DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 253 SO 023 431

AUTHOR Parker, Franklin

TITLE Teacher Education USA: Western Carolina University

Centennial in National Perspective.

PUB DATE 90 NOTE 14p.

PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Historical Materials

(060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education;

Guidelines; Higher Education; Teacher Certification;

*Teacher Education

IDENTIFIERS Madison (Robert Lee); National Board for Professional

Teaching Standards; *Normal Schools; *Western

Carolina University NC

ABSTRACT

Three events in U.S. teacher education are discussed: the founding of the first state supported normal school in Massachusetts in 1839, the founding of Western Carolina University in 1889 (Cullowee, North Carolina), and the announcement by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) in 1989 of guidelines for national certification of elementary and secondary school teachers to take effect in 1993. In exploring the reasons for the low status of teaching as a profession, this paper traces the history of teacher education from ancient through colonial and Victorian times. Normal schools were inspired by European models and provided a climate where teacher education could be idealized as a profession without the elite academy and college disdain. By 1900 U.S. teacher education was hindered by low pay, part year work with most schools open only 3 to 7 months a year, and unfair hiring practices in which relatives of school board members usually got the jobs. With the transformation of society from frontier-agrarian to urban-industrial after 1900, normal school training could no longer meet society's need for education. The institutions had to be upgraded or replaced by higher education programs. Opposition came from traditional eastern colleges and universities and the normal school officials. The application of science and psychology to education aided in the switch from normal schools to teacher colleges. In addition, the rising accreditation standards for teachers in the last few years have raised issues that may eventually help to elevate teaching to a higher status. (DK)



Teacher Education USA: Western Carolina University Centennial in National Perspective

> by Franklin Parker

> > U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
> > Office of Educational Research and Improvement EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as ecceived from the person or organization originating it

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-ment do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

-RANKLIN

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Franklin Parker
Distinguished Visiting Professor
School of Education and Psychology
Western Carolina University
Cullowhee, NC 28723

Teacher Education USA: Western Carolina University Centennial in National Perspective by Franklin Parker

The year 1989 marks three noteworthy events in U.S. teacher education: the founding of the first state-supported normal school, Lexington, MA, 1839, 150 years ago; the founding of Western Carolina University (WCU), Cullowhee, 1889, 100 years ago, where I teach; and notice on July 17,1989, by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) of guidelines for national certification of elementary and secondary school teachers, to begin in 1993.

This paper connects these events and explores reasons for low public esteem for teachers who, with parents and social agencies, help to pass on the culture to new generations.

WCU went through stages typical of U.S. teacher education. It began as a one-room private school, Cullowhee High School, 1889-91; was granted a state charter in 1891; received its first state grant of \$1,500 for a normal department within the high school in 1892; became Cullowhee Normal and Industrial School, 1905-25; Cullowhee State Normal School, 1925-29; Western Carolina Teachers College, 1929-53; Western Carolina College, 1953-67; and Western Carolina University, 1967, fifth oldest of 16 senior units of the University of North Carolina system. In 100 years WCU, the drcam and labor of founder Robert Lee Madison (1867-1954) and others, has grown from 18 students taught by one teacher, Madison, in one unfinished, unpainted building, to over 6,000 students, taught by 379 faculty, in 67 buildings, on 400 acres, representing assets of over \$150 million.

Teacher education at WCU is part of a large national enterprise. In 1989, 2.7 million teachers, most of them professionally prepared in 721 college and university members of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, taught some 45 million public elementary and secondary school students, at a total national cost of \$195.5 billion.

How did this huge teacher education enterprise begin and grow,



under what conditions, and amid what public attitudes?

Beginnings. Eric Hoffer has surmised that originally teachers and others who served tribal needs were probably less fit for hunting and combat. Greek and Roman teachers were invariably family servants. Some Greek sophists, skilled in teaching what young people needed for success in life, became wealthy. Quintilian, Roman teacher of Rhetoric, was respected enough to be paid a state subsidy. Most students at early universities became teachers. The Lutheran Reformation, which called for universal elementary education, also required that teachers be especially prepared. Yet, low status and low pay persisted, especially in the New World, as when The Maryland Journal, 1776, reported the arrival of cargo in Baltimore from Belfast and Cork of "various Irish commodities, among which are beef, pock, potatoes and schoolmasters."

