criticized Robson in several of his letters home to his family. Hill believed that Robson was not worthy of ascending to or holding any sort of leadership position at the university. Even though Robson had been wounded as a Confederate soldier in the Civil War, it did not preclude Hill's attacks on Robson in his letters. Hill's antipathy toward Robson and others similar to him arose when Robson ran for anniversary of the Demosthenian Society, an occasion when one student was elected annually and gave an address on behalf of the organization on its birthday. Hill stated:

The magnificent humbug they are trying to elect in our Society is Jess. Robson, the Spread Eagle, balloon kind of a man, who speaks of writing his name 'on the skies of heaven & punctuating it with the stars'; of eating 'hunks & gorms [*sic*] of vittles'; of making his 'exit into society'; of having a '*mutual friend on both sides*' &c. He don't stand much of a chance, however. The fact that he was severely wounded in the war, & was a faithful soldier is greatly in his favor.²⁴⁴

Hill reviled Robson for even considering running for such a position because he believed Robson was not qualified. Robson rallied a group Hill thought did not belong at the university—"outsiders." They all voted for Robson because neither they nor Robson were part of the elite group within the Demosthenian society. Hill believed the professors, in addition to the university students who "belonged" there, did not even like the students backing Robson's nomination. Hill wrote, "It harrowed my very soul to hear the yells of exultation that burst from Robson's miserable party. It pained me to see the meritorious representative of the party composed of men who do their duty in the University & who are respected by the professors & by Athens Society ridden down by a crowd that hate their opponents because the latter are superior. There's not one in the Robson party that the Faculty respect. They are notorious only for their hatred of those that are better and worthier than they."²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 9 May 1869, in *College Life*, 82.

²⁴⁵ Walter B. Hill to Herbert C. Hill, letter, 28 November 1869, in *College Life*, 134-135.

Hill did not believe Robson could receive enough votes to actually be elected anniversary, but much to Hill's dismay, Robson was elected. In response, Hill stated, "J. A. Robson—the great spreading adder orator—will bore us with his intellectual augur, next Saturday, Feb 19th. He has no subject, at all; but will orate on general principles & scatter le—phisticate all over the equanimity of the occasion." Hill did show, however, his budding maturity and perhaps a more realistic viewpoint on the function of society when he concluded that the best or most qualified candidate does not always win a race or election. Hill admitted, "...his election has perhaps learned me a useful lesson. I can see an analogy between College life & real life, & know that in both inferiority often occupies the post of honor."²⁴⁶

Walter B. Hill viewed Confederate veteran Nathaniel E. Harris quite differently, holding him in high regard. The main discernible difference between Harris and Robson would most likely have been the social class to which each family belonged. Harris was the son of a Methodist minister, Alexander Nelson Harris, an intellectual with strong social connections. Robson was the son of a farmer, James Robson Sr., from Sandersville, Georgia, a small community in Washington County. Both the Harris and Robson families once were quite wealthy, but neither fared particularly well after the South was defeated in the Civil War. According to 1860 US Federal Census data, the Robson family had \$10,000 in real estate and their personal estate was worth \$18,000. In addition, the 1860 Slave Schedule showed the Robson family owned 26 slaves. By the 1870 US Federal Census, James Robson, Sr., had died and the family's real estate was worth \$2,500 and the personal estate had fallen to \$1,000.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 12 February 1870, in *College Life*, 142.

²⁴⁷ 1860 US Federal Census, population schedule, Washington County, Georgia, Sandersville, dwelling 863, James Robson household, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 25 August 2011); 1860 US Federal Census, slave schedule, Washington County, p. 65, owner: James Robson, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 25 August 2011); 1870 US

The Harris family, on the other hand, did not have any personal wealth or real estate recorded in 1850 US Federal Census data, but had \$4,800 of real estate and \$10,000 worth in separate investments documented in the 1860 US Federal Census.

Despite the Harris and Robson families misfortunes brought by the War, and their despite similar backgrounds, Walter B. Hill regarded these two students differently. The Harris family was socially connected; the Robson family was more isolated and agrarian. Harris joined the Confederate Army in May 1862 and served through the end of the War. The Harris family was hit hard economically after the conflict, and shortly after returning home, Harris' father died, leaving Nathaniel, 20 and the eldest, to care for his mother and his 10 brothers and sisters, which further exacerbated their financial woes. Harris admitted in his autobiography that he would not have been able to attend college because of the expense, had he not had a family connection with Alexander H. Stephens, ex-vice president of the Confederacy. Harris wrote to Stephens requesting funding to attend college because he heard that Stephens had helped other aspiring southern students. Harris recalled the meeting he had with Stephens in his autobiography:

In due time his [Alexander H. Stephens] reply was received and I was asked to come to see him at Crawfordville. Of course this created a great sensation. I was able to borrow enough money from my neighbors to pay the railroad fare and I went down to Crawfordville. He had dated his letter to me from Liberty Hall, and when I reached the town and enquired for his residence the citizens showed me where it was and one of them told me to go in by the back porch, where I would find Mr. Stephens sitting in his usual place.

I did so; went up the steps to the back porch and saw Mr. Stephens for the first time. He was reading with a large pile of newspapers lying around his chair. As I came on the porch he looked at me with eyes seemingly black as charcoal, and said: "Who are you, Sir?"

I answered, “I am the boy you wrote to about going to college.”

“Ah,” he replied, “come in,” and then without asking me to take a seat he said: “In your letter you stated you thought I was in Congress with some of your people. What were their names?”

I replied: “I think you were in Congress with my uncle, N. G. Taylor, who married my mother’s sister.”

“Ah!” he replied, “Yes, I heard him speak on the Kansas Lecompton Compromise in 1855. Anybody else?”

“Yes, Sir, I think you were in the Confederate Senate with my uncle, Landon C. Haynes, my mother’s brother.”

I saw his eyes flash and his face light up as he replied quickly: “Are you a nephew of Landon C. Haynes?”

I said, “Yes, Sir, he is my mother’s brother.” Then he made the remark that rang through my young ears for many a day.

“Landon C. Haynes had more brains in his head than all the Confederate Senate moulded into one. If you are his nephew I will give you a chance.”²⁴⁸

Young Nathaniel E. Harris, despite having little money, was still connected with wealthy and powerful people that would be able to help him achieve his dream of attending college. Belonging to a family with social, political, and financial connections provided him with opportunities other young men did not have. Harris’ ascribed status coming from his birth into a family of high social status afforded him opportunities that may have otherwise not been there or extended to a young man with little money. The Harris family’s social position allowed Nathaniel to have a strong educational foundation when he was younger, and then, despite the family’s bad luck, to receive college loans to attend an institute of higher education and all that could have been the reason he and Walter B. Hill got along so well during their years in college together. They were both from families with strong social ties and with some wealth, although

²⁴⁸ Nathaniel E. Harris, *Autobiography: The Story of An Old Man’s Life With Reminiscences of Seventy-Five Years* (Macon, GA: The J. W. Burke Company, 1925), 147-148.

the Hills fared much better financially immediately after the end of the Civil War and into the economic depression of the 1870s.

Belonging to a secret society was beneficial to some students and in some cases was the reason they were able to continue attending college. Being a member of the Chi Phi fraternity allowed someone like Nathaniel E. Harris who did not have much money to stay in school because of the social ties afforded to him through his membership in the fraternity, and the members probably were responsible for spreading the word that Harris once again needed financial assistance. Not long after Harris entered the University of Georgia in 1867, he received news from Alexander H. Stephens that Stephens would no longer be able to pay for Harris' schooling anymore because of other financial obligations. Even though the university decided to relieve Harris of his tuition payment, he could not afford his board or other peripheral expenses, not even by boarding in New College in the same room as the landlady's son.²⁴⁹ Harris was unable to stay at the university and was resolved to head home, but he was then promised financial assistance from General Thomas Howell Cobb, former speaker of the House of Representatives, former Georgia Governor, and former Secretary of the Treasury. Why Cobb extended this offer or how he knew of Harris' dire straits was not clear, but Cobb told Harris, "You shall not give up your college course. Come on back for the next session and I will do for you what Mr. Stephens had agreed to do."²⁵⁰ Unfortunately for Harris, Cobb died suddenly shortly after their meeting on October 9, 1868, again, leaving Harris in a predicament. Fortunately for Harris, he was so well liked and had such benevolent classmates he was able to stay in school until graduation.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 156.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Belonging to a social class or secret society did not ensure one's enrollment in college. It did, however, much improve one's chances of being admitted and ability to stay enrolled once there. According to Harris:

The Phi Kappa Society and the Chi Phi Fraternity both came to my aid and enough money was made up to pay the \$15.00 per month for board due to Mrs. Moore, and in this way I was able to go on. Meantime, Major Barnwell, the Librarian, who had been a Confederate soldier and had come from South Carolina to Georgia, offered me the job of cataloging the books in the library. From these three sources I managed to raise a sufficient amount of money to continue in the University until the end of the term. Meantime, as I was afterwards informed, Henry W. Grady and Peter W. Meldrim, my club mates in the Senior class, of the year before, made a visit to Crawfordville and conferred with Mr. Stephens about my case.

The result of this visit was a letter from Mr. Stephens saying that as he had recovered from the pecuniary reverses that had come to him, he was now able to spare the money necessary for me to complete my college course. From this time to my graduation I had no further financial trouble.²⁵¹

Walter B. Hill wrote often to his parents concerning Harris' future at the university. In a letter to his father he stated, "It will be a real pity if with all his [Harris] talent, he cannot get an education. He is about my best friend & if you were able I would ask you to make him a protégé for I am sure that never would money be better spent."²⁵² And in a letter to his mother, Walter expressed the measures he and his fellow classmates were going to take to ensure their friend could continue in school. In a reply to Walter, Mary Clay suggested that Walter room with Harris for subsequent school terms and even offered to pay the entire expense to help relieve some of Harris' financial trouble.²⁵³ Walter responded, "It is settled now that Harris will remain. The two Societies to which he belongs (the Phi Kappa & XΦ) knowing that he would always be an honor to both, have agreed to pay his College expenses, the former 1/3 & the latter 2/3's. This ruins my chance of ever getting the 1st honor; but he is such a good friend & clever

²⁵¹ Ibid., 158-159.

²⁵² Walter B. Hill to Barnard Hill, letter, 1 March 1868, in *College Life*, 29.

²⁵³ Mary Clay Hill to Walter B. Hill, letter, 11 March 1868, in *College Life*, 32n.

fellow, that I am really glad he is not going off. I should like very much to have him for my roommate next term & will see what I can do about it....”²⁵⁴

Belonging to a fraternity, for most students, meant belonging to a particular class of university students and was an integral part of connecting with one's institution. For others, however, fraternities were nothing more than another social creation meant to create a sharp division between those who belonged to the group and those who did not. Fraternities were not the only entity or reason students found themselves among particular factions, but during the period studied, fraternities at the University of Georgia were highly important to the student culture. In many instances, they were a determining factor in whether a student felt as if he was connected with the institution because of his association with his society, or thought he was not fully accepted into the school culture because he had to fight for social position and a sense of belonging by himself.

Belonging at the Bottom

Although most students attending the University of Georgia during the second half of the 19th century blended well within the social and academic structure that confronted them upon entering college life, some students had trouble finding their niche. Some simply did not connect with the college environment and wrote their families about wanting to leave. Analysis of student letters suggested it was common for students to be homesick or miss some aspect of their pre-college life during the first few months in Athens. Once students became settled into their new surroundings, these types of letters began to dwindle, and the students often wrote about their adventures and experiences with new friends as they grew accustomed to a quasi-adult

²⁵⁴ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 15 March 1868, in *College Life*, 31-32.

lifestyle. A few students did not seem to ever find their place among other students at the university and the social aspect to their college life suffered as a result.

Some students who did not fit in were the very religious. They saw their college peers engaging in activities they believed were unacceptable and certainly not in line with their own religious beliefs. In late September 1869, Robert Bruce wrote to his sister, Annie Bruce, about his concern over the clash between religion and local social activities. He said, “There has been a revival here this week in the Methodist Church but there are dances occurring most every night somewhere in town, which I think is wrong since there is a revival going on.”²⁵⁵ Bruce expressed his unhappiness with what he viewed as un-Christian acts by students at the university. He chastised his peers for their actions and mockery toward the church. In a letter to his sister in early October 1870 while another Methodist revival was going on, Bruce relayed one story of his disgust of students’ not being as God-fearing as he was, remarking, “There has been a revival going on over here in the Methodist Church but has closed now. I don’t know exactly how many were taken into the church nor how many conversions [*sic*]. One of the boys went up to the mourners bench drunk and after he came out of church, was cursing and said, ‘[He] felt better already’. Oh! what will become of such men that mock God in that manner[?] I know I don’t live up to the commands as I should do but it make[s] me tremble for such boys as he.”²⁵⁶ Bruce went on in his letters to his sister about how he felt different than many of the other students and hinted often that he did not fit well into the student social structure that was in place.

Another religious student was Edward Thomas Bishop, A. B. class of 1878 and B. L. class of 1880, a devout but reclusive Presbyterian who spent much of his time alone while in

²⁵⁵ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 24 September 1869, Robert E. and Annie J. Bruce Letters, MS 428, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²⁵⁶ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 9 October 1870, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

college. Bishop kept a sporadic journal between 1877 and 1880, recording events of his life that mostly focused on his interest in and devotion to his faith. According to his journal, Bishop only sought the company of others on rare occasions and even stated he had trouble connecting with God. Some of Bishop's standoffishness could have stemmed from his health afflictions, which he wrote about often, especially the sties in his eyes that hindered his ability to see and kept him from attending classes at the university for the 1877-1878 academic year. Bishop's health complications went further than his inability to see and were exacerbated with some type of social anxiety that prevented him from engaging regularly with people. In his August 3, 1877 diary entry he stated, "Have been gloomy and somewhat despondent. Have not enjoyed any companionship...." ²⁵⁷ Bishop admitted he had some type of emotional or psychological imbalance. He stated, "Feel very badly and my health is not very good. Am threatened with nervous prostration; a thing which is very bad for one so young." ²⁵⁸

Bishop's diary often has a foreboding tone, hinting at his struggle with depression from feelings of disconnectedness with a social group outside of his family. On one occasion he wrote, "Here I begin again to record the events of my uneventful life." ²⁵⁹ And in a later passage reflecting on the time he spent during the year detached from others, concluded, "Have lived almost entirely within the family this year; and find it preferable to Society as far as my own pleasure is concerned." ²⁶⁰ Once Bishop returned to school at the University of Georgia in 1878, however, he showed evidence of reconnecting with individuals he was once acquainted with and

²⁵⁷ Edward Thomas Bishop, diary, 4 August 1877, E. Merton Coulter Manuscript II Collection, MS 2345, Box 1, Folder 31, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²⁵⁸ Bishop, diary, 6 August 1877, Coulter Manuscript II Collection, Box 1, Folder 31, Hargrett Library.

²⁵⁹ Bishop, diary, 12 November 1877, Coulter Manuscript II Collection, Box 1, Folder 31, Hargrett Library.

²⁶⁰ Bishop, diary, 30 June 1878, Coulter Manuscript II Collection, Box 1, Folder 31, Hargrett Library.

formed some new friendships, mostly with local Athens Christian leaders and with the more religious professors at the university who attended regular church services.

Bruce and Bishop related unhappiness during their time at the university that seemed to come from social exclusion or personal seclusion, or perhaps a combination of both. While Bruce wrote often about how his religious beliefs did not mesh with many of the students he attended school with, several of his letters to his sister included information about his and other students' unhappiness while in college, even mentioning two student deaths on separate occasions. In one of these instances he wrote, "A very nice young man in College committed suicide[.] [T]he causes are not yet known for what he killed himself[.] Some said that he had d[y]spepsia[.] He took a piece of paper with him but it is supposed that he took so much laudanum that he was not able to write[.] He took the laudanum and then shot himself[.] He was aged 16 or 17 years, a resident of this place."²⁶¹ Although Bruce may have been only relaying this surely much talked about incident among his peers to his sister, it is typical of the gloomy tone of his letters.

Much like Bruce, one of his friends named Irvin did not connect socially and was so homesick that he wanted to return home. According to Bruce's letter, the faculty encouraged other students to pressure Irvin into staying at least until the end of the term, because the faculty members believed that after a few months his homesickness would fade and he would be fully engaged with the institution. Bruce made a point of telling his sister not to share the information about Irvin with anyone in their hometown because it would embarrass Irvin.²⁶²

²⁶¹ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 18 February 1869, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library; Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 31 January 1870, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

²⁶² Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 12 March 1869, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

While young women were a common reason that brought men together at the university, they may have also been a reason that drove some of the men apart. Robert E. Bruce remarked that one of his friends back home was not writing him because, as Bruce concluded, the friend was too busy courting women: “Johnson M. has not written to me since I came here, I heard that he was going it quite heavily with the young ladies this year and I guess that is the reason he has not answered my letter.”²⁶³ Bruce was interested in the young women in Athens, but he was too bashful to engage in conversation with them or attend any of the social mixers that occurred frequently in Athens and served as a medium to bring the two sexes together to meet and interact with one another. The young man was frank about his timidity in a letter to his cousin and stated, “There are a great many pretty young ladies over here, but I do not have time to visit them any; I am afraid that I will become so bashful, that I can not even talk to those young ladies over there [his hometown], with whom, I have been acquainted the greater portion of my life.”²⁶⁴

The Bruce letters show that as time went on he became more and more socially disconnected and grew even less fond of the university and the town of Athens, constantly pining to get back home with his family, where he felt more comfortable. His homesickness detracted from his schoolwork, not allowing him to fully engage back into his studies for several weeks after returning to school from breaks. On returning to Athens after the winter break he said, “It is a right hard matter for me to get to studying again like I was last term, but that is always the way with me after vacation; it take[s] me always about two weeks to get started well, and then the time passes very rapidly; and then after being home, and then coming back I can’t forget the pleasant times that I have had, enough to study untill [*sic*] two or three weeks have passed.”²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 21 May 1869, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

²⁶⁴ Robert E. Bruce to unnamed cousin, letter, 5 June 1870, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

²⁶⁵ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 31 January 1870, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

By spring 1872, after a few years at the University of Georgia and plenty of time to establish roots with at least a few friends, Bruce still comes across in his letters as detached from the goings-on in and around the school. The young man confined himself to his room unless it was absolutely necessary for him to leave, and that is why he told his sister Annie that he usually did not have any news to communicate to her. He said, "Every thing is as dull as ever here," and continued, "I am very tired of college."²⁶⁶ Acknowledging that he was different in disliking being on his own in school and loving his home life before leaving for college, he said, "I don't believe there ever was a boy who loved home better than I do. I hardly ever speak of my feelings on the subject though, because I can not be there...."²⁶⁷

Students were expected to find some way to fit in at the university, and it was considered unmanly to leave college or even admit to being homesick if not fitting in. Walter B. Hill told his brother about a friend of theirs from Talbotton who entered the freshman class of the university: "Johnnie Callier's first impressions [of college] are not so favorable—tho' he wont confess to any homesickness."²⁶⁸ Hill also mentioned a Jewish student not fitting in and going back to his hometown. He suggested to his brother, "When your time comes to go to College, I trust you will not prove quite so refractory [*sic*] about leaving Mamma as did a certain hopeful Israelite who was sent to Athens, last week." Hill urged his brother to be tough about the separation from their parents. He said the student's name who left college...

...was Shefter & he was sent here from Augusta. He had no sooner laid his eyes on the big brick recitation rooms, than his fancy painted them as full as could be of all sorts of horrors & tortures; his heart failed him, & he took the train for home. His mother brought him back the next day; and (as she thought) succeeded in reconciling him to a College career. But the next morning when she reached the cars on her way back to

²⁶⁶ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 10 February 1872, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library; Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 23 March 1872, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

²⁶⁷ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 18 February 1872, Bruce Letters, Hargrett Library.

²⁶⁸ Walter B. Hill to Henry Clay Hill, letter, 5 September 1869, in *College Life*, 117.

Augusta, she found her prodigal son snugly e[n]sconced on one of the seats in the train—and, like the famous coon in his den, he refused all entreaties to come out. I suppose she has given up the hope of her son's winning a diploma—for she went peac[e]ably back home—admitting that she was outwitted & vanquished.²⁶⁹

Ernest Cunningham, whose family struggled financially, was continually pushed by his parents to stay enrolled at the university and make the best of his situation even though they could not provide him with much money. A letter dated April 22, 1874, revealed the family, like many others, was hurt by the Panic of 1873 and resulting economic downturn. Mary Cunningham wrote Ernest, “[Y]ou have no idea how scarce money is. Pa can’t collect scarcely any, not enough to pay our current expenses, and there is no forcing matters these days. In speaking of money, Ernest, I want to hint to you. Don’t worry Pa too often. Use what [money] he sends to the very best advantage, and when your board becomes due, pay what you can, and merely say to Pa that your board is due. He will attend to that. Don’t let it worry you.”²⁷⁰ In another letter, Mary responded to a missive from Ernest in which he asked his family for \$7. She wanted to clarify that the \$7 would be for the entire semester and not just for one month, which she said would be excessive: “Pa says he reckons the [\$7] is one dollar per month for seven months, instead of seven per month, he would not submit to that.”²⁷¹

Whether Ernest Cunningham felt so out of place while in college solely because of his parents’ financial troubles or because of his inability to bond with other students is undetermined. One thing was certain, though, Cunningham really did not feel as if he belonged at the university, although his parents thought he should continue there. An entire letter from his

²⁶⁹ Walter B. Hill to Henry Clay Hill, letter, 31 October 1869, in *College Life*, 129.

²⁷⁰ Mary Cunningham to George E. Cunningham, letter, 22 April 1874, George A. Cunningham family papers collection, MS 2679, Box 1, Folder 2, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

²⁷¹ Mary Cunningham to George E. Cunningham, letter, January 1874, Cunningham papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Hargrett Library.

father was devoted to telling him that he needed to make the best of college and get his education: “You seem from your letters to be dissatisfied [with college],” adding that it was a privilege to have an opportunity to get a college degree and that his son ought to be more grateful about his circumstances, considering their financial situation.²⁷² His mother, responding to Ernest’s letter about feeling disconnected, encouraged Ernest to stick it out and hoped that things would get better for him: “We want to see you very much and it affords us great pleasure to hear from you[;] only it grieved us to know that you are dissatisfied, *Cheer up.*”²⁷³

The Town Versus the Gown

The relationship between the university and Athens is also important to understanding student culture. There is evidence of members of the Athens community excluding members of the university community from its events as well as the university drawing distinct lines between the boundaries of the campus grounds and the town. One such instance where tension appeared between the students and locals was found in the establishment of the Athenaeum Club in 1885, an organization of local, young, male professionals that encouraged dialogue and social relations with prominent members of the Athens community. Tension between the students and the members of this organization must have surfaced almost as soon as the club was established. A poem entitled “The Athenaeum” in the 1886 *Pandora* yearbook poked jabs at the organization and pointed out its exclusionary guidelines for becoming a member, and it stated that the members held a lesser spot in the social strata than college students, especially in the eyes of the single women in Athens:

²⁷² George A. Cunningham to George E. Cunningham, letter, 21 January 1874, Cunningham papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Hargrett Library.

²⁷³ Mary Cunningham to George E. Cunningham, letter, January 1874, Cunningham papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Hargrett Library.

A CLUB there is—of clubs the best,—
 “The Athenaeum” called,
 And dudes and dullards, and the rest,
Alone are never black-balled!

From in their walls they do exclude
 All Students, Jews, and “Niggers”;
 But eve’ry “spider-legged dude,”
 They place among their “figgers!”

For I would have you know at last,
 Aristocratic must be
 The favored ones who ever pass
 Beneath this select (?) roof-tree!

The club has none but men of brains—
 But *this* thought sadly steals
 Across my mind, and credence gains—
 The “brain” lies in their *heels*!

The club now owns a club-house too—
 The architect sure blundered—
 ‘Twas *built* to hold but twenty-two;
 ‘Tis *made* to hold two hundred!

The reason why their house was built,
 I’ll tell you truly now then:
 The students always in fair tilt,
 Could overcome the town men.

And when they both would chance to meet,
 In visiting the fair ones,—
 In all assemblies of *elite*—
 The students were the big-guns!

So then they built their beauteous hall,
 And have their little dances,
 Where students cannot come at all,
 Nor thwart their killing glances!

But sad to say, 'tis still the truth,
 The girls prefer the students;
 For while *they* know not much forsooth—
 The ATHENS beaus know “lesser.”

