
Schooling, Teaching, and Change in Nineteenth-Century Fort Wayne, Indiana

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Educational opportunities in pre-public school, pre-Civil War Fort Wayne, Indiana, included missionary, district, county, private venture, and denominational schools. Neither public nor private as those terms are understood today, most of these schools operated on monies from several sources; most also required students to pay a subscription rate, or tuition. In their own way the schools represented different responses to the needs of a growing, increasingly diverse community. Teachers, a varied group that could only loosely be designated professional, operated to a great extent as entrepreneurs. In the 1850s and 1860s, however, as public schools—also called free schools or common schools—began to supplant these earliest educational ventures, organization and financing of schools, work lives of teachers, and composition of the educational work force changed dramatically. A study of schooling as it developed in Fort Wayne in the first half of the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on teachers and their conditions of work, provides a new perspective on the development of teaching as a profession, on the growth of public education in Indiana and the nation as a whole, and on current debates about the future of public education.

Educational historians have long been interested in the question of what social, economic, political, cultural, and ideological forces encouraged the emergence of public schooling in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ Scholars have linked the introduction of common schools to industrialization, immigration, and urbanization, as well as to the expansion of the state in the nineteenth century, changes in the role of the family, and the spread of markets and

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¹For developments of schooling during the nineteenth century in the United States, see Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*

the wage-labor system.² These views, which tie political and cultural developments more explicitly to the evolving economic system, are particularly helpful for studying teachers as an emerging labor force. An examination of the history of Fort Wayne's teachers helps to explain if and how the evolution of the teaching profession was a part of the development of a national market economy. Although Fort Wayne was a small settlement at the time that larger, older cities were in the forefront of economic, cultural, industrial, and educational expansion, its history parallels on a less grand scale the developments in larger cities. Because of the city's relatively smaller size, changes in its educational labor force are all the more visible.

In northern Indiana the land that is now Fort Wayne served, successively, various Native American groups, the French, and the British. In 1794 Americans, under General Anthony Wayne, established the first United States fort there and gave the city its name.³ What came to be a midsized, industrializing city in the nineteenth century had been at the crossroads of trade from its earliest days as a military outpost and fur trading center on the edge of the frontier. Indiana became a state in 1816, and on April 19, 1819, the fort at Fort Wayne passed from military to civil authority. In 1822 Congress opened the area for public sale of lands, excluding the forty acres of the fort. The relatively cheap land enticed new settlers. Internal improvements in transportation, from plank roads and canals in the 1830s and 1840s to railroads in the 1850s, kept Fort Wayne growing

(New York, 1980); Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Boston, 1968); Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983); Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, England, 1980); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).

²Studies of education in specific cities during this period include David L. Angus, "Common School Politics in a Frontier City: Detroit, 1836-1842," in *Schools in Cities: Consensus and Conflict in American Educational History*, ed. Ronald K. Goodenow and Diane Ravitch (New York, 1983), 183-222; Angus, "Detroit's Great School Wars: Religion and Politics in a Frontier City, 1842-1853," *The Michigan Academician*, XII (Winter, 1980), 261-80; Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York, 1974); Stanley K. Schultz, *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860* (New York, 1973); Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920* (Columbia, Mo., 1975). For economic and political developments see Winifred Barr Rothenberg, *From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750-1850* (Chicago, 1992); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York, 1991); Marjorie R. Theobald and R. J. W. Selleck, eds., *Family, School and State in Australian History* (Sydney, Australia, 1990).

³Wallace A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne, from the Earliest Known Accounts of This Point, to the Present Period* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1868); B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana: A Review of Two Centuries of Occupation of the Region about the Head of the Maumee River, also, The Story of the Townships of Indiana by Mrs. Samuel R. Taylor* (Chicago, 1917); Michael C. Hawfield, *Here's Fort Wayne: Past & Present* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1992); Charles Poinsett, *Outpost in the Wilderness: Fort Wayne, 1706-1828* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1976).

and helped the town diversify its economic and demographic base before the Civil War. During the 1850s alone, Fort Wayne's population doubled, and its capital investment quadrupled. Native Americans and French and American settlers from eastern and southern states populated the area in the earliest years. In the 1830s and 1840s German, Irish, and French immigrants were attracted to jobs, particularly those related to the internal improvements. Farming opportunities also attracted settlers, as did the numerous and varied religious congregations.⁴

Fort Wayne's economic development in the mid-nineteenth century came to be more industrial and more influenced by northern states' trade and immigration patterns than were cities in middle and southern Indiana. Educationally, however, Fort Wayne shared a common heritage with other Hoosiers and other mid-westerners. As Indiana evolved out of the Northwest Territory, it inherited the educational legacy spelled out in the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The 1785 legislation allocated for the purposes of education the land (or the proceeds from lease or sale thereof) in section sixteen of each congressional township; that is, one square mile in a six-square-mile township. The Northwest Ordinance further declared: "Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."⁵ The enabling legislation for Indiana statehood in 1816 included the essence of these ordinances, and many communities throughout the state established small, one-room district schools. Money from the sixteenth section was frequently insufficient to support such schools, however, thus most also charged a subscription fee. Private venture, entrepreneurial, and denominational schools emerged simultaneously, especially in towns and cities; almost certainly they, too, received section sixteen—or public—funds. Until states explicitly allowed cities to establish separate school systems, a change that came in Indiana with the common school legislation of the 1850s, educational opportunities in towns and villages were much the same as those in rural areas, and schools were funded in much the same way. In communities such as Fort Wayne, where the population was rapidly expanding and diversifying, citizens found

⁴John Ankenbruck, *Twentieth Century History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1975); John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth* (4 vols., New York, 1954), vol. I, chap. XVI, vol. II, chaps. VI, XVII; Hawfield, *Here's Fort Wayne*. George Ross Mather, in *Frontier Faith: The Story of the Pioneer Congregations of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1820-1860* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1992) tells the history of the following congregations in Fort Wayne during this time: Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians (Old School and New School), Methodists (American and German), Catholics (French, German, and Irish), Lutherans (German and English), Episcopalians, German and French Reformed, African Methodists (A.M.E.), Orthodox and Reform Jews, Swedenborgians, Christians (Disciples), and Universalists.

⁵John J. Patrick, *Lessons on the Northwest Ordinance of 1787* (Indianapolis, 1987), 67.

it particularly difficult to provide enough schools and to attract qualified teachers.⁶

In Fort Wayne, as was the case in most frontier communities, missionaries established the first formal schools.⁷ Following a request from the local Miami chief to the United States government, Quakers from Baltimore in 1804 organized an expedition to the Three Rivers area in Indiana to teach the Miami how to farm. Unfortunately, the lands to be cultivated for teaching purposes were located at least a day's ride from the fort, and able-bodied young Miami men considered farming women's work. The experiment failed.⁸

On May 29, 1820, a year after the fort passed from military to civil authority, Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary, set up a small, short-lived school in the council house of the emptied fort. McCoy had been appointed by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions but received little financial support from it. He sent out appeals for money to individuals and to the federal and state governments; all eventually responded. Although McCoy's intent was to teach Native American children, his first class of twenty-five pupils included ten English scholars, six French, eight Indians, and one African American. Those numbers reached forty-two by the end of the year.⁹

Staffing, as well as funding, problems plagued McCoy from the start. In the course of time that McCoy ran the school, his wife and other teachers assisted with instruction.¹⁰ They conducted the school

