

# THE HISTORY OF THE TUSCARORA FEMALE SEMINARY

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**ABSTRACT:** The Tuscarora Female Seminary played a unique role in women's education in Juniata County, being the only secondary school established to educate young women. It began in 1847 and educated young women for almost twenty-five years; however, its story has been neglected by historians and further obscured by poor documentation. This article is an opportunity to finally tell its story.

**KEYWORDS:** academia, Pennsylvania, women's education, Tuscarora Female Seminary, Juniata County

The Tuscarora Female Seminary played a unique role in women's education in Juniata County, being the only secondary school established there to educate young women. It began in 1847 in the humble surroundings of Alexander Patterson's home in Spruce Hill Township; he was a gentleman farmer and is credited with the school's establishment.<sup>1</sup> The school educated young women for almost twenty-five years until 1872, and then again in 1878–79; yet its story has been neglected by historians and further obscured by poorly documented research. County histories like Ellis and Hungerford's *History of that Part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys* and Uriah J. Jones's badly flawed *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* failed to mention the seminary although they were published in 1886 and 1889 respectively, only a decade after its last year of operation, when memories would have been fresh and unclouded.<sup>2</sup> This lack of a written history encouraged the spread of a verbal history, only amended when a brief paragraph on the seminary appeared within an article about the better-known Tuscarora Academy for boys published in the *Juniata Tribune*, September 26, 1929:

A female academy or seminary stood near the Tuscarora Academy and flourished for many years. The history of this institution is even more obscure than that of the boy's school, since it was abandoned as a school long before the Academy. It is said that it did not survive the Civil War as many students were belles from the aristocratic families south of the Mason-Dixon Line and if the school did not pass out of existence immediately after the declaration of war, it was abandoned soon after because of lack of patronage.

The *Tribune's* writer never mentioned his or her sources and, unfortunately, no investigation of this information was done even when it was published in two twentieth-century local histories.

This article, therefore, is an effort to ameliorate this neglect and to tell a more nuanced version of the Tuscarora Female Seminary and its nearly quarter-century of educating women. This includes the stories of its seven principal-proprietors, a few of the many female teachers, the influence of the Evangelical Christians, and the curriculum of mathematics and science. We will also examine the often-repeated verbal history arising from the *Juniata Tribune* article to see how much truth it holds.

Secondary education for females, like that provided at the Tuscarora Female Seminary, was the responsibility of the family. By 1838 many "Young Ladies Seminaries," or "Female Institutes," had sprung up as attitudes about governmental support of higher education were changing in the country. The Pennsylvania General Assembly in their 1838 session appropriated funds "to encourage the Arts and Sciences, promote the teaching of useful knowledge and support . . . Female Academies."<sup>3</sup> This legislation was an outgrowth of the 1834 Free Public School Act in which the state began providing free elementary education for all children. Though met with a firestorm of opposition, it was eventually passed by the General Assembly in April 1835, with strong support from then-State Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Governor George Wolf.<sup>4</sup>

By 1847, when founder Andrew Patterson (director, 1847–53) created his school, attitudes about women's intellectual abilities had undergone a fundamental change: women were now viewed as intellectually equal to men and therefore entitled to a comparable education. This has not always been the case. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, women faced serious obstacles to education. By tradition their intellect was judged inferior to men, assigned simply to natural innate abilities; women were insightful

and intuitive but also flighty and emotional. Deep-rooted beliefs held that women's capricious nature seriously hindered their ability to reason. Others argued that the female mind was much too delicate for education and did not possess adequate intellectual stamina for the creative process; if she did achieve intellectually, the mental strain would imperil her health and reproductive capabilities.<sup>5</sup> Religion also played a role proscribing female education. Literal interpretation of scripture was used to argue that God intended women to be subordinate and this was confirmed by the events of the Fall of Adam and Eve.<sup>6</sup> Even St. Paul's words in the New Testament were used by clergymen to legitimize women's subordinate position and men's dominion by asserting that education would ruin her for marriage because she would be unwilling to submit to her husband's authority (see fig. 1). Middle-class parents were not educating their daughters for the same purpose as their sons, to enter the workforce. Rather, daughters were expected to marry and raise a family and confine themselves to the private sphere of the home. If they choose to work, it was expected it would only be temporary. Men, however, were entitled to the public sphere, the arena of politics and the market place.

Two pioneer women educators led the way in overcoming barriers to female education, Emma Hart Willard (1781–1870) and Mary Lyon (1797–1849). Each achieved an unusual education for her time and went on to establish



FIGURE 1 Alexander Patterson, cased image ca. 1850. Courtesy of Adam Gilson.

leading women's schools. Willard moved to Troy, New York, and in 1821, with the town council's help, founded the Troy Female Seminary, a leader for including science, mathematics, and social studies in its curriculum. Willard successfully used the ideal of "republican motherhood," the belief that educated mothers raised better citizen-sons as an argument for women's education. Lyon, after obtaining an education, taught and studied at several schools in western Massachusetts. In 1837 she opened Mount Holyoke in South Hadley. Here women were educated within a single building whose design was based on the current asylum-style architecture.<sup>7</sup> The architecture provided for and ordered all aspects of student life: living space, bedrooms, classrooms, laboratories, and work areas for domestic staff. Math, science, history, and religion were studied under a rhythm of life that revolved around a defined schedule of classroom lectures, time for study and private reflection, devotions, recreation, and household duties. All this occurred within a large building designed like a home to house students and teachers together in a communal family. Mary Lyon's educational philosophy became the model for female seminaries throughout the country.