The poem showed that university students did not like that they were intentionally kept out of a club that was both intellectual and social in nature, believing they were being excluded because they were not high enough on the social scale to belong to such a group. They were especially outspoken about the individuals who were not allowed to join. Blacks and Jews had long been an oppressed and excluded group in the southern states, but now students were being lumped into the same excluded category. As it eventually turned out, the students' resistance and commentary about the exclusiveness of the Athenaeum Club had an impact on those who created the rules within the organization. At the end of the poem, and probably with the intent of embarrassing the club members, is a copy of the telegram the *Pandora* editorial staff received on April 25, 1886 from the Athenaeum Club: “Cut out the poem headed ‘The Athenaeum.’ Students are now admitted. Niggers and Jews are still excluded.”²⁷⁴

Another point of contention between townspeople and university students was their relationship with the Athens Police Department, which was established in 1881. Many students saw the police department as an unnecessary authority in Athens, and they were outspoken in their disdain, especially regarding the officers the police captain appointed. A sarcastic 1888 article in *Pandora* reflected the student sentiment toward the police department:

Yes, Athens' papers are mighty, but there is an institution her citizens cherish even more fondly. We glory in the protection of the most efficient police force in the Union. He is faultless. We say he, and we use the word advisedly. Strangers may notice sundry citizens strolling idly our streets, clad in garments of blue with buttons of brass. True, they swing policeman's clubs, corral [*sic*] cattle and chase small coons, but they are not the Athens police. The department is the Captain, and these are merely his agents, existing through courtesy of his boundless grace. During the present year he has arrested

²⁷⁴ *Pandora* Yearbook, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 80-81.

nine cows, two donkeys (not counting the inebriated disciple of Emory who was run in), one little negro boy and five stray goats. He has threatened sixty students, lectured four and shook his club at two. And for all this, the city councilmen rise up and call him blessed.²⁷⁵

Almost all student documents from this period mentioning the Athens Police Department depicted the organization negatively. The bifurcation between the two groups was most likely a result of the establishment of the Police Committee, which would make regular reports to the faculty regarding student misbehavior and often resulted in student suspension or expulsion, especially if the committee recommended separation from the university.²⁷⁶ There was a sharp divide between students and the police, as the former represented freedom and exposure to adulthood, while the latter represented the enforcer of law and the keeper of order. Students resented the authoritarian aspect of the police department, and they used various creative ways to portray this relationship. Drawings of the interaction between the two entities were among the most creative attention-getters. Figure 2, a drawing in the 1892 *Pandora*, depicts police officers as burly men picking on the young students at the university:

²⁷⁵ 1888 *Pandora* Yearbook, p. 90.

²⁷⁶ Transcribed Minutes of the Faculty of the University of Georgia, 1873-1881, Vol. 4, 28 March 1873, p. 2, 5, 6, and 12.

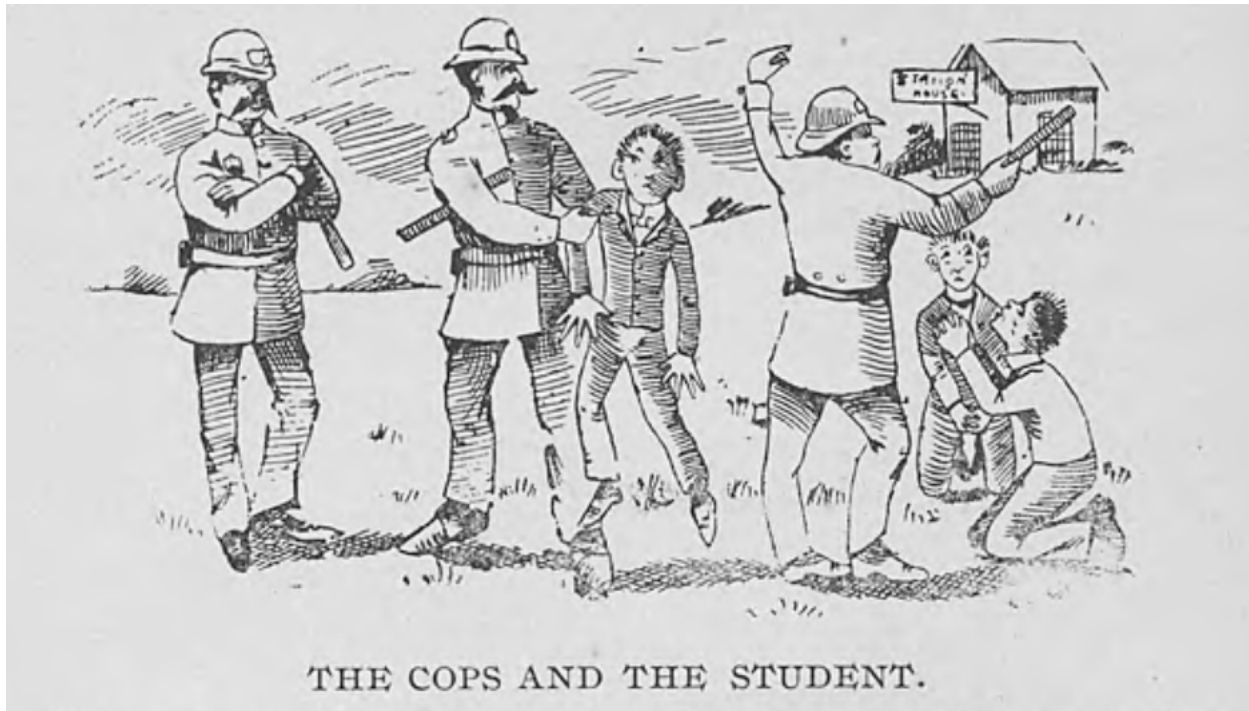


Figure 2: Student-published Drawings Reflected the Tension With the Police.²⁷⁷

Students were not fond of the newly established police department because they felt as if there was no sense of community shared between the students and the officers. The students said that because the police officers acted authoritarian, they “gyed” the cops often, meaning they made fun of them to provoke them and see what type of response they would receive. Often the response was negative and students were arrested on many different counts. Students had a hard time understanding the authoritative mentality and actions put forward by the police officers because in their minds they were all upstanding young men, but found out that they had to do what the officers said in order to fit in in the town of Athens or risk going to jail. The students, however, thought the “...cops made asses of themselves...” by arresting them for minor infractions of the law that could have been addressed in a way that was less dictatorial and more inclusive of the students, considering they were all sharing the town with one another.²⁷⁸ In

²⁷⁷ Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library/University of Georgia Libraries.

²⁷⁸ *Pandora Yearbook*, 1892, p. 110.

other articles, students referred to Athens police officers as scavengers, buffoons, and lazy, but maintained that the town council loved the officers. At the end of a sarcastic article regarding the legitimacy of the police department and the unnecessary show of authoritative force in the town, the students wrote, “The station house is a monument of skill and architecture and masonry. The fact that it once served as a peanut stand does not detract from its importance.”²⁷⁹

Run-ins between the two sides occurred often and typically arose when the police officers tried to quell the rebellious spirit of the college youths. A January 1893 newspaper article reported a student arrested by police officer Pope Davis near the intersection of College Avenue and Broad Street for disorderly conduct. The article mentioned that many students came to the aid of the arrested student, at which point officer Davis’ unholstered his revolver and pointed it at the students to “hold back” the crowd.²⁸⁰ This student run-in with the police occurred after a snowstorm dumped 10 inches of snow in Athens, Telamon Cuyler reported that the quarrel between students and the officer began after throwing snowballs at passersby. He said:

Went to town – snowballed – big crowd on Campus’ gate fountain, soak ‘em in water, hard as rocks, assailed [*sic*] each and every man coming bye [*sic*], crowd grew – nearly killed negroes, beat horses – one negro came up and yelled “I’ll call police!! police!!! led drive at him and hit him in his head, the balls flew, so did the negro – “Cop” came, he did not do anything at all for *some time*. [L]oafed around and made balls, at last he came over and began to “lecture” *me* on my behavior. I moved off laughing and he grabbed poor little Baldwin²⁸¹, and began to drag him off – the boys rallied ‘round and began to try to explain. The boys were not touching the “cop” but only *trying* to tell him that the boy had not been mis-behaving, the fool cop drew an immense “gun” and flourished it in the most *dramatic* manner, leveling it at our heads and hearts and acting very queer. [H]e dragged the boy over toward the chapel gate and then over to Rafe’s store²⁸² and back to the wall, “stood us” off[.] Some men came up and *at last* succeeded in making him

²⁷⁹ *Pandora Yearbook*, 1892, “The Athens Police Force” p. 131-132; *Pandora Yearbook*, 1888, p. 90, 103

²⁸⁰ *Weekly Banner*, “The Heaviest Snow,” January 24, 1893, p. 3.

²⁸¹ Probably Benjamin Smith Baldwin, A. B. 1894.

²⁸² A men’s clothing store and tailor, owned by S. Raphael and located at 3 College Avenue in 1893, *Pandora Yearbook*, 1893, p. 192.

understand how foolish he was acting. The boy was released and his trial set for some future date.²⁸³

The students in this case viewed their throwing snowballs at Athens townspeople innocently and were surprised with the response they received from both the Athens citizens and the police department. The students and their mischievous antics did not fit well into the expectations of older members of the community and with the law enforcement community. The town's expectation was for the students to conform to town norms and that anything less would not be tolerated, creating yet one more distinct divide for university students where they were forced to comply with established principles or risk the consequences from acting outside of these boundaries.

A sense of belonging on campus at the University of Georgia was important to students in several ways. Students wanted to be plugged into a strong social network that secret societies provided to them, but they also had to figure out how to belong in a place where the expectations of the town did not always align with what was the norm at the university. Students had to cautiously approach these two different worlds so as not to jeopardize their college education and run the risk of being separated from the university. College provided a great deal of learning about how social relations at the university, and in the South were established, but also how these relationships were best maintained over time. The economic status a student grew up in was not as important as the social class a student's family associated with. Being accepted into and feeling a sense of belonging to a strong social group was an integral facet to feeling connected while in college. As far as the students were concerned, distinctions and barriers between factions had always existed and were always going to exist inside and outside of school. Students bonded because they were included in a group that excluded others, which connected

²⁸³ Cuyler, diary, 18 January 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

them to other members of their organization. This connection among peers within a group ultimately created a sense of belonging to the larger campus community. Because of the seeming omnipresence of separation between students, societies, clubs, and groups of individuals that flourished inside and outside of the institution is what helped an individual student feel a sense of belonging and helped him become part of the distinct college community at the University of Georgia.

CHAPTER 5

STATUS REDEMPTION AND POLITICKING:

THE CASE OF WALTER ROUNTREE AND THE NEXUS OF MASCULINITY, RACE, AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION SOUTH

This chapter focuses on the way newspapers portrayed, altered, accepted, rejected, and propagated political ideology, and it underscores the intertwinement of masculinity and social class with race relations after Reconstruction through an investigation into events at the University of Georgia in 1882 in which a student was shot and killed. Additionally, probing into this case allows for an analysis of the engagement of public dialogue and discourse between southern newspapers and the *New York Times*. The analysis highlights, and perhaps provides a better understanding of, the northern perceptions of the exclusionary nature of southern society, the hegemonic distinctiveness of the region as compared with northern states, and the desire by some southerners to turn the region into the antithesis of the North.²⁸⁴

Political restructuring and change was taking place in the South at all levels of government in the years during and after Reconstruction. Most southerners bonded together politically after the result of the Civil War because of their shared interest in ousting occupying northern forces. Nearly all important southerners were Democrats or associated themselves with the Democratic Party for the sole purpose of going against carpetbaggers, scalawags, blacks, and

²⁸⁴ Richard F. Hamm, *Murder, Honor, and Law: 4 Virginia Homicides From Reconstruction to the Great Depression* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 9.

Radical Republican rule.²⁸⁵ This unity did not last long—dissension quickly arose over the usefulness of a one-party system that served the interests of the wealthy elite, not the small farmer. This tension gave rise to an Independent movement, which appeared in Georgia as early as 1874 and threatened to split the one-party system, and therefore the white vote, into two parts: those representing people of meager means and the Democrats, who represented the party of the social and economic elite. This Independent movement has been referred to as the precursor to the Populist movements, both of which were concentrated in northern Georgia and led by the same individuals. Alex Mathews Arnett explained:

A region of small farmers, for the most part isolated and primitive, and always strongly opposed to any “ruling class,” it offered fertile soil for the spread of opposition to the town politicians. The percentage of negroes was too small for appeals to the necessity of white solidarity to carry the same force as in other parts of the state. Outside a few of the larger towns such as Athens and Rome, social conditions and standards were too crude for the masses to place much value upon that type of respectability to which unfailing support of the regular Democracy was elsewhere regarded as essential. While the great majority had supported the Southern arms during the war, most of them had formerly opposed secession and some had remained Unionist in defiance of state and Confederate governments; hence not even the fetishism associated with the part which had battled for Southern rights was quite as widely effective as it was where planter and urban influences were stronger.²⁸⁶

Although political solidarity marked the era immediately following the War, many white southerners did not want to return to the sharp pre-War division between the small-scale farmer and the wealthy planter. It was said that, “While the attention of men of affairs and of government was directed toward the new day, the serious plight of plain farmers went unattended.”²⁸⁷ Small-scale farmers wanted to ensure their interests and needs and saw a return

²⁸⁵ V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 142; 552.

²⁸⁶ Alex Mathews Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia: A View of the “Agrarian Crusade” in the Light of Solid-South Politics* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922), 33-34.

²⁸⁷ Key, *Southern Politics*, 118.

to the one-party system as regressive as a means to achieve their goals. Planters after the War had to find allies in those invested in the growing industrial and financial endeavors during Reconstruction that ultimately led to their social and political prominence in Democratic politics.²⁸⁸

Even though the low-level farmer began to emerge slightly as a force through the Populist movement, it was no match for the stronger, more socially and politically adept Democrats. By the late 1870s much of the control of politics in the South was already back in the hands of the Southern Democrats through violence, intimidation, and terror at the expense of disenfranchisement of blacks, those including Populists attempting resistance to their political domination, and in direct opposition to the Republican attempt to overhaul the white, elite dominance over public affairs. Bourbon Democrats, sometimes called Redeemer Democrats, the conservative pro-business wing of that party, continued to push their agenda into the 1880s, even though they had successfully extracted federal troops from the South and unraveled the political re-conception imposed through Radical Reconstruction. Redeemer Democrats were the conservative opposition to Radical Reconstruction and wanted to rid the South of any and all changes imposed during Reconstruction, especially the mandate that forced the southern region to have black representatives at all levels of government and permit blacks to vote in elections. The Bourbon Democrats were called Redeemers because redeeming the qualities that made the South distinct from the North was exactly what they set out to accomplish. Redeemers wanted regression back to the old southern social order, the way the social hierarchy had been before the Civil War, and they thought the rules under Radical Reconstruction that were imposed on the region were not in line with the main tenets of southern culture. Democrats continued to push

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 142; 553.

their fight and their agenda long after the official end of Reconstruction, and evidence of the inculcation of ideology through the use of newspapers by their party is clear in this deadly event that occurred in Athens, Georgia that involved the altercation between university students and black citizens of Clarke County.

The University of Georgia opened and the students and faculty were back in their respective roles right after the New Year in 1866, but not long after the opening the aspirants wishing to attend the college in Athens had broadened. A passage from the *Red & Black* some years later disclosed that students were especially territorial and wanted to keep the university an exclusive place: "The small town boys are again tresspassing [*sic*] upon the campus. They have been warned once about being too prominent on the campus, and it will be advisable for them to stay away if they can't behave. No one objects to their coming on our play ground when they conduct themselves properly, but we feel that this is our home and that we have exclusive right to this sacred spot of earth, and don't propose to be usurped by any one."²⁸⁹ This passage suggests that the students did not want *anyone* who did not *belong* on campus to do anything that did not align with student ethic, and it can be read to include just about anyone who was black, of the Athens lower class, female, or not of typical student age.

Soon after the school re-opened, however, black Athens residents wanted access and admission to the University of Georgia and were willing to protest their exclusion from the state university on its campus. According to Patrick Hues Mell, Jr., in 1866 or 1867 during students' final examinations and before the annual commencement, black Athenians initiated a plan to occupy the university campus so young, black townsmen could attend college. Not long after midnight a large group of armed black Athens men approached the campus to demand access for

²⁸⁹ *Red & Black*, 3 March 1894.

their children to the state university. Some of the students saw the men approaching the university buildings and notified the students living in campus buildings of the situation and they quickly armed themselves. Dr. Patrick Hues Mell responded quickly to the disturbance because his residence was on campus and close to the commotion. Mell quickly advised the students to not act abruptly, saying he would talk with the men to learn their demands. The men made clear that the state university ought to be open to Athens blacks, but Mell firmly denied their assumption and told them to leave university property before the students used their rifles against the incensed crowd. The assembly of Athens citizens reluctantly turned and left, but not without making clear their desire for equal rights and access to state facilities of higher learning.²⁹⁰

Exclusion from full acceptance and access for black men and women was common throughout the South during and after Reconstruction, and Athens was no exception. Blacks had earned their freedom and the right to vote in elections, but social justice was far from being a reality. The University of Georgia was for whites only, and access to its facilities or admittance to the school by members of the black communities was not a consideration whites throughout the South were willing to take into account, unless the blacks served as servants to the university students.²⁹¹ The only invitation to participate in any capacity with University of Georgia exercises came one day a year on the last day of commencement exercises, and it was the same offer that had been granted to them before the Civil War. Slaveholders throughout the Athens area and surrounding counties permitted their slaves to suspend their duties and attend the

²⁹⁰ Mell, *Life of Mell*, 223-225.

²⁹¹ Although details are not mentioned, there is evidence blacks worked as servants for university students in the latter decades of the 1800s. Walter B. Hill noted on August 1, 1869, in his expense account to his mother paying one dollar for a servant during one of the 1869 terms. Telamon Cuyler wrote on January 11, 1893, of a man named William who was at least responsible for making and maintaining the fire in his boarding house bedroom—he noted after re-reading his journal in 1943 that William was his “negro servant.”

festivities on the campus. Black men and women traveled in droves to witness a portion of the commencement exercises participated in by what they perceived, and were mostly correct, to be elite white Georgians.²⁹²

In the months and years after the Civil War, Athens, like the rest of the South, attempted to adapt to the changes brought by Reconstruction and to re-conceptualize the relationship between blacks and whites. Aside from attending the last day of the university's commencement and the barbecue that took place afterwards, black citizens of Athens were rarely, if ever, engaged in the social life of the college community.²⁹³ Review of student documents from this period confirmed the separation between these two entities living so closely to each other, although reports of a negative relationship between the two groups surfaced in Athens' *Banner-Watchman* after a deadly encounter between these two factions. Apparently tension between the students and black members of the Athens community was not uncommon and began to build in the early 1880s.

Most white residents of Georgia, and many of the faculty, students, and alumni did not want black students admitted to the university. The University of Georgia had always been exclusively white and that tradition, it was believed by many whites, was not in need of modification, although reforms imposed through Reconstruction threatened to change this long-standing custom. The very sight of a Radical Republican at the university could have sparked student uprising, one that Walter B. Hill and his father were afraid to see, because they believed any unrest by students toward appointed officials would mean certain integration at the university. Hill wrote to his father, Barnard, about Edwin G. Higbee being among the group

²⁹² *The New York Times*, "Commencement at the University of Georgia," 11 August 1868.

²⁹³ Robert S. Gamble, "Athens: The Study of A Georgia Town During Reconstruction, 1865-1872" (master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1967), 43; 67.

evaluating students during their final examinations. Higbee was a Georgia state senator and a Radical Reconstructionist. Higbee, originally from Vermont, was known to the Hill family because Higbee moved to Talbotton and taught school at the Collingsworth Institute, a high school in that city.²⁹⁴ Walter B. Hill wrote his father regarding Higbee being on the committee to grade final examinations: “You have seen, I suppose, Higbee’s name on the Examg Committee. If the boys find out his *antecedents*, (and I shall not describe them) he will be treated with marked-disrespect.”²⁹⁵ Walter did not divulge what he knew regarding Higbee’s political ties to his fellow students, and Barnard Hill also hoped that the college boys were not too disrespectful because if something were to happen he believed the Radical agenda would, “nigerize the University of Ga as they have those of Ala and So Carolina.”²⁹⁶ As it turned out, Higbee did not even attend the final examinations that year, there was no push to integrate the university, and the relationship between the school and the town of Athens remained relatively calm.

From local newspapers during the late 1860s and 1870s, one might deduce that race relations in Athens and the college community were not tumultuous. An incident on Tuesday, April 4, 1882, however, indicated there might be more to uncover concerning the relationship between black and white inhabitants of Athens, and also between the young black Athens men and the students at the University of Georgia. University students and brothers Walter and Bartow Rountree from Quitman, Georgia, were walking in the streets of Athens on April 4th and Bartow carried a loaded pistol in his pocket. The Rountree brothers either engaged in an

²⁹⁴ Willard E. Wight, ed., “Reconstruction In Georgia: Three Letters By Edwin G. Higbee,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1957): 82-83. <http://www.jstor.org/proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/stable/40577732>

²⁹⁵ Walter B. Hill to Barnard Hill, letter, 29 May 1870, in *College Life*, 174.

²⁹⁶ Barnard Hill to Walter B. Hill, letter, 8 June 1870, in *College Life*, 174n.

altercation with or set out to settle an altercation with two black men--Frank Johnson, 19 or 20 years old, and Enoch Echols, 22 or 23, who had recently moved to Athens from Oglethorpe County. That evening, Johnson was also carrying a pistol and at one point the two groups began to fight each other near the intersection of Hill Street and Prince Avenue, where the Clarke County courthouse was then located. Johnson pulled out his pistol and fired, and Bartow Rountree brandished his weapon and began firing it as well. After a short but explosive gunfight, Johnson and Echols ran, leaving both Rountrees at the scene of the confrontation. Bartow was not harmed, but Walter had been shot in the neck, severing vertebrae and becoming paralyzed from the neck down. Several witnesses came forward with different accounts of what occurred.²⁹⁷ Not long after the incident student comrades took Walter Rountree from the front of the Athens courthouse to a nearby home in a buggy that was heavily guarded by fellow university students.²⁹⁸

The episode received a fair amount of press and suggested the relationship between blacks and whites had been tumultuous for some time. After the *Banner-Watchman* reported the incident to its readers, it revealed, "...there has been more than once imminent danger of an outbreak between [blacks and whites]" and asserted that many of the run-ins with these two groups occurred when the blacks far outnumbered the whites.²⁹⁹ This case involved the use of firearms, but neither side suggested a duel or any adherence to the Code Duello³⁰⁰, the set of rules that governed mutual combat between individuals, as was typically found in many other

²⁹⁷ Local reporters interviewed many witnesses and bystanders, but they received conflicting reports as to who fired first and whose gun the fatal shot came from. Two witnesses, though, Dr. James Camak and Mr. Allie Berckman, both reported hearing seven total shots fired during the gunfight. *Savannah Morning News*, "Georgia News," 7 April 1882, p. 1.

²⁹⁸ *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ For the rules of the Code Duello and a treatment of same, see Hamilton Cochran, *Noted American Duels and Hostile Encounters*, (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1963).

violent encounters between whites. This scarcely mentioned incident in University of Georgia histories³⁰¹ occurred in early April off campus, but it had begun from a dispute about three weeks prior. At that time, Walter Rountree, class of 1883, and Clarence Groover³⁰², class of 1882, were walking along a sidewalk in Athens when the two came upon Frank Johnson, who purportedly bumped shoulders with Groover, but did not offer any type of apology. According to newspaper reports, Rountree stated that he would not let a black man treat Groover so disrespectfully, which Johnson overheard and countered with a snide remark to Groover and Rountree but did not respond to because "...he was not prepared for the difficulty."³⁰³ After a few days, Johnson saw Walter's brother, Bartow, on a sidewalk, walked up to him, and pushed him into the street. Bartow did not react violently to this confrontation, and the newspaper points out that the two brothers "...actually broached insults that would not have for a moment been tolerated from a white man."³⁰⁴ Later, when Johnson was in police custody, however, he told a different story to Athens Sheriff Weir and the *Banner-Watchman*. Johnson said he had complained to the police that either Walter or Bartow had thrown a rock at him during an unprovoked incident but, as Johnson concluded, nothing was done because of the ineptness of the police department.³⁰⁵

Throughout the night Walter Rountree received care, but little could be done by the physicians. The next day, April 5th, surrounded by Chancellor Mell, Dr. Campbell, Bartow, and close friends, Walter succumbed to his gunshot wounds. Drs. Samuel C. Benedict, John Gerdine

³⁰¹ The only mention of this incident the author could find outside of newspaper articles from the period was in Hull's, *A Historical Sketch of the University of Georgia*, p. 143. Hull mistakenly wrote that the incident occurred in 1881.