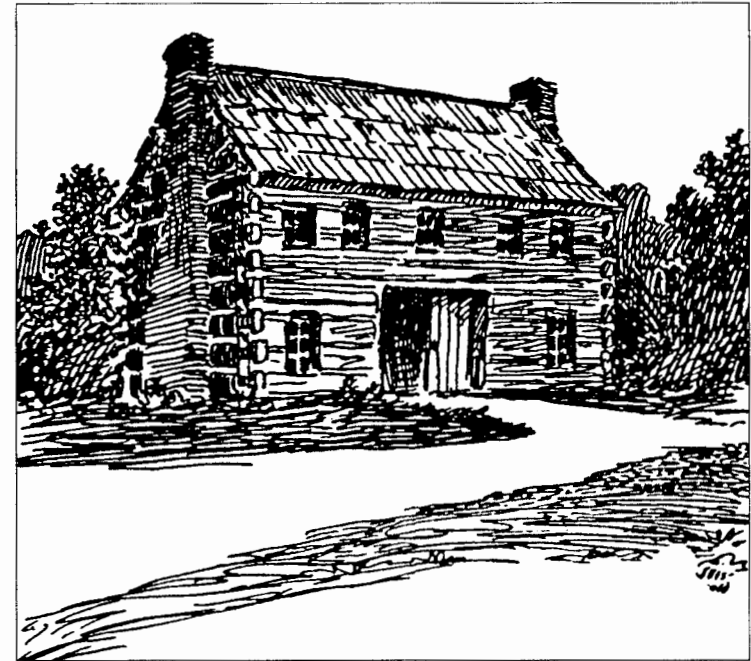
⁶ For general developments of schooling in Indiana see Barnhart and Carmo-ny, *Indiana*, vol. I, chap. XVI, vol. II, chaps. VI, XVII; Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York, 1892); Fassett A. Cotton, *Education in Indiana (1793 to 1934)* (Bluffton, Ind., 1934); Otho Lionel Newman, "Development or [sic] The Common Schools of Indiana To 1851," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXII (September, 1926), 229-76; James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 108-15, 179-87.

⁷ Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, chap. 3.

⁸ Hawfield, *Here's Fort Wayne*, 9; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 3-8; Poinsett, *Outpost in the Wilderness*, 44-46.

⁹ Mather states that individuals sent money and that Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan sent supplies. Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 11. Marilyn Steele, in "Isaac McCoy's Fort Wayne Experience," *Old Fort News*, XXXVI (Summer, 1973) explains that McCoy applied for federal money from a \$10,000 fund targeted for Indians. Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions: Embracing Remarks on the Former and Present Condition of the Aboriginal Tribes; Their Settlement Within the Indian Territory and their Future Prospects* (Washington, D.C., 1840), 75; Ankenbruck, *Twentieth Century History of Fort Wayne*, 94-95; Hawfield, *Here's Fort Wayne*, 18-19; Walter G. Herrling, "Early Education in Fort Wayne," *Old Fort News*, V (March, June, 1940), 4; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 8-14; Poinsett, *Outpost in the Wilderness*, 86.

¹⁰ *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Ft. Wayne Public Schools, for the Year Ending June 12, 1868* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1868), 124-28. The information in this report appeared, rewritten and expanded by John S. Irwin, an early trustee (1865-1875) and superintendent (1875-1896) of the public schools, in "Our Common Schools," *History of Allen County, Indiana, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers, to which is appended Maps of its Several Townships and Villages*, ed. Thomas B. Helm (Chicago, 1880), 93-94, and in "Report of the Public Schools of Fort Wayne," by John S. Irwin, superintendent, in *First Annual Message of Hon. Chauncey B. Oakley, Mayor of Fort Wayne, with Annual Reports of Heads of Departments of the City Government, for the Fiscal Year, Ending December 31, 1894* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1894), 252-72.



FORT WAYNE COUNCIL HOUSE
ISAAC MCCOY CONDUCTED HIS SCHOOL IN ONE ROOM OF THIS STRUCTURE.

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 249.

according to the Lancasterian method, an early model for mass education that depended on older student monitors instructing smaller groups under strict supervision. The McCoy's also taught some "industrial" skills, such as farming to the boys and sewing and other household arts to the girls. The work was hard; turnover among the hired help, that is, teachers to assist with the school and artisans to help with the industrial skills, was high. McCoy had particular trouble recruiting Baptist teachers and was forced to hire non-Baptists and nonbelievers. The school folded in December, 1822, when McCoy, plagued by financial worries, took up another calling in Michigan.¹¹

¹¹ Ernest W. Cook, "Fort Wayne School History Traced for 106 Years," *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, June 19, 1926. Cook quotes Thomas Scattergood Teas as to the use of the Lancasterian method in McCoy's school. For a description of the Lancasterian model see Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 40-44; Isaac McCoy Papers, roll I, frame 00869 (Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas); Herrling, "Early Education in Fort Wayne," 4; Steele, "Isaac McCoy's Fort Wayne Experience."

A husband and wife team who had taught for McCoy then began their own private school in Fort Wayne. They initiated a pattern of teaching—instruction by individual teachers or pairs of teachers—that would survive for the next thirty years.¹² Hugh B. McKeen, who had arrived from Detroit soon after McCoy departed, taught a small school in the fort during part of 1823 and 1824 before becoming engaged in trade with the Indians.¹³ In 1825 a private teacher, Henry Cooper, taught in the crudely furnished upper floor of a log jail. Cooper's career was typical of many men teachers at that time. Originally from Baltimore, he studied navigation in preparation for a seafaring life. After a time at sea he gave up that life and left for Cincinnati to study law. In 1825 he moved to Fort Wayne, where he continued his legal studies and also taught school before being admitted to the bar in 1829. Thereafter he had an extensive practice before the Circuit and Supreme courts of Indiana and the United States.¹⁴ For men such as Cooper, teaching was a sideline and a means of support while apprenticing in law.¹⁵

Indiana's Constitution of 1816 provided for county seminaries that were to be funded by revenues received for military exemptions and fines collected for violation of penal laws in the counties in which the schools were established. Although the state later added monies from forfeited bonds to the seminaries' revenues, funding was woefully insufficient.¹⁶ In 1825 a county seminary was built in Fort Wayne. Although Allen County received the funds allotted by the Constitution, most support came from tuition, as was true for most of the county seminaries. The cost of fuel was added to the tuition charges.¹⁷ The seminary's first teacher, John P. Hedges, had arrived in Fort Wayne in 1812 and had been active "in affairs of the day," as was also typical for young men who became teachers.¹⁸ In 1819 he, and one of the original proprietors of Fort Wayne, John McCorkle, "supplied beef and bread to the Indians at Fort Wayne while they were awaiting their annuity payments." At the time Hedges taught, he possibly doubled as sheriff.¹⁹ Hedges was followed during the next ten years at the seminary by men who taught for a year or so before going on to other professions or public life in Fort Wayne.²⁰ The seminary

¹² *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 124; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 252.

¹³ Helm, *History of Allen County*, 93.

¹⁴ *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 124; Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 391, 596; Helm, *History of Allen County*, 131.

¹⁵ Cremin, *American Education*, 357-61.

¹⁶ Helm, *History of Allen County*, 4; Walter Jackson Wakefield, "County Seminaries in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XI (June, 1915), 148-61.

¹⁷ George W. Breckinridge, "Reminiscences of Old Fort Wayne," a publication of the Mary Penrose chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, quoted in Cook, "Fort Wayne School History."

¹⁸ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History."

¹⁹ Poinsett, *Outpost in the Wilderness*, 95; Herrling, "Early Education in Fort Wayne," 4.

²⁰ Joseph O. Boggs taught at the seminary in 1827-1828 and later privately. He was followed in 1832-1833 by Jesse Aughenbaugh, who had previously taught

by Fort Wayne Feb 13th 1833.

Mr Breckinridge.

To J. A. Aughenbaugh D.^r 13

Tuition of son Joseph, & Grammar & me	\$ 2.83
Do do son George Reading &c	2.00
Average expense of stove rent fuel &c	50
Each 40¢	\$ 6.13

The rates of tuition for the ensuing term will be

For Reading & Spelling \$ 2.50

Do Do including writing & Arithmetic either or both \$ 3.00. Including & Grammar & Geography, either or both \$ 2.00.