Willard's and Lyon's influence will be seen in the courses of study at the Tuscarora Female Seminary from the earliest, when founder Patterson included math and science courses, and through the decades of the 1850s and 1860s with advanced mathematics, science, and—surprisingly—calisthenics. Lyon's influence is also seen in the architectural design chosen for the seminary building in Academia, which provided a safe and structured environment as well as the goals detailed in the Tuscarora Female Institute's circular to prepare young women for a Christian life in the nineteenth century.

In addition to Willard's and Lyon's efforts to prove women's intellectual abilities, four major influences contributed to the growth of their advanced education: (1) the Second Great Awakening, a Protestant religious revival, occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; (2) a new middle class arising out of a capitalist system that desired and could pay the expense of a daughter's education; (3) the demand for more teachers in the common school systems that were developing in each state; (4) and women's desire to be economically self-sufficient, brought on by the nascent women's movement of the 1840s.<sup>8</sup>

The Second Great Awakening, a continuation of the evangelical movement, confined primarily to Methodists and Baptists, was largely responsible for the proliferation of women's seminaries in operation throughout the country by mid-century. While these schools had an evangelical Protestant

orientation, they did not teach their specific doctrines; however, they did require their students to attend chapel services, often morning and evening and church on Sunday. Evangelical Christians believed that their mission was to Christianize the nation. While evangelicals charged both men and women with creating God's kingdom on earth, women, in their roles as wife and mother, played a central role in the creation of a moral American society. Women's education was seen as the essential component to achieve this goal; America's destiny was in their hands as they reared the next generation of the nation's citizens. This ideal of "republican motherhood," fused with the fervor of evangelical Christians, was a catalyst in advancing women's education.

About the same time, the nation's industrialization and manufacturing of goods created business and job opportunities with higher salaries for men who until then had filled the teaching ranks. Men were no longer willing to fill lower-paying teaching positions. At the same time, there was a heightened demand for teachers because of the increasing number of common or elementary schools being established by a number of states. This occurred in Pennsylvania after the passage of the Free School Act of 1834. An inadequate supply of male teachers gave women their opportunity to move into these positions. School boards burdened financially from the costs of building schools and paying teachers' salaries opted to pay women substantially less than what they paid men; but women, eager to teach and interested in finding ways to become independent and to support themselves, willingly accepted this inequity.<sup>9</sup>

For his first session Patterson tried to recruit a young woman from Washington Female Seminary, Washington, Pennsylvania, for a teaching position. In a surviving letter dated April 28, 1846, Sarah Black, a student at the seminary, replied to Patterson's offer, turning it down because she would not graduate until September 1846, but she recommended Margaret C. Whyte, who was "well qualified for filling such a situation and one who can go immediately."<sup>10</sup> Sarah Black later joined Whyte at the school as both their names appeared in Patterson's advertisement printed by the *Juniata Sentinel's* job office dated October 27, 1847.<sup>11</sup> A Miss Tisdale served as a teacher as well until she left to marry Dr. Ezra Wilson; nothing else is known about her.<sup>12</sup> Annie Kennedy was headmistress at the school beginning in the fall of 1848.<sup>13</sup> She was educated at the Octorara Female Seminary in Oxford, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and remained as headmistress for two and a half years until her marriage to Dr. John P. Sterrett on November 27, 1850.<sup>14</sup> Patterson's daughter, Margaret—and possibly daughter Nancy as well—worked as a

teacher perhaps even after the school moved to Academia.<sup>15</sup> In July 1853 Patterson hired Nancy Williams, of Newark Valley, Tioga County, New York. Her letter of acceptance described the route she would take to get to Juniata County: "I go to Corning, from there to Blassburgh [Blossburg,] thence to Williamsport, from there on the canal to the junction, then take the cars to Perrysville."<sup>16</sup>

Patterson's students were offered beginner classes in reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic and advanced classes in algebra, geometry, geography, mental and moral philosophy, and religion. For additional charges the young ladies could take French, drawing, piano, and ornamental needlework. The students were also charged for board, washing, and light.<sup>17</sup> A beginner's tuition, including the extra charges, amounted to \$27 per eleven-week quarter (equivalent in 2015 to \$1,187.00); advanced classes including extra charges were \$28.50 (or \$1,253.00).<sup>18</sup>

By the early 1850s Patterson's school had earned an excellent reputation among young women eager for an education as two letters attest: "I am wanting to know the terms on which scholars are taken in at your school as I want if nothing happens to come to your school this fall."<sup>19</sup> Another dated October 20, 1851, stated "my sister hearing of your institution as being one of the first in the state she wishes to come here this session."<sup>20</sup> The school remained in Patterson's home until Rev. William S. Garthwait opened the school in Academia in 1854.

Reverend William Styles Garthwait (1854–57), is responsible for the next phase of the Seminary's history and for building the huge stone Gothic Revival mansion in Academia on the hill above the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church. He came to Academia as the co-principal of the Tuscarora Academy for the 1852–53 school term.<sup>21</sup> Founded in 1837, the Tuscarora Academy trained young men in a classical education that prepared many for the ministry and some for teaching.