There were highly respected teachers in the nine colonial colleges before the Revolution, including some New England Latin grammar school masters, such as Ezekiel Cheever (1615-1708). graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. Yet, most teachers in schools for the common people were untrained, little esteemed, and poorly paid: older women in "dame schools," exsoldiers, indentured servants, and some holding other jobs or otherwise unemployed. People struggling for a living on a new continent took what they could get as teachers. Benjamin Franklin noted in 1750 that we are "suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters." He thought that some teachers could be prepared in the Philadelphia Academy he helped found (1753). It was modeled after academies he knew about as an apprentice printer in London. English Quakers, Baptists, and other dissenters started academies because their sons were barred from Church of England-controlled Oxford and Cambridge Because academies were terminal secondary schools offering practical subjects, they appealed to rising middle class Americans as an alternative to college-entry oriented Latin grammar schools. Some private academies trained teachers, such as the early Zion Parnassus Academy, near Salisbury, NC (1785). Congregational minister Samuel Read Hall (1795-1877) was called a "teacher of teachers" because of his private academy in Concord, VT, until 1830; his teachers' seminary, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA; and his similar seminaries in Plymouth. NH, 1837, and Craftsbury, VT, 1840. Hall's Lectures on Schoolkeeping, 1829, was used as a textbook in normal schools until the 1850s.



L

For a few years after 1827, New York State subsidized academies to prepare teachers. Academies, however, were mainly private, multipurpose institutions whose teacher education departments were often looked down upon. Colleges, firm in the liberal arts tradition, disdained offering any professional training. A Yale College report of 1828 held that college education should be selective, intellectual, general, and not for professional training. Had early college leaders included teacher education as a liberal arts and science responsibility, teachers' status and image might have been different. Unwelcome in academies, colleges, and the relatively few high schools, teacher education had no real home until the coming of normal schools.

Normal Schools. Inspired by European models, particularly in Prussia, and closely tied to common schools ("common" in the sense of belonging to all the people), normal schools provided a climate where teacher education could be idealized as a profession and realized without elite academy and cellege disdain. Early normal school leaders knew that existing institutions could not train, even if they wanted to, the many teachers needed to safeguard and perpetuate a growing, changing representative form of government.

Imbued with missionary zeal to promote common schools, Massachusetts legislator James G. Carter (1795-1849) helped create the State Board of Education, the first permanent one in the U.S. He convinced fellow legislator Horace Mann (1795-1859) to serve as its first secretary for 12 fruitful years.

On a 41-day return ship voyage from Liverpool to New York. The Reverend Charles Brooks (1795-1872) talked with a Dr. Julius of Hamburg, knowledgeable about normal schools in France (Ecole Normale, where elementary teachers are still trained, origin of the name), Holland, and especially Prussia, which used the child-centered and practical teaching methods of Swiss educator Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Brooks also communicated with French educator Victor Cousin (1792-1867), whose slogan he carried throughout Massachusetts: "As is the teacher, so is the school." Brooks lectured before state legislatures in New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The work on behalf of normal schools was also aided by Calvin E. Stowe (1802-86), Harriet Beecher Stowe's husband, whose report, Elementary Education in Europe (1837), was widely circulated. 1838, Edmund Dwight, Boston businessman on the Massachusetts Board of Education, offered \$10,000 to be matched by the state for 3 normal schools.



5

The first state-supported normal school opened in Lexington, MA, July 3, 1839, with 3 female students and The Reverend Cyrus Peirce of Nantucket as principal-teacher. The second state-supported normal school opened September 4, 1839, at Barre; and the third at Bridgewater, MA, September 9, 1840. Later from Bridgewater came 26 graduates to head normal schools in 10 states from Maine to California.

New York State, which had subsidized teacher education in high schools and academies, authorized a normal school at Albany,1844, headed by David Perkins Page (1810-48) of Newburyport, MA, whose <u>Theory and Practice of Teaching</u>, 1847, was used for 50 years in normal schools.