Tuition of Robt. Adams & Grammar	\$ 3.00
Expense of stove rent, fuel &c	40
Received the above in full	\$ 3.40
Feb 22 ^d 1833	\$ 9.53

J. A. Aughenbaugh

ALLEN COUNTY SEMINARY RECEIPT FOR TUITION

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 305.

building was razed about 1842. County seminaries were officially abandoned under the state's new constitution of 1851.²¹

While the county seminary was operating, the city of Fort Wayne made its own meager attempts to step into the educational arena. In 1835 Fort Wayne town trustees appointed two men to employ teachers "on terms advantageous to the corporation." None could be found on such terms, it was reported in 1836, so the matter was dropped.²²

In the spring of 1836 two young women came to Fort Wayne to set up a private school. The circumstances of their coming, their changing situation in Fort Wayne, and their careers as teachers illus-

privately at the Masonic Hall. While at the county seminary Aughenbaugh, a Catholic, gave religious instruction to Catholic children in his spare time. He left teaching the following year to go into the tanning business. Smalwood Noel, later an elder in the First Presbyterian Church and a justice of the peace, taught in the seminary in 1834 and James Requa in 1834-1835. Myron F. Barbour, also later active in Fort Wayne's civic life, taught at the seminary in 1835-1836. John C. Sivey taught, too, in 1836 or 1837. See Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 71; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 125; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 253.

²¹ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 253-54.

²² Robert D. Adams, "City's First Schoolhouse Erected in 1825 on Site of Present Allen County Jail," *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, July 24, 1938; Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 419.

trate much about the nature of the teacher labor force in Fort Wayne at the time, as well as about the sources of support for education. Susan Man, later Mrs. Hugh McCulloch, and Alida Hubbell, later Mrs. Royal Taylor, opened a school on July 5, 1836, in a room in the Allen County Courthouse.²³ Their teaching careers were typical of those of other young women teachers in the Midwest before the Civil War.²⁴ The young women had met in Connecticut at the Hartford Female Seminary, established by Catharine Beecher, where they had spent two winters studying to be teachers. Alida's brother, Woolsey Hubbell, was a teller at Fort Wayne's branch of the State Bank of Indiana. Two of the bank's board of directors, Samuel Hanna and Allen Hamilton, who were also two of the city's, and later the state's, most prosperous and influential citizens, were anxious to see an academy started to improve educational opportunities in Fort Wayne.²⁵ They had Hubbell send his father a letter asking if his sister, Alida, and her friend, Susan Man, could come to Fort Wayne to teach, under the care of the bank directors, Hanna and Hamilton. Susan, eager to go, wrote her parents that this was not "a romantic freak or wild notion" for she had thought about it seriously and believed it was her duty to go: "I have been living for self long enough and I think it is high time that I use my advantages for the promotion of the Gospel . . ."²⁶ The two women started their school with seventeen scholars, about half of whom were Catholic, but who, according to Man, made "no objection to reading in and learning a verse in the testament every morning." The women charged \$2.50 per quarter for reading scholars, \$4.00 for writing and the higher studies, and \$6.00 extra for painting.²⁷

No sooner had the school established itself than the young women closed it to work instead for Jesse Hoover, a Lutheran minister who opened his own seminary in August, 1836, in the basement

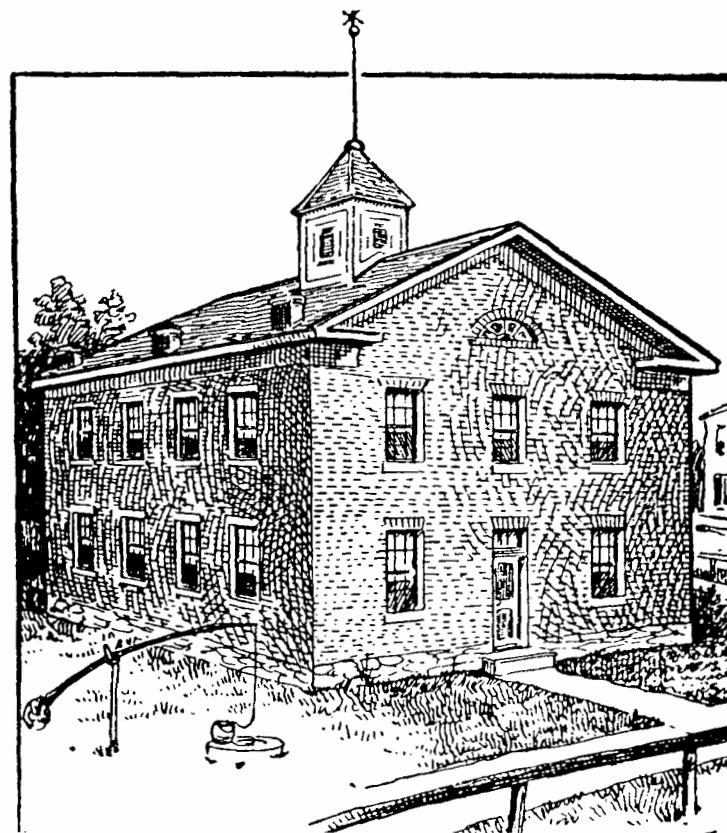
²³ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 125; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 254; Clifford H. Richards, "Teaching School in Fort Wayne in the 1830's," *Old Fort News*, XLVII (No. 3, 1984), 3-15; Wilhelmina and Clifford Richards, eds., "The Recollections of Susan Man McCulloch," *Old Fort News*, XLIV (No. 3, 1981), 1-33.

²⁴ For a description of the lives of women teachers in the nineteenth century, see Wayne E. Fuller, *The Old Country School: The Story of Rural Education in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1982); Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (Hew Haven, Conn., 1984); and various chapters from Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York, 1989).

²⁵ In 1819 Samuel Hanna, at age twenty-two, moved to Fort Wayne from Ohio to start a very successful fur trading business, which gradually branched out to other Indiana cities. He became a civic leader in Fort Wayne, serving from time to time as judge and state legislator. He enthusiastically promoted and invested in Indiana's internal improvements, such as plank roads, the Wabash and Erie Canal, and railroads. Allen Hamilton, a well-educated Irish Protestant from a formerly prosperous family, also came to Fort Wayne to make a fortune in trade and, especially, real estate ventures. Hawfield, *Here's Fort Wayne*, 19-25.

²⁶ Susan Man to her mother, Mrs. Maria Halsey, April 1, 1836, McCulloch Manuscripts (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington).

²⁷ Susan Man to her mother, July 16, 1836, *ibid.*



ALLEN COUNTY'S FIRST COURTHOUSE
SUSAN MAN AND ALIDA HUBBELL OPENED THEIR FIRST SCHOOL IN ONE ROOM OF
THIS BUILDING.

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 301.

of the Presbyterian church, the first church in Fort Wayne. Members of the church included Hanna and Hamilton. The school welcomed children of all faiths. Like the young women, Hoover had been recruited to come to Fort Wayne by one of the city's prominent businessmen, German Lutheran Henry Rudisill. Hoover supplemented a modest stipend from the American Home Mission Society by taking in boarders and organizing the tuition school. The Lutherans had as yet no church building of their own, and the Presbyterians had no minister; Hoover preached to both on a provisional basis from the Presbyterian church building.²⁸

²⁸ *Ibid.*; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 99-104; Rudolph I. Rehmer, "The Origins of Lutheranism in the Fort Wayne Area (1829-1847)," *Old Fort News*, XXX (Spring, 1967), 1-49.

Working for Hoover was easier than running an independent school, according to Man. Also, the basement room in the church was "a beautiful room for a school," for it was "fitted up with oaken desks and walls painted for a blackboard so that there will be plenty of room for Arithmetic and Maps." Susan reported that she and Alida got along well in the school for "Mr. Hoover lets us have our own way as much as we could in an independent school."²⁹ Although operating out of a church and run by a minister assisted by young teachers who saw opportunities for "promoting the gospel," the school was not affiliated with a specific church. Religion was, however, central to its curriculum. Man relates that Hoover opened and closed the school each day with prayers. "The scholars all meet in his room in the morning. After prayer we take our scholars into our own room and teach them until it is time to close." The women teachers were each paid \$250.00, "part in advance for two terms five months each."³⁰

Even though their pay was modest, the young women felt successful in their teaching, appreciated by their students, and accepted by the community. To save money they boarded 'round, as was the practice for teachers then, with families whose children attended the school. Man explained that they paid "\$2 - ½ per week for our board & get our washing done as we can, sometimes we do it ourselves and sometimes get it done at the rate of 75 cts. a dozen. I think we shall just about pay our way home next summer—and have very little left."³¹ Man, however, felt rewarded by the students' learning.