Garthwait shared leadership of the Academy in 1852–53 with Rev. George W. Thompson, minister at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church. This was an important term for the academy, as a fire the previous year had destroyed the school's dormitory. Prior to the fire the student population numbered over 100, but had declined dramatically due to lack of dormitory space. Trustees raised funds privately and collected some insurance money to erect a new brick building and remodel another.<sup>22</sup> The trustees were hopeful that the new dormitories would increase enrollment as tuition monies were essential for the academy's continued operation.

Having enough funds to meet a school's expenses was always an issue, but especially when constructing buildings. Infrequently, capital funds were acquired from an individual who expected investment returns, but it was a rare situation when a school generated profits. Some schools received capital funds from individuals who donated money with no expectations. Other schools received small donations from many individuals and conducted fundraising events to raise the needed capital. Churches like the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterians supported schools but there is no evidence that either the academy or the Female Seminary received financial assistance, for example, from the Presbyterian Board of Education.<sup>23</sup> The most stable method of providing capital funds occurred when the community provided the financial support through school taxes. Most risky was a loan from a bank or individual; institutions had enough difficulty paying the costs of operating the school let alone the cost of interest and repaying a debt.<sup>24</sup>

By 1854 Tuscarora Academy's student population had recovered with 150 young men enrolled. At this time, although sectional differences between North and South were increasing, southern students were still coming north for their education as the Academy's roster demonstrates: of the 150 students, 20 were Virginian, 9 were from Maryland, and 4 were from Alabama, the total 22 percent of the class.

At the Tuscarora Female Seminary southern women made up a much smaller proportion of the student body. One statement from the *Juniata Tribune's* 1929 story relates that southern women attended the seminary and that their withdrawal after the onset of the Civil War caused the school's demise. A recently discovered 1856 catalog for the Female Seminary, however, reveals a roster of 73 students; of these, 2 were from Virginia and 4 from Maryland; of the rest, 55 were from Pennsylvania, 11 from New Jersey, and 1 from New York. Twenty-seven of the Pennsylvanians were from Juniata County. The roster establishes that southern students comprised only 8 percent of the student body and Juniata County natives 37 percent.<sup>25</sup>

Southern students made up similar proportions of the student population at the Washington Female Seminary in Washington, Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Female College in Montgomery County. For the Washington Female Seminary, between 1855 and 1860 11 of the 133 students enrolled were southern, or 8 percent.<sup>26</sup> At the Montgomery County Pennsylvania Female College (there was a school of the same name in Harrisburg, 1856–60) between 1851 and 1856, there were fifteen southern women representing 3 percent of the total enrollment of 463.<sup>27</sup> Between 1857 and 1861, of the

166 students, 4 were southern, being 2.5 percent of the total enrollment.<sup>28</sup> This is important, as none of the other female seminaries or the academy had southern students in the majority, and it sheds new light on the often-repeated portion of the *Tribune's* story that southern student withdrawal from the Female Seminary caused its demise; since they were not in the majority, their withdrawal would not have had much impact. But enrollment is known to have declined after the onset of the Civil War at both the Washington, Pennsylvania, and Montgomery County seminaries, as well as Tuscarora Academy.<sup>29</sup> Therefore it is very likely that enrollment at the Tuscarora Female Seminary dropped, too, from the loss of southern students, but also because students from other states and parts of Pennsylvania dropped out as well.

Garthwait likely became principal and proprietor of the Tuscarora Female Seminary for the spring term of 1854 as a *Huntingdon Globe* letter to the editor reported.<sup>30</sup> Additional supporting evidence comes from two tuition receipts identified with "Academia" along with a date indicating the school had moved from Alexander Patterson's home. The first, dated May 3, 1854, and signed by Garthwait, acknowledged "the sum of twenty-five dollars . . . for Lavinia Hart at the Tus. Fem. Seminary during the summer term of 1854." The second, dated September 22, 1854, states "received of Mr. Jacob Adams by the hands of Mrs. Hart the sum of thirty-six dollars for the expenses of her daughter at the Tus. Fem. Seminary during the term ending September 23, 1854" (see fig. 2).<sup>31</sup>

Garthwait recognized the need for a women's school as a business opportunity: since Academia was the home of the prestigious Tuscarora Academy, why not expand the Tuscarora Female Seminary to a similar size? A large amount of capital funds was required to construct a school building for that many students: it had to provide the proper security and moral environment, classrooms and dormitories, as well as kitchen, laundry, and other work

FIGURE 2 May 23, 1854 receipt for Lavinia Hart. Courtesy of the author.



spaces for the domestic staff. Garthwait chose the riskiest option for establishing his school by purchasing on credit sixty-five acres of land for \$1,632 and borrowing \$7,000 from Aaron O. Price, his brother-in law, to construct his building.<sup>32</sup> The mansion was finished at least by June 25, 1856, when a letter to the editor of the *Huntingdon Globe* was published with the following remarks: "This institution was founded in 1854 by Rev. Wm. Garthwait, of New Jersey. The building is large and convenient; commanding an extensive prospect of the surrounding country. The grounds are being laid out and beautified with ornamental trees."<sup>33</sup>