³⁰² B. Ph., 1882.

³⁰³ *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

Sr., and Carlton performed an initial autopsy³⁰⁶, but they were unable to locate the bullet in Rountree that delivered the fatal wound because they did not want to mutilate his body before it was sent back to Quitman and received by his parents.³⁰⁷ Surprisingly, Rountree's fellow students remained calm through the night, according to reports in the local papers.³⁰⁸ The response from local white Athenians and articles from the local newspapers, however, reflect a sharp divide between the black and white Athens communities and prompted an outcry for swift justice regarding Johnson and Echols.

Johnson and Echols fled not long after the shooting and were hiding in Johnson's father's shop when they were confronted by Dr. James Camak³⁰⁹, who had witnessed the event just outside his home, and were quickly arrested.³¹⁰ An initial ruling and charge by the Coroner's Jury was "...of willful and premeditated murder of Rountree against Frank Johnson, and Enoch Echols as abettor."³¹¹ Once at the jail, the black citizens of Athens rallied around Johnson and Echols, arriving in droves to express their support for these two young men. Hundreds of black citizens, many of them armed, did not leave sight of the jail on April 4th and created such a stir in their outpouring of support that Athens Mayor Jephtha Harris Rucker deputized many white citizens to help quell any type of insurrection that may have started. Most likely a show of force

³⁰⁶ One of the doctors at the autopsy was either Dr. William Alexander Carlton or Dr. James M. Carlton.

³⁰⁷ *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1.

³⁰⁸ Analyzed documents suggested that students did not retaliate in any way toward the black community of Athens. The only documented materials found concerning their collective mourning for their dead classmate are recorded in both the Phi Kappa and Demosthenian society minutes soon after Rountree's death. Phi Kappa, 1854-1885 minutes, 8 April 1882, University Archives, 97-106:39; Demosthenian Society, 1854-1955, minutes, 8 April 1882, University Archives, 97-106:15. There is no mention of this incident in Prudential Committee minutes, Faculty minutes, or Board of Trustee minutes from the period.

³⁰⁹ James Camak, 1822-1893, son of James A. Camak, 1795-1847.

³¹⁰ *Banner-Watchman*, "A Murderous Attack," 6 April 1882, p. 3.

³¹¹ *Savannah Morning News*, "Murder in Athens," 6 April 1882, p. 1.

from both the white and black citizens equalized the show of power and ensured that Johnson and Echols would advance through the criminal justice system and not be subjected to a lynch mob.³¹²

This event underscored the tension between the black and white citizens of Athens that may have prevailed before this episode, but it especially highlighted the strain between a group excluded from everyday events, represented by the black citizens, and the university students, who were territorial of their coveted institution. Restlessness and suspense plagued the city shortly after the incident. The *Banner-Watchman* reported that "...boys from the College were shoved from the sidewalk by negroes and in other ways insulted. In fact, it seems that the special spleen of these outlaws is aimed at the students in our city." Blacks and whites alike were buying firearms and as much ammunition as they could, believing that some type of clash between the two might occur. Mayor Rucker asked all of the Athens merchants not to sell guns or ammunition to anyone. This request, however, only led most merchants to honor Rucker's request in regard to black customers. They were still selling munitions to whites and even giving discounts to student customers expecting or possibly hoping for some type of showdown between the two factions. Students did not retaliate or show anger toward the black community in any way. Some observers suggested that the students were heeding the advice of Chancellor Mell, who recommended the students allow the legal system to run its course and that justice would prevail when all of the facts were uncovered.³¹³

Politicians latched onto the Rountree-Johnson affair to advance a local agenda aimed at ridding Athens and Clarke County of black representatives or politicians of any kind. The

³¹² *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1; *Savannah Morning News*, "Georgia News," 8 April 1882, p. 1.

³¹³ *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1.

Banner-Watchman hinted that the disturbance, or the uprising of Athens' black citizens as it was portrayed in the papers, stemmed from the appointment of a black postmaster who was politically supported by Emory Speer, an Athens attorney who was elected as an Independent to the state legislature to represent Clarke County.³¹⁴ Milledgeville's *Union and Recorder* echoed similar sentiments and implicated the black postmaster as the one who agitated such a commotion in Athens.³¹⁵ The newspapers saw the Athens postmaster as the pivotal moment when power began to be taken away from whites in the community through the inclusion of black townsmen. The *Banner-Watchman* stated, "Since the appointment of a colored postmaster at Athens, a great change has been noticed in our black population. They have become very arrogant in their manner, and there are numerous instances where but for the forbearance of the whites bloodshed would certainly have occurred. Few of them think of giving the sidewalk even to ladies, and every look on their faces show[s] that they feel the political supremacy of their race." It went on to say the citizens of Athens "...were determined that the murder of this young stranger, by a black outlaw, should be revenged—and that from this hour these outbreaks should be strangled in their incipency."³¹⁶

The white citizens of Athens were convinced this incident would lead to a violent clash with the blacks of Athens. A writer in the *Banner-Watchman* reported on this readiness to avenge young Rountree's death: "Our [white] citizens were prepared for any emergency. They had at their grasp needle guns and ammunition in sufficient quantities to arm over one hundred men—and had the gauge of strife been thrown down[,] the streets of our city would have flowed with blood. They [black Athenians] did not wish to provoke an outrage—but they have borne

³¹⁴ Frances T. Thomas and Mary L. Koch, *A Portrait of Historic Athens and Clarke County* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 115.

³¹⁵ *Union and Recorder*, 11 April 1882, p. 1.

³¹⁶ *Banner-Watchman*, "The Fatal Shot," 13 April 1882, p. 1.

the last grain they intended, and before the morning's sun had arisen, did an outbreak [*sic*] occur, the question would have been then and there decided: Who will rule Athens—the African or the Caucasian?”³¹⁷

This last question of who will rule Athens represents the white citizens' theory of the necessity of social hierarchy and strict adherence to the hierarchy because of the suggestion that one group must be in power, and the others must be excluded and ruled by the governing class. Both groups wanted social and political power, but the whites believed any compromise or release of power would be used to fragment the power structure that was in place serving the interests of the white citizens. Affording blacks a small margin of or an equal share of power was not even considered, and was avoided by any means necessary.

The black and white citizens of Athens were fighting for status through the control of elected officials. Both groups wanted to ensure the vitality and perpetuation of the group to which they belonged, and to secure their position within the social structure. Whites wanted to undo the changes made from Radical Reconstruction, and blacks wanted to push even further than the progress made of black representation in government to solidify their position as a rising power in the state and region that would advocate for black interests. Although black Athenians established their own newspapers, the larger dissemination of information and articles from the white newspapers dominated the discussion of the necessity of blacks in southern politics. So little outward support from whites to include blacks in branches of government representation at all levels left blacks to advocate for inclusion themselves, creating a clear-cut divide between being included in southern politics and complete exclusion from government representation.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

There was a small minority of white support from southerners for the inclusion of black representation in government, but it typically resulted in excommunication from one's political party, white voters, and a quick end to one's political career. Ironically, many of the socially progressive politicians and activists from the period were a part of, or affiliated with, the state university. Newspapers exposed and criticized these liberal thinking politicians to their readers and, in this case, blamed Emory Speer, a representative in the state legislature and a Board of Trustee member at the university, for being a wedge between the Redeemers' attempts to rid blacks from representation in southern politics. Macon's *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* accused Emory Speer of being responsible for the death of Walter Rountree in its April 14, 1882, edition. The newspaper stated, "...there seems to be no concealment of the almost universal opinion that the negroes were prompted to the cowardly act by the course and teachings of Emory Speer."³¹⁸

That newspaper also said Johnson and Echols were "politicians" who were creating strife among the members of the Athens community and supported by such people as Emory Speer, who was progressive in his thinking about the involvement of blacks elected as representatives in government. A *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* article, reprinted in the *Banner-Watchman*³¹⁹ told readers the roots of Speer's attempted political coup d'état came from a speech Speer gave on the University of Georgia campus a few years before the Rountree incident. That speech maintained that blacks ought to be encouraged to hold public office and have their voices heard. The article suggested that without whites like Speer advocating for the right of blacks to enter politics, there would not be much traction for the entrance of blacks into elected or appointed positions. The author of the article accused the university of being too

³¹⁸ *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger*, "The Athens Murder," 14 April 1882, p. 8.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

open-minded in allowing a white politician to call for equal rights for blacks in local, state, or federal politics. The author charged that the university ought to rethink its position of support for someone like Speer, who was chosen to sit as a member of the board of trustees, and that being so liberal indirectly sanctioned the killing of Walter Rountree through tacit compliance and willingness to allow such ideas to be spoken on campus, because it went against the popular sentiment of many southerners. The newspaper went on to say that Speer's "...Congressional career is a part of a very small, and not respectable part of the history of the time. Its main points are embraced in an active and industrious conniving with that political party, whose success means the humiliation and disgrace of the South, the destruction and overthrow of the principles upon which our social and political system rests."³²⁰

The local newspapers manipulated the Rountree-Johnson incident and soon the episode progressed into a larger, regional, more mainstream push of political agenda. To promote the restoration of the social order in Athens, outlets used fear as a motivating factor to push the Redeemer ideology and rid Georgia of black politicians or any representatives who believed in promoting black rights. The *Banner-Watchman* stated, "[f] this brutal murder of young Roundtree [*sic*] shall not awaken the people of Athens to their fearful condition, and to the immediate necessity of reformatory action, then the good name of the place will have passed away forever." Parents of young students desiring to attend the state university "...are not going to send their sons to a place to seek the advantage of a training and education, where it is known to them that they will have to go armed to protect their lives and perhaps be brought back in coffins, the victims of Mr. Speer's partisans." Southern Democrats believed they were protecting the university from what they saw as a "political revolution" that was taking place and

³²⁰ Ibid.

that if the people of Athens and the state of Georgia did not have the “safeguard” of the Democrats fighting for less representation by blacks in politics it would “...give rein to the unbridled ambition and passions of Mr. Speer and his followers, and the classic walls of the University, within which now lies the bloody corpse of the first of its children murdered by negro politicians, will be spattered with the blood of others, in an effort to save them from the hands of a mob of Africans raised to madness by the eloquence of Mr. Speer in the recital of his and their wrongs.”³²¹

The *New York Times* provided an alternative perspective to that of the Georgia newspapers with the scare tactics it used in its articles regarding the Rountree case. The *Times* played the role of the opposition to Bourbon Democrat ideology and denounced the way the *Banner-Watchman* was trying to push its agenda regarding blacks in politics through the use of a tragic story where a young college student lost his life. Rountree became a martyr for the anti-black agenda, but was later dropped as their main bargaining chip or front-man thrusting forward the ideology of the Democrats after more evidence in the case surfaced. Because hostility existed between college students and black citizens in northern states also, the *Times* accused the Southern Democrats or Bourbons of propaganda and discredited the southern newspapers’ claim that blacks in politics were to blame for Rountree’s death, charging that their narrative contained a “...painful tone of narrowness in which the discussion is being carried on” and that it was “...very hard to see what politics or the independent movement had to do with this most deplorable affair.”³²²

³²¹ *Banner-Watchman*, “Mr. Emory Speer Indirectly Responsible for the Murder of Mr. Rountree,” 13 April 1882, p. 1.

³²² *New York Times*, “Intolerance in Georgia,” 20 April 1882.

The *Times* continued to condemn the explicitness of racism in the Georgia papers, even criticizing the *Atlanta Constitution* for exploiting this tragic event for political gain when the paper was usually so moderate and fair in its reporting. The *Times* even charged the South with intolerance and said southerners were not as progressive as they were portraying themselves: “In our Georgia exchanges which have since come to hand we find it asserted that the illiberal opinions we found occasion to criticise [*sic*] are held by all thoughtful people of Georgia. If this is so, it is clear that the political regeneration of the South is yet a long way off.” The North had “...been willing to wait upon the slow working of social and non-political forces for those changes of temper and doctrine which it believes must occur before entire freedom of speech and action and suffrage will be enjoyed there.” The perspective of the Democratic Party in Georgia, according to the *Times*, was to “...wallow with its less enlightened contemporaries in the ancient slough of Bourbonism” and that their position in this case was “...nothing but sheer partisan intolerance, and that of an uncommonly mean and malignant type...” Southerners had shown signs of acceptance and open-mindedness to new perspectives, but the reaction to the Rountree case suggested a much less inclusive southern region and a regression by the South to the old social order rather than the progressive stance hoped for by northerners.³²³

About a month later, more details about the Walter Rountree case came to light that contradicted the story and the innocence Bartow Rountree proclaimed. Joe Twiggs was a university student and friend to both Rountrees and was present during the gunfight. He admitted he was between Frank Johnson and Walter Rountree when Bartow began shooting at Johnson, so there was no way Johnson could have been the one who killed Walter Rountree. As this news surfaced during the Johnson and Echols trial, Solicitor-General Mitchell wanted to make certain

³²³ Ibid.

where the fatal gunshot wound Rountree received actually came from and sent Drs. Samuel C. Benedict and J. H. Campbell to Quitman, Georgia, to exhume Walter Rountree's body and extract the bullet. The bullet had not been recovered during the initial autopsy, so an exhumation was critical to determine unequivocally who delivered the fatal shot. The bullet recovered from Rountree's body did not match the caliber of the pistol Johnson carried, but it did match the caliber of Bartow's gun, leading to what Twiggs had already suspected—that Walter Rountree was killed by his own brother and not Frank Johnson. The indictment of murder was withdrawn, and Johnson and Echols were ultimately charged with and convicted of assault with intent to murder.³²⁴

³²⁴ *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger*, "The Rountree Killing," 12 May 1882, p. 2; *New York Times*, "Criminals and Their Deeds," 10 May 1882.

CHAPTER 6

VIOLENCE, ORDER, AND SOUTHERN CULTURE

It is hardly a new idea to say that violence was prevalent among men in the South during the 19th century. However, an investigation into University of Georgia students suggested there were subtleties that needed examination. During this investigation, violence appeared throughout student documents and faculty minutes recording student activity. Violence represented a continuity of brutishness during the period studied; however, the types of violence and attempts to assuage violent encounters were transitional and represented a change in masculine violence. Thus, an examination with a nuance of distinction is important to better understand violence in the postbellum South.

Violence was what kept order or maintained the establishment of a group hierarchy among students on the University of Georgia campus in the latter decades of the 1800s. The faculty became involved often when they learned of violence between students, but as overseers and maintainers of order, their punishments invoked on students were most severe when students put their lives in danger through knife fights or challenges to duels. Backing down or shying away from a challenge was not the norm among University of Georgia students during the period studied. Violence was a paradox—especially at this university setting. Student disagreements that led to physical altercations meant certain separation from the university if the faculty found out about it, but if the student did not follow through with finishing the violent encounter, or was at least willing to show in public that he would go through with it, he would lose considerable status among his peers. He might have been able to keep his position as a student in college, but

he would tarnish his reputation in the eyes of other students and risk being branded a coward among his peer group.

Following rules or opposing the established order each had an impact on student culture and can tell much about those within that community. Not long after the university reopened its doors in January 1866, students were involved in unacceptable behavior in the eyes of the faculty and their names and infractions were recorded in the faculty minutes. Many students were suspended for riotous behavior in downtown Athens, including drunkenness and other disorderly conduct charges, and another student was dismissed for hiding a deck of cards in his Bible. Other instances were more severe, however, including many violent acts. An examination of student documents and faculty minutes from the period revealed many violent encounters between students and between students and members of the Athens community.

Although student spats were not all that prevalent, when they did happen during the studied period, they were typically fistfights, knife fights, and challenges to gunfights. The young men at the University of Georgia during this period found many reasons to fight each other, although not all students condoned or became mixed-up in such actions. The Demosthenians and Phi Kappas, the university's two literary societies, found reasons to fight during their yearly elections bestowing the student honor of anniversarian if there was disagreement between factions of students as to who ought to be elected. Students were not surprised by fighting related to these yearly events, even referring to them nonchalantly as if the fighting between students was expected and completely normal. Walter B. Hill stated, "Two fracas-es occur[r]ed yesterday. One was a pistol scrape; the other, a knock-down & drag-out

affair. No harm was done in either. ...The *causes* of the fusses were connected with the election that had just transpired.”³²⁵

A few years later, Robert E. Bruce said of the annual elections, “Boys of the college are getting quite bad, but there has been only one fight among them this term. Two of the Demosthenians passed a few blows, but were soon parted. I expected a little fighting yesterday as that was election day, but am happy to say none occurred.”³²⁶ Considering Bruce’s letter was written in March, and the students had been back at school since January, almost three months without a physical altercation, suggested that while the students did quarrel often—especially when it involved elected positions—they turned against one another on a less-than-regular basis. However, violence at the institution excited students, created anxiety for the faculty, and was written about and mentioned extensively in many of the documents they composed and left behind.

Violence with firearms and challenges to duels appeared more in student documents during the 1860s and 1870s. Although some challenges to duels occurred into the 1880s, there appeared to be a shift from students almost engaging in duels to engaging in the formalities of duels set by the Code Duello but comprised challenges to fistfights instead of duels with pistols. This move from near-mortal combat to a typically less dangerous altercation showed a shift in the culture of violence. Moreover, students were much more likely to go through with a fistfight than a gunfight. The problem, then, becomes understanding the change from male challenges with deadly consequences, where the encounter was unlikely to take place, to one where death was very unlikely, but the incident could be more brutal because of the likelihood of violence by

³²⁵ Walter B. Hill to Henry Clay Hill, letter, 28 November 1869, in *College Life*, 135.

³²⁶ Robert E. Bruce to Annie J. Bruce, letter, 23 March 1872, Bruce letters, Hargrett Library.

less-than-lethal means. Presenting a few examples provides more clarification of this seeming contradiction.

During a meeting of the faculty on August 30, 1866, members noted that George Legare Comer and Goodloe Harper Yancey³²⁷ engaged in a public argument and drew guns on each other. Yancey was dismissed from the university because he was already sentenced to a probationary period by the faculty before this incident, while Comer was dismissed from the university for the remainder of the term.³²⁸ The next day, August 31, 1866, the faculty met yet again to discuss a matter of student violence. According to the faculty minutes, “F[rederick] B. Lucas, Irregular [student], having fought and cut with his knife T[insley] W[hite] Rucker of Junior Class, was dismissed from College, without privilege of restoration.” Lucas was immediately viewed as a threat to the order of the institution and released from the university’s roll; however, Rucker’s case was postponed. Although no record of the outcome exists in the faculty minutes, information gleaned from the University of Georgia’s *1901 Centennial Alumni Catalog* stated Rucker left the university in September 1866 and attended both Washington and Lee University and Princeton University, but did not return to the University of Georgia for the remainder of his undergraduate degree. Rucker was allowed to return to the University of Georgia’s law school some time around 1871.³²⁹

Violence was not the only reason students were separated from the University of Georgia during the study period or the only action causing disorder from the faculty perspective. The

³²⁷ The faculty minutes note Yancey as G. A. Yancey, although no record of such a person exists in either the *1901 Centennial Alumni Catalog* or the *1906 Catalogue of Trustees, Officers, and Alumni of the University of Georgia from 1785 to 1905*. Presumably this was a transcription error.

³²⁸ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 30 August 1866, p. 190.

³²⁹ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 31 August 1866, p. 191; The University of Georgia’s *1901 Centennial Alumni Catalog*.

faculty did not want students to freely engage in consuming alcohol, because they feared it would lead to more dangerous infractions. Violations severe enough to permit a suspension or expulsion from the institution included alcoholic intoxication, gambling, and riotous behavior. Faculty members believed none of these practices were in the best interest of their students and that such practices were many times interrelated or connected to violent encounters between and among students. On March 29, 1867, M. T. Hood³³⁰ and John M. Hudson were both found culpable of these kinds of infractions and paid the price: "...having been intoxicated in a College Dormitory on night of 29th ult., and having, in this condition, committed an assault upon another student, and having created great and unlawful disturbance, were both dismissed from College."³³¹

Student violations of the law and university policy were so prevalent by 1868 that the Chancellor decided to delegate the responsibility of dealing with student conduct to the professors. At a faculty meeting on September 4, 1868, it was "Resolved, that the Faculty be authorized and instructed to make such arrangements for the administration of the discipline of the University as will relieve the Chancellor as far as possible from all detail duties in that respect."³³² Later, the Chancellor and some of the faculty became even farther removed from the enforcement of student order on the campus with the establishment of a "committee on discipline" in 1873 that consisted of only a few faculty members who were responsible for investigating all student infractions.

³³⁰ The minutes of the faculty recorded the student as M. F. Hood, but the *1906 Catalogue of Trustees, Officers, and Alumni of the University of Georgia from 1785 to 1905* only lists an M. T. Hood from this period.

³³¹ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 1 April 1867, p. 192.

³³² Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 4 September 1868, p. 209.

Student violence at the university remained fairly constant throughout the studied period, but the type of violence students engaged in appeared to have shifted about the mid-1880s from students engaging each other with pistols to settling their disagreements with knives and fistfights. Rules established by the Board of Trustees in 1887 and 1890 suggested that the university did not see a need for an official address or mandate against student violence with firearms until the late 1880s, or that duels were on the upswing and had to be banned to maintain order. Before 1887, a student had to be charged by local authorities and convicted of engaging in a duel through the legal system before a student was deemed unfit to continue with his studies at the university. On July 9, 1887, the Board of Trustees recommended that:

“Sect. 4. Ch. VII Code of Laws for the government of Franklin College, (University of Georgia) be amended by striking out the words “convicted of”, and by adding to said Section the following words; “And any student expelled for this offense shall not be restored except by the vote of the Trustees; “So that said Section, as amended, will read; “Any Student sending or accepting a challenge to fight a duel, or whole [*sic*] shall carry such challenge, or be second in a duel or in any wise aid or abet it, shall immediately be expelled by the Faculty; and any student expelled for this offense shall not be restored except by vote of the Board of Trustees.”³³³

The 1887 amendment to the university’s bylaw was probably a direct reaction by the faculty to a duel between students Tom Cobb of Athens and Walter S. Chisholm of Savannah. William Cobb, son of Howell Cobb and grandson of T. R. R. Cobb, was in an argument with Walter Chisholm in Athens’ Commercial Hotel when friends broke up the altercation. William and Walter resumed their dispute a short time later on the university campus, resulting in a fistfight. After the fight ceased, Tom, William’s brother insisted that William was in no condition to fight because of a recent illness and challenged Walter to a fistfight. Since Walter was the one being challenged, he decided he and Tom would fight with pistols rather than with

³³³ University of Georgia Trustee Minutes, July 9, 1887, p. 69, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1887-1891.html>.

fists as Tom had suggested. Tom agreed and chose Warren W. Martin³³⁴ as his second, and Walter chose Hugh H. Comer. The young men set out for Augusta, where they would cross the Savannah River to the South Carolina side of Sand Bar Ferry, notorious as the battleground of many duels in the South.³³⁵ Before the students arrived, however, Athens Sheriff Weir telegraphed Augusta Sheriff Wilberforce Daniel to make the authorities there aware of the situation. On Chisholm and Comer's arrival on March 22, 1887, they were arrested and later posted bond. Whether Tom Cobb made it all the way to Augusta is uncertain, but he was aware local authorities were looking for him to ensure the duel did not take place.³³⁶

Also unclear is who notified Sheriff Weir, but it was likely to have been one of the university faculty members who caught wind of what was to transpire. If it was indeed a faculty member or the Chancellor who relayed the dueling information to the respective sheriffs, the case would be an example of how the students violated what was expected in social norms from the older generation. Dueling was simply not something the older generation wanted the students to engage in and seemed to want it extracted from southern culture. University faculty were not willing to let duels take place and forced the students, through legal recourse in this case, to adhere to their boundaries and yield. The faculty had a vested interest in the students' whereabouts and safety because they were custodians of the students while they were in school, and many parents expected that the faculty would serve in a patriarchal role for their sons to

³³⁴ Matriculate, 1889.