I think the parents of the children appear satisfied and I think they improve rapidly. Everything appears new and interesting to them that relates to their studies. They knew nothing of the Geography or history of their own country when we commenced teaching and of course, they are very much interested when they are explained to them. I have a large class in Geography and in history of the United States who have never studied either before, and when they draw their maps I ask them to point out such places as are mentioned in history, and tell them anecdotes about them.³²

A former student of the two young women claimed that they "did away with the raw hides and hickory goads that the male teachers had in their schools. The ladies were successful and well liked by their pupils."³³ The women enjoyed an active social life filled with callers, parties, teas, and church-related activities. They appear to have been included in the social functions of all the most prominent families of the then still small town.³⁴

The opening of other tuition schools posed a threat to the profitability, as well as to the very existence, of Hoover's school. In the spring of 1837 Man notes that their school had new competition:

²⁹ Susan Man to her mother, August 18, 1836, McCulloch Manuscripts.

³⁰ Susan Man to her mother, September 19, 1836, *ibid.*

³¹ Susan Man to her mother, January 9, 1837, *ibid.*

³² Susan Man to her sister, Mrs. Mary Ann Hawkins, October 27, 1836, *ibid.*

³³ Quoted in Cook, "Fort Wayne School History."

³⁴ Clifford H. Richards, "Teaching School in Fort Wayne," 7-14; Wilhelmina and Clifford Richards, "Recollections of Susan Man McCulloch," 8-12.



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, FORT WAYNE
JESSE HOOVER, SUSAN MAN, ALIDA HUBBELL, WILLIAM W. STEEVENS,
AND ALEXANDER MCJUNKIN ALL TAUGHT IN THE BASEMENT OF THIS
BUILDING.

Courtesy First Presbyterian Church, Fort Wayne.
Reproduced from George R. Mather, *Frontier Faith . . .*
(Fort Wayne, Ind., 1992), 36.

There are 3 teachers in the place just commencing three opposition schools. If they think it a very profitable business they will find themselves mistaken. We shall not have as many scholars as we expected for they say if people will send four children they need only pay for three and lower the prices as much as possible. However, they cannot get any of our old scholars.³⁵

Hubbell's and Man's teaching careers were brief, as was often the case for young women teachers at the time. Susan and Alida returned to their families in the East after a year, Susan to prepare for her wedding the following year to Hugh McCulloch, a cashier in the Fort Wayne bank and later a prominent banker, first United States comptroller of the currency under President Abraham Lin-

³⁵ Susan Man to her mother, April 23, 1837, McCulloch Manuscripts.



SUSAN MAN MCCULLOCH IN HER LATER YEARS

Courtesy Susan Man McCulloch's great-granddaughter.
Reproduced from George R. Mather, *Frontier Faith* ...
(Fort Wayne, Ind.), 151.

coln, secretary of the treasury under Presidents Andrew Johnson and Chester A. Arthur, and a partner in the London banking house of Jay Cooke, McCulloch and Company. Man did not teach after marrying. Hubbell returned to Fort Wayne in 1840 and taught in at least two other schools in the city before she, also, married a prominent businessman.³⁶

Hoover became minister of St. Paul's Lutheran Church when it opened on October 14, 1837, but he died unexpectedly in 1838. The Lutherans date the beginning of their schools from the founding of a Lutheran school at St. Paul's in 1839. In the following years other Lutheran churches in Fort Wayne also started schools. Concordia Seminary began training Lutheran clergy in 1846.³⁷

³⁶ Introduction to McCulloch Manuscripts; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 125; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 254; Richards, "Teaching School in Fort Wayne," 4, 14.

³⁷ Ankenbruck, *Twentieth Century History of Fort Wayne*, 266-67; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 99-124; Richards, "Teaching School in Fort Wayne," 7-8; Rehmer, "Origins of Lutheranism in the Fort Wayne Area."

Hoover was succeeded at the school in the Presbyterian church by William W. Steevens, a non-denominational minister from England, and Alexander McJunkin, a defrocked Presbyterian minister.³⁸ Soon, however, Steevens and his wife built a house and opened the Fort Wayne Select Classical Academy.³⁹ He explains that he taught "the things that pertain to this world 5 days in the week—those which belong to the world to come on one day in the week—leaving one day (Saturday) for casual business." In 1844 Steevens describes a life that was free from want: "Provision is so cheap that the poorest can obtain a plenty."⁴⁰ Though he felt well provided for, payment was often "in kind."

For the last four years I have taken but very little money—It will fill this sheet to explain how people live here—We build houses—buy land—food—raiment—horses—carriages, in short, almost everything you can conceive of with money—We barter . . . Per example I have this very day taken a note for a tuition fee payable in *stone suited for mason work* [and] another to be paid in painters work, some in goods from the stores—these things we trade around among ourselves and get anything we want.⁴¹

Steevens eventually became an attorney and formed a law partnership. By 1858 he was serving as a justice of the peace in Fort Wayne.⁴²

Alexander McJunkin also left the school in the Presbyterian church to build a house, where he taught privately until 1853. He is remembered as an esteemed teacher, a "fine scholar, a strong judicious instructor and a stern rigidly strict disciplinarian," who, unlike Man and Hubbell, "most forcibly impressed his ideas and teachings upon the minds of his scholars and not infrequently with equal force upon their bodies." He left teaching in 1853 to become treasurer of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company.⁴³

Steevens and McJunkin were teaching privately in the 1840s when Miss M. L. Wallace opened the Fort Wayne Female Seminary in October, 1843; Misses H. M. Raymond and L. M. Love joined her in 1844. The female seminary included primary, junior, and senior departments at, respectively, \$3.00, \$4.00, and \$5.00 per quarter, with vocal music offered to all free of charge. Wallace listed as references: Henry Rudisill, Samuel Hanna, and Allen Hamilton—the same businessmen

³⁸ Alexander McJunkin had been excommunicated prior to his arrival in Fort Wayne because he allegedly had been engaged to three women at the same time while being married to another. He denied the allegations and continued teaching in spite of them. Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 33.

³⁹ Charles Poinsatte, *Fort Wayne during the Canal Era, 1828-1855* (Indianapolis, 1969), 192; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*; Joan Truitt, "The Letters of William W. Steevens, 1844-1847: 'Engaged in the Employment of Teaching,'" *Old Fort News*, XXXIV (Spring, 1971), 16.

⁴⁰ William W. Steevens to his sister Mary, May 3, 1844, in Truitt, "Letters of William W. Steevens," 13; William W. Steevens to his mother, May 3, 1844, in *ibid.*

⁴¹ William W. Steevens to his mother, May 3, 1844, in *ibid.*, 13-14.

⁴² Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Truitt, "Letters of William W. Steevens," 16.

⁴³ *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 341; quotation in *First Annual Message, 1894*, 254-55, and in Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Herrling, "Early Education in Fort Wayne," 5.



ALEXANDER MCJUNKIN

Courtesy First Presbyterian Church, Fort Wayne.
Reproduced from George R. Mather, *Frontier Faith* . . .
(Fort Wayne, Ind., 1992), 33.

who had recruited Hoover, Man, and Hubbell ten years earlier—and Hugh McCulloch, banker and husband of Susan Man.⁴⁴

In the fall of 1845 Mrs. Lydia A. Sykes opened a Ladies' Seminary under the auspices of the Presbyterian church. The Presbyterians had recently split into Old and New School divisions. Old School Presbyterians started the school, but the school's board had ministers from both congregations. The board also included ministers from other churches and prominent citizens such as, among others, Rudisill, Hamilton, and McCulloch. In April, 1846, Sykes was joined by her daughter, Amanda E. Sykes, who had graduated from the female academy in Steubenville, Ohio, where her mother had taught for seven years before coming to Fort Wayne. Lydia Sykes's health soon failed, and a Presbyterian minister replaced her until June, 1847, when he, too, opened his own academy.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Fort Wayne *People's Press*, September 17, 1844.