When completed, the seminary was a huge, imposing building in the Gothic Revival style, about 130 feet long and 30 feet wide, and constructed of limestone. It had a raised basement in which the dining room, kitchen, laundry, and other work space was located. Also in the basement, one at each end, were the two fireplaces to heat the building.<sup>34</sup> Two floors of living space were above the raised basement; the first floor contained a parlor and classroom space as well as living space for Reverend Garthwait, his wife, and child. The supervisor's bedroom and student bedrooms were on the second floor, arranged along both sides of a long hallway that ran the length of the building; 75–100 students could be accommodated.<sup>35</sup> The students' traveling trunks possibly served as dressers as there were no closets.<sup>36</sup> Each was probably furnished with a bed, washstand, perhaps some shelves, and a chair.<sup>37</sup> The 1856 catalog/circular described the building as having warm-air furnaces; the 1860 circular states that eight dollars would be charged when "fire is required in sleeping rooms."<sup>38</sup> The school had no indoor plumbing, no hot or cold running water, or bathrooms. A wide veranda or porch, about fifty feet long, ran across the center wing of the front façade. A porch also ran along the rear of the building.<sup>39</sup> At the very top of the house there were some rooms in the gables and a cupola could be accessed from there that provided an expansive view of the Tuscarora Valley.

Soaring stone gables, rising four stories from ground level, coupled with the steeply pitched roof, gave the building a commanding presence. Reverend Garthwait's seminary building was unique; nothing like it had ever been built in Juniata County and it must have generated much interest and conversation. The school's design was very similar to Mount Holyoke College's original building. Based on the asylum architecture in vogue at this time, female students, like asylum patients, were believed to function at their best with protection and supervision. This established the school under one

roof where every need was provided within the confines of the architectural design and the school's communal family experience.

Court records indicate that Garthwait began experiencing financial difficulties almost immediately.<sup>40</sup> Court records dated August 27, 1855, show that Garthwait owed \$364.02 (\$13,853.81 in 2015 dollars) to Joseph Pomeroy, a local merchant; \$129.19 (\$3,234 in 2015 dollars) to Samuel Davis, and \$500 (\$19,020 in 2015 dollars) to John Linn, another local merchant.<sup>41</sup> He settled his debts with Pomeroy and Davis but not with Linn. His debt to John Linn, along with a debt to Samuel Okeson for the land, and his mortgage to construct the mansion owed to Aaron Price would be his downfall.

Ephraim Hinds, the next principal of the Female Seminary, was in place by December of 1856; it is not known what role Reverend Garthwait had with the school at this time. Hinds was a graduate of Amherst Academy, Amherst, Massachusetts, a professor of ancient and modern languages, belles lettres, and the theory and practice of teaching. He advertised in the December 15, 1856, *Lewistown Gazette*, stating "young ladies wishing to attend during the winter session should apply on or before January 2, 1857. It is believed that changes and improvements have been made by the present Principal, as will render the Institution in every respect a Seminary of first class, Expenses per Session of 21 weeks: Board, Washing and Tuition in English \$60, Music \$15.00 French, Spanish, German, Greek and Latin each \$8.00."<sup>42</sup>

In March of 1857 advertisements for the summer session, to begin in early May, appeared in the *Lewistown Gazette*.<sup>43</sup> However, court records show that in January 1857 Juniata County sheriff Jamison served to Hinds a writ notifying him that John Linn, the merchant, was pursuing his suit against Reverend Garthwait and the Female Seminary.<sup>44</sup> This action culminated in the sheriff remanding the property to public sale December 7, 1857, at the courthouse in Mifflintown.<sup>45</sup> The property was sold for \$520 to the highest bidder, Aaron O. Price.<sup>46</sup> In April of 1858 Reverend Garthwait officially ended his involvement with the seminary by assuming a position in Hughsonville, New York.<sup>47</sup>

One year after the sheriff's sale, in December 1858, twenty-four-year-old Lucretia Moore Patterson, wife of John J. Patterson, purchased the Female Seminary from Price for \$7,000.<sup>48</sup> Fifteen months later, on March 8, 1860, a *Juniata Sentinel* advertisement announced the school's reopening.<sup>49</sup> It was to be directed by Rev. William G. E. Agnew, a Methodist Episcopal minister, accomplished educator, and medical doctor who was the principal of the Zane Street Public School in Philadelphia.<sup>50</sup> Letters in the 1860 school

circular attested to Dr. Agnew's excellent reputation as a scholar, teacher and Christian (see fig. 3).<sup>51</sup> Possibly due to Dr. Agnew's reputation the school was incorporated March 12, 1860, by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Its name changed to the Tuscarora Female Institute and it was described as "a high school or seminary for the education of females in science, literature and the useful arts."<sup>52</sup>

Dr. Agnew most likely also wrote the school's 1860 circular describing the goals for each student's educational experience. Besides an education in science and literature, the evangelical Christian movement believed that training a woman's intellect would provide a firm moral foundation upon which she could conduct her life. Women were considered the moral guardians of society and asserted a strong influence within the family. The first two goals of the *Circular* addressed this and like many other schools chose Frances



FIGURE 3 Dr. William G. E. Agnew, carte-de-visite, ca. 1860. Courtesy of Juniata County Historical Society.

Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* to instruct its senior class in moral philosophy.<sup>53</sup> Wayland wrote that proper moral conduct required "interrogating the self through rational reflection."<sup>54</sup> The *Circular* described its second goal as "to instill in the minds of each pupil a dear love for the noble precepts of a pure morality."<sup>55</sup>

Good physical health was also a concern as the evangelicals believed a direct relationship existed between physical health, growth of intellect, and moral development. Emphasis on all three embodied the best education and was phrased as "perfecting our whole nature."<sup>56</sup> The *Circular* stated the third goal this way: "every arrangement will be made with a view to the physical, moral and intellectual development."<sup>57</sup> It described the school grounds as being a "superior playground for open air calisthenics" and that in bad weather the mansion's large commodious attics could be used for indoor exercise.<sup>58</sup> Garthwait's earlier 1856 *Catalog* also mentions exercise and states "the gymnasium, the riding ground, the groves and walks, all invite to healthful exercise."<sup>59</sup> This goal reflects the emphasis placed on physical education brought about by Mary Lyon who established a system of rhythmic drills for her students at Mount Holyoke to follow.<sup>60</sup> By mid-century calisthenics were a part of every female seminary's curriculum (see fig. 4).

The *Circular's* final goal intended each student "to [develop] a proper estimate of and reliance on her own powers."<sup>61</sup> Self-reliance for a mid-nineteenth-century woman was novel. An education equal to men was the early right women achieved, yet they still lacked legal, economic, and political equality. Through a seminary education, women developed their intellect, reasoning skills, and a self-respect and confidence in themselves and their abilities. This was a first wave in consciousness-raising for women and catalyzed the nascent American women's rights movement.<sup>62</sup>

The Tuscarora Female Institute's first session began May 1, 1860, and ran for five months, ending September 29, 1860.<sup>63</sup> Tuition was seventy-five dollars and included board, fuel, light and washing. Each student was instructed to bring "napkins and towels," and all clothing was to be marked with their full name "in order that there may be no mistake made in the laundry department." Laundry service at the institute cost thirty-eight cents per dozen.<sup>64</sup> Another source advised students to bring a silver fork and spoon, table napkins, umbrella, towels, brushes, combs, and India rubber-shoes.<sup>65</sup>

Students were expected to be proficient in the basics of spelling, writing, arithmetic, US history, geography, reading, and grammar. If "not advanced sufficiently far in the elementary studies" the student was placed in a juvenile

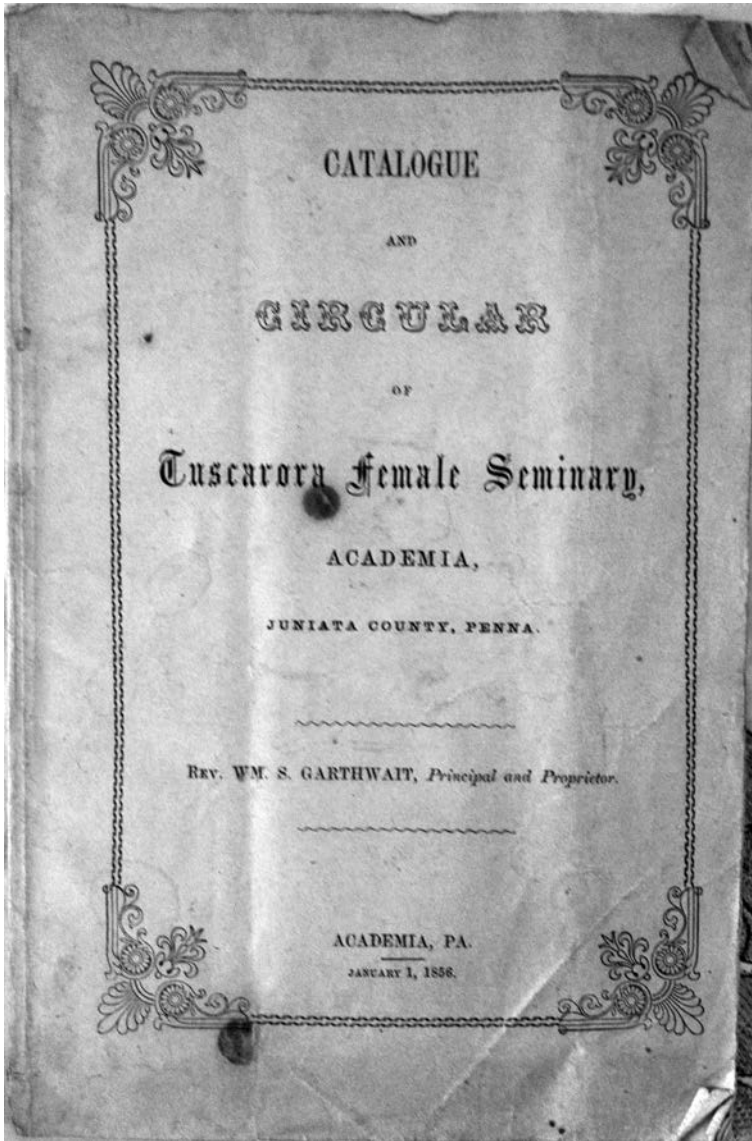


FIGURE 4 Cover of the 1856 Tuscarora Female Seminary Catalog. Courtesy of Adam Gilson.

class where these subjects were more thoroughly studied until the student was ready for advancement.<sup>66</sup> This focus on an academic course of study was in sharp contrast to the education of earlier generations of upper-class

women that focused solely on social accomplishments like needlework, piano, French, or dancing, deemed then as the only education necessary for their future role as a gentleman's lifetime companion. As we examine both the Garthwait and the new institute curriculum it is obvious that in each the course of study provided a thorough education in math, science, and literature.