Oswego (NY) Normal School, 1867, became important. Its head, Edward Austin Sheldon (1832-97), at a Toronto, Canada, educators' meeting had acquired Pestalozzian-based teacher training manuals published in London by the Society for the Promotion of Knowledge. He used these at Oswego and also brought over from the English Home and Colonial Infant Society a Margaret E. M. Jones to help spread Pestalozzian methods. Oswego's normal school graduates were in great demand, employed widely throughout the U.S., and carried with them Pestalozzian teaching methods. By 1868, New York State had 8 normal schools.

Henry Barnard promoted normal schools as secretary of the Board of Common Schools in Connecticut, in a similar position in Rhode Island, and in Wisconsin, where he was chancellor and professor of normal instruction at the University of Wisconsin, 1859.

Normal school enrollment grew from three in July 1839 to over 23,000 in 1875 in 70 state-supported normal schools in 25 states plus some 10 county-supported and 10 city-supported ones. Each had a model school for student teaching practice, later called practice or laboratory schools. In the South, which had only 2 state normal schools before the Civil War (in Louisiana and South Carolina), 10 more were founded between 1870-75.

Normal school growth was aggressive in the Midwest and western states, where public school systems were just forming and where higher education was less entrenched than in the East. Normal schools were of high school, not college level; prepared teachers in elementary school subjects, adding courses in history of education and the art of teaching, besides supervised practice teaching. As normal schools became secure, their courses were extended from 1 to 2 to 3 years' duration.



North Carolina. Already mentioned was the early teacher education at Zion Parnassus Academy, Salisbury, 1785, said to be the first academy specifically to prepare teachers. Its founder, Samuel E. McCorkle, was, some ten years later, an original trustee and teacher at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, the first U.S. state university to offer instruction (1795). Another North Carolina connection involved Calvin H. Wiley (1819–87), UNC Chapel Hill graduate (1840) and later first state superintendent of public school instruction (1853–66). He represented Guilford County in the North Carolina Senate when he was urged in a December 24, 1850, letter to support a bill giving funds to make Union Institute Academy into a normal college. The bill, passed that year, created Normal College, which became Trinity College, 1852, and then Duke University, Durham.

North Carolina's 1868 constitution called for "normal instruction" for whites at Chapel Hill and for blacks at Fayetteville, which the General Assembly authorized and funded March 9, 1877. With additional Peabody Fund aid, normal school activity at Chapel Hill began as summer institutes for teachers, 1877-84, believed to be the first university summer school for teachers in the U.S. The Chapel Jill Normal Summer Schools led to a flowering of public school growth. Directly involved was Edwin A. Alderman (1861-1931), Chapel Hill graduate (1882), superintendent of Goldsboro public schools, cofounder and faculty member of the State Normal and Industrial School (1892-93, now UNC-Greensboro). Chapel Hill professor of the history and philosophy of education (1893), and Chapel Hill president (1896-1900). Also involved were Charles D. McIver (1860-1906), who conducted county education institutes for teachers cofounded (1891) the normal school for women which became UNC-Greensboro; James Y. Joyner (1862-1954), Chapel Hill graduate (1881) and state superintendent of public school instruction (1901-19); and public school supportor Governor Charles B. Aycock (1859-1912).

The Normal Summer School was revived during 1895-1905. Chapel Hill departments also offered "special courses adapted to teachers" three months per year, 1889-93. These programs helped lay the foundation for UNC-Chapel Hill's Department of Pedagogy and later School of Education. E.A. Alderman as professor of the history and philosophy of education was succeeded by M.C.S. Noble, Chapel Hill graduate (1879), as professor of pedagogy (1898-1912), and then as dean of the new School of Education (1912-34). Normal school activity spread to western Carolina in



.1892 with the \$1,500 state grant for a normal department at Cullowhee high school.

In West Virginia, the first governor, Arthur I. Boreman, on January 16, 1866, asked the legislature to establish a state normal school. The bill was introduced, defeated, then passed in 1867. A normal school was opened at already existing Marshall Academy, Huntington, June 1868. Five other normal schools followed: Fairmont, 1868; West Liberty, 1870; Glenville and Shepardstown, 1873; and at Concord near Athens, 1875. These 6 later added arts and science to teacher education and became state teachers colleges, 1931, and state colleges, 1943.