⁴⁵ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Fort Wayne *Times and People's Press*, October 4, 1845, April 18, 1846, June 5, 1847; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 181-82; *Fifth Annual Report*, 1868, 126; *First Annual Message*, 1894, 255.

In the early months of 1846 another educational initiative flickered and died. Citizens met to discuss the establishment of a permanent female seminary in Fort Wayne, but nothing came of it.⁴⁶

In 1853 a Presbyterian academy was again opened by the First Presbyterian Church (Old School) under the charge of George A. Irvin, a college graduate who had previously run a ladies' seminary in Kentucky. Fort Wayne's public schools also opened in 1853 but closed in 1854 for lack of funds and support. When they were reopened in 1857, Irvin, now the Reverend George A. Irvin, was hired to be the first superintendent of schools.⁴⁷ The Presbyterian academy was temporarily suspended, but it was reopened and continued with varying success until 1867 when it was abandoned because the public schools "were more economically carrying out its objects."⁴⁸ The lots were sold to the Fort Wayne school trustees, and the Presbyterian academy became a Fort Wayne public school.⁴⁹

In the 1840s Catholics also tried to organize schools and attract teachers and students. In 1843 a young French-born priest, Julian Benoit of St. Augustine's Catholic Church, arranged to have Holy Cross brothers teach in his St. Augustine's Institute. When they quit, he hired a lay schoolmaster, William B. Walter, to open St. Augustine's Academy in the fall of 1844. By 1845 there were eighty-four students, thirty girls and fifty-four boys, including four Protestants. St. Augustine's advertised that instruction was not "select or sectarian." It was also less expensive than other schools. The price for that year had been reduced to \$1.75 per quarter for the English branches, \$3.00 for the classical, and \$5.00 for drawing and painting; but further reductions were made when there was "liberal patronage, or where the circumstances of some may require it." The following semester the prices were again reduced—"solely with an eye to the exclusion of *none* from the great blessings of education"—as the school also tried to compete with the city's other schools. Walter continued in the boys' school until 1847 when Father Benoit again hired brothers from religious orders to teach. The school was abandoned in 1851.⁵⁰ Three nuns from the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods started a separate girls' school in 1846. Eleven years later, in 1857, the same year that the public schools reopened, Fort Wayne became the seat of the Catholic bishop for the newly formed Northern Indiana Diocese. The new bishop, Henry Luers, was a particularly out-

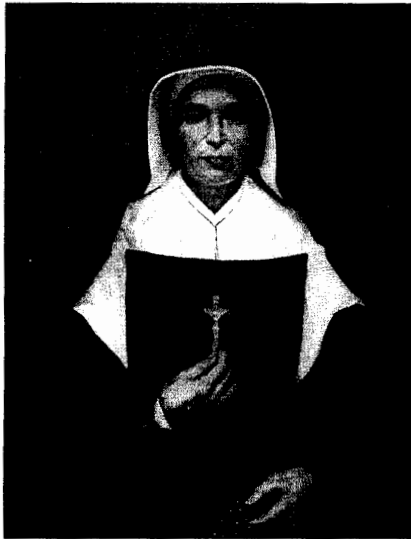
⁴⁶ Fort Wayne *Times and People's Press*, March 28, 1846.

⁴⁷ George A. Irvin is referred to as "Rev." in most sources as of 1856. According to Mather he was licensed to preach by the Fort Wayne Presbytery (Old School) in 1856; he was ordained in 1863. Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 191.

⁴⁸ *First Annual Message*, 1894, 255.

⁴⁹ Adams, "City's First Schoolhouse"; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 190-91; *Fifth Annual Report*, 1868, 126; *First Annual Message*, 1894, 255; John Hardin Thomas, "The Academies of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, X (December, 1914), 353.

⁵⁰ Fort Wayne *Times and People's Press*, August 23, 1845, February 7, August 15, 1846; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 83-84.



MOTHER THEODORE
(ANNA THÉRÈSA GUÉRIN)

Courtesy Sisters of Providence,
St.-Mary-of-the-Woods, Terre Haute, Indiana.

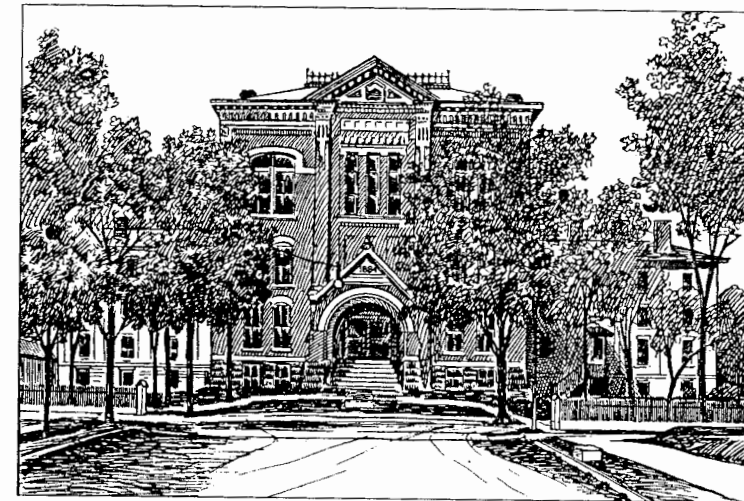
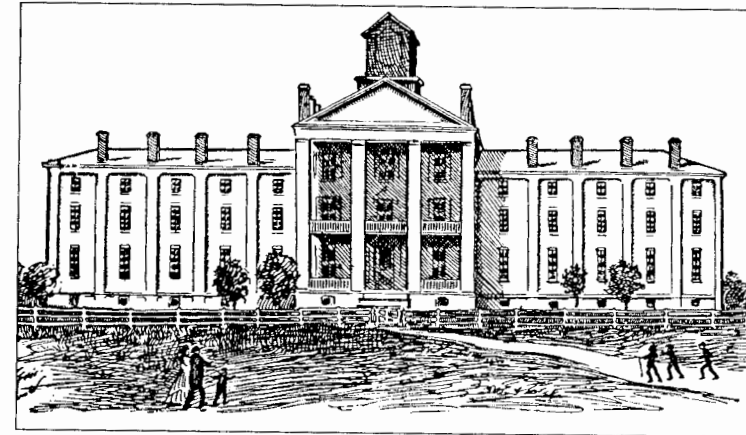
spoken advocate for Catholic schools for Catholic and non-Catholic children. The number of Catholic schools began to grow.⁵¹

In 1846 the first moves were made toward the formation of a Methodist college, and the first classes commenced in the fall of 1847. Promoters included Methodists and their clergy, representatives from other congregations, and public-spirited, influential private citizens, such as, again, McCulloch, Hanna, and Rudisill. After several changes of name and location it survives today as Taylor University.⁵²

The Episcopalians, like the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Catholics, encouraged their clergy to establish schools. Joseph S. Large, the minister of Trinity Episcopal Church, started a day school for boys in 1851. The church gave him land on which to build a school-

⁵¹ Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 83-86. Mother Theodore (Anna Thérèse Guérin), superior of the Sisters of Providence, had been born and educated in France and had trained the sisters in special methods of teaching then popular in France. Mary Ellen Maffey, "Early Catholic Schooling in Fort Wayne," unpublished paper, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, April, 1994.