³³⁵ Sand Bar Ferry is located approximately three or four miles southeast of Augusta, Georgia. Georgia residents would conduct their duels on the South Carolina side, while South Carolina residents chose the Georgia side believing they would be exempt from state laws prohibiting dueling. For more information on Sand Bar Ferry see Lucian Lamar Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*, Vol. I (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1917), 503-504.

³³⁶ Weekly-Banner Watchman, "According to the Code," March 29, 1887, p. 1; Weekly Telegraph, "University Students Arrested When About to Fight A Duel," March 29, 1887, p. 9; Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1254-1256, in Mathis, "*Uncle Tom*," 122-123.

“secure as results...orderly deportment in the students, protection to their morals, diligence and proficiency in study, and cultivation of their manners.”³³⁷

After this incident, Tom Cobb and Walter Chisholm, as well as their seconds, were immediately expelled. However, Chancellor Mell readmitted the students after two weeks, believing the two students had resolved their differences. Having been expelled from the university, these students probably would have had great trouble being admitted into another college. The *Boston Advertiser* picked up on this story and accused the leadership at the University of Georgia of condoning such behavior and stated that dueling must be inherent in the southern culture because that is not the way northern college students would have behaved and, if they had, those students certainly would not have been given the clemency they received from Chancellor Mell and the Board of Trustees.³³⁸

Chancellor Mell questioned his decision, especially after the Board of Trustees debated and analyzed it, and subsequently submitted his resignation to the Board. The Board did not completely agree with Chancellor Mell’s decision in this matter, but also did not believe that permitting Cobb and Chisholm to return to school was so egregious as to warrant Mell’s resignation. The members did not accept Chancellor Mell’s resignation and appointed N. J. Hammond, John B. Gordon, and H. D. McDaniel to coax Mell into staying at the university. The committee convened and recorded its position in the matter regarding the students re-entering the university:

We believe that the resignation of Chancellor Mell was tendered by him under a misunderstanding; to wit that the action of the Board of yesterday was condemnation of

³³⁷ Trustee Minutes, 1 August 1879, P. 105, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1878-1882.html>.

³³⁸ Weekly-Banner Watchman, “Recalling the ‘Duellists’,” May 3, 1887, p. 4.; Trustee Minutes, July 12, 1887, p. 9, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1887-1891.html>.

his course as to duelling in the late affair in the University. The Board declares that they meant no – such condemnation, that the[y] believe that under the law of 1853 his permitting the parties engaged in that affair to return to the University was right: that the Board meant only to declare a new order of conduct for the future in such cases; Therefore resolved that a copy of the above [b]e sent to Dr. Mell and that he be requested to withdraw his letter of resignation.³³⁹

The Trustees were not so much saying that Dr. Mell ought to step down regarding his decision in this matter as simply pointing out a contradiction in the rules governing university students that was established in 1853 and was in need of re-evaluation.

Rather than waiting for a duel to occur and then charging a student or students with participating in it, the university faculty wanted to intervene beforehand and have them removed from the institution to ensure the safety of the students. If the students were suspended, the faculty expected them to go back to their hometown, thereby separating the aggressors from each other, and forcing the student to lose his student status. Yet, this approach also perpetuated some of the basic tenets of a duel. If a student wanted to back down, refuse an extension of a challenge, or apologize to forgo the impending duel—all of which would have made him lose clout with his classmates—could go forward in the process to engage in a duel so he did not come off cowardly, knowing the faculty would suspend him for his actions long before facing any danger. Therefore, students might advance their disagreement knowing the faculty would not permit a duel to come to fruition if they could help it. This knowledge that the faculty would step in, reinforced the explicit rules by the faculty against engaging in a duel, but it also reinforced the implicit assumption by the students that although dueling was not permitted, one simply could not back down from a challenge or violent encounter if someone was challenging your status in the social hierarchy.

³³⁹ Trustee Minutes, July 12, 1887, p. 9, retrieved from:
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1887-1891.html>.

The Boston *Advertiser's* claims may not have been far off mark in its contention that dueling was not so much the norm in southern culture but an act that was implicitly condoned. Students may simply have been following what they believed to be the correct course of action to resolve such a disagreement because dueling, although not publicly prohibited, still occurred with regularity throughout the South. Extending and accepting the challenge of a duel was still a practice to settle matters between men in Athens in the decades following the Civil War. Students from the Athens area or attending the University of Georgia could have been modeling the actions of their elders when challenging another to a duel, but more likely dueling was a heavily embedded attribute of southern culture played out in Athens as it was in many other places throughout the South. The students, led by example of older gentlemen, settled their differences as they thought they were supposed to as southern squires. If older gentlemen were expected or at least allowed to engage in a duel, the rules set by the faculty overruled the rules of the larger community and region.

Although the stipulation against dueling was made explicit in 1887, dueling was still solidly embedded in the culture and psyche of the South. Dueling was one way a hierarchy was established among students and was not going to disappear just because the faculty issued an edict against it. Dueling was an act of violence that helped decide or put to rest contention between two men. The violent faceoff caused disorder, yet it was a sensational practice most people were appalled by but fascinated with. They wanted to know the circumstances behind the confrontation, what the differences were between the two men—so they could take a side, know where the showdown would take place, whether it would be resolved before the actual gunfight, and how the individuals would be viewed by their peers after the disagreement had been settled. Out of disorder, though, came order. This may seem a contradiction, but it took on the same

characteristics of most violent encounters. After disorder, stability is restored with the possibility that the status of those fighting, would come out of the encounter in a different position. Out of the disorder created by the hype of a duel came regularity. Thus, dueling created and maintained status for these young southern men. And even though the mandate by the Board of Trustees was not always adhered to, it could be partially responsible for students giving up the deadly aspect of the duel while still following the rules of the Code Duello. Trading their pistols for fists to engage in less deadly combat, however, solidified and continued to permit a hierarchy among students' peers the same way dueling had for past generations. Engaging in fistfights with the adherence to the Code Duello showed a continuity of violence from one generation of student to another and was a rebranding of a new generation of student who was not willing to put his student status at the university in jeopardy of being revoked because he engaged in a duel with pistols, but one who placed credence on the cultural tradition provided by the rules of a duel.

The 1860s and 1870s saw the majority of challenges to duels at the University of Georgia. Older members of the Athens community engaged in the deadly practice, which could have influenced the students. A duel in Athens almost took place between R. H. Lampkin³⁴⁰, the proprietor of a billiard saloon and a restaurant, and Tinsley White Rucker, a young lawyer. The incident was recorded in several Atlanta and Macon newspapers in November 1872.³⁴¹ Tinsley White Rucker was the same T. W. Rucker who was suspended from the University of Georgia in 1866 for engaging in a knife fight with another student. Purportedly, the 1872 incident came about from Rucker's unfavorable remarks about Lampkin during a trial in Clarke County,

³⁴⁰ Probably Robert Lampkin, who married Elizabeth Dearing Stovall on 5 June 1883.

³⁴¹ Weekly Constitution, "Almost A Duel: An Honorable Settlement Affected," November, 5 1872, p. 2; Weekly Sun, "Pistols and Coffee—Another Duel Brewing," November 6, 1872, p. 8; Georgia Telegraph, November 5, 1872, p. 6; Telegraph and Messenger, November 2, 1872, p. 2.

Georgia. These two men traveled to Augusta, near where the duel was to take place on the South Carolina side of Sand Bar Ferry on November 4, 1872. Lampkin was promptly arrested upon arrival, but he quickly posted bond and continued on to the meeting place in South Carolina where the duel was to take place at 2pm. Although the justice system was not able to resolve this issue or stop the men from proceeding to fight the duel, their seconds and friends were able to ensure that these two men settled their differences without engaging in the duel. L. L. McCluskey, Rucker's second, M. P. Davis, Lampkin's second, along with friends, Dr. William E. Dearing, General R. Y. Harris, and Augusta's Chief of Police, J. A. Christian, worked to settle the matter through a Board of Honor. The *Weekly Constitution* newspaper explained:

...the principals were finally induced to refer the affair to a board of Honor, composed of Dr. Dearing, Gen. Harris and Mr. Jas. G. Gregg. The decision of this Board, however, was not to be considered final, but was to be submitted to the principals through their seconds for their approval or disapproval. The Board retired to a house near the duelling [*sic*] ground, and after some time spent in consultation arranged the basis of a settlement honorable to both parties. This was submitted to the seconds, who after consultation with their principals, accepted it in their behalf. We failed to obtain the precise terms upon which the affair was settled, but were informed by the Board of Honor that they were—as we before stated—honorable to both of the parties. Much satisfaction was expressed by all present at this honorable adjustment of the difficulty.³⁴²

A Board of Honor, according to this report, was a facet of southern dueling culture, and was yet one more way to resolve a duel before its occurrence. A Board of Honor was a last-ditch effort to stop a duel, suggesting that the seconds and bystanders at the meeting of a duel would do everything in their power to ensure there was not a deadly encounter. It once again implied that dueling was more a formality and an order of masculinity—neither man wanted to back away from because of the loss of social status—than a true means to settle differences among men in the South. The men engaged in the duel wanted a peaceful resolution in the matter as

³⁴² *Weekly Constitution*, “Almost A Duel: An Honorable Settlement Affected,” November, 5 1872, p. 2

much as the seconds, bystanders, families. Regarding the students, the faculty did not want them to engage in a practice that had mortal consequences, especially one they viewed as having fallen out of fashion but was still adhered to in southern tradition and mimicked by students in an emulation of older men. The gravity of a duel taking place may have been what the faculty was trying to fight against, knowing that students might have trouble thinking about all the repercussions and consequences that comes with taking another person's life.

Only a week after the Lampkin-Rucker incident, two students at the University of Georgia were reportedly leaving Athens to fight a duel at Sand Bar Ferry.³⁴³ Details regarding this matter were scant but pointed to a possible correlation by the example and ethic set by southern adult men that carried over to and was mimicked by the adolescents and young men attending the University of Georgia in the early 1870s.

The March 5, 1878, edition of Atlanta's *Weekly Constitution* told of a duel near Athens that was not stopped by friends or the seconds of either faction, and the episode reinforced the concept that although challenges to duels were common, shooting an opponent was not in line with the cultural expectation of the time. The paper report from this incident was quite different than others where the duel was stopped: the parties were not named and the story was not presented nearly as sensationally as a proposed or a challenge to a duel. According to the story, on that Saturday afternoon, a duel was fought near Athens between a prominent newspaper writer and a "countryman," and the man who worked for the newspaper was killed. The article expounded on how immediately after the duel, emotions ran high and the seconds who had witnessed the event did not know how to react, suggesting that none of them had seen a duel run its deadly course. The second of the man who had been killed shot at the winner of the duel as

³⁴³ *Georgia Telegraph*, November 12, 1872, p. 2.

he ran off but did not strike him. No more reports about the incident surfaced in newspapers during this period. Hints of violence or possible violence from duels were sensationalized events until one was completed. If one person was wounded or killed in the duel, it became shrouded in secrecy and was relegated to gossip and hearsay so as not to implicate the victor.³⁴⁴

Student violence involving the possible use of deadly force continued through the 1870s and long into the early 1880s at the university, but apologies were an exception to the rule of violence and could quickly ameliorate differences among men, as well as relieve the faculty of any further worry about ensuing violence. Many accounts during this period suggested that even among angry young men who were ready and willing to kill each other over a minor disagreement, they could also be appeased through a sincere apology. As long as the person who was considered the wrongdoer was willing to admit fault, the young men did not have to engage in a violent encounter to resolve the matter. Apologies for wrongdoing carried great weight with the faculty at the University of Georgia during the second half of the 19th century. Students were suspended or expelled often for violent, as well as other, infractions of the rules. The Minutes of the Faculty indicated that in most matters where students were to be suspended or expelled, they were quickly reinstated after apologizing to the appropriate parties. Consequences, in the form of separation from the university, for inappropriate actions were important and quickly doled out, but an apology trumped the need for a disciplinary sanction in the eyes of the faculty.

On a cold evening in February of 1870, an altercation that could have led to gunplay between William A. Shorter and Aaron T. Woodward arose during a meeting of the Phi Kappa Literary Society, but evidence from the incident implied that an apology after the disagreement lessened the strains between the two students and assuaged the faculty from pursuing the matter

³⁴⁴ *Weekly Constitution*, March 5, 1878, p. 3.

further. During this student spat, their peers stopped the mounting tension and were able to quell a possible murder at the university. Shorter's roommate, Walter B. Hill, wrote about the event to his mother:

A fellow named [Aaron T.] Woodward had rec'd a box from home—containing some brandy bottles—of the contents of which he partook too freely—and went down to the [Phi Kappa] Hall in a very uproarious spirit. Whenever any member would speak; Woodward would endeavor to embar[r]ass him by disorderly noises: at last his time to debate Came, he arose, staggered out, & began to make an outrageous bellowing that was by no means connected with the Subject—he didn't even know the question; among other things, he compared the Pulpit to a gently-flowering river-*bank*, where the fragrance of the waters mingled with the babbling of the trees. Seeing he was making such a fool of himself the boys began to laugh. He threatened to thrash any man that would smile at him. Whereupon Shorter who was the President called him to order. This made W[oodward] mad & he ran towards the President's desk—swearing he would kill Shorter or die. S[horter] drew a pistol & would have shot him had not his friends grasped his arm, others gathered around Woodward, & carried him out [of] the Hall. Woodward—with pistol cocked—remained outside—tho' trying to force his way in, & still protesting that he would kill Shorter. He was at last induced to go to his room—was put to bed—and this morning came to our room by seven o'clock to beg Shorter's pardon.³⁴⁵

Even though, according to John Lyde Wilson's American adaptation of the Code Duello, a drunken challenge or insult was not deemed the same as an outright sober challenge, the events that transpired could easily have been considered a challenge and led to a duel.³⁴⁶ In this instance, although Woodward and Shorter were able to move past their differences in this event, the students feared the faculty would not let Woodward's actions go unaddressed. "Between them [Shorter and Woodward] the matter is adjusted. But the professors have an inkling of the occurrence, and next week at their meeting will, I think, decide on Woodward's expulsion. He is in the Senior class, and it seems a pity that a man so near thro' College should be sent off."³⁴⁷

Woodward was not kicked out of the university, as the Faculty Minutes from February 27, 1870

³⁴⁵ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 27 February 1870, in *College Life*, 147.

³⁴⁶ Hamilton Cochran, *Noted American Duels and Hostile Encounters* (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1963), 19-20.

³⁴⁷ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 27 February 1870, in *College Life*, 147.

reflect. In fact, no disciplinary action whatever was taken against him, and although the faculty may have appeared to ignore this incident, they may have discovered that Woodward apologized to Shorter, an expectation after a disruption to the college community and important to the faculty as a means to stop any further violent behavior, and decided to take no action against him.³⁴⁸

Apologies were the glue that kept the students and faculty in good rapport during the studied period, and they appeared as a constant theme running through student acts of disorder and violence. Instance after instance showed students on the cusp of being suspended or expelled, or already having been suspended or expelled, when a public apology at a faculty meeting or a private apology directed toward the person or faculty member most affected would usually bring clemency to the student and thereby allow him to stay in college. There is never any mention in either student or faculty records where an apology was given that the student did not receive at least a reevaluation of his status at the university. On occasion, students were told they either had to apologize for their actions or be separated from the university, which forced them to conform to the desire of the professors. The faculty minutes from January 28, 1870, exemplified the control the faculty had over the students in regard to their educational future:

Faculty being informed that Hutchinson³⁴⁹ of Senior Class has used disrespectful language to Dr Jones, or rather, had written an insulting letter to him with references to his (H's) mark, on motion by Prof. Rutherford it was resolved that Hutchinson be required to make satisfactory apologies to Dr Jones, or leave the University.³⁵⁰

On another occasion two students, J. J. Callier³⁵¹ and George Gartrell Randell³⁵², were asked to leave the university for "general idleness" and because Randell left Athens without

³⁴⁸ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 1 March 1870, p. 222.

³⁴⁹ Probably J. B. Hutcheson, A. B. 1870.

³⁵⁰ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 28 January 1870, p. 221.

³⁵¹ Matriculate, 1873.

faculty consent to attend Mercer University's commencement in Penfield, Georgia. Randell was subsequently required to withdraw from the university, but upon apologizing to the faculty was once again granted student status.³⁵³ The faculty minutes recorded, "At a called meeting of the Faculty, action relative to Randell (*vid* July 27) was reconsidered and, upon earnest protestations of repentance, Randell was restored to his original position."³⁵⁴

Although matters were resolved through apologies in many cases, this was not always the case. If students refused to apologize to the appropriate parties they typically left the university on their own accord and were not permitted to re-enroll until their infraction had been forgotten. In December 1870 and February 1871, Walter B. Hill wrote home about several student fights that had occurred on or near the university's campus, including one that involved the stabbing of David Crenshaw Barrow, class of 1874 and future Chancellor of the University of Georgia. Walter did not delve too deeply into the facts of this case because, as he said, he did not want to get these students expelled from school, but he said that there had been quite a bit of "insurrection" at the institution in recent months and attributed it to the fight between D. C. Barrow and Joel Hurt, class of 1871. Ironically, Barrow's run-in with the faculty as a rule-breaking student shifted after becoming Chancellor of the university in 1906, serving in the capacity as rule-setter and enforcer.³⁵⁵

Details on the incident were sparse; however, some of the evidence pointed to Barrow and Hurt getting into a knife fight on the streets of Athens in November 1870. According to Barrow's family members, Joel Hurt was harassing Henry Barrow, D. C. Barrow's frail younger

³⁵² A. B., 1871; B. LL., 1872.

³⁵³ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 27 July 1870, p. 226-227.

³⁵⁴ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 1 August 1870, p. 227.

³⁵⁵ Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 3 December 1870, in *College Life*, 206; Walter B. Hill to Mary Clay Hill, letter, 25 February 1871, in *College Life*, 219.

brother. D. C. stood up for his brother, which led to a fistfight with Hurt. Hurt pulled a knife and cut D. C. across the shoulders while clinched in the fight. The faculty at the university knew some of the details of the altercation but, according to Hill, failed to hold the two accountable for their actions for a lack of evidence.³⁵⁶ The faculty minutes stated, "...Joel [Hurt]³⁵⁷ and David Barrow were reported as having been engaged in a personal rencontre. Owing to the impossibility of procuring Mr Barrow's statement, consideration of the case was postponed one week."³⁵⁸ In the University of Georgia's *1901 Centennial Alumni Catalog*, Barrow wrote that he "dropped out" of the university in December of 1870 and did not reenter until October 1872, which could have been a result of this fight, and the reason why the faculty did not seem to further address the issue, as they stated on December 13, 1870, "The subject of the difficulty between Mess Hu[r]t and Barrow was taken up and dismissed from further consideration."³⁵⁹ Surely if the news of the extent of this matter had reached the faculty, Barrow and especially Hurt would have been dismissed from the university, and that was most likely the reason Barrow did not want the faculty to become aware the attack was so violent it left him with a scar across his back.³⁶⁰

Spring 1886 marked a fistfight between two students who loosely adhered to the Code Duello. Students at that time were expected to monitor one another while taking exams and were required to report cheating to the Chancellor or faculty. Victor Smith of the sophomore class charged five fellow students with cheating, four of whom were from the same fraternity, and

³⁵⁶ Mathis, *College Life*, 219n.

³⁵⁷ The faculty minutes state Joel's last name as Short, but no one with that last name was enrolled at the university during that time. Additionally, in the December 13, 1870 minutes the other party in this matter is referred to as Hunt, leading the author to believe that the faculty were referring to Joel Hurt, C. E. 1871.

³⁵⁸ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 25 November 1870, p. 230.

³⁵⁹ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 13 December 1870, p. 230-231.

³⁶⁰ Mathis, ed., *College Life*, 219n.

quickly became a target for angry students who adamantly declared their innocence. Three of the five students' cases were dismissed for lack of evidence, but two were tried by student prosecutors, which riled the students enough to extend a challenge to fight. Aware of the tension between the students, the faculty stepped in and acquitted one of the students, but the other was dismissed from the university. Intervention by Chancellor Mell and the faculty did not prevent the fight from going forward, as the students were able to keep most of the details from the faculty.

In a twist of the rules of the Code Duello and to general rules of personal disagreement, the accused student chose Tom Cobb Jackson to fight for him against Victor Smith rather than fighting himself, which was not deemed odd or out of the ordinary in Thomas Walter Reed's recollection of events. After the two primary fighters were decided, seconds were elected and the fight proceeded near Mitchell's Bridge on the Middle Oconee River about three miles from campus. The fight was bare-knuckled and would cease after fifteen minutes or immediately after one of the two parties was able to knockout his opponent. Neither Smith nor Cobb was knocked out, but Cobb left the fight with a broken nose and Smith with two black eyes and various bruises, which settled the affair. Both Smith and Cobb, however, made sure to apologize to Chancellor Mell and the faculty for their violation of university rules.³⁶¹

Another instance where students engaged in a fistfight and used the Code Duello to proceed with their discontent toward each other occurred in late March and early April 1893 between Byron Beaufort Bower, Jr., and Lee J. Langley. The details of this incident can be found at length in Chapter 7, but the episode provided yet another example where students at the University of Georgia chose seconds to speak for them concerning a fistfight and were

³⁶¹ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1116-1120, in Mathis, "*Uncle Tom*," 114-117.

integrating some of the customs of dueling from the antebellum era into their own conceptions of how their social hierarchy ought to be constructed. In this case, the student who apologized was able to return to and graduate from the university, while the student who did not apologize was not allowed to return to the institution and was never granted a degree.

The faculty and chancellor were not so much concerned about the students engaging in fistfights against one another but absolutely wanted to eradicate violence with firearms from the campus. Some of the faculty even acknowledged that fistfights were viewed by the faculty of the antebellum era as disruptive and as unacceptable as dueling with pistols, but that they no longer felt that way. As long as students were resolved to fight with bare fists and not with deadly weapons, many of the faculty were content with ignoring the matter or looking the other way. Professor William G. Woodfin remarked to some of the students that fighting among young men was natural. Thomas Walter Reed recounted Woodfin's remarks to some of the students, "...in the springtime, when the sap begins to rise in the trees, it also would begin to rise in us, and, as it gave life and energy to the trees, it brought to the surface plenty of fighting spirit among red-blooded boys. It was nothing unnatural for boys to quarrel and fight, and, while he was the adviser of peace among all men, he was never surprised when some of the boys came into fistic collision." Woodfin added that some of the faculty from previous generations might worry about the students engaging in fistfights, but as he saw it, so long as the students were not using weapons against each other, he saw no harm or dishonor in the matter.³⁶²

Acts of violence were usually examined by the faculty on a case-by-case basis, but when they involved student-against-student combat, it typically resulted in student suspension or sometimes expulsion depending on the severity of the incident. One case where an act of

³⁶² Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1116-1120, in Mathis, *"Uncle Tom,"* 115.

violence produced a different reaction from the faculty in terms of punishment occurred when a white university student attacked a black citizen of Athens. Rules of combat or general violence did not apply when a white person assaulted a black person. This was a diversion from the norm and an exception to the cultural or implicit rules between combative whites. In late May 1867, freshman Robert W. Westmoreland³⁶³ was suspended from school for two weeks after assaulting a black man with a knife in one of the college boarding houses. Many students during this period were being suspended for the entire term because they had too many demerits from arriving late to class or not showing up for their recitations. The result of a short suspension for Westmoreland provided insight into the perspective of the faculty and the severity with which viewed his offense. It was more condoned, or at least the punishment less severe, for this college student to get into a violent assault on a black man than it was for him to arrive late to class more than five times.³⁶⁴

Documents from the examined period reflected that students were under the impression that it was not unacceptable to assault blacks but that it was against the social norm to physically attack a white man without having a legitimate reason to do so. One university student suggested that most southerners ignored violence by whites toward blacks, and that it was more acceptable in the South than in the North. In one passage, a student stated that while he was on a farm in Smithonia, Georgia, helping his father: “Saw a white man ‘strap’ a ‘free’ labor negro.”

³⁶³ Although the faculty minutes recorded Westmoreland’s first initials as “W. S” on 21 May 1867, the 19 June 1868 minutes refer to one R. W. Westmoreland requesting his removal from the university for “incurable neglect of duty.” The *1906 Catalogue of Trustees, Officers, and Alumni of the University of Georgia from 1785 to 1905* only lists a Robert W. Westmoreland from this time period, who is probably the party referred to in this matter.

³⁶⁴ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 21 May 1867, p. 192-193.