Public high schools grew rapidly after the 1874 Kalamazoo case (MI) gave legal precedent to use of local taxes for public high schools. Colleges and universities found that more of their graduates were teaching in high schools. By 1890, 114 colleges and universities, out of a total of 400 in the U.S., offered education courses or programs. But their output was small, with only 8 percent of all students in higher education taking teacher education courses.

National Transition After 1900. Problems besetting U.S. teacher education about 1900 included low pay, part-year work (because schools were open only 3 to 7 months a year), and unfair hiring practices. Relatives of school board members usually got the teaching jobs. With career prospects so unattractive, relatively few able young people cared to spend time and money for teacher education in normal school, college, or university. Few wanted to become teachers at all.

The National Teachers Association, founded 1857 and reorganized in 1870 as the National Education Association (NEA), was concerned with recruiting teachers, supporting normal schools, promoting teachers' institutes, and raising salaries. It had little control over teacher certification, which was local and district-controlled until supplanted by state certification. The need for teachers was so great that state certification requirements were minimal and often bypassed. With so many teachers needed and so few trained, teacher quality was inevitably poor.

The U.S. was transformed around 1900 from a frontier-agrarian to an industrial-urban society. Immigration and natural population increase played their role. Canals, railroads, oil, inventions, and factories made the U.S. a vast producer and consumer nation. School enrollment in 1894 was 16 million: 15.5 million in elementary schools (90 percent public, 10 percent



private), 408,000 in secondary schools (60 percent public, 40 percent private), and 176,000 in higher education. Of every 1,000 students, 964 were in elementary schools, 26 in secondary schools, and 10 in colleges. City schools operated 200 days per year; rural schools ranged from 70 to 150 days per year. There were 440,000 teachers: one-third men, averaging \$45 per month in 1891; two-thirds women, averaging \$37 per month--both earning about the same as an unskilled laborer.

By 1900 the 132 public normal schools (enrolling 31,792 students) and 47 private normal schools (enrolling 10,575 students) graduated about 6,000 teachers a year. These, plus 4,000 graduates from college and university teacher education programs, totaled 10,000 new teachers per year, or only a fourth of those needed. Under 15 percent of elementary and secondary school teachers had any professional training. The over 85 percent untrained teachers were high school graduates or, in rural areas, mostly 8th grade graduates, needing such inservice programs as teacher institutes, summer schools, Chautauqua-like adult education programs, and university extension and correspondence courses.

Normal school training, which could not meet the new century's school needs, had to be upgraded or be replaced by higher education programs. Before 1900, many professional groups did not require a college degree. In 1880, 26.4 percent of theology students, 24.1 percent of law students, and only 7.9 percent of medical students held college degrees. The battle to give teachers a status comparable to other professions was fought in the press, other pulpits, at NEA national conventions, and in the NEA's Department of Superintendence, an influential U.S. educational policymaking body.

Higher education, too, was in reform. Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot's elective system, a wider range of major-minor subject areas, graduate schools, and summer schools were gaining wide acceptance. Late 19th century resistance to the "New Education," that included professional training in colleges and universities, came from traditional New England and other eastern colleges and universities wanting to hold on to classical and traditional studies. Opposition to university-trained teachers also came from normal school officials who, though admitting deficiencies, wanted to retain monopoly.

University responsibility for teacher education began as early as 1855, when the University of Iowa established a normal



department, dropped in 1873 because of pressure from normal schools. In 1861-63 the University of Michigan first offered teacher education courses; then established a chair in the art and science of teaching, held by William H. Payne (continued in an Education Department until 1927, when the School of Education was established). A School of Pedagogy opened at the University of Washington in 1898 but was closed in 1901.

Normal school defenders, such as the president of the State Normal School, Kirksville, MO, said that normal schools in Missouri had better facilities and faculty than typical colleges of the Mississippi Valley, that normal school teachers were better trained and more sympathetic to students than were university-prepared teachers. Other normal school leaders such as Francis Wayland Parker, head of Cook County Normal School, near Chicago, believed that normal schools were no longer adequate. U.S. Commissioner of Education William T. Harris compromised by saying that normal schools should prepare elementary school teachers and universities prepare secondary school teachers. Others also proposed cooperation between normal schools and universities. But partnership was not to be. By about 1905 normal schools grudgingly gave ground and accepted college and university leadership in teacher education.