Four class levels made up the course of study at both the former seminary and Dr. Agnew's institute; courses were almost identical except for the year in which they were studied. Grammar was studied at the freshman and sophomore levels and "exercises in spelling, reading, composition writing and diction continued through all the classes."<sup>67</sup> Logic and rhetoric were also part of the curriculum as students were expected to write compositions expressing their ideas persuasively, logically, and clearly. Orthography, the "science of spelling," and etymology, "the sources of the formation of a word and the development of its meaning," were part of the sophomore and junior curriculum at the institute. English and US, French, and Greek history were studied, as well as a text by Emma Willard, *Universal History: In Perspective*, published in 1854 by the eminent founder of Troy Female Seminary.

Arithmetic was studied at the freshman level, algebra at the sophomore, and geometry at the junior. At the institute the freshman and sophomore classes used textbooks written by Benjamin Greenleaf, AM.<sup>68</sup> His textbook, *A Practical Treatise on Algebra*, published in 1856, lists the "Tuscarora Female Seminary, Academia, Pa" as a "seminary of high grade . . . in the state of Pennsylvania . . . using, in part, or whole, Greenleaf's Mathematical Series."<sup>69</sup>

As the number of secondary schools increased, demand for teachers, male or female, to teach algebra and geometry also increased, influencing seminaries to include these subjects in their curriculum. Though many young women studied mathematics the controversy never waned. The argument that women did not have the aptitude had changed; educators were finding that they were very capable. New criticism centered on the usefulness of higher mathematics in the women's sphere. "In Horace Greeley's opinion, girls of all classes would have derived much greater benefit from learning to cook."<sup>70</sup>

Both the seminary and the institute's curriculum included the sciences, a requirement if an education was to be considered rigorous and thorough. Geography was the first to enter the classroom of either sex, appearing after the American Revolution, and by the close of the Civil War "natural

philosophy, astronomy, chemistry and botany were among the ten most frequently listed courses of study at female seminaries.”<sup>71</sup>

Schools did not abolish the ornamental branches but, like the institute, offered them at an extra charge considering them as “decorations on the tree of learning.”<sup>72</sup> At the institute they included piano and guitar instructions, drawing, and the study of French, Latin, or German.<sup>73</sup> Among the ornamentals, music was the most popular, especially piano, chiefly studied to provide home entertainment. Some schools put on musical programs to entertain the local community and music also figured prominently in a school’s closing or graduation ceremonies.<sup>74</sup>

In August 1862 change came to the institute when Reverend Agnew departed after two years as principal-proprietor, most likely due to an enrollment decline resulting from the onset of the Civil War. In October Lucretia Patterson sold the property to Andrew Patterson for \$7,000.<sup>75</sup> Professor Carl F. Kolbe was next, and recruited to teach music, French, and German. Previously he taught at Millersburg, Ohio, the Olome Institute in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania. A native of Hannover, Germany, he had moved to the United States in 1852.<sup>76</sup> Though an immigrant, Kolbe was a veteran of the Civil War. An interesting anecdote relates that at the outbreak of the war he raised a band in Millersburg, Ohio, for the First West Virginia Cavalry, Union Army, at the special request of Col. H. Anisansel, commander of the regiment. Kolbe “recruited, and drilled said band at Millersburg, Holmes County [Ohio].”<sup>77</sup> The federal government eliminated all regimental bands at the beginning of 1862 in a cost-cutting measure. He came to the Female Institute in Juniata County the following fall after his stint at the Olome Institute in Canonsburg (see fig. 5).

Some schools held public examinations at the end of a term to demonstrate a student’s knowledge of a subject. The institute held closing exercises rather than public examinations, consisting of painting exhibits, and musical and composition presentations. The *Pennsylvania School Journal* took note of the April 23, 1863, closing exercises at the institute: “The exercises were highly creditable and the pupils displayed great progress in music, painting, and essays well written and well read. Misses Callahan and Bresse were awarded diplomas.”<sup>78</sup>

The *Journal* also noted that “A. Patterson, Esq.” and “Mrs. French” were in charge of the school. “A. Patterson” was Andrew Patterson, who bought the



**FIGURE 5** Dr. Carl Kolbe, cabinet card, ca. 1875. Courtesy of University Libraries Photograph Collection, The University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

school property the previous year and “Mrs. French” was Olivia J. French, the widow of Presbyterian minister Rev. John M. French. She was a graduate of Steubenville Seminary and after her husband’s death founded Olome Institute in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and ran it for eighteen years, until



about 1862. She came to the Tuscarora Female Institute possibly sometime in 1863. The earliest newspaper advertisements noting her as principal were found in October 1863.<sup>79</sup> It is also possible she came to the Tuscarora Female Institute at the same time as Carl Kolbe in the fall of 1862.<sup>80</sup>

By 1864 she was well established and on September 21 signed the report card of Ada F. Patterson.<sup>81</sup> Report cards were a means of informing parents about their daughter's progress. Patterson was graded on Latin translation, arithmetic algebra, mensuration, geometry, botany, and music, as well as Bible class and deportment.

Other institute teachers are noted: Lizzie C. McGinnes is mentioned in Port Royal's sesquicentennial publication of 1962: "To the friends and former pupils of the school, it is only necessary to say that Miss Lizzie C. McGinnes was the principal teacher here and devoted all of her times and energies to the school. Her skill and fidelity as a teacher have been acknowledged wherever she has taught."<sup>82</sup> Anna B. Patterson is also mentioned in the Port Royal sesquicentennial publication. Described as being "possessed with rare talents in drawing and painting," she was in charge of that department.<sup>83</sup> Anna B. Patterson was the daughter of property owner Andrew Patterson and his first wife, Ann Elizabeth (Walker) Patterson.