Although the student did not think much of the encounter, he stated, “A *Yankee* in the room was very much excited of the ‘sight’!”³⁶⁵

Violence with weapons was not limited to hostility between men. Some students engaged in killing or taunting animals as a pastime. Telamon Cuyler remarked that on April 24, 1893, he “shot at cats with [his] pistol, but with poor success. They are to[o] wild.”³⁶⁶ Similarly, Walter B. Hill responded to his brother, Herbert Clay Hill, when Herbert was trying to secure a permit for shooting birds within the City of Macon: “You ought to make a sling... A good many of the boys here, college boys at that, have got them & they kill lots of birds.”³⁶⁷ Students saw the use of firearms and other weapons as the norm and believed that if an individual could not obtain a firearm or a permit allowing him to shoot his firearm, some other type of improvised weapon ought to be procured. And although students used slingshots, knives, or other weapons, a firearm—especially a pistol—was the student’s weapon of choice and the one that produced the most concern from faculty and the university’s Board of Trustees.

Violence in many forms was found throughout student documents from the period. Whether it was violence from firearms, knives, or fistfights, it was commonplace for students to engage in this practice, and they expected their classmates involved in disagreements with one another to settle the matter violently. Studying the documents, though, one could argue that the violent acts became less severe over the course of the several decades studied because of the shift from using the Code Duello for more lethal to less-than-lethal duels. However, since many of the would-be duels in the South played out without any shots fired, as was the case with all of the student duels from the period, violence among men may have intensified. Embedded within the

³⁶⁵ Cuyler, diary, 21 May 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

³⁶⁶ Cuyler, diary, 24 April 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

³⁶⁷ Walter B. Hill to Herbert Clay Hill, letter, 15 March 1868, in *College Life*, 31.

culture was the custom of going through the motions of a duel by following the expected southern ethic, knowing that some resolution would probably be found or agreed on before being forced to shoot at and kill an opponent.

Students began following all the same customs and progression of a duel and instead began engaging in fistfights with each other. Fistfights, although usually not deadly encounters, are much more brutal and violent than two individuals publicly posturing their manliness in the progression of a duel, to be worked out with no harm done to either party whatsoever. Violence was in transition, but not in a way that was necessarily less violent. Indeed, participating in the steps that led up to a duel was surely worrisome for those involved, but without a definite violent encounter, it was not so violent as a fistfight that was sure to come off.

Of course, violence among men was not without nuances or idiosyncrasies. As presented, violent encounters were not always the same, and the consequences for the students depended on the particulars of the case. Manners may have played a role in the development of young men in the South, permitting them clemency if they were willing to apologize for unacceptable actions up to and including engaging in violent behavior with another student that could have resulted in bodily harm or even death. An exception to this rule was in the case of violence between whites and blacks, to which the general rules of southern custom or expectations did not apply.

CHAPTER 7

VIOLENCE AND MASCULINITY IN TRANSITION:

THE CASE OF BYRON BEAUFORT BOWER, JR.

This chapter explores events that took place at the University of Georgia during late March and the first few weeks of April 1893, with a concentration on Byron Beaufort Bower, Jr., a junior class member. The central focus presents the events as they unfolded to provide the reader with the context of the case and introduce what the author believed was the natural continuity or expectation of violence in southern culture and how disagreements between young men during that time were addressed. The chapter also presents what may have influenced these students' decisions and what resulted after the disputing parties had worked through their quarrel. Chapter 6 suggested there was a continuity of violence and control over a status attached to masculinity in the South. It postulated that attempting to mold one's actions or reactions to fit the expectation or expectations of peers, even if they were inimical or undercut faculty guidelines, and that ultimately conforming to faculty demands for permission to continue as a student were important facets to sustaining an order of masculinity in the South through at least the 1890s. If that is correct, then a look into this incident from 1893 is necessary and may help to clarify this supposition.

Byron Beaufort Bower, Jr., a native of Bainbridge, Georgia, arrived at the University of Georgia in mid-September 1890 at the age of 16. The eldest son of Byron Bower, Sr., a superior court judge of the Albany, Georgia, circuit, and Sarah Dickinson Bower, Byron Jr. came from a socially well-connected family and was able to find his niche at the university as a member of

the Demosthenian Literary Society and a member of the Greek organization Kappa Alpha. In 1893, during Byron Jr.'s third year, he became caught up in a newspaper sensation from his actions at the nearby all-girl Lucy Cobb Institute and then over a dispute between him and Lee J. Langley³⁶⁸, a member of the 1893 law class.

Student violence was prevalent on the University of Georgia campus during the period studied, and although violence was a constant theme throughout the second half of the 19th century, the methods of violence were changing from engagements with deadly consequences to skirmishes that could cause physical harm, but were unlikely to result in death. Toward the latter 1880s, students were still fighting in ways reminiscent of the Code Duello, although it took on a new form at the university, evolving from deadly shootouts into meticulously planned fistfights.³⁶⁹ The American adaptation of the Code Duello outlined the formal rules for engaging in a duel, and it was first published in a 16-page pamphlet by South Carolina Governor John Lyde Wilson in 1838.³⁷⁰ A fight between Byron Bower, Jr., and Lee J. Langley mirrored the Code Duello in that each student acquired a second who was responsible for contacting the other party and setting up a time and a place for the aggressors to meet and carry out their feud. The challenge, though, was not to a duel with firearms but with fists. This less-than-lethal approach to vindicating one's honor more closely aligned with the transitional ethic of violence seen in this period from University of Georgia students.

The altercation occurred on Tuesday, March 28, 1893, in front of the Commercial Hotel at the corner of Broad Street and College Avenue. It stemmed from an incident at the Lucy

³⁶⁸ Matriculate, 1893.

³⁶⁹ Thomas Walter Reed, History of the University of Georgia, "Some Disorder in 1886," typescript p. 1117, http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/cgi-bin/ebind2html.pl/reed_c09?seq=72 (accessed December 11, 2011).

³⁷⁰ Cochran, *Noted American Duels*, 19.

Cobb Institute, located near the intersection of Milledge Avenue and Broad Street. On the previous Friday, March 24, Bower and Robert M. Butler³⁷¹ found their way up to the Lucy Cobb Institute and were, according to their version, watching some of the young women practice a dance routine. Whatever they were up to, Mildred Lewis Rutherford, principal of the Lucy Cobb Institute, was none too pleased with their actions and swore out warrants against them for trespass. Bower and Butler posted bond, but before long the university community caught news of the incident and on Monday, Chancellor William Ellison Boggs served the two young men with an official notice of their suspension for their actions.³⁷²

It was common for the students at the University of Georgia to make the short trip to the Lucy Cobb Institute to gawk at or try to strike up conversations with the young women enrolled there, and that could have been what Bower and Butler were doing at the school. A university student interviewed by the Athens *Weekly-Banner* stated Bower and Butler, "...were on the Institute grounds but that they were in full view of the young ladies, did nothing dishonorable, and left when told to do so without any disorder, and that their actions were nothing more than indiscretions committed by the average college youth, having in them no bad motive."³⁷³ An undated newspaper article ambiguously explained that the principal, Miss Rutherford, had warrants sworn out against the young men for trespass because unknown parties had recently "desecrated the outbuildings of the institution in a disgraceful manner."³⁷⁴ Telamon Cuyler, however, suggested in a handwritten note in what seem to be his reflections of his time spent in the law school at Athens, that Bower and Butler were peeking in the windows at the Lucy Cobb

³⁷¹ A. B., Class of 1895.

³⁷² William Ellison Boggs to Byron Bower, Jr., letter, 27 March 1893, Bower Family Papers, MS 14, Box 1, Folder 6, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

³⁷³ *Weekly-Banner*, "A Street Fight," April 4, 1893, P. 3.

³⁷⁴ "Cowhiding At Athens," undated newspaper article, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

Institute to watch the girls get undressed.³⁷⁵ Although the complete story may never be known, Cuyler's account was probably closest to the truth, considering all of the fuss regarding the event.

What stirred this incident into the whirlwind it became was the story printed in the *Atlanta Daily Constitution* on March 27, 1893, titled "Peeping Toms. Two University Students Who Left Athens In a Hurry, Because Requested To Do So—Guilty of Disgraceful Conduct, Warrants Were Sworn Out Against Them, and It Is Believed They Have Left." The article was written by Lee Langley, fellow classmate at the University of Georgia and the Athens correspondent to the *Atlanta Constitution*. Although most of Langley's article was accurate, he was accused of sensationalizing the episode and wrote, incorrectly, that Bower and Butler had left town in shame, which was not true. Chancellor Boggs' official suspension letter was written on March 27th and was typically issued by the Chancellor to separate students from Athens and to restore order from whatever disturbance a student or students had created. University rules dictated that such students were to leave Athens within 24 hours; however, Boggs amended this requirement in this instance. He stated, "...out of my warm regard to your noble father I will modify the last point so far as to say that if you *do not appear on the streets* save when summoned by the court or the University, I will take the responsibility of allowing you to remain until the matter has been settled."³⁷⁶ It was during this time when Bower and Butler were asked to behave themselves that Bower became involved in the altercation with Langley, regarding the article Langley had written as slanderous.

³⁷⁵ Cuyler, Autobiographical notes, undated, Cuyler Collection, Box 99, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

³⁷⁶ William Ellison Boggs to Byron Bower, Jr., letter, 27 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

On March 28th, about 4pm, Bower and several members of his Kappa Alpha fraternity³⁷⁷, approached Langley and began calling him names near the university arch or across Broad Street in front of the Commercial Hotel. Punches were thrown, with "...the general impression that the *Constitution's* representative got rather the worse," but the police quickly broke up the fight and charged both men with disorderly conduct. After the incident, Langley wrote a short piece in the *Constitution* defending his actions and implicating Bower in the incident at the Lucy Cobb Institute. He stood his ground, saying his article from the day before was justified and dismissed Bower's attack on him as less than serious. However, to ensure that his side, and not just Bower's version, was heard by the university and the people of Athens, Langley wrote in his article:

You know what the trouble is about. Bower and Butler were arrested for peeping in at the girls. I had to use that story because it was a matter of court record and a piece of news. When he [Bower] came to me, I said I would do anything to straighten the matter out. He made an engagement to see me again at 2 o'clock and see what could be done to ease the matter. At 2 he did not come. I started over to Dr. Boggs' office and stopped on the street for a moment. This fellow [Bower] and friend came up and the former attacked me from the rear and saying, "Langley you are a ----- scoundrel", struck at me with the cane. I did not strike at him. I jerked the cane away and broke it into pieces. I didn't have any idea of hurting him, as I did not think he intended to hurt me seriously.³⁷⁸

After these first two incidents, tension ran high. Each student did not want to jeopardize his social status among his peers by giving in or admitting fault to the other. Bower and Langley elected seconds to speak for them and to secure a time, date, and place for the two young men to finish their disagreement. In holding with the ethic of the period, the impasse between Bower and Langley could only conclude with a physical altercation. The result of this fight would determine who was the better man, not who was right or wrong, but who was the most physically

³⁷⁷ Cuyler, diary, 28 March 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

³⁷⁸ *Daily Constitution*, "Student Bower Attacked Lee Langley At Athens," March 28, 1893, p. unknown.

fit, tough, and willing to go through with a brawl. The social order was maintained through transparency for the public to see and come to conclusions themselves regarding matters, and this occurred often through what was known as “posting,” a tradition carried over from the rules and expectations of dueling. Posting was the act of publicly branding, usually by the challenger, the other a coward because of his actions and often induced or nudged the challenged into the altercation.³⁷⁹ On March 30th, the posting took place and Langley’s challenge was printed for the public to see in the April 3 *Weekly Telegraph*, in which Langley extends the following to Bower through Bower’s second, Hugh M. Dorsey³⁸⁰:

H. M. Dorsey, Sir—You called on me last night as the representative of Bower and stated that if [I] insisted on calling Bower a coward he demanded an opportunity to fight me[.] I agreed, considering your proposition a challenge as it could have been meant for nothing else and agreed with you not to attack him on the street and not to call him a coward again[.] But since Bower has verified my statement that he is a dirty coward and you have completely backed down, I now challenge Bower to fight me to a finish in the ring at a time and place agreeable to Mr. Erwin³⁸¹, my friend, and yourself. If Bower does not accept this, I will publicly brand him a dirty coward and a scoundrel beneath the recognition of courageous and honorable men. Respectfully. Lee Langley.³⁸²

Bower and Langley were being pushed by one another, but if either party did not follow through with their remarks or challenges, he who shied away from an altercation would lose social status among his peers but might be able to keep his position as a student at the university in the eyes of the faculty. The two men were well aware that others at the university, in town, and probably in their hometowns were well informed of the disagreement and why neither wanted to back down. Each man thought he was right and that the other should apologize for his actions. The only way to settle the matter then was through force. The winner of the fight would secure higher status among the men of their peer group, but also within the larger social

³⁷⁹ Cochran, *Noted American Duels*, 20-21.

³⁸⁰ Hugh Manson Dorsey, A. B., 1893.

³⁸¹ Alexander Smith Erwin, Jr., B. L., 1893.

³⁸² *Weekly Telegraph*, “Another Street Fight,” April 3, 1893, p. 6.

hierarchy within which they were both a part. Anything less than complete willingness to fight an opponent was unacceptable and was viewed by others as the key factor in losing respect from peers and the most deleterious loss of social status.

Telamon Cuyler, a class of 1893 law student, said the whole college was worked up over the fight and excited about the outcome, implying that fighting was not out of the ordinary and the usual progression between two young men who could not settle their differences in another manner. Cuyler said in his daily journal that there was “much fighting in the wind” and that he was excited to see the fight, even going so far as to borrow a camera to document the event.

After conferring with his father and having time to think over what effect an altercation with Langley might have on his position as a student at the university, Bower resolved to go against the expected norm of violence in the matter and make a less-than-acceptable decision by his classmates and back down from the challenge Langley extended. Cuyler stated, “Langley sent Bower, through Erwin and Hugh Dorsey, a very ‘tough’ challenge – *Bower refused to accept* – Dorsey admitted to Erwin that ‘he had done all he could to make Bower fight’ – I can’t conceive how any man can refuse a *direct* challenge.”³⁸³ Cuyler’s comment suggests a connection between standing up to a challenge that might include violence, and manliness. Or, to put it another way, to be perceived socially as a man, one must react, violently if necessary, to a provocation.

A direct challenge of one’s toughness or masculinity had to be resolved soon thereafter either through an apology, which would have been emasculating, or through some form of physical one-on-one match in order to determine each person’s masculine and social rank, with the victor coming out on top and the loser relegated somewhere near the bottom of the hierarchy,

³⁸³ Cuyler, diary, 28 and 29 March 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

at least immediately after the violent encounter. In this case, Bower took the route that could have most hurt his status among his peers and chose not to fight Langley by completely ignoring the situation. After Bower resolved not to fight Langley, Cuyler expressed surprise in his diary that, “Bower is *actually* showing himself on the *streets* today! Langley is justified.”³⁸⁴ Langley was the winner of their disagreement as far as others were concerned, and Bower was branded the coward that Langley proclaimed him to be. As far as many within their social group were concerned, Bower was now an outcast. Cuyler’s comments suggested that Bower would have fared much better among his peers by sticking to the expectation of violence by going through with the fight. Even if Bower lost, it would have been better for him socially than backing down from the fight altogether.

Bower’s choice not to proceed with the fight against Langley probably came from advice he received from his father and Chancellor Boggs. Status, or place within the social hierarchy, was determined not only by peers but also by a barrier that could be put into place limiting one’s access to something; in this case, that barrier was imposed by the faculty and the access that was limited was the chance to complete a college education. Bower’s father and Chancellor Boggs represented an exception or disconnect from the continuity of violence. For his actions in this case, Bower was suspended from the University of Georgia and he would need to regain the trust he had lost with his father as well as his status as a student from Chancellor Boggs to be re-admitted to the university.

Students at the University of Georgia were often confronted with and confined by boundaries that were created by those in charge. The boundaries were the explicit rules that let students know what lines were unacceptable to cross, and, if they did, the faculty could quickly

³⁸⁴ Cuyler, diary, 30 March 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 97, Folder 1, Hargrett Library.

resolve the problem by withholding or restoring the student's status at the university. Bower was limited in what he could do in this matter because he was facing pressure to conform to the rules of the faculty but also wanted to adhere to the masculine ethic of fighting someone he thought had wronged him—especially since he would lose clout with his peers and social circle if he did not act the way they expected him to. The pressure to conform to the desires of the older generation, from his father and Chancellor Boggs, must have outweighed the pressure he felt to conform to those in his social network, preventing him from following through with the fight, which is what he initially wanted to do.

The older men involved in Bower's life had more influence over him than his peers. Patriarchy superseded the pressure he felt from his male peers, and perhaps females within his social group regarding this matter. Although Byron Bower, Sr., was not able to get in touch with Byron Bower, Jr. immediately after the initial fight to give him advice, the elder Byron was able to assert order over the situation by transferring his patriarchal role to Chancellor Boggs, stating, "Just learned son in some trouble[.] Wired him[.] but no reply. Wire result of his trouble[.] Advise him what to do until I can communicate with him[.]"³⁸⁵ That same day Byron, Jr. wrote to his father to allay any fears he may have had of his son being in trouble at the university. The younger Bower wrote in a tone as if he had everything under control and that his father need not worry about him. He found his predicament of little concern, presuming he would go through with a fight against Langley, worrying more about having a keepsake of the incidents from local papers. Byron stated, "All right[.] Will wire if necessary[.] See letter[.] watch papers[.]"³⁸⁶ making light of his situation and assuming he would deal with it himself. Byron was more

³⁸⁵ Byron Bower, Sr. to William Ellison Boggs, telegram, 29 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

³⁸⁶ Byron Bower, Jr. to Byron Bower, Sr., telegram, 29 March 1893, Bower Papers, MS 14, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

interested in the hubbub created around town than about getting into trouble. He said to his father, “Keep newspaper clippings, as I want them.”³⁸⁷

Although Byron did not see the gravity of his situation, his father and Chancellor Boggs found the young man’s insubordination unacceptable. Byron Sr. and Chancellor Boggs wanted what was best for him, not what would make him more popular among the friends he had made in Athens, and they were willing to talk with each other to ensure he could continue his studies at the university. A correspondence between Boggs and Judge Bower highlighted their concerns and showed how the elder Byron’s relationship with Dr. Boggs worked to get Byron Jr. back on track after these incidents, as well as back into school after his suspension. Byron Sr. initiated the dialogue with Chancellor Boggs because he wanted to ensure his son’s success and completion of college. Chancellor Boggs made clear he would forgive Byron Jr.’s actions and include him back in the 1894 class if the young man was willing to admit wrongdoing and apologize to whom Boggs deemed the appropriate parties.

The letters between Byron Sr. and Boggs clearly showed the expectations set by the patriarchal, older generation that Byron Jr. and other students were expected to abide by at the university. Rules established by the older generation often did not align with the rules or social expectations set by Byron Jr. and his peers. If students could not act appropriately by following the faculty’s rules, they would be excluded permanently from the University of Georgia, limiting a student’s opportunity to secure a college degree.

In this case, Chancellor Boggs was not having much success quelling Byron Jr.’s rebellious spirit, so he put an end to the disagreement between the two students the best way he knew possible. Boggs sent a telegram to Bower’s father stating, “Son refused my advice[.] [H]as

³⁸⁷ Byron Bower, Jr. to Byron Bower, Sr., letter, 29 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

been suspended[.] No more fighting probable[.] [T]hink him under bad influence[.] [W]ill do what I can.”³⁸⁸ Boggs and Byron Jr.’s father eventually held greater sway than the young man’s peers because his father provided for him financially, allowing Byron Jr. to stay in school and afford his lifestyle in Athens, and Boggs controlled the university gate.

The correspondence between Byron Sr. and Boggs suggested an air of knowledge and life experience influencing their positions and the one they pushed onto young Byron. The idea that “I’ve been there, done that” and “I know what I’m talking about because I’ve already dealt with these issues in my life and I know which pitfalls to avoid” stands out most in both of their letters, and it ultimately created the diversion or change from the expected norm. Chancellor Boggs and Byron Sr. believed that it was better to admit wrongdoing than continually trying to justify ill behavior, and that with age and maturity comes wisdom and a different perspective than when one is younger. Although one might ask the reasoning behind the rules, there was a duty to respect elders and follow the guidelines set to direct the younger men away from the difficulties the older men encountered when they were younger. The older generation seemed to hope that young people would have a more fruitful and prosperous generation than the one they experienced, one that would ultimately allow young men to achieve a more respected position in life than if they were to engage in poorly chosen pursuits.

Byron Sr. suggested that Byron Jr.’s actions were not unjust, but that he needed to move on, and apologizing when wrong is manly and that it was what Byron, Jr. ought to do in this case. In a letter to his son, Byron, Sr. wrote:

My dear son, nothing is more noble than to acknowledge any fault that you have committed and make amends for it and resolve not to commit it again to those against whom it was committed. Therefore if you have violated the least *rule* of the University

³⁸⁸ William Ellison Boggs to Byron Bower, Sr., telegram, 29 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

or Lucy Cobb [Institute] you should go to Chancellor Boggs and acknowledge your error and promise him not to commit it again. This is manly and will not detract from you in the least[.] This course would also apply to any infraction of the Lucy Cobb rules.

It is eminently proper to contend that your infraction of a rule is not dishon[or]able or disgraceful, but do not attempt to justify it altogether – for any violation of any rule of the institution is wrong. Besides if you can recall that in your interview with Doct Boggs you have not shown even in your manner proper deference for his views and judgment and advice – acknowledge also this error to him – because he is the head of the institution under whose rules you are to be governed. [B]esides he is eminently fitter and qualified to discharge with clearness of judgment & fairness and charitableness the high duties of his position and it is more probable that from his age and ability he would be correct in his views[,] than one so much younger and immature—while it was necessary and proper to represent to Doct Boggs that you were at Lucy Cobb by invitation or acquiescence of the pupils or some of them[,] & there openly[,] in order to refute and mut[e] the infamous imputation of the article in the *Constitution* that represents you as being there secretly for the purpose of peeping. I don't think it necessary for you in your defense in the matter of the fight with Langley to involve the pupils of Lucy Cobb or any of them on account of their acquiescences in your presence looking on at the drill or dance[.]

It seems that you have fully vindicated your honor and nothing seems undone but to see Doctor Boggs and Miss Rutherford in case you have violated any rule of their institutions and give them the assurance that you will never do it again. This seems to me at this distance to be right & proper.³⁸⁹

Byron Sr. wanted his son to conform to the school's rules and to Chancellor Boggs' expectations because from his life experience he knew that there was no way to get his son back on what he perceived to be the correct trajectory for a successful life—graduating from college and preparing for a future where following rules, or at least apologizing after breaking rules, was important so as to not be excluded from opportunities in life. He was trying to teach his son that in life there are rules, explicit and implicit, that individuals have to play within, and those that know how to navigate the system are more successful in the long run no matter what they may look like to peers or others in the short-term that may be embarrassing, conformist, or unfashionable.

³⁸⁹ Byron Bower, Sr. to Byron Bower, Jr., letter, 31 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

Chancellor Boggs appeared to feel the same way about the matter, considering it a breach of conduct, but not a matter that could not be resolved through a formal apology. In his letter of suspension to Byron and R. M. Butler, he stated, “This in no way prejudices your cause before the Faculty. You are free to lay before them any suggestions as to your status hereafter that to you seems right. Such statements will have full & friendly consideration, if you see cause to make them.”³⁹⁰ Boggs reiterated his frustrations in the matter regarding Byron’s actions, considering that most of it could be resolved through an apology. In a telegram to Byron Sr., he wrote, “Feel obliged to send them away from apprehension of more fighting[,] but door [is] open if they make proper [*sic*] concessions.”³⁹¹

Byron Bower, Jr., was suspended from the University of Georgia, but after arriving back home in Bainbridge, Georgia, and realizing that a sincere apology was the only way to regain student status, he composed a letter to Chancellor Boggs to express regret for his actions in the matter at the Lucy Cobb Institute and between him and Lee Langley. The letter written to Chancellor Boggs, when compared to Byron Sr. and Byron Jr.’s handwriting, showed that it was not Byron Jr.’s handwriting but looked much like the handwriting of Byron Sr. This did not mean that young Byron did not compose the letter and have his father write it, or confer with his father about what ought to be written and how; however, it did suggest that Byron Sr. was in some way involved in the composition of the letter and was probably influential in convincing Byron Jr. that clemency would be granted only if he acknowledged wrongdoing and formally apologized to Chancellor Boggs. His letter stated:

³⁹⁰ William Ellison Boggs to Byron Bower, Jr. and R. M. Butler, letter, 31 March 1893, Bower Papers, MS 14, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

³⁹¹ William Ellison Boggs to Byron Bower, Sr., telegram, 31 March 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

Dear Sir, Since my arrival home I have consulted my father and also maturely thought over all of the recent occurrences and I find after calm reflection that I should not sanction the least violation of the rules of the University or the Lucy Cobb Institute for the integrity of these institutions depend upon their reasonable and wholesome rules & discipline—I therefore very much regret that I unthoughtfully violated a rule of the Lucy Cobb by going up there & looking in at the dance. Though my presence was known at the time and there was nothing secret about it for even to be present in that manner in violation of the rules is not to be sanctioned—In recalling our interviews on this subject I can now see that my manner towards you was not deferential and respectful, as was due you in your high position as Chancellor from a student of the University. I did not fully appreciate at the time the course you took in the matter and thought it somewhat harsh but I am now satisfied that it was the proper and necessary course for you to pursue as Chancellor and therefore ask you a pardon for any lack of deference or respect that my manner might have shown—I am satisfied that you understand the circumstances that brought about my collision with Mr. Langley and therefore deem it unnecessary to attend to that further than to say that so far as I am concerned it is all at an end unless personal attacks from him should require further action.