The changeover was aided by the application of science and psychology to education, particularly child study research under President G. Stanley Hall at Clark University, Worcester, MA. Child study associations were formed and child study became an important topic at local, state, and national education meetings. Some, such as German psychologist Hugo Munsterberg, who replaced William James as head of Harvard University's experimental psychology laboratory, said that education was an art, not a science. His was a losing minority view. The science of education was backed by John Dewey, who called his practice school at the University of Chicago a laboratory school; by Charles A. McMurray and Charles DeGarmo, who were spreading Herbartian psychology they had learned at the University of Jena; and by Columbia University Teachers College psychologists James McKeen Cattell and Edward L. Thorndike. G.S. Hall, predicting that normal schools would attach themselves to universities, pointed to Columbia University's Teachers College and to the merger of F.W. Parker's Cook County Normal School with the University of Chicago's Education Department as the coming trend. John Dewey's April 1898 lectures, which form the first 3

 $\tilde{0}$



chapters of his <u>School</u> and <u>Society</u>, 1899, urged that teaching theory and practice be united in university departments of education. William James, too, in his influential books, <u>Principles of Psychology</u>, 1890, and <u>Talks to Teachers on Psychology</u>, 1899, strengthened teaching as a science and as a university discipline.

Normal Schools to Teachers Colleges. Opinion crystallized among normal school defenders that they should continue preparing elementary school teachers but that colleges and universities should prepare secondary school teachers. normal schools that required 4 years of high school for admission, had a four-year teacher education program, and gave a bachelor's degree became teachers colleges--multipurpose institutions which added arts and science degrees to their By one account, Michigan original teacher education programs. State Normal College, Ypsilanti, was the "first normal school to become a teachers college" by legislative action, 1903, conferring its first bachelor of arts degree in 1905. source dates the Ypsilanti, MI, changeover in 1897 and lists a second teachers college in New Mexico in 1899. By 1915, 18 teachers colleges had been established, all but two in the Midwest and West. By 1931, 156 teachers colleges existed.

The post-World War II GI Bill brought some 7 million veterans into higher education. Many teachers colleges, which had to admit large numbers not interested in preparing for teaching, strengthened their arts and science undergraduate and graduate programs, became state colleges in the 1950s and branches of state universities in the 1960s. In 1947, 47 percent of the 127 teachers colleges reported their institutions as multipurpose regional colleges.

Rising Accreditation Standards. Organizations pressing to raise teacher education standards include the Holmes Group, representing 97 prestigious research university schools of education; the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), which set national teacher certification guidelines, July 17, 1989; the National Council on the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE, since 1954), which accredits schools of education; and the 721-institution member American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE, since 1948), representing over two-thirds of U.S. teacher education instituons; evolved from the American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1917, successor to the American Normal School Association, 1855).



NBPTS, founded 1987, arose from the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy report, <u>A Nation Prepared: Teachers For The 21st Century</u>, 1986. Its intent is to begin the first voluntary national certification of teachers. The goal is to supplement with higher standards but not to supplant state certification, which has historically used minimum standards. NBPTS, by identifying a teacher education knowledge base in 29 subjects and areas (English, math, early childhood education, others) and by testing candidates on that knowledge base, wants to assure teacher quality and also to influence teacher education colleges and universities to upgrade their professional programs.

Advocates hope that NBPTS-certified teachers, with demonstrated teacher competence and backed by genuine public esteem, will command higher salaries, better professional teaching conditions, and increments based on experience and training up to \$75,000 annually and more. Still unresolved in the debate on national certification is the impact on teachers from the minorities, whose numbers are already declining (will the tests exclude them?).

AACTE voted in September 1989 not to support NBPTS because it proposed national certification eligibility for anyone with a bachelor's degree and three years' teaching experience. "There is nothing more variable"...than the quality of undergraduate programs and the first three years of teaching experience, said AACTE President John I. Goodlad. He and others prefers that only graduates of teacher education programs be eligible for national certification.