⁵² Originally called Fort Wayne Female Seminary, then Fort Wayne Female College, the college enrolled men in 1850 in a branch called the Collegiate Institute for Men. In 1852 the Fort Wayne Collegiate Institute was incorporated as a men's school separate from the Fort Wayne Female College. The two schools merged in 1855 to form Fort Wayne College, later called Taylor University, which operates today as a non-denominational school in Upland, Indiana, with a branch campus in Fort Wayne. Alumni Relations Office, Taylor University, Fort Wayne Campus, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 389-90; William Ringenberg, "Fort Wayne Methodist College," *Old Fort News*, XXXV (Summer, 1972), 1-49.



THE METHODIST COLLEGE IN FORT WAYNE
UPPER PICTURE DATES FROM 1855, LOWER VIEW FROM 1889, AFTER THE MAIN
BUILDING HAD BEEN REMODELED AND ENLARGED.

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 404.

house but no financial support. Large had taught school in Pennsylvania before studying theology. The school lasted until Large resigned his position and moved to California in 1854.⁵³ In 1858 the Episcopalians hired as their minister Stephen H. Battin, who served for five years. During this time he and his daughter, Kate, ran a day and boarding school for young ladies out of his home. Battin had hoped to become superintendent of the public schools in Fort Wayne in 1863, when Superintendent George A. Irvin resigned to become a chaplain in the United States army.⁵⁴

Other congregations initiated religious schooling for their children but expanded the scope to include all subjects. In the mid-1850s a small Jewish community appointed their newly hired cantor to teach religious doctrine and Hebrew to children several times a week. In 1856 Mayer Eppstein, a retired professional teacher of Hebrew and German from a synagogue school in Germany, took over the teaching of religion, Hebrew, and German. An English instructor was also hired. The school was originally supported by the parents, but in 1860 the congregation took over basic expenses. By 1864 the congregation threw its support behind the public schools. The Jewish school continued, but only as a religious school on Sundays and after school hours.⁵⁵

Other small schools taught by individual teachers or pairs of teachers came and went during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s; all had trouble retaining teachers and students.⁵⁶ Their insecure financial bases, the undeveloped teaching profession, and competition for students and teachers undermined the future of these varied schools.

In 1848 56 percent of the voters in Indiana supported a proposal to establish public schools throughout the state. In Fort Wayne, as was typical of cities in northern Indiana, almost 75 percent approved,⁵⁷ yet the state legislature passed no enabling legislation. In 1851 a new Indiana constitution provided the groundwork for legislation that established an administrative structure, as well as the funding, for a system of public schools. Civil townships were to be the new unit of administration. The former congressional township funds would go to the state, not directly to the townships, as had previously been the case. The state would then distribute the funds according to student attendance in each township. Townships had new powers to tax, as did cities and towns, which could form separate school corporations. The change from congressional townships to civil townships

⁵³ Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 142-44.

⁵⁴ *Dawson's Fort Wayne Daily Times*, February 1, 1859; *Fort Wayne Weekly Republican*, September 7, 1859; Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 146-47.

⁵⁵ Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 217-33.

⁵⁶ Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 126. Some names in the historical record include Miss Susan Clark, later Mrs. Samuel S. Morss; Miss Waugh; Miss Sophia Henderson, afterward Mrs. Lasselle; the Lotz sisters, Barbara Ann and Elizabeth M.; Mr. John P. Jones; and Miss S. J. Markle.

⁵⁷ Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, 107-108.

proved confusing. Opposition arose over the new method of distributing the former congressional township funds and over the new local taxing powers. Both measures were contested in court and were eventually found unconstitutional, to the dismay of such public school advocates as Caleb Mills, the architect of the state's public school law and superintendent of public instruction for the state of Indiana from 1854 to 1857. As cases came to court and new laws were written throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s, Indiana's public schools, including those in Fort Wayne, struggled to survive.⁵⁸

In 1853 Fort Wayne's city council selected three prominent citizens to be trustees for the public schools: Hugh McCulloch, promoter of schools in their many forms since the mid-1830s; Charles Case; and William Stewart. The trustees rented former teacher Alexander McJunkin's school building on the east side of town for \$50.00 per quarter. They employed, for \$150.00 per quarter, the private teachers then teaching there, Isaac Mahurin and his sister, Mathilda L. Mahurin, as, respectively, principal and assistant. On the west side they employed, for \$150.00 per quarter, Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Hulbard, who were teaching in their home. The Hulbards also received \$25.00 rent. Both schools opened in September, 1853.⁵⁹

Shortly thereafter, the school board resigned, or at least ceased to meet, possibly because some Fort Wayne citizens unexpectedly turned against the city council for planning to tax them to raise \$1,200 for school sites. Some taxpayers opposed the new taxing power of the city, as well as the at-large instead of representational method that the city council used to appoint school board trustees. A new school board was formed, but, as the battle over how to fund the schools continued at the local level as well as in the state courts, the schools in Fort Wayne closed on March 24, 1854, at the end of their first year. Students returned to their former non-public school teachers.⁶⁰

The battles in Fort Wayne over the power of the city council to levy school taxes and to appoint a school board reflected economic, political, religious, and ethnic divisions in Fort Wayne as well as throughout Indiana. The Democratic party, then in the majority in the city, included German and French Catholics and some German Lutherans who favored the dissemination of the school funds to sec-

⁵⁸ For accounts of these struggles statewide see Barnhart and Carmony, *Indiana*, vol. II, chap. VI; Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*; Cotton, *Education in Indiana*; and Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, 1965), chap. 11. For an overview of developments in Fort Wayne see Herling, "Early Education in Fort Wayne," 5; for a particularly detailed account of the struggles in Fort Wayne see J. Randolph Kirby, "Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders: The First Year for Free Schooling, April 1853-March 1854," *Old Fort News*, XLII (No. 1, 1979), 13-25.

⁵⁹ Adams, "City's First Schoolhouse"; Cook, "Fort Wayne School History"; Kirby, "Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1853-1854." Kirby contests some of the details reported in earlier accounts of school battles in these years, such as whether or not the school board resigned.

⁶⁰ See footnote 59.

tarian schools, a policy that the 1852 school law prohibited. Various factions of the fragmenting Whig party favored public schools, as did, increasingly, various Protestant churches, who feared growing Catholic immigration and the spread of Catholicism and saw free schools as a way to counter both.⁶¹ The Whig group included most of the “public spirited” citizens—businessmen, lawyers, and clergy—who had been instrumental in initiating private venture and denominational schools before the advent of public schools.

Teachers were not disinterested bystanders. Catholic schoolmaster Walter spoke ardently for the dissemination of the school funds to sectarian schools. Two of the first public schoolteachers, A. N. Hulbard and Isaac Mahurin, both of whom had also taught in private schools, worked with free school supporters in 1853 to promote the cause. Superintendent George A. Irvin, a Presbyterian minister, expressed anti-Catholic fears and was an aggressive proponent of public schools.⁶²

Although the public schools were closed from 1854 to 1857, the board of trustees pursued the building of two schools. One opened in February and the other in the fall of 1857. Because of continuing strife within the city, mirrored statewide, over the legality of taxing for schooling, private funding was successfully solicited in Fort Wayne in 1858 to maintain the public schools. Ten citizens mortgaged their homes for \$500 each. The appeal for financial contributions failed in 1859, however, and the schools in Fort Wayne were again closed from May, 1859, to January, 1860, during which time the teachers were allowed to run private schools in the public school buildings. The public schools reopened in January, 1860, but were not financially sound until 1865 when a new school law was written for Indiana.⁶³

In 1863, when Professor E. S. Green replaced Irvin as superintendent of Fort Wayne’s public schools, Isaac and Matilda Mahurin were still teaching. Other teachers, especially many young, single