Before I left Athens I gave Miss Rutherford assurances I thought satisfied her. I certainly will assure her that hereafter I will not sanction or contribute to the violation of any of her rules[.] Having alluded to the main features of the occurrences and expressed my candid views and feelings relative thereto[,], I respectfully ask to be reinstated in the University[,], assuring you that I shall to the best of my ability observe its rules, preserve its honor and integrity and demean myself towards the faculty with that high regard and respect so justly due them.

Asking your favorable consideration and awaiting your reply.³⁹²

Bower knew that he had to acknowledge the Chancellor's authority as the leader of the university, admit the mistakes he had made, and ask sincerely for readmittance to the institution. A student's father and the Chancellor having at least a corresponding relationship with one another certainly may have helped a student's chances of readmission. Bower was undeniably in a position of privilege in that regard, and that may have been why he found it so easy to flout the rules he knew were in place. Or, perhaps, he knew that those in power at the university would be more understanding and forgiving of his antagonistic actions that stood in direct opposition to the principles the school had in place at the time, and making amends with them would be much

³⁹² Byron Bower, Jr. to William Ellison Boggs, letter, 4 April 1893, Bower Papers, Box 1, Folder 6, Hargrett Library.

easier than trying to work his way back up the social ladder by not clinging to the expectations set forth by his peers. In the end, though, at least in regard to Bower's educational success at the University of Georgia, he fared better than his opponent and once-fellow student Lee J. Langley, who did not admit to making any poor decisions in the matter, or at least he was not forthright or vocal about them to the faculty or Chancellor Boggs.

In this instance, the faculty and Chancellor Boggs tried to control a social status attached to masculinity when it involved violence between students. However, the students did not always choose to conform to faculty expectations. On April 14, 1893, after extending a formal apology to Chancellor Boggs, Byron Bower, Jr., arrived back in Athens and his status as a student at the University of Georgia was reinstated. Little evidence was found in regard to Lee J. Langley for that time, but he must have been separated from the university for his actions in this case by not making amends with the Chancellor regarding the matter. *The Catalogue of Trustees, Officers, Alumni, and Matriculates of the University of Georgia, from 1785-1906*, listed Langley as only a matriculate to the university, suggesting he did not graduate with the bachelor of laws degree he was pursuing when he got into the altercation with Bower.³⁹³ The Board of Trustee Minutes indicated that Langley did not graduate from the university and came back to the university in 1895 to plead his case that he ought to have been awarded his B. L. degree. The Friday, June 14, 1895, minutes of the Board of Trustees stated, "A request from Mr. Lee J Langley was presented by the Chancellor asking that the degree of Bachelor of Laws be conferred upon him as a graduate of the Class of 1893. Referred to Committee on Laws &

³⁹³ *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Alumni and Matriculates of the University of Georgia at Athens, Georgia, 1785-1906.*

Discipline.”³⁹⁴ The same day the Committee on Laws and Discipline tersely dismissed Langley’s request, stating that the committee “Declines for reasons given, to confer the degree of B. L. on Mr. Lee J. Langley.”^{395 396}

³⁹⁴ Trustee Minutes, 14 June 1895, p. 456, retrieved from:
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1892-1899.html>.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 459.

³⁹⁶ Correspondence between Louis L. Brown, A. B., 1892; B. L., 1893, and Telamon Cuyler in 1938 confirm that Lee J. Langley never received a degree from the University of Georgia. Telamon Cuyler to Louis L. Brown, letter, 28 May 1938, Cuyler Collection, Box 135, Folder 5, Hargrett Library.

CHAPTER 8

CONFORMITY AND PROTEST: STUDENT RESISTANCE AND STRUGGLE FOR POSITION

During the latter half of the 19th century, college students at the University of Georgia were expected to abide by the rules set up for them by the faculty and the administration, represented by the Board of Trustees. Rules, though, and the expected adherence to them, were culturally derived, meaning they were set up to serve the interests of those in charge and often reflected the values of the individuals who made up the culture deemed important to uphold. The dynamic between the students and professors goes beyond the faculty enacting a series of rules and the students willfully going along with the directives of the older generation of professors. Although students often did not have much recourse to fight back against real and perceived injustices doled out by the faculty for infractions of the guidelines that kept order at the university, it did not stop them from finding ways to air their grievances and contest the inconsistencies and integrity of the faculty who were supposed to be setting an example and leading the young men into adulthood.

Students were often fond of the professors at the university and wrote congenially about the relationships they formed together. To students, though, there was a divide between the faculty and the students. Some professors were completely excluded from student engagement, while others made a point to connect and bond with the students. Indeed, the students were closest and connected most with those who opened up and treated them as social equals. They had the closest associations with professors who spent the time to get to know them and were

willing to socialize with students outside the classroom. A passage from a letter written by Henry Frederick Strohecker, a student in the class of 1873, showed how the students ranked the faculty and how the Chancellor or other more conservative faculty members could negatively influence relationships and build barriers between the two sides. After a June 1872 social gathering at chemistry and geology professor William L. Jones' residence, Strohecker wrote, "I have just returned from Prof. Jones entertainment, where I spent a most pleasant evening, and made many pleasant acquaintances among the ladies. All of the faculty were present, except two or three, and Prof Jones made more friends and admirers among the students in one evening by his kind and gentlemanly manners, than he could have made by an entirety of lectures. In fact, *all of the Professors behaved very well indeed*, considering that Dr. Lipscomb was not there to restrain them...."³⁹⁷

The dynamic between the faculty and the students shifted often during the latter years of the 1800s. During the 1860s and most of the 1870s, during Chancellors Lipscomb's and Tucker's tenures, the traditional classical educational structure was adhered to and students' freedom was treated in a more traditional sense as well. Students were required to live in one of the university's dormitories, limiting student freedom and perhaps inciting more student hijinks or resistance to the rules from the faculty monitoring their actions so closely. Once Patrick Hues Mell was elected Chancellor, he noted contradictions in the rules the students had to follow and thought several of them needed re-conceptualization to best balance the needs of the students with the common-sense desires of the faculty. Mell knew that faculty forcing students to

³⁹⁷ Henry F. Strohecker to Edward L. and Sarah Ann Strohecker, letter, 21 June 1872, H. F. Strohecker collection, MS 2448, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

conform would most likely lead to more student unrest and wanted to steer clear of such a negative relationship between the faculty and students.

When Mell became Chancellor in 1878, he continued down a similar path his predecessors had taken in subscribing to a classical curriculum for the university and observed a conservative agenda. Mell, though, was pragmatic and knew that he had to work with and compromise with the students who, during previous administrations, were not recognized as a force within the university. For the most part, students were young and progressive. They viewed college as a haven between adolescence and adulthood, where they could experiment and be exposed to new situations and ideas while still supported by parent-like figures. And although students enjoyed the support and encouragement of many of the faculty members, they were not fond of them when the faculty reprimanded them for real or perceived violations of rules students were expected to conform to. Mell told the board of trustees that the relationship between the faculty and the students had become antagonistic and that social relations between the two groups ceased to exist. He went on about the strained relationship:

...to cultivate terms of intimacy with any member of the Faculty is to lose cast[e] with his fellows and to be treated by them as one who has treasonably gone over to the enemy. With war virtually declared and lines of battle virtually drawn[—]with nine men on one side pledged to enforce order and one hundred and forty nine one [*sic*] the other....Vigilance will be met by vigilance; and one hundred and forty nine young men can, to say the least, be just as vigilant, adroit and untiring as nine old men. Blows inflicted by one side will be certain to provoke and secure the return of characteristic blows of the other.³⁹⁸

In trying to reorganize the housing situation because of the disputes between the faculty and students, Mell tried to meet students halfway. He believed their push for more autonomy through resistance to faculty demands had standing, and he advocated for Old and New College,

³⁹⁸ Trustee Minutes, 1 August 1879, p. 106-107, retrieved from:
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1878-1882.html>.

the two university-run boardinghouses, to be supervised by a religious family or woman; granted that students could live in boardinghouses off campus; and said students should have the right to belong to secret societies. Mell stated that one reason students should not live on campus with all of their classmates under the rule of one or two faculty members was that the dormitory system that was previously in place brought:

... large numbers together of the same class of people and of about the same age, with no infusion of counteracting and conservative elements. In Normal society, class modifies class: the two sexes place each other reciprocally on their good behavior and different ages and occupations and modes of thought, and habits of life, and interests, and plans, infringe upon each other and constitute potent factors in working out the problem of individual and public character and conduct. But in crowded Dormitory buildings the idiosyncrasies of student character would find nothing to counteract them, but every thing to stimulate and invigorate them; and the vicious and disorderly would find the materials to operate on, gathered together [*sic*] within their reach and prepared for their manipulations by the very genius of the aggregation.³⁹⁹

Chancellor Mell believed that a happy equilibrium could only be met in a society, or a subset of society such as a student housing facility, that was fully inclusive of difference. A dominant force on either end of the spectrum was not good for a large group of people living together and therefore would not be good for the students of the university who were supposed to be coming to Athens to secure an education—an education that Dr. Mell wanted to ensure was grounded in learning inside and outside of the classroom for the complete development of the students. Mell thought the dormitory structure that had previously been in place was dictatorial and no matter how stern the rule or the punishment for breaking a rule, disorder was certain to be the end result. And although this shift in student housing was seemingly in the students' favor, it also benefited the faculty, who would no longer have to be in charge of supervising boisterous students. To ensure what Mell deemed a proper transition into adult life, the students would be

³⁹⁹ Trustee Minutes, 1 August 1879, p. 106, retrieved from:
<http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1878-1882.html>.

exposed to and under the supervision of families or at least an older woman who served as a makeshift mother for the students while away from home; thus, he was advocating for the perpetuation of the family structure as likely perceived by the dominant culture. The Chancellor stated that this new approach to student housing and conduct would “...secure kind social relations between Professors and students, by inspiring mutual confidence and respect among all the members of the College community. It would segregate the students as much as possible by scattering them among the families of the town[—]subjecting them to the home-like influences of the household, and the conservative influences, daily exercised, of virtuous female society.”⁴⁰⁰

At times, parents were concerned about their sons when they were away at school, and many liked the idea of students boarding with families either known to them personally or those who were approved by the faculty. Many of the students were 16 or 17 when starting their course of study, and parents wanted to ensure their child was safe and under the protection of someone older, but it was especially beneficial for many families that the person or family their son boarded with while in school would plug him into a social network that met familial approval. Just because a family's son was moving to Athens for college did not mean he should not enjoy the same social advantages he would have in his hometown within his own family. Parents wanted to make certain their sons did not lose social standing either in their social lives or with the faculty or other students at the university, both of which overlapped often.⁴⁰¹

Even though parents did not want their sons to engage in any behavior that might jeopardize their education, university faculty and students did not see eye-to-eye often on many issues, and the ones recorded in student documents were those where students felt as if the

⁴⁰⁰ Trustee Minutes, 1 August 1879, p. 106-107, 110, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1878-1882.html>.

⁴⁰¹ Walter B. Hill to Henry Clay Hill, letter, 31 October 1869, in *College Life*, 129.

faculty contradicted themselves or applied the rules capriciously and arbitrarily to fit the needs of the faculty or institution as opposed to consistently looking out for what was best for the student. At times students felt censored by the faculty and did not speak out on injustices or on matters the faculty deemed sensitive and should not be discussed in a public forum. The faculty became insistent on repressing students' ideas or actions that the professors thought cast a bad light on the university or its faculty. One instance of this muzzling occurred when the faculty refused the students the right to debate a matter that would have reflected negatively not only on the students, faculty, or the university but quite possibly the larger southern region. Students from the Phi Kappa and Demosthenian literary societies, at least during the early part of the 1870s, were required to submit proposals for possible debates. In April 1872, the Phi Kappa society wanted to argue this topic: "In event of a war arising between the U. S. & England, which side should the South espouse?" The faculty resolved not that the topic was inappropriate for debate but that students should be informed that this question would not be "publicly debated."⁴⁰² The faculty did not make clear in the faculty minutes its reasoning behind not allowing such a debate to occur publicly. The faculty were, though, intent on preventing students from imparting partisanship or any form of political rhetoric and invoked censorship of students' public speeches and discourse⁴⁰³, and the professors were explicit in another entry of the faculty minutes regarding student participation in commencement exercises, stating that "...all [student] speeches [were] to be subjected to the Censorship of the Chancellor of the College."⁴⁰⁴

The *University Reporter*, the student newspaper published from 1884-1891, was an outlet allowing the students to have their individual voices and collective opinions heard by those

⁴⁰² Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 17 April 1872, p. 252.

⁴⁰³ Walter B. Hill to Barnard Hill, letter, 27 June 1869, in *College Life*, 94.

⁴⁰⁴ Faculty Minutes, 1850-1873, Vol. 3, 13 March 1868, p. 202-203.

inside and outside the college community. However, students grew tired of contributing to the *University Reporter* when once again the faculty edited or erased altogether what they wanted to print, which was malicious content aimed at specific professors and the overall governance of the institution.

Thomas Walter Reed, editor of the *University Reporter* for a short time during its publication, noted in a reflection on his time as editor: “Back in those days the freedom of the press was not asserted as vigorously nor with such effect as at the present time. Chancellor Boggs was a very strict disciplinarian and didn’t hesitate to assert his authority when the members of the college fourth estate rubbed him the wrong way.”⁴⁰⁵ The result of this censorship was the rise of the anonymously student-authored and edited *Bumble Bee*. The *Bumble Bee* protested the censorship students received from the faculty and, as the students saw it, set the facts straight regarding university matters and the injustices that had been done by the faculty in quelling the students’ desire to speak out against authority. In its inaugural 1889 issue, the *Bumble Bee* argued that the *University Reporter*, “...is no longer a paper of, for, and by the students, but has degenerated into the official organ of the faculty...”⁴⁰⁶ and went on to enumerate why the student newspaper was no longer in student hands:

Any joke on student or professor, any witty saying of the class room, any and everything calculated to portray the ludicrous side of college life, and cause a smile to linger around the lips of overworked and home sick students must be excluded; for writing an article that makes any one laugh out loud, the writer is expelled; for causing a smile, he is only suspended for two weeks. The only reason we can see for such a state of affairs is that the faculty is composed of a set of men who are afraid that their real character may be made public. We do not deny that there are some in the faculty who command the love and respect of the students, but they are in the hopeless minority.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1194-1196, in Mathis, “*Uncle Tom*,” 175-176.

⁴⁰⁶ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “Things In General,” 19 June 1889, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

Although at times students wrote home and friends, as well as in their journals, about their frustrations with the faculty, students were not permitted to outwardly protest.⁴⁰⁸ The establishment of the *Bumble Bee*, which was issued at commencement time during several years, was their response as a muted group and the brashest step toward university protest and public resistance. It was written and run completely by students and published at least five times—in 1889, 1893, 1894, 1897, and 1902.⁴⁰⁹ Some articles were signed with pseudonyms; the remainder were not signed, making it nearly impossible for the reader to ascertain who the author was, because as one of the authors reminded the readers, “...everything in nature—bad as well as good—has the instinct of self-preservation.” That author probably meant that even though they were willing to fight against the authority represented by the professors and the board of trustees, they would be foolhardy to acknowledge those who were writing the articles and censuring the faculty publicly, because it would mean certain separation from the institution for insubordination.⁴¹⁰

It was easier and more advantageous for students to critique the faculty and the inner workings of the university in private or by writing critically about either or both under the protection of a pseudonym. Using the protection offered by a pen name, students were able to resist the forces of the faculty and the trustees, or simply achieve a goal that would benefit students’ rights through public attacks in their student publications. Using this strategy, students enjoyed great success. The faculty and board were not able to pinpoint the source of the insurrection, making it difficult to address the matter without completely suppressing or

⁴⁰⁸ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1530-1532, in Mathis, “*Uncle Tom*,” 173.

⁴⁰⁹ Thomas Walter Reed hints on pages 1530-1532 of his typescript that the *Bumble Bee* may have been published more than five separate years, but could not remember at the time he wrote his reflections. The University of Georgia Library only possesses copies from the five years mentioned.

⁴¹⁰ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “Why I Buzz,” 21 June 1893, p. 4.

censoring student publications. In February 1889, and probably the reason for student newspaper censorship by the faculty, students were successful in achieving their goal of providing themselves with a force powerful enough to resist forces wrought by the faculty. Students ruthlessly attacked geology professor J. W. Spencer in the *University Reporter*. They relentlessly mocked and attacked Spencer for not knowing much about the material he was teaching, even nicknaming him “Old Rocks.” Spencer left the university in embarrassment. This incident reinforced student resolve, because the students became aware that using school publications and anonymity they could achieve their goals and establish a voice for themselves without facing the threat of suspension or expulsion.⁴¹¹

Students’ concern about getting into big trouble for protests was not unfounded. After a particularly harsh edition of the *Bumble Bee* in 1902, members of the faculty held proceedings against its publication and employed the law offices of E. K. Lumpkin and W. B. Burnett of Athens to investigate which students were responsible for the publication and authorship of that year’s *Bumble Bee*. One of the letters from the lawyers went to former student Frank H. Barrett, implicated by the faculty as one of the responsible parties. The lawyers stated that they “...were employed by a number of the Professors who felt aggrieved by the publication, they co-operated with others on the idea that it was a serious injury to the College.” The faculty was not willing to let the students off the hook for their actions, or at least wanted it known to future classes of students that the *Bumble Bee* was not to be produced in subsequent years. The letter to Barrett added, “A detective having been employed it was soon discovered that the *Bumble Bee* had been printed by Mr. A. G. Lamar, at his printing office in Winder.” According to the letter, witnesses

⁴¹¹ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1503-1505, in Mathis, “*Uncle Tom*,” 100n; Faculty Minutes 1873-1899, Vol. 4, 11 February 1889, p. 395; *The University Bumble-Bee*, “How Rocks Are Formed,” 19 June 1889, p. 1.

said they heard a young man introduce himself as Mr. Barrett and even identified him in a photograph.⁴¹²

Frank Barrett, instead of replying directly to letters from Lumpkin and Burnett, contacted his grandfather, Frank H. Miller, also an attorney, to represent him and respond to the letter holding Barrett culpable for the acts of defiance against the faculty. The faculty stated it did not want to have to pursue legal action but wanted all students from the graduating class to write letters saying they had nothing to do with the publication of the *Bumble Bee*, or sincerely apologize if they took part in its publication. The letters in this collection do not indicate if this incident was resolved, but the episode showed that the faculty felt a loss of respect from the students, but also a loss of power. Ultimately, though, the faculty's legal action against student protest in the anonymous publication was enough to prevent the students from issuing the *Bumble Bee* ever again.⁴¹³

Some student unrest at the University of Georgia arose from the desire for equality or fair treatment for all from the school governance. The young men believed that each student ought to be dealt with fairly and that no student should receive special treatment for any reason, for that would create unfairness and discrimination. The students pined for an honorable faculty that would encourage a meritocracy based on a student's failures and his accomplishments. According to students, the Chancellor and many of the faculty did not share the same perspective and granted students' favors or distinctions where they were not deserved. Chancellor Boggs received much of the criticism from the students for his favoritism for some over others, often based on the social class of the students' family. It was said, "...he has mercy on whom he *will*

⁴¹² Law Office of Lumpkin & Burnett to Frank H. Barrett, letter, 12 March 1903, Coulter Manuscript II Collection, Box 1, Folder 10, Hargrett Library.

⁴¹³ Frank H. Miller to Walter B. Hill, letter, 7 March 1903, Coulter Manuscript II Collection, Box 1, Folder 10, Hargrett Library.

have mercy and grants favors to whom he *will* grant favors.”⁴¹⁴ Students not inside of Boggs’ inner circle began to notice and were outspoken that it no longer mattered how hard they worked, or what student traditions established hierarchy in the past, what mattered was one’s social status and how close his relationship was with the Chancellor. The students argued, “Knowing the circumstances in a given case—the boy’s wealth, parents and social position—it can generally be predicted what line the Chancellor will pursue.”⁴¹⁵ One example the students used to establish their argument of unequal student treatment by faculty came from the Chancellor’s son being included as a distinguished student in the commencement, while excluding others the students believed were more deserving of the honor:

Until last commencement it had been the custom for only honor graduates and speakers to occupy seats on the stage. Boggs recognized the precedent and it seemed established. We all remember how sorry we were because Pickett⁴¹⁶, a “distinguished” student of ’91, was not given a seat on the stage. Now, when Adam⁴¹⁷, the Chancellor’s son, came to graduate an entirely new ruling was made on the subject. Adam and another “distinguished” student of unquestioned ability were allowed to differentiate themselves from their fellow Seniors and occupy places among the four honor men. Moreover, last year Sibley⁴¹⁸ lead [*sic*] every department except metaphysics, and who should lead this department but the son of the man who taught it? Of course it would be highly improper to say, as many have done, that Adam did not truly lead metaphysics, but the circumstances look peculiar to say the least.⁴¹⁹

Students viewed academic honors and how they were conferred as important criteria.

Honors placed students at the top of their class, a highly respected distinction from other students. This system of honoring prominent students in the graduating class, however, began to change during the 1890s even though the rules for obtaining such an honor had never been revised, stating that a student had to be “distinguished” in each academic discipline necessary for

⁴¹⁴ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “On Favoritism,” 21 June 1893, p. 2.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Benjamin F. Pickett, B. Ph., 1891.

⁴¹⁷ Adam Alexander Boggs, A. B., 1892; A. M., 1893.

⁴¹⁸ Samuel Hale Sibley, A. B., 1892.

⁴¹⁹ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “On Favoritism,” 21 June 1893, p. 2.

his degree program during junior and senior years. Some students felt slighted and spoke out when they were not granted the honors they thought due them or other students, and “This law is plainly stated in the catalogue and no one can mistake its meaning.”⁴²⁰ The students suggested the discrepancy depended on their social ties. If a student was wealthy or in some way connected to Chancellor Boggs, he stood a much higher chance of receiving academic honors than a student who came from more modest means and a less socially connected family. For example, a student asserted:

In 1891 B. F. Pickett was refused an honor because of failure to come “distinguished” in one study. But in 1892 Julian Lane⁴²¹, who missed distinction in two studies during his Junior year, was given first honor in the B. E. [bachelor of engineering] course. Now, the question arises, why was Pickett refused and Lane given an honor? The reader must excuse us from answering such a direct question, but we will state, as a matter of information, that Lane’s father is General Manager of the Georgia Southern and Florida railroad, whereas Pickett’s is a comparatively obscure tiller of the soil.⁴²²

Many of the *Bumble Bee* articles contain blatant charges against the Chancellor and faculty, accusing them of taking advantage of their positions of power to dictate and suppress student actions. Chancellor Boggs was the main target of ridicule for his inconsistency in following the rules and traditions of the university. Boggs, according to student records, even used his religious background as his basis to justify some of the actions he took during his tenure at the head of the institution. Students recognized contradictions in Boggs’ actions, inciting derision from the students regarding his Doctor of Divinity degree when Boggs would answer the students’ questions about why he made particular decisions that impacted them.

In 1891, Chancellor Boggs decided to override the long tradition of student elections to choose an anniversarian, a high honor among the Phi Kappa and Demosthenian Societies that

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Julian Reese Lane, B. E., 1892.