NCATE's tougher standards in 1989 resulted in denying approval of 14 institutions, or one—third of schools of education up for re—accreditation. If NBPTS's national certification promises rising standards in the future, NCATE's non—accreditation is of immediate crucial importance. Like NBPTS, NCATE, too, is searching for a knowledge base on which to raise teacher education standards.

Conclusion. In Chicago on October 11–12, 1989, elections gave power to parents who will form 60 percent of those on 540 separate school councils intended to give direction to the third largest and historically the worst run U.S. inner city school system. In Los Angeles in May 1989 teachers won the right to form half the membership of school councils and so influence the future of the second largest city school system. President Bush at the University of Virginia on September 28–29 brought together state governors in an Education Summit that raised



. school reform high on the national agenda. Thus, 150 years after the founding of the first state normal school, 100 years after the founding of Western Carolina University, teacher education and the role of teachers as professionals are sharply in the nation's consciousnes.

<u>Bibliographic Note</u>. Histories of state normal schools and their transition to state teachers colleges and then university schools of education include:

Merle L. Borrowman, <u>The Liberal and Technical in Teacher</u>
<u>Education: A Historical Survey of American Though</u>t. New York:
Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University,
1956.

Merle L. Borrowman, ed., <u>Teacher Education in America</u>: <u>A Documentary History</u>. Classics in Education No. 24. New York: Teachers College Press, 1965.

Benjamin W. Frazier, et al., "History of the Professional Education of Teachers in the United States," <u>National Survey of the Education of Teachers</u>, Vol. 5, Bulletin 1933, No. 10. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935, pp. 1-86.

Charles A. Harper, <u>A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools</u>. Washington, DC: National Education Association of the United States, 1939.

Walter Scott Monroe, <u>Teaching-Learning Theory and Teacher</u> <u>Education 1890–1950</u>. New York: <u>Greenwood Press</u>, 1952.

Useful dissertations include:

William Lyle Evernden, "The Profe sional Status of Teachers in the Southern Appalachian Region." Ed.D., University of Tennessee, 1959.

Edward Rutkowski, "A Study of Various Viewpoints Expressed Concerning the Establishment of University Schools of Education During Their Formative Years 1890–1905." Ph.D., Michigan State University, 1963.

Arnold Lee Thomasson, "A Half Century of Teacher Training in State Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges of the United States, 1890–1940." Ph.D., University of Illinois, 1942.

Early North Carolina teacher education, including at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is described in the following:

Elisabeth Ann Bowles, <u>A Good Beginning</u>: The First Four <u>Decades</u> of the <u>University of North Carolina at Greensboro</u>. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.

Robert D. W. Connor, North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient



*Commonwealth 1584-1925. 4 vols. Chicago: American Historical Society, 1929. Chapter 40 and 42 in Volume II.

Edgar W. Knight, "The Contribution of the University to Public Education," The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications: The Chronicles of the Sesquicentennial. Edited by Louis Round Wilson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. 142-88.

Edgar W. Knight, <u>Fifty Years of American Education: A Historical Review and Critical Appraisal</u>. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1952.

Edgar W. Knight, <u>Public School Education in North Carolina</u>. Boston: 1916.

Jean Ellen Magers, "Education," in <u>The History of Jackson County</u>. Edited by Max R. Williams. Sylva, NC: Jackson County Historical Association, 1987, pp. 281-347.

Marcus C. S. Noble, <u>A History of the Public Schools of North</u>

<u>Carolina</u>. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, <u>Impressions of Men and Movements</u>

at the University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

Louis Round Wilson, <u>Louis Round Wilson's Historical Sketches.</u> Durham, NC: Moore Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 385-86.

Louis Round Wilson, <u>The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930: The Making of a Modern University</u>. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

Western Carolina University origins and growth are described in:

News clippings, etc., "Robert Lee Madison Papers," Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC.

Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times (September 30, 1989), p. 1B. William E. Bird, The History of Western Carolina College; The Progress of an Idea. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

Sylva (NC) Herald and Ruralite (September 7, 1989), pp. 16A, 17; (September 28, 1989), pp. 5, 17, 26, 39.

The Western Carolinian (Cullowhee, NC) (September 14, 1989), p. 1.