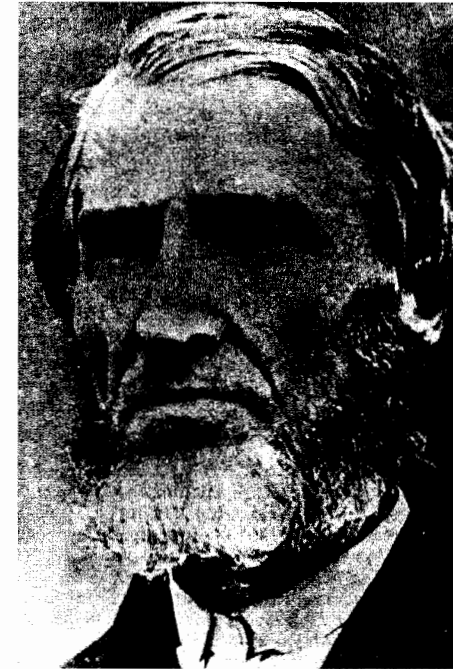
⁶¹ Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1853–1854.” Kirby further details the political struggles over public schooling in Fort Wayne in “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders: The Construction of the Clay Street School, 1854–1857,” *Old Fort News*, XLIII (No. 2, 1980), 50–60; “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders: The Struggle for Free Schooling in 1857,” *Old Fort News*, XLIV (No. 4, 1981), 1–10; “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders: The Struggle for Free Schooling in 1858,” *Old Fort News*, XLVI (No. 2, 1983), 3–15. Kirby stresses religious, ethnic, and political differences over the issue of public schools in Fort Wayne and discusses the individuals and local newspapers who spoke for those groups. He emphasizes that local school tax issues were intricately tied in people’s minds to broader state and national political issues such as temperance and the extension of slavery to new states; all were related to the growing regulatory power of the state.

⁶² Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1853–1854”; Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1854–1857.”

⁶³ Adams, “City’s First Schoolhouse”; Barnhart and Carmony, *Indiana*, vol. II, chap. VI; Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, chaps. XI–XVII; Cook, “Fort Wayne School History”; Cotton, *Education in Indiana*, chap. IX; Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1854–1857”; Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1857”; Kirby, “Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1858.”



MATHILDA
MAHURIN



ISAAC
MAHURIN

Allen County—Fort Wayne Historical Society.

women, had been hired, for a total of seventeen public school teachers: eleven single women, two married women, and four men. Their teaching covered a range of "grades" grouped into primary, secondary, intermediate, grammar, and high school departments.⁶⁴ In 1865 James H. Smart replaced Green and served for the next ten years,⁶⁵ during which time the educational system outlined by the legislature during the 1850s began to be realized. Smart expanded the number of elementary schools; continued hiring young women teachers, as had the first two superintendents; built a high school; graded the schools from twenty-eight to fourteen grades; started a training school for teachers within the public school system; and, in general, set the framework for turning the schools into a "modern" system. In 1854 there were four public school teachers in Fort Wayne, the Mahurins and Hulbards, with 400 students; in 1857 fifteen teachers with 805 students; in 1864 nineteen teachers with 1,400 students; in 1868, after three years of Smart's leadership, thirty-four teachers with 2,181 students.⁶⁶ Teachers were paid a fixed wage, determined by training, experience, and grade level taught; and rules of conduct, attendance, and assessment were determined and codified for both teachers and students.⁶⁷

Throughout the pre-Civil War years in Fort Wayne, a group of public-minded citizens and clergy had pushed for schooling of all types. Attempts to establish publicly supported schools failed in 1836, 1846, and 1854, as had entrepreneurial and denominational alternatives during the same time period. Many of the men involved in the civic and private ventures were also the men who eventually served in some capacity in financing or overseeing the first public schools.⁶⁸ Hamilton, Hanna, McCulloch, and Rudisill, several of Fort Wayne's most active proponents of internal improvements to encourage commerce and of religious congregations to encourage settlement, were

⁶⁴ Teachers in the primary department were Miss Frank S. Sinclair, Miss Catherine Gerry, Miss Emily McCracken, Miss Laura Kimball, Miss Lucy Bird; in the secondary department were Miss A. W. Phelps, Miss M. L. Mahurin, Miss Martha Beecher; in the intermediate department were Isaac Mahurin, William H. McQuiston, Mrs. Susan Hoffman, Miss Lucy M. Fletcher; in the grammar department were Allen Pierce, Miss Amelia Pettit, Miss Carrie B. Sharp; and in the high school department were George N. Glover and Mrs. E. A. Green. *Rules and Regulations adopted by the Board of Trustees for the Government and Regulation of the Public Schools of the City of Fort Wayne, Ind.* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1863).

⁶⁵ Smart went on to be state superintendent of public instruction and later president of Purdue University. Arlene Argerbright, "The Educational Career of James H. Smart," *Old Fort News*, IV (September, 1939), 4-12.

⁶⁶ Argerbright, "Educational Career of James H. Smart"; *Fifth Annual Report, 1868*, 43, 128; *First Annual Message, 1894*, 261-66.

⁶⁷ See *Rules and Regulations*, 1863.

⁶⁸ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, School City of Fort Wayne, May 1853-April 1869 (Fort Wayne Community Schools, Grile Administrative Center, Fort Wayne, Indiana); Kirby, "Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1854-1857"; Kirby, "Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1857"; Kirby, "Fort Wayne Common School Crusaders, 1858."



HUGH MCCULLOCH



ALLEN HAMILTON



SAMUEL HANNA



HENRY RUDISILL

Courtesy Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

also leading public school advocates.⁶⁹ Their efforts to promote subscription and denominational as well as public schools during the 1830s and 1840s had shown that education could not depend on the initiative of private teachers or religious congregations or even on partially funded district and county schools. The population of Fort Wayne was growing, the economy industrializing, the need for a literate society increasing, and the demand for education expanding. There was, however, no clear route to teaching as a profession, no consistent way of insuring payment to teachers, thus no way of retaining teachers to maintain consistent educational opportunities.

In Indiana the legal framework for public schools was set in 1852, but the system progressed by fits and starts, going back and forth from public to private venture, entrepreneurial, or denominational, from publicly paid teachers to teachers paid according to other arrangements. Not until after the Civil War did public schools in Fort Wayne, and in Indiana, operate on firm legal and financial footing. By the late 1860s and 1870s many of the subscription and denominational schools had folded or merged with the public schools. Only the Catholic and Lutheran schools survived in what became parallel systems to the public schools, systems that still thrive in Fort Wayne.⁷⁰

Before public schools, teaching as a "profession" was defined by those with literary skills, which teachers exchanged for money or equivalents in kind. In Fort Wayne some subscription school teachers, both women and men, as exemplified by Man and Steevens, lived quite well. Most had no specific training for teaching. A few women had received some higher education at the then new women's schools in the East, others at female academies throughout the Midwest; men had received training in theology, law, or business. "Careers" in education were, for the most part, short, as tradition led men and women out of teaching. Men went on to other careers; most single women married. Competition among schools further shortened brief careers. Man noted the difficulty that competitors would have in surviving; the Fort Wayne Female Seminary of 1843 offered vocal music

⁶⁹ Although it was not the purpose of this article to discuss the initiators or opponents of public schools in Fort Wayne, the limited evidence that has emerged about them indicates that further study could prove helpful in understanding the complicated legal, legislative, and financial maneuvering that accompanied the birth of public schools. In Fort Wayne the public school system was shepherded into being by a group of locally prominent men who belonged to English-speaking religious congregations—most often Presbyterian or the reformed wing of other denominations—and who were usually Whigs, very successful bankers and businessmen, and community-minded activists and politicians.

⁷⁰ In Fort Wayne, Catholic and Lutheran schools, in the long run, proved most successful because they had, as the other schools did not, a ready supply of students with a clearly defined religious reason for attending a particular school; often a shared language other than English; teachers who were supported by the church; and administrators who were highly trained and remained in their positions long enough to oversee the development of the schools.