⁴²² *The University Bumble-Bee*, “On Favoritism,” 21 June 1893, p. 2.

permitted the elected student to represent his society during the commencement exercises, and required the anniversarian to be chosen by competition. What type of competition is unclear, but what is indisputable from reading the student account is that the Chancellor changed the rules governing the elections of these two independent societies for only one year, and then no longer had input concerning the matter in the future. The student put forward that the paradigm shift in selecting a new anniversarian for the societies was only changed for one year, and permission was granted to return to their elective system the next and each successive year because Chancellor Boggs was reluctant to permit M. C. Horton⁴²³ to have this honor and also wanted to see the student he was close with get the nod for the position. According to students, the Chancellor was responsible for “instances of favoritism ‘too numerous to mention.’” And that concerning these matters “...the present Chancellor has been guilty of fearful stupidity, gross negligence or moral culpability.”⁴²⁴

A bifurcation between the faculty and students had always existed in one form or another at the University of Georgia, but as students continued to see unequal treatment of their fellow students by professors, the gap between them grew larger and student protest grew louder. At times the student-faculty divergence led students to stand up for their schoolmates when otherwise they might not have, and at times even lie to the faculty to be sure a friend was not sent home from school. An example of this camaraderie built between students occurred when Telamon Cuyler was summoned to Chancellor Boggs’ office on March 31, 1893, to appear as a witness as to whether or not his law school classmate Lee J. Langley was on campus during a period in which he was suspended for fighting. After the meeting, Cuyler saved the summons and wrote on it, “I was summoned to bear witness to the fact that ‘Langley *was* on the campus

⁴²³ Millard Carty Horton, A. B., 1892; B. L., 1893.

⁴²⁴ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “On Favoritism,” 21 June 1893, p. 2.

while under suspension.’ I did so. I told nothing more.”⁴²⁵ Cuyler divulged in his journal that he knew more incriminating details about the events that transpired but was willing to forgo disclosing them to the Chancellor because of his relationship and loyalty to his fellow student.

Of course the huge divide between the students and the chancellor and faculty did not always exist. There was an ebb and flow to their relationship, at times consisting of close ties, and at others prickly relations. There were times when the faculty and chancellor served as role models and father figures. From these positive interactions, students were happy and more likely to conform to faculty expectations and requests. When the faculty was constraining and oppressive, students were more likely to protest and be outspoken. But, usually, students did not spend much time writing about, recording, or in any way concerning themselves much with the faculty and chancellor. The students even, on occasion, took time to write fondly of the professors they liked, especially the ones they looked up to as role models. The outpouring of admiration for their revered pedagogues flowed often and generously from students’ pens shortly after they learned of faculty deaths. After Chancellor Patrick Hues Mell died, the Phi Kappa Literary Society passed their resolutions to memorialize and show their respect for the loss of Dr. Mell, stating that the organization had lost one of its “truest friends,” and that “...the cause of education has lost one of its most ardent and devoted champions—one whose place as instructor of the youth of the land will long be unsupplied.”⁴²⁶

Some faculty members were always treated in student documents with warm regard, others were rarely mentioned, and the remaining faculty members were picked apart for their illiberalness and repressive position toward the students. Professors such as Charles Morris were written about often, and nothing in student documents indicated anything but reverence for him

⁴²⁵ Cuyler, scrapbook, 31 March 1893, Cuyler Collection, Box 103, Hargrett Library.

⁴²⁶ 1888 *Pandora* Yearbook, “Resolutions of Respect,” p. 16.

and his service to the university students and community. And while some professors were detested and verbally torn apart by students, some of the faculty received mixed reviews depending on who was writing about them. Henry Clay White, hired as professor of chemistry in 1872, was one of the professors who received varied reviews from students during his long tenure at the university. Some wrote about how much they enjoyed a professor who was willing to open the doors of his home to the students and get to know them on a personal level, but others lambasted him, suggesting he only befriended students to advance his own agenda. The latter students said White would act as if he were a friend to all his students, but when students would see him outside the classroom, he either did not know them or did not really care to get to know them as much as he portrayed while teaching his classes. White and his wife did hold many social gatherings at his house for students and alcohol supposedly was served, but many of the students did not take this as White really trying to get to know or connect with his students, they were sure he was trying to add to his social connections through the seniors who would soon leave the university and go into leadership positions throughout the state and across the country.⁴²⁷ Students summed up White's attempt to relate to students by stating:

Now, although Harry is politic in all things, the farmers and the seniors are the especial objects of his solicitude. The [latter] he conceives will soon leave college and have a voice in the affairs of State, therefore it is well to leave a good impression upon those who are so soon to be among the educated class of their country. To this end he gives receptions science clubs, etc., and, in fact, tries in every way possible to tickle the outgoing Seniors. The [former] (the farmers) constitute the great backbone of the country, and upon them finally rests the decision of all important questions of State policy. Therefore, it is of transcendent importance to secure their good will, or they might not only remove the Agricultural College to Griffin, but leave its President minus a salary.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1451-1452, in Mathis, "*Uncle Tom*," 90-94.

⁴²⁸ *The University Bumble Bee*, "H. C. White," 21 June 1893, p. 6.

Some of the professors, such as in the accusations of Professor White, may have been only looking out for their own interests as the students argue, but establishing a close relationship with one or more professors was not a bad idea for bolstering a student's overall position at the institution—especially as far as the faculty and Board of Trustees were concerned. If a student was able to establish close ties to a professor or two, he would be less likely to be separated from the school for an infraction of the rules because the professors would take that into consideration while the case was adjudicated, even making it clear to the trustees that the faculty thought highly of the student and ought to permit him to stay enrolled at the university and give him another chance to finish his degree.⁴²⁹

Irregularly, students praised the faculty for its selflessness or attempts at mentorship. Some faculty, though, went out of their way to serve as parent-like figures for students who were not connecting to other students at the university. Williams Rutherford, professor of mathematics, was just such a person, according to Thomas Walter Reed. Reed contended, “Two classes of students were always close to his heart, those who were sick and those who were lonely, and generally there were more lonely ones than sick ones. To both of these classes of students he paid particular attention. He visited the sick and looked after them just like he would one of his children, ministering to those in need, both physically and spiritually.” When new students arrived at the university, Rutherford would establish who was not making friends or acquaintances and try to get them to socialize and find their niche within the university community. He would seek out students who were “...shy and bashful, who were homesick and...a half dozen of them at one time would be his guests at his hospitable home for an enjoyable dinner and an hour of cheer around his fireside. And he wouldn't make the boys talk

⁴²⁹ *The University Bumble-Bee*, “Why I Buzz,” 21 June 1893, p. 4.

to old folks or other boys. He had some handsome and gracious granddaughters who did the major part of the entertaining.”⁴³⁰

Forging close bonds between the students and faculty at the University of Georgia happened occasionally, but reviewing student documents from the period showed that Reed’s surmise about disconnected students spending time with faculty was correct. However, these were often students who did not connect with any other students. Socially detached students seemed to find solace, not in their classmates, but in the older, more conservative faculty members. These relationships were often forged through a religious connection. Although most of the students attending the university were Christian, most of them were not nearly as devout as many of the faculty. Highly religious students did not fit all that well into their peer group and sought their connection to the school through its staunch Christian leaders. John T. Cobb Lampkin was one of these students. He found himself many times isolated and alone at the university, but found serenity and his place in his devotion to Presbyterian Church activities that often included members of the faculty, including Frank A. Lipscomb, adjunct professor of ancient languages.⁴³¹

Religious students, especially the ones who formed relationships with the faculty, were more likely to conform in all regards to university rules than their less religious student counterparts. Religion was incorporated into many facets of the University of Georgia during the second half of the 19th century, and it proved a point of contention between the faculty and the less devout students. Most students were Christian, but each had his own convictions and some students were more religious than others. University leaders struggled with determining

⁴³⁰ Thomas Walter Reed, typescript, 1845-1896, in Mathis, “*Uncle Tom*,” 66.

⁴³¹ John T. Cobb Lampkin, journal, 19 January 1873, 2 February 1873, and 9 February 1873, John T. Cobb Lampkin papers, MS 1668, Box 1, Folder 2, University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

the school's place in terms of religions and were pulled in several different directions regarding what stance the school would ultimately take concerning its religious position. The university had its fair share of attacks from conservative Christian groups accusing it of being secular and nondenominational and, thus, too liberal in its stance on religion and the importance of student worship. Chancellor Lipscomb, a Methodist pastor, and Chancellor Tucker, a Baptist minister, followed a conservative agenda and curriculum during their tenures at the university, but a deviation from the unwavering authority under the leadership of Patrick Hues Mell set the stage for the separation of the religious role the university would play in the lives of individual students. Attending chapel service was still mandatory for students, but more and more exceptions were made as students began moving off campus into boardinghouses. Mell also overturned Chancellor Tucker's rule banning students from organizing and participating in secret societies, knowing that a strained relationship between the faculty and students would result if they were subjugated by too many rules.

The documents analyzed for this research revealed that the students wrote more about the importance of religion in their lives and about fitting into social groups during the 1860s and 1870s than they wrote about in the 1880s and 1890s. Students enjoyed more freedom under the Mell administration and were not pleased soon after William Ellison Boggs was elected Chancellor of the university in 1889. Boggs held a Doctorate of Divinity degree from Columbia Theological Seminary and was a very religious man, which was in conflict with many of the students at the time who were quick to attack Boggs' religious proselytizing and traditionalist values that influenced his expectations for students. In a poem published in the *Bumble Bee*, a student made his stance, and evidently that of many in the student ranks, clear about compulsory chapel services:

I went to the chapel last Sunday—
 I went there by force, not of choice;
 Yet chapel's a religious service,
 And in religion we ought to rejoice.

But as I entered the sacred portals,
 Where God and the saints ought to dwell,
 Peculiar thoughts came o'er me,
 Which 'tis my purpose here to tell.

I was not in a religious humor,
 As one ought to be on that day,
 And why this strange thing happened
 Came about in this strange way.

We are not in the Middle Ages,
 Nor under the rule of the Pope,
 So why should I go to this chapel?
 Can't I stay away? Is there no hope?

No, I'm doomed to go to this service
 And listen to Boggs orate,
 And stay all Sunday evening,
 Although the hour be late.

I must go, for Boggs has so ordered.
 And seat myself in a row
 Of students arranged alphabetically,
 For Boggs has ordained it so.

It reminds me of the days of my childhood,
 When I was a boy so small
 That they had to arrange us in order,
 Or they would forget us all.

But then they did not have Charley,
 With his horrid, detestable look,
 Who keeps craning his neck and looking
 And putting us down in a book.

We're accustomed to regard religion
 As a thing divine in its grace,
 And it grates upon our feeling
 To see such a thing take place.

And then all are not believers

Of the doctrine our Chancellor teaches,
And when such a rabid churchman
Gets up and his doctrine preaches,

And forces us to listen,
Whether we want to or not,
We think on the State's escutcheon
There rests a staining blot.

I no longer feel I'm on honor,
I no longer feel that I'm bound
To always listen devoutly
When preachers' voices sound.

I begin to read papers in chapel,
And soon come to studying books,
And try to sleep while Boggs preaches,
And care not a bit if Boggs looks.

Hymn books are tossed at each other
By the boys during Boggs's prayer,
And tho' he looks sternly at them
Still they continue to fly through the air.

Very often during his sermons,
Rendered impressively to the boys,
He has to stop and painfully ask
That there be a little less noise.

Now, with such little regard paid
By those who are us around,
We think it'll injure one's ideas
Of religion, unless they are sound.

Should such things then be permitted
In the University—Georgia's pride—
When sensible men are in Georgia,
And sensible men preside?

We think it a wrong and an evil,
And we truly think and pray
That it ought and will be banished
At this enlightened day.⁴³²

⁴³² *The University Bumble Bee*, "Student's Soliloquy," 21 June 1893, p. 3.

In the poem, the students were not necessarily saying that religion was wrong or that it ought to be restricted from the university altogether, but it did suggest that forcing students to worship the way the faculty wanted them to would turn even devoutly religious students against their beliefs in God. The student author was also calling on the state representatives of Georgia, represented by the Board of Trustees, to think about what they were saying and that mandatory religious services should not be invoked at the state university but rather a choice made by the individual student to decide what, where, and when he wanted to worship. The Board of Trustees, however, disagreed with the students' push for a more liberal approach to religion and were bound by the pressures and sentiment of the people of Georgia who had continually attacked the University of Georgia for not being a religious institution.

The faculty and the Board of Trustees often agreed on particular issues, and in the matter of religion in relation to the culture of the rest of the state, they both thought the students were too indulgent in their social activities and needed reining in to continue receiving state support. Even so, the faculty was not as conservative as the Board of Trustees in its conception of college student life, believing there were also social aspects of school in which students were permitted to participate. Minutes from the Board of Trustees reflected at least one of the trustees' perspectives on the matter regarding students' social activities in a suggestion by one of its members, Dr. William Harrell Felton. Dr. Felton offered the following suggestion:

Whereas it has been published in the leading daily papers of the State as a part of the programme of the Commencement exercises of the University at this time, Showing to the public that dances, [G]erman [cotillions] and dancing receptions are to be carried on day and night for every day and every night during commencement week, such dancing assemblages originated and carried on by students of the University.

And whereas, the religious sentiment of the State is being seriously antagonized by such

dances, carried on by Students who are granted free tuition⁴³³ by the generosity and self denial of the taxpayers of the state also indicating a waste of valuable time – and a disregard of valuable opportunity.

Be it resolved: That the Board of Trustees disapprove of such dancing assemblages, whether carried on by Freshman, Sophomores, Junior & Senior Classes, or through the organization of their secret societies, and they hereby instruct the chancellor to suppress hereafter these dancing assemblages in such a conservative manner as his good Judgement [*sic*] may indicate, during Commencement occasions and at all other times while a session of the University is in progress.⁴³⁴

The Board referred the decision in the matter to the Committee on Laws and Discipline, however, and the committee decided to vote down this resolution restricting student social matters during commencement exercises.⁴³⁵

Analysis of student documents revealed that students were more likely to conform to faculty expectations during the 1860s and 1870s, but they were much more outspoken and willing to protest against faculty expectations in the latter parts of the 1880s and throughout the 1890s. By the 1890s, students were less religious and more socially enlightened than their earlier predecessors. They were interested in the sports competitions, dances, and other social activities and did not view their college education limited to only coursework and cultivation of their religious beliefs. University faculty and the Board of Trustees continued to unsuccessfully push for student conformity through university rules and the principles subscribed to by those belonging to the dominant culture. Students were longing for a liberal institution where they not only studied classical subjects but could engross themselves in the progressive culture their

⁴³³ Tuition became free for university students on October 5, 1881, because of an appropriation by the Georgia General Assembly. Students, however, were still required to pay a \$10 matriculation fee and \$5 library fee. Trustee Minutes, 20 July 1881, p. 254, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1878-1882.html>; Augustus L. Hull, *A Historical Sketch of the University of Georgia* (Atlanta: The Foote & Davies Co., 1894), 98.

⁴³⁴ Trustee Minutes, 12 June 1896, p. 474, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1892-1899.html>.

⁴³⁵ Trustee Minutes, 12 June 1897, p. 499, retrieved from: <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/archives/trustees/1892-1899.html>.

classmates and Athens could provide to them inside and outside of the campus gates and were willing to put up a fight to get it.

Students grew closer to one another because of their awareness of the growing divide between themselves and the faculty. Measures put in place by Patrick Hues Mell offered the students freedom from the direct rule of the faculty, and this change allowed more student autonomy. The benefit to the faculty, however, was not as advantageous as that received by students. It no longer had to directly supervise student actions, but it gave up its supreme rule over university order, permitting students the opportunity to establish a united front and a unified voice of resistance to university power in student-published periodicals. No longer did students have to live with censorship and the constant threat of being unable to complete their college degree because of the might possessed by the faculty. Although conformity to faculty rules and expectations ultimately won out during the studied period, students began to feel as if they could express their opinions to a wider audience than before, under the protection of anonymity, and gain their own place within the university structure through student protest.

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of student life at the University of Georgia, with a concentration on masculinity, social class, and religion in the US South, revealed a reciprocal relationship among these areas in the development of student culture during this period and its relation to the larger southern culture. As McLachlan suggested, “The primary sources relating to student life are plentiful; further exploitation of them promises to open up a new dimension not only in the history of the American college but of American culture as well.”⁴³⁶ The study adhered to the theoretical framework that social factors influence individuals, shape their identities, and come through in the documents they create as well as the materials they collect. It examined specific historical events of student life to establish a foundational or historical conception of how culture developed to better inform contemporary and future studies of both historical and social science research. Delving into student documents from this angle, I identified themes of continuity and change, social status, and group inclusion and exclusion. Continuity and change was a dominant trend, suggesting an emergence from aspects of cultural reproduction, while social status and social inclusion and exclusion were identified as occurring at a micro-level, providing an interesting tangent on the development of group hierarchy. My glimpse into student life found many of these areas overlap when researching human activity and might be transferable to other subjective or objective historical studies on the evolution of southern culture. As such, they could

⁴³⁶ James McLachlan, “The American College in the Nineteenth Century: Toward a Reappraisal,” *Teachers College Record* 80 no. 2, (1978): 299.

inform contemporary social science studies on the understanding of student development in these areas.⁴³⁷

Additionally, there is little treatment in the literature of student life at the University of Georgia during the second half of the 19th century, and thus another aim of this study was to, at least in part, fill those gaps. Analysis of student documents provided a different perspective on the evolution of, those who were a part of the institution but were often left out of histories. Students are the entire reason the enterprise of education exists, and therefore their conduct or comportment constitutes a vital area in need of further exploration, especially at the University of Georgia. Educational institutions are social organizations that allow a window for researchers to view and understand people and how they interact within that system. Luckily for researchers, institutions often preserve a wealth of resources that can be searched and researched to help provide an understanding not only of the roots of the institution but also of the development of those who composed parts of the whole. Individuals comprise the whole of an educational institution but are part of a larger network of interrelated beings working toward the same or similar goal and part of the larger southern region. This study looked at the interaction of these individuals and the groups they were associated with to make more sense of why they acted and developed the way they did. It focused on their motivations, reasoning, and actions, thereby giving rise to the analysis but also creating "...the space for others to enter...with a particular focus on openness to counterinterpretations,"⁴³⁸ allowing readers to draw their own conclusions and perhaps take away more from the assembled materials than can be or will be discussed here.

As suggested, continuity and change in southern culture were revealed in the resources during this research. Rules, violence, conformity, resistance, and inclusion and exclusion were

⁴³⁷ Apple, "Power, Meaning and Identity," 133.

⁴³⁸ Lather, "Fertile Obsession," 43, 47-48.

identified and indicated continuity, while change occurred within the student demographic, aspects of masculinity, fraternity recruitment, and students housing. If then, as argued, aspects of cultural reproduction were found in University of Georgia student documents from the period, an address of the literature in this area is essential. I adhered to the postmodern stance on cultural reproduction because this perspective allows cultural reproduction to be seen as complex. The postmodern viewpoint holds that cultural reproduction can occur and reoccur through state or social class domination, but this theoretical perspective is not limited to this conception and places emphasis and reliance on social resistance to power structures and the inevitability of cultural change. The basic concept of cultural reproduction is that existing cultural norms are transmitted from generation to generation. Chris Jenks elaborated on this concept to explain cultural reproduction more precisely:

The concept serves to articulate the dynamic process that makes sensible the utter contingency of, on the one hand, the stasis and determinacy of social structures and, on the other, the innovation and agency inherent in the practice of social action. Cultural reproduction allows us to contemplate the necessity and complementarity of continuity and change in social experience. To that end it both preserves the homeostasis between the elements of any semiotic system, such as culture, but also provides for the possibility, and inevitable nature, of its evolution.⁴³⁹

Early discourse on cultural reproduction came from work by scholars such as French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the early 1970s. Bourdieu argued that many classical social theories ignored, or did not make the connection between, cultural duplication and its link and function as a means of social reproduction. In other words, he saw the modern educational system functioning as the basis for replicating the culture of those among the dominant classes.⁴⁴⁰ He viewed cultural reproduction as a compounding or synthesis of culture.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Chris Jenks, *Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 116.

⁴⁴⁰ Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 10-11.

Bourdieu believed that schools are reproductive through self-legitimization, meaning that they only have to abide by and obey the rules they set for themselves, and are able to maintain their autonomy through the reproduction of the structure of class relations.⁴⁴²

Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus, which has been subscribed to and examined by scholars in multiple fields. Roy Nash explained habitus as a series of internalized principles:

...which structure the culture. In this sense habitus is internalised structure and the physical embodiment of objective structure. As with two sides of a coin, the habitus is structured by principles of the structure, as a code, and practices are structured by the principles of the habitus. We can say that members of a social group come to acquire as a result of their socialisation a set of dispositions which reflect central structural elements (political instability, kinship rules, and so on) and therefore behave in ways which reproduce those structural elements.⁴⁴³

Bourdieu's theory, however, has been built on, expounded, and critiqued since its inception and one of the main critiques of his work is his limited position of resistance to reproduction and power structures. Aronowitz and Giroux skillfully explained:

...cultural production and its relation to cultural reproduction through the complex dynamics of resistance, incorporation, and accommodation are not acknowledged by Bourdieu. The collapse of culture and class into the processes of cultural reproduction raises a number of significant problems. First, such a portrayal eliminates conflict both within and between different classes, resulting in the loss of such notions as struggle, diversity, and human agency in a somewhat reductionist view of human nature and history. Second, by reducing classes to homogeneous groups whose only differences are based on whether they exercise or respond to power, Bourdieu provides no theoretical opportunity to unravel how cultural domination and resistance are mediated through the complex interface of race, gender, and class. What is missing from Bourdieu's work is the notion that culture is both a structuring and transforming process.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Jenks, *Culture*, 118.

⁴⁴² Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*, 199.

⁴⁴³ Roy Nash, "Bourdieu On Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 11 no. 4, (1990): 434.

⁴⁴⁴ Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, *Education Still Under Siege*, 2nd edition (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 1993), 80.

They add that culture is a complex duality, both conservative and subjugating, while at the same time, resistant, dynamically creative, and evolutionary.⁴⁴⁵

Social theory addressing cultural reproduction is vast and has many trajectories of thought; however, the postmodern perspective is most pertinent to this study because I was interested not only in cultural reproduction but also in means or mode of change. Therefore, that was what was analyzed here. This reconceptualization of cultural reproduction—one where change is inevitable in societies—stems from the postmodern stance. The postmodernist debate calls into question modernism and many of its claims, particularly regarding social and cultural reproduction in education, and allows space for and is open to the idea of “...dynamics of resistance and its relation to transformative social movements.”⁴⁴⁶ Framing cultural reproduction from this perspective allowed me to present important aspects of previous chapters and themes that emerged from the resources.

Group hierarchy and social inclusion and exclusion were initial themes that came into view from the resources. Chapter 4 focused on a sense of “belonging” for the students who attended the university. Many students found a sense of belonging at the time in secret societies, or what have evolved into Greek fraternal organizations as they are contemporarily more commonly known. The Demosthenian and Phi Kappa, the two literary societies, were also common sources of group membership for students because they could find camaraderie outside of a secret society but could also join one of these societies concurrently if they were already an associate of a secret society. Members of these organizations found them an easy and practical way to sort or divide themselves into groups where as a whole they might rank better socially

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Raymond Allen Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Social Theory and Education: A Critique of Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 18.

than attempting to go through school without affiliation to some form of group membership. As Walter B. Hill judiciously argued, students were going to find some way to sort and rank themselves. Secret societies did nothing more than shift the method of sorting in, what Hill maintained, was a better system that would allow for the diverse members of the student body to congregate on their shared interests rather than assemble only with students from their hometown they knew from childhood.

As chapters were revised and re-read, I began to notice that many, including Chapter 4, were showing evidence of continuity among individual and group student actions that, although changing at times, were fairly constant through the studied period. Social inclusion and exclusion were constant, but the process of being accepted to some groups changed over the years. Group hierarchy and social inclusion/exclusion were part of belonging to organizations that were not open to all members, but student documents of the 1880s and 1890s showed student affiliation with fraternities was slowly declining while giving rise to a similar entity, the non-fraternity group. This entity, by its very name, was created as a reaction against the fraternity groups that did not want a particular student among their ranks, or as an alternative for a student who wanted a sense of belonging to some group without having to join a fraternity. As time progressed and fraternity organizations evolved into the 1890s, the examples presented in Figure 1 and the example from the 1899 *Pandora* pointed out that membership in a fraternal organization was almost turned on its head. Students no longer had the time to get settled at the university and choose the organization they wanted to join. The organizations knew who was newly enrolled at the institution and forcefully went after the student they wanted among their members.