James Walker Patterson, another child of Andrew Patterson, returned to teach at the institute after graduating in 1864 from Washington and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania. He taught and acted as principal between 1864 and 1869.<sup>84</sup> An 1867 advertisement in the *Juniata Sentinel* states "this institution is conducted, as nearly as possible, on the principles of a well-regulated family. The utmost care is bestowed on the manners of the young ladies. The course of study embraces all branches of a thorough English education."<sup>85</sup>

Despite the disruption of the Civil War, the institute continued to operate, as the editor of the *Juniata Sentinel* noted in his column on September 27, 1865: "By referring to our advertising columns it will be seen that our friend Carl F. Kolbe has taken charge of this institution. Both the School and the principal are so well known in this community that recommendations are useless. Persons having daughters to educate cannot do better than to send them there."<sup>86</sup>

Kolbe remained at the institute until October 1866 when he traveled to Germany for a visit; he returned to the institute sometime in 1867 and stayed until 1870 or 1871.<sup>87</sup> After Kolbe left, the school closed. In April 1872 it was advertised as being reopened with Prof. Josiah P. Sherman in

charge. The *Juniata Sentinel* had reported on March 20: "The Tuscarora Female Seminary, located near Academia, this county, will be reopened on 17th of April, under the supervision of Mr. J. P. Sherman."<sup>88</sup> Educated at Newcastle Academy and Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, Sherman was an experienced teacher and administrator, having been the superintendent of public schools at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, for fifteen years and for the previous five years director of the Pennsylvania Female College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania.<sup>89</sup> He was forty-eight, married to Malvina Foster Sherman, and the father of four.<sup>90</sup> Sherman's advertisement for the school reported that the rooms would be "papered and re-furnished" and that he had hired a "full corps of efficient and experienced teachers." Interested students or parents could write for a "circular with full particulars" to him at Academia in care of Reverend Shryock, minister at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church.<sup>91</sup>

Thirteen young women from Montgomery County followed Sherman to his new teaching position. The *Sentinel* commented that "their attendance at the school was evidence of his high regard within that community. Several young ladies from Juniata County were also pupils." The first commencement occurred just two months after the school's opening Wednesday, April 27, at 10:00 a.m. at the Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian Church.<sup>92</sup>

The *Sentinel's* editor in a July 17, 1872, column expressed hopeful sentiments for the school's future: "The success of this institution under the present principal is very encouraging. We understand that the prospects for next term are very good." Likewise, the *Democrat and Republican's* editor on the same date echoed the desire for the school to succeed: "We are pleased to hear that the school under its present management [is] meeting with excellent encouragement. It is the only Female Seminary in the county and our citizens who have daughters to educate should take a county pride in sending them to this school, thereby assisting in building it into a permanent institution. The Female Seminary is a safe and proper place for young ladies to receive their education."

Advertising for the term beginning September 4, 1872, first appeared in the July newspapers. The ads noted that the "location unsurpassed, buildings spacious and convenient, teachers were thorough and terms were moderate."<sup>93</sup> The advertisements continued a month past the opening day, suggesting that not all student positions had been filled.

It is not known why Sherman left a comfortable position as head of the Pennsylvania Female College in Montgomery County to come to Juniata

County, a rural, agricultural community certainly with less demand and interest in educating women. Sherman no doubt believed that his school would meet with success. He invested his own money for the papering and furnishing of rooms with beds and wardrobes, printing the circular, and buying a piano and organ.<sup>94</sup> He also came intending to transform the institute, a high school, into a women's college, for in March 1873 the Pennsylvania legislature approved a bill that allowed the school to grant "degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by collegiate institutions."<sup>95</sup>

The following year, on June 18, 1873, the *Sentinel* reported graduation exercises conferring AB degrees. Of the eleven students granted with this degree, one, Mary E. Ramsey, was from Juniata County, and eight were students who came with Professor Sherman from the Pennsylvania Female College. Two other Juniata County women were awarded academic silver medals for scholarship, Jennie and Grace Robinson.

No advertisements for the 1873 fall term were found in local papers, but the *Democrat and Republican* and the *Juniata Sentinel and Republican* editor's column mentioned that the fall term began on September 3. Almost two months later, October 29, the *Juniata Sentinel and Republican* announced that the previously all-boys Tuscarora Academy would receive "girls as day scholars and as bo[a]rders" beginning November 4. This announcement was significant, as this was the first time the Tuscarora Academy accepted female students; it also occasioned the closing of the seminary.