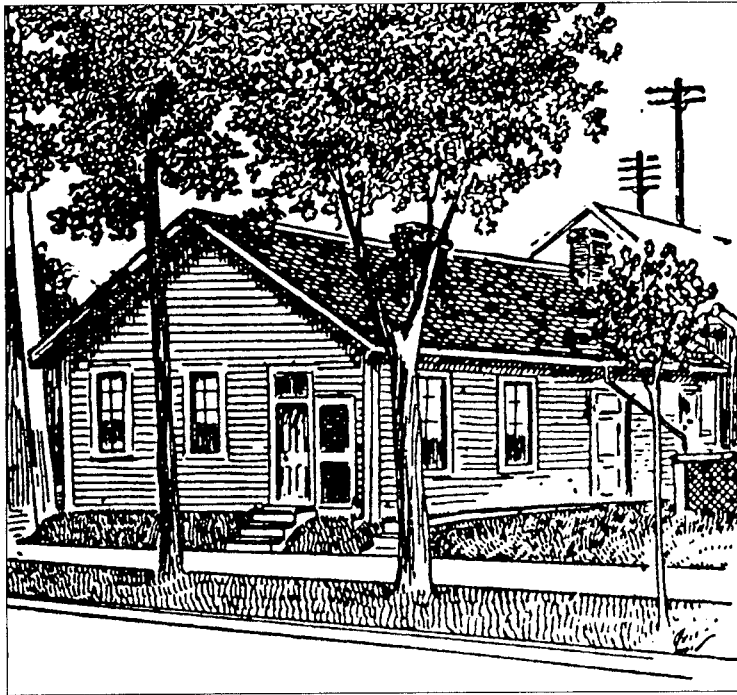
free of charge; the Catholic schools advertised their cheaper rates, with further reductions for families with more than one child attending. By 1853 there were many private venture and denominational schools in Fort Wayne, and the public schools had to enter the competition for scholars and teachers.

During the first half of the nineteenth century lines between public, private, and denominational schools were almost nonexistent. McCoy's missionary school took money from denominational, public, and individual sources. The county seminary, a public institution, charged tuition, as did most other schools. The school that opened in the Presbyterian church included religion in its curriculum, but it was first taught by a Lutheran minister. The school also welcomed children of all faiths, as did the Catholic schools. Teachers, such as Man and Hubbell, moved easily from a private venture school to a denominational school. Some ministers, such as Hoover, taught in schools not of their own faith or, as the Reverends Steevens, McJunkin, Large, and Battin, opened their own private schools. Presbyterian minister Irvin, who headed the Presbyterian academy, was hired to be the first superintendent of Fort Wayne's public schools. Battin, an Episcopalian minister, coveted Irvin's position when Irvin resigned. Later the Presbyterians sold their school to the public schools, as would several other denominations. Some of Fort Wayne's public schools were set up in what had been private venture schools, and a number of teachers in those schools were hired as Fort Wayne's first public school teachers.

The teaching profession, as it is defined today, began to evolve with the advent of the public schools. Increasingly, young, single women were hired to fill the new age-graded public schools in Fort Wayne and throughout the country.⁷¹ Before the establishment of the public school system, "young," "single," and "female" were not criteria for teaching in Fort Wayne. Although some young, single women did teach, so did married women, widowed women, and single and married men. Men and women often worked together out of their homes—or a schoolhouse, courthouse, jail, or church—as husband-wife, father-daughter, brother-sister, sister-sister, or mother-daughter teams. Marital and family relationships helped to define the work force.

Educational historians have examined the complicated interconnections in the nineteenth century between the extension of mass

⁷¹ This process, often referred to as the feminization of teaching, has been the focus of much study. For example, see Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 123-27; Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching* (Toronto, Canada, 1991); Tyack, *One Best System*, 59-65; and various chapters in Warren, *American Teachers*. Related resources include Fuller, *Old Country School*; Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier*; Keith Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800-1850* (New York, 1977); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973).

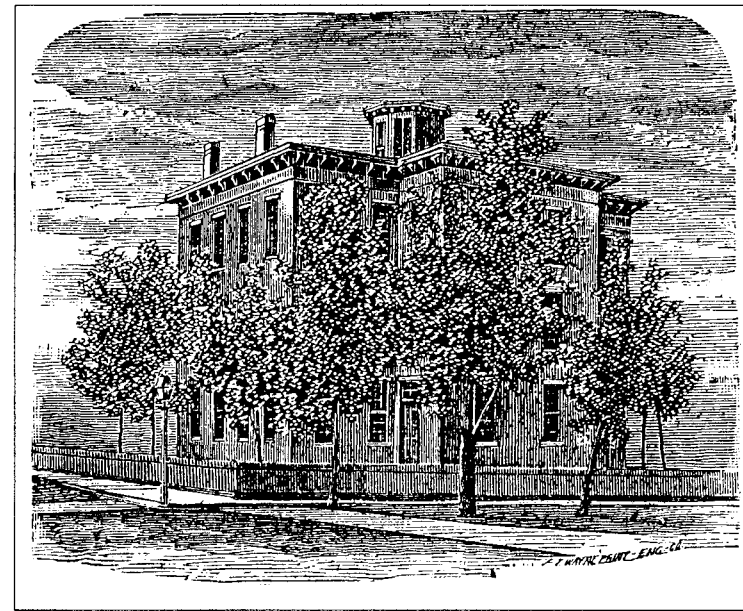


ONE OF FORT WAYNE'S FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOLS
THIS HOUSE WAS FIRST BUILT AND USED BY ALEXANDER MCJUNKIN FOR HIS PRIVATE SCHOOL.

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 346.

schooling and the expansion of the state, the changing nature of the family, and the development of the wage-labor system.⁷² Following the advent of public schooling in Fort Wayne, teachers, too, became an integral part of the emerging market economy. The number of teachers, students, and schools increased rapidly, and the nature of the family relations that existed within the educational labor force changed. Family roles no longer served as a sorting mechanism for the educational work force; family members no longer worked in schools as family members but as individuals. When brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters, and sisters taught in the public school system, they were hired as individuals to teach a specific grade or grades or, at the high school level, specific subjects. Because young, single women were cheapest to hire and, some theorists suggest, because they had the least power within the family hierarchy and were, thus, easily accom-

⁷²This thesis is clearly stated in Theobald and Selleck, *Family, School, and State in Australian History*.



CLAY SCHOOL BUILDING
COMPLETED IN 1856, THIS STRUCTURE WAS ONE OF THE FIRST CITY-OWNED PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Reproduced from B. J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1917), 433.

modated within the new hierarchical power relationships at work, they gradually became the most frequently hired. The result was an expanded, inexpensive educational labor force.⁷³

There was great diversity among the teachers in Fort Wayne during the first half of the nineteenth century—in their abilities and training, in their working conditions and pay, in the curriculum they taught, and in the type of discipline they practiced. In spite of this diversity, or possibly because of it, the schools in which they taught were unable to endure. As the state expanded its responsibilities to include education, “teaching” was redefined. Teachers received wages for their labor, were required to meet specific standards of training and performance, and were licensed by the state. Career paths changed in line with broader economic developments. No longer was teaching considered an apprenticeship for men’s careers in law, medicine, business, or religion. General education in academies or seminaries was no longer accepted as a sufficient “apprenticeship” for women

⁷³Minutes of the Board of Trustees, School City of Fort Wayne, May 1853–April 1869; Theobald and Selleck, *Family, School, and State in Australian History*.

teachers.⁷⁴ New methods of finance and organization and new ideologies set the stage for the expansion of education, for strict divisions between public, private, and religious education, and for the profession of teaching as it developed in the twentieth century.

Current discussions about the future of public education in Indiana and the United States suggest that the concept of "public," which expanded with the coming of state-supported schools in the nineteenth century, may be contracting because of efforts to privatize public schools. Research concerning the effects of such a change has focused on students, parents, curriculum, and financial resources. As a look at the evolution of the teaching profession in Fort Wayne indicates, an examination of the impact of changing conceptions of "public" and "private" on teachers themselves might also be beneficial. Since further evolution of the educational profession may again be in the offing, Fort Wayne's teachers in the mid-nineteenth century may still have much to teach.

⁷⁴Because of labor shortages, an increased division of labor as a result of industrialization, and the evolution of the wage-labor system, apprenticeship forms of training had been breaking down in the United States from colonial times on. At the same time new forms of training in professional schools were emerging. Cremin, *American Education*, 335-66.