Of course, not all students subscribed to the notion of compulsory membership in a fraternity or one of the literary societies. As some of the examples from Chapter 4 show, this happened in at least two ways. One was that the student simply did not want to belong to one of these groups. In another instance, a student was forced out of acceptance into one of the other organizations because of former social ties or something that made him an unacceptable member. Telamon Cuyler's experience suggests members of some fraternities denied him access to membership and extended that ban to all of the fraternities on campus, leaving him to fend for himself in the college social scene. Cuyler, although first distraught about exclusion from these groups, was able to find a place for himself in the Athens social swirl and made a connection with many of the female students at the local Lucy Cobb Institute. Chapter 4 also presents some students as complete social outliers who were not explicitly excluded from fraternity or literary society membership, yet found it difficult to find a place to fit in during their years at school. Students who generally did not want to engage in the student social scene tended to be the more religious students who found some connection to others through their churches and some religious faculty members.

Fraternities at the University of Georgia created cohesion and camaraderie through the time students spent together and their shared experiences. Students spent much of their time with their fraternal organizations, but student documents show that they socialized with many students who either belonged to another fraternity or had no fraternity affiliation. These organizations, however, were exclusive entities and inclusion within the group often depended on one's socio-economic status. Most members already knew and in some cases recruited new students from their hometown who they were already well acquainted with through their pre-college schooling and because their families knew each other from attending the same social functions. Most

students who joined a fraternity were from prominent families who could pay society dues and wanted to ensure their sons continued to develop their social skills and social networks when they were away at school. Students such as Walter B. Hill and other anonymous students who wrote articles and opinion pieces in the *Georgia Collegian* believed there was a socio-economic class of students who should not belong to their or any other fraternal organization. They thought the social outliers were commoners and that inclusion within their group was only possible if a student exhibited the qualities that closely aligned with those who were already members. Members wanted students with good grades and those who steeped themselves in extracurricular activities that students within their organization wanted to participate in, of course. But most important, the best student candidate for induction into one of the secret societies was pre-approved through his own and his family's social status.

Identification of patterns and themes became more evident through incidents of violence highlighted in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. Focusing on aspects of masculinity throughout this investigation, I could not help but notice the ever-present theme of violence mentioned throughout student and other documents from the period. Violence was so prevalent it might best be conceived as an underlying cultural phenomenon not only in student culture but in southern culture as well. Cultural reproduction of violence, with a keen eye on change, can help to clarify the notion of violence being at the core of southern culture and why violence was recurrently found throughout student documents.

Chapter 5 connected violence, the practice of excluding blacks from activities in the southern region, and the question of educational access. The Rountree-Johnson incident initially played out at a micro-level between students and young black men from the Athens community but quickly escalated to national debate. Although documents did not sufficiently explain

exactly what the disagreement between the two groups was about, some evidence showed that excluding blacks from the University of Georgia, and from schooling more generally, formed a sharp divide between the school and town communities. The divide between blacks and whites was still being renegotiated among southerners after the close of the Civil War and federal occupation during Reconstruction. Although violence was a common theme among students, research suggested it was uncommon for students to get into physical altercations with members of the black community.

The larger group agenda of the Redeemer Democrats, of course, added to the struggle for social position between blacks and whites, when the faction latched onto the Rountree-Johnson affair to drive home the point in regional newspapers that blacks exhibited hyper-masculine traits that pushed them to violence. It was an attempt to scare others into believing that blacks should not have the right to represent others in government and that granting them access to higher education threatened the safety of the young white men who were enrolled and deserved an education at a university. Believing that blacks were tougher, were more violent, or possessed more masculine traits than whites was not something whites were willing to tolerate. To quell this notion, some whites thought it was necessary to revert back to oppressive actions against blacks, but by other means than enslavement. It can be argued that the fight for social position was extended to a match between the northern and the southern ideologies. Southerners wanted to further restrict the social advancement of blacks, while many northerners advocated for social justice and access for blacks throughout the United States and that one glorified event should not conclude with complete subjugation of blacks as the result of poor choices of two groups of young men trying to exhibit which group was tougher than the other.

This struggle for social status quickly outgrew its roots in the small town of Athens, Georgia, because of white control over print media outlets, especially newspapers, that were presumably able to reach a wider audience, or at least a more socially dominant audience, and therefore imposed more influence on a larger number of people than the one black Athens newspaper, the *Athens Blade*, that was in print during this incident in 1882.⁴⁴⁷ That paper was edited by two nationally recognized politicians, William Henry Heard, a preacher, and William Anderson Pledger, a lawyer. Rather than attempting to push political agenda through mere rhetoric and faceless examples, southern politicians and Redeemer sympathizers knew that attaching their agenda to a specific person, such as Walter Rountree, portrayed as an innocent martyr, would create more compassion for their cause and ultimately secure their position higher up on the social ladder. The case of Walter Rountree made LeeAnn Whites' statement that much more apt: "...historical subjects at the time have seen race when we should at times more appropriately have seen class." It is almost simpler to look at the Rountree-Johnson incident and focus on race, rather than taking into account the complexities of the struggle for social position by blacks in the South, and how race complicated and further defined the alienation of blacks by the already more dominant and established white culture.⁴⁴⁸

Students, though, did not always look outside their ranks to establish group hierarchy. They had their own small-scale hierarchy that played out between students, often through

⁴⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no copies of the *Athens Blade* that would address this incident survive in the University Archives or elsewhere as far as the author's research has turned up. If an issue of the *Athens Blade* has survived from this period, its address of the Rountree incident would most likely be a fascinating read and provide the perspective of the black Athens community, since the paper's motto that called for fair and equal treatment of blacks was, "The Arm of Justice Cannot—Will Not Sleep." The *Athens Blade* was in print between 1879 and 1889. Francis Taliaferro Thomas, and Mary Levin Koch, *A Portrait of Historic Athens and Clarke County*, 2nd edition (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2009), 115; 117.

⁴⁴⁸ Whites, *Gender Matters*, 2-3.

polarized groups who did not get along—one of which was the secret societies or fraternities. If we suppose, as Walter B. Hill suggested in one of his letters home, that people are predisposed to separating and organizing themselves in society, then there are always going to be groups that get along with one another and groups that are dissimilar and clash in their positions. Hill suggested that in the faculty's attempt to not allow secret societies to form at the university, it was only preventing the students from organizing themselves into more diverse groups and still isolating themselves based on some form of similarity. Hill's remarks are insightful and probably true of human nature that people want to separate themselves into groups where they feel they belong and other members are similar to them, but it does beg the question: without different social organizations that include some and exclude others, sometimes arbitrarily, to share similar values, interests, or agendas, would the fight for social status be as contentious than if people divided themselves up for other reasons? This is a rhetorical question, merely pointing out the inability of humans to clearly define and firmly state why membership or acceptance into a social group pushes one to become loyal and push for a group's agenda or ideals personally or at the individual level.

Primary documents from the period showed violence as a theme that cut across and concerned both faculty, who wanted students to conform to their rules, and students, who at times protested and were resistant to the expectations of the faculty. I argued in Chapter 6 that continuity of violence appeared between students who were at odds with one another, and through faculty attempts to stop students from challenging each other to duels. The result may have in some ways back-fired, resulting in more violence, rather than moving toward an end to student violence. Most times, students adhered to the Code Duello as a means to advance and settle their disagreements with one another throughout the period. But sometime in the 1880s

there was a shift in the content of student documents from adhering to the code for a duel and changing their means of aggression toward each other to be resolved through fistfights. The Code Duello set the cultural expectations of settling matters between men throughout the studied period, but more often than not, duels ended without coming to fruition. Even though duels were unlikely to end in violence, dueling was still not an activity faculty wanted students engaged in while they were at the school. Faculty may have had a hand in shifting the students' focus from dueling to fistfights to settle their matters, but this only resulted in more violence. When the mode of violence changed from dueling to fistfights, the Code Duello survived, but fistfights were much more likely to play out, and that could be because they typically did not result in lethal or near-lethal encounters.

There was tension between multiple groups presented in the historical narrative. Students and faculty had a strained relationship resulting many times from students not abiding by the expectations set by the faculty. The faculty served as quasi-parents to the students and wanted them to follow the rules they put in place because the faculty believed it knew better than the students how to act and behave in an educational environment like the one at the university. The faculty wanted to be able to establish its set of rules and rein in students by forcing them to follow the regulations by threatening to separate or exclude students from the privilege of attending the University of Georgia if they strayed from the directives set. Students felt obligated to follow the faculty's customary procedures because they knew they must stay in good standing and continue their education, but this did not prevent students from pushing the boundaries on what was deemed acceptable and also did not stop students from instituting their own measures to fight back against real and perceived injustices. Conformity to faculty rules was the expectation of the day, and acts of resistance were not tolerated well by the faculty, although

this did not completely prevent students from joining collectively to form an oppositional force protesting real and perceived threats of injustice. Students were a cohesive group and rallied together when they felt as if they were being forced to conform to faculty expectations they did not agree with. Student publications allowed students to establish a collective voice that only grew louder when threats of censorship and oppression to student newspapers by the faculty became a growing concern. Student documents suggested students were defiant in the decades toward the end of the studied period, and that could have been due to changing policy or expectations by the faculty, but the reason could not be confirmed. What is known, though, is that although faculty pressure to conform won the day, resistance to authority by students had established itself and remained an oppositional force to the faculty at the university.

As we see in Chapter 8, students felt as if their status and voice had been suppressed so much that they decided to lash out by harnessing the power of print media to inspire free-thought from other students and spread their message to those off campus who might sympathize with their plight and provide support. They thought this outreach would lead to a shift or change from a repressive faculty regime to a more egalitarian or perhaps separate and distinct college group with their own opinions on matters. As Rudolph said, the extracurriculum, or activities undergraduates engaged themselves in other than schoolwork, "...was proof that the undergraduates had succeeded in assuming significant authority over college life and that as a result they had become a remarkably important element in the power structure of the American college."⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ Rudolph, *American College and University*, 156.

Students and faculty at colleges and universities have a long tradition of both tension and mentorship.⁴⁵⁰ The students at the University of Georgia during the period studied appeared to be pushing away ideologically from the faculty as time progressed through the latter part of the 19th century, and evidence of their protestation against faculty norms is evident. The faculty continued trying to control and influence students to the best of its ability, but students were growing more wary of the faculty's position of authority and were less inclined to adhere to its demands. Students, as they had been allowed in the years before the Civil War, were once again granted permission to move off campus by Chancellor Mell, enabling them to organize their efforts without the constant scrutiny of the faculty and craft a sense of individualism that sparked acts of resistance by some students. This freedom allowed a separated student entity the opportunity to bond together, begin fighting for collective interests, and establish a distinct dynamic struggle between these two factions. This development does not mean that students and faculty were locked in constant turmoil, but rather that students no longer felt the need to succumb to every demand imposed by the faculty and that they had established a lively dialogue that encouraged balance, not just conformity, between what the students wanted and what the faculty wanted.

Fighting for position or resistance to power was not limited to faculty and students. As expressed in several of the narrative chapters, students and citizens of Athens struggled to determine group status on many documented occasions. A prime example was student exclusion from the Athenaeum Club in Athens. Students felt their exclusion from a local social club was unjust—especially since they were being lumped into a category of other groups that were

⁴⁵⁰ For a treatment of the struggle for power between faculty and students at early colleges and universities, see Frederick Rudolph's chapter: Academic Balance of Power in *The American College and University*, 156-176.

denied access. The groups explicitly mentioned were blacks and Jewish townspeople—groups students felt they were higher than socially and therefore did not take their omission from the club well. In this instance, students once again were able to channel their collective contempt through a student author’s poem and use the power of publishing their feelings about their exclusion from this group to a wider audience than just the college community and were quickly granted access to the Athenaeum Club. For one reason or another, perhaps because of the privilege and power the students had through their social ties outside of Athens, the members of the club decided that they ought to acknowledge the student grievance and admit that the young men were at least social equals and should be granted membership.

This study also revealed a cultural perspective of *others* when the students mentioned the exclusion and difference of Jews. Student documents do not really explain this practice; however, what is clear is that they viewed Jewish students and townspeople differently than their Christian counterparts. Social exclusion of blacks in the South is well known, but I could not determine exactly why the students did not view Jewish students or townspeople as social equals. Anything distinguishing, different, or that might classify one as an “other” or “outsider,” did not appear to fit well within the social sphere of southern culture in the latter decades of the 1800s.

The following summary display revisiting my research questions provide concise answers to them from the findings:

1) What was most important to the student culture at the University of Georgia between 1866 and 1900?

- Belonging and forging social relationships through:
 - Fraternities
 - Literary societies
 - Family connections
 - Religious affiliation
 - Local young women and students at the nearby all-female Lucy Cobb Institute

2) What social concerns did college students involve themselves in and concentrate on most in the resources they left behind?

- Free speech
- Student fairness
- Student rights

3) Did students resist conforming to societal norms or a dominant social culture?

- Rebelled against rules and local laws but grudgingly complied to graduate

4) How did students at the University of Georgia resist societal norms perpetuated in the South during the subject period?

- Used drawings and articles in internal (often underground) and external newspapers and publications
 - Anonymous authorship challenged:
 - Preferential treatment due to social connections
 - Censorship
 - Religious expectations

My hope is that completing this history peering into the lives of those who attended, worked at, and had a close affiliation with the University of Georgia during this period can provide a more indepth understanding of the society and culture of the South, but also the society and culture of the institution. I came into this research questioning the implementation of university policy that does not take into consideration the uniqueness of the institution that can only be understood by looking to its roots. Institutions of higher education are complex units composed of large numbers of diverse individuals, including students, faculty, administration, and staff, and they are all the more complex social organizations because of student organizations, historical attributes, and athletes, to only name a few. Because the institutions of higher education are so complex, their foundations need analysis to best provide direction for present and future policy reform and curricular change. As Thomas Dyer put it, “Accurate knowledge of the institution’s policies and composition considered within a broader state,

regional, or national historical context can doubtlessly be an advantage in coping with complex institutional concerns.”⁴⁵¹

An attempt to determine historical authenticity might help in establishing the roots of the institution by gaining an understanding of the context of an institution through a study of people in the past who have shaped the culture into its current state. Paul Trowler suggested that sociocultural historical investigations could help achieve this end, and that “researching for change” in higher education, included:

...an understanding of social life as dynamic and rooted in history. The concept of the ‘backstory’ is very significant: narratives about the history of the social group are very important to its self-image and condition how it behaves in the present. Getting access to the backstory, and the potentially diverse narratives about it, raises an additional issue for anyone interested in researching local cultures with a view to enhancing practices.⁴⁵²

The potential for harnessing the power of different conceptual frames and blended methods to approach studies of higher education are encouraging. Envisioning inquiry into institutions of higher education differently than conceived in the past can unlock possibilities for its future. More traditional, objective histories, can silence the individuals or subjective subtleties that are so important to understanding school culture. Although objective histories may have been demanded in the past⁴⁵³, a focus on the complexities, contradictions, or synthesis of histories seem the trajectory for contemporary and future understanding of organizations such as colleges and universities. Opportunities for understanding through *interpretational*

⁴⁵¹ Thomas G. Dyer, “Institutional Research and Institutional History,” *Research in Higher Education* 8, No. 3 (1978): 286.

⁴⁵² Paul Trowler, *Cultures and Change in Higher Education: Theories and Practice* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 164.

⁴⁵³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 522.

convergence, and the possibilities for next steps in higher education can come through synthesis and collaboration of researchers and their ideas.⁴⁵⁴

A postmodern conception of history encourages difference, inter-subjectivity, and uncertainty—especially at the outset of historical inquiry. As Danto explained, “It is difficult to reduce postmodernism to one key conceptual frame other than the postmodern position that there is no absolute or true way of representing history.”⁴⁵⁵ Under this idea of history, different forms of historical methods and modes of inquiry may prove useful to better understand the past. Perhaps microhistories, a method referred to pejoratively in historical research⁴⁵⁶, might prove useful for narrowed investigations, because as Danto put it, microhistories scrutinize historical minutia and “...offer the kind of intimate examination of human connections rarely found in broad cultural histories...and have influenced researchers who believe in generalizing historical trends from case studies.”⁴⁵⁷ Another alternative approach would continue to use traditional historical methods, but link them with other methods to unlock fresh perspectives for researchers. As Brundage noted, “Indeed, some of the best work being done in those more traditional forms of history is the better for taking economic and social forces into account. Overall, the juxtaposition of the old forms with the new perspectives has created a complex, multifaceted debate—another manifestation of the vitality of history as process.”⁴⁵⁸

I am not suggesting that a subjective or objective technique is better than the other, but that combined approaches can raise new questions. A synthesized or inclusive style of historical

⁴⁵⁴ Raymond Martin, “Progress in Historical Studies,” *History and Theory* 37, No. 1 (1998): 15, 38-39.

⁴⁵⁵ Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Historical Research*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 21.

⁴⁵⁶ Jill Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography,” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 130-131.

⁴⁵⁷ Danto, *Historical Research*, 14.

⁴⁵⁸ Brundage, *Going to the Sources*, 5.

inquiry highlighting the individual, local, and subjective, while also taking into account and calling attention to group structures, the objective, and national or global influence, may prove complimentary. This unconventional method could provide an even better understanding of history, and re-fertilize areas of study.

The postmodern theoretical structure of historical inquiry has fallen out of fashion in the last decade, with transnational histories garnering much of the attention. Transnational histories analyze "...diaspora, war, exile, migration, the hybridization of cultures as people combine identities, and the cosmopolitanism that emerges."⁴⁵⁹ It explores "...how people and ideas and institutions and cultures moved above, below, through, and around, as well as within, the nation-state, to investigate how well national boundaries contain or explain how people experience history." The transnational approach also focuses on "...how people, moving through time and space according to rhythms and relationships of their own, drew from, ignored, constructed, transformed, and defied claims of the nation-state."⁴⁶⁰ Transnational histories show the relation between the individual, the society and culture from where he or she came, but also these two aspects in relation to the larger recent focal point on globalization. Robinson said, "A shift in the unit of analysis from the nation-state to the global system facilitates a switch to a more powerful set of 'cognitive lenses' and yields...quite dramatic results."⁴⁶¹ Although transnational histories center on inter-subjectivity and the relation to society or a culture of people, historian Gabrielle Spiegel, warns against discarding postmodernism as a means of perception and understanding,

⁴⁵⁹ Karen J. Winkler, "After Postmodernism: A Historian Reflects on Where the Field Is Going," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, last modified January 4, 2009, <http://chronicle.com/article/After-Postmodernism-A/42181>.

⁴⁶⁰ David Thelen, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," *The Journal of American History* 86, No. 3 (1999): 967.

⁴⁶¹ William I. Robinson, "Beyond Nation-State Paradigms: Globalization, Sociology, and the Challenge of Transnational Studies," *Sociological Forum* 13, No. 4 (1998): 574.

because its focus on “...loss, fractured meaning, and instability...” will be useful as a hybrid approach with transnational history.⁴⁶²

Alternative approaches to collecting, interpreting, and analyzing resources or data are important, but so is the presentation of material to the reader for personal comparison because they may not agree with the author’s interpretation or why the material is presented together. An example of this is Craig Harline’s *Conversions*, a book that interweaves stories from two families confronted with religious conversion, family relationships, and homosexuality.⁴⁶³ The interwoven storyline highlights domestic relations and reaction of two separate families when one member of the family converts to another religion. The twist is that one of the stories revolves around a young man converting to Catholicism in the 1650s and another man who converts to Mormonism in the 1970s. These relatively unexplored areas of history, where society, culture, and history (and even two separate eras of history) collide, are spaces for exploration. As Patti Lather pointed out, exploration is “...an incitement to discourse,”⁴⁶⁴ not a predetermined end, and why I argue for such an examination of higher education from a postmodern perspective. Comparing resources to other similar resources may reveal realities of those researched “...and the broader cultural and historical influences that shape emerging patterns.”⁴⁶⁵ Historians delving into this kind of work may not necessarily categorize their work as postmodern, but is a trajectory of modern historical inquiry and ought to be embraced in postsecondary education research and the advancement of policy and reform in higher education.

⁴⁶² Winkler, “After Postmodernism.”

⁴⁶³ Craig Harline, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

⁴⁶⁴ Lather, “Fertile Obsession,” 37.

⁴⁶⁵ Jayson Seaman, “Adopting a Grounded Theory Approach to Cultural-Historical Research: Conflicting Methodologies or Complementary Methods?,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 7, No. 1 (2008): 10.

Higher education is in the midst of change, owing to various and new forms of instruction and credentials provided by online courses and attempts to break from the traditional structures that have been the basis for postsecondary education for a long time. Recently, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the most prestigious technical schools in the world, announced it would offer certificates to students who completed the online coursework and passed the online assessments that were the same as those given to current MIT students. Although this initiative does not award traditional MIT degrees for the satisfactory completion of these programs, the school is taking a step in the direction, some would argue, of social justice through innovation of access. Completion of the online coursework results in an MITx certificate, with the *x* distinguishing the program slightly from the schools' traditional format, but the approach is still innovative and stands out among most other colleges and university's policies to offer some of their course content online yet offer no credential to show evidence of knowledge in the subject(s).⁴⁶⁶ MIT faculty and administration officials cannot gauge how many people will want to complete such a certificate, what types of jobs a MITx certificate will qualify one for, or how such a program might evolve next to their traditional degree programs or whether it will some day be synthesized with or run parallel to their institution's more conventional approach to edifying its students. What is known, however, is that similar courses offered at Stanford University in fall 2011 attracted more than 90,000 students to one of the most popular courses and professors. Through many of its professors, the innovative MIT program has "...developed

⁴⁶⁶ Marc Perry, "MIT Will Offer Certificates to Outside Students Who Take Its Online Courses," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 19, 2011, <http://chronicle.com/article/MIT-Will-Offer-Certificates-to/130121/>.

technology that can automatically grade essays. Other technologies that could come into play...include automatic transcription, online tutors, and crowdsourced grading.”⁴⁶⁷

Of course, this change at MIT is a cultural shift in higher education, and maybe one that may not receive high acclaim from other colleges and universities. However, will such an initiative force other institutions to adapt? Will this approach to higher education teaching and learning produce or force policy changes at other institutions? These are questions yet to be answered, but they are apropos to the discussion and questions that are surely to going to be debated at all levels and influence of higher education. I mention this quasi-curricular shift, or at least innovative approach to broadening access to learning, because similar discussion has taken place at the University of Georgia. Issues of access and control have already arisen and they do not seem to be heading in the same direction, but that is not necessarily a bad thing. Colleges and universities are entangled in social and cultural historical milieu, and maybe different or more “postmodern” historical approaches are the best bet at understanding them.⁴⁶⁸ Regarding the postmodern movement in history and why this approach might be beneficial to our understanding of institutional culture, Ford suggested:

... postmodernism approaches are suspicious of some of the main concepts of history-writing, such as causality, linear, continuity, narrative unity, origins, and goals. The rejection of ‘representations of reality’ means that the boundary between history and fiction is blurred... Those are the particularities that are emphasized by many postmodern thinkers, and the result is a wide variety of contextualized approaches which include irreconcilable contradictions, alternative accounts, discontinuities and ruptures.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Harland Bloland, “Postmodernism and Higher Education,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 66 No. 5, (1995): 523; Harland Bloland, “Whatever Happened to Postmodernism in Higher Education?: No Requiem in the New Millenium,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 76 No. 2, (2005): 124.

⁴⁶⁹ David F. Ford, “Epilogue: Postmodernism and Postscript,” in *The Modern Theologians*, vol. 2, ed. David F. Ford (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 292.

To be sure, higher education is transitional and adaptive over time, but new strides in technology and an ever-widening host of students from all over the world wants to attend US institutions of higher education. Policy change and curricular reform do not need to follow trends or do exactly what seems to work well for another institution. Each school has its own history, its own culture, that can help point to next steps or possible directions for growth and change, and this uniqueness is why it is imperative to not necessarily follow what another college is doing just because it works well for that school. My hope is that with more knowledge and understanding of each institution of higher education, couched in histories helping to explain where an institution has been and how it has evolved, can help push colleges and universities toward better decisions about what move is best for present and future endeavors at their schools.

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