Professor Sherman's attempt to operate a girls' college in Juniata County had failed. In early December an advertisement in the *Sentinel and Republican* announced a public sale at Academia of "a large lot of personal property, wagons, plows, harrows, cultivators, piano, organ, wardrobes, stoves, mattresses. . . ."<sup>96</sup>

One more failed effort at operating the Female Institute took place beginning in May 1877 when Carl Kolbe returned to take charge. Since leaving he had settled in Akron, Ohio, and married. In 1872, with the opening of Buchtel College in the same city, he was chosen to fill the chair of modern languages. He remained in that position until 1877, when, as the *Ohio Educational Monthly* mentioned in its "personal intelligence," he would "take charge . . . of a young ladies institute, at Juniata, Pa, where he formerly taught."<sup>97</sup> By early May 1877 he and his family were living at the institute, preparing for a September 5 opening. Kolbe had also "secured the services of Miss Annie Thompson, of Ashland, Ohio as the Principal Lady Teacher."<sup>98</sup>

The *Port Royal Times*' Academia correspondent visited the property in mid-July and wrote:

The Seminary building, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, is of Gothic style, attractive in appearance and occupies a retired eminence in Tuscarora Valley, so remarkable for its healthful climate and picturesque scenery. The views from this delightful position are grand, combining mountain, valley, and forest. A beautiful cupola, easy of access, enables the observer to see Port Royal, seven miles away, in one direction, and in the opposite course, as far as the eye can reach is a line of broken ridges clothed in the varied hues of living green, checkered here and there with cultivated fields; in front is the Valley, with its undulating surface thickly dotted with rich farms; the Tuscarora Creek, as a silver thread, winding its serpentine course through the hills; the whole prospect, unsurpassed for variety and grandeur, is bounded by the Tuscarora Mountain, with its level top stretching right and left into the dim distance.

The students' rooms were described as "comfortably heated and well ventilated" and each room was "furnished with rich carpet and a handsome cottage chamber set" that was new. The number of students was limited to thirty-five.<sup>99</sup>

On September 27 the *Times* further reported that the "Seminary opened as per announcement." The article went on to say that the writer had "never heard the science of music so clearly and satisfactorily explained. The buildings, the conveniences, the grounds, the appurtenances, and all the appointments of the Seminary are first-class." However, though the writing was upbeat and hopeful, the *Port Royal Times* reported in mid-October that the tuition at the seminary had been reduced from \$19 to \$15 per session, indicating most likely that Kolbe hoped to fill his classrooms with young women by reducing the cost of their education.

Throughout January 1878 advertisements appeared in the *Port Royal Times* announcing the next session, to begin on January 30. Finally, on February 7, the *Times* ran a scathing editorial:

The thirst for knowledge in Juniata County proved so great that the proprietor of the Tuscarora Female Seminary for young ladies in Academia, decided to close its door for fear of too great a rush from seekers after

culture and refinement. This of course settles forever the "Seminary question" so long and persistently debated by people who are fond of talking but deplorably slow in acting. Possibly our people may see their mistake now when it is too late, but even this is doubtful; however I am willing to give them the benefit of this doubt. This rejected Institution will now be opened by the proprietor Prof. C. F. Kolbe, as a Summer Resort for which home support is fortunately not needed. Prof. Kolbe continues to teach music at home and in Mifflin, a business for which an experience of many years well qualifies him.<sup>100</sup>

Carl Kolbe and family returned to Akron, Ohio, in the latter part of 1878. He resumed his position as chair of modern languages at Buchtel College and served in that position for thirty-three years until his death in 1905.

Thus the Tuscarora Female Seminary ceased existence but its gothic mansion did not. For years it was a Patterson family home and eventually sold to Henry Strassberger. He and his wife made it their home and farmed the fields around it. After her death he remarried and began to disassemble the mansion, removing the third floor, staircase, doors, and other parts of the wooden interior to build a home in Mifflintown for his second wife. In the shell of what remained of the Gothic mansion he stored hay. Nature and time were not kind to the building. A storm tore up a corner of the roof, resulting in the collapse of the western side wall; termites and carpenter bees homed in on the exposed wood and began to devour it. Vandals broke into the building, carried away the front door, broke windowpanes, and scribbled graffiti on the walls. High school students conjured ghosts of dead girls and murderous professors and made the deserted mansion a place to go to on dark, moonless nights on a dare. Artists painted the Gothic mansion, attempting to capture its beauty in the decaying ruins. The Strassbergers' granddaughter envisioned restoring the building but the dream died and the building slowly collapsed on itself. Even in ruins one could experience its past grandeur, massive height, and perimeter and imagine it whole. Finally, in 2006 new owners knocked down the remaining walls to keep curious, incautious trespassers safe.

The Tuscarora Female Seminary deserves to be recalled as vividly as the massive Gothic stone structure that sheltered it; it deserves an accurate history since it played such an important part in educating women in Juniata County. Beginning in 1848, through the decades of the 1850s, 1860s, and the Civil War, until 1872 and then again in 1878–79 it educated young women

coexisting with the Tuscarora Academy for boys in a little village that called itself Academia. Rather than eighteenth-century ornamental branches like embroidery, music, and languages, the seminary taught English, literature, religion, science, and mathematics and was part of the proliferation of seminaries that educated thousands of women in Pennsylvania and throughout the United States. Professors Garthwait, Hinds, Agnew, Patterson, Kolbe, and Sherman were credentialed scholars and administrators. Women teachers, themselves graduates of well-known, established seminaries like Steubenville in Ohio and the Washington Female Seminary of Washington, Pennsylvania, instructed the students. Prior to the Civil War only 8 percent of the students were southern and the rest were from northern states. During the war, while student numbers decreased, the Seminary continued to operate.<sup>101</sup> These facts reject the *Juniata Tribune's* September 26, 1929, article and disprove its oft repeated statements. The seminary's patronage was not made up of mostly "belles from the aristocratic families south of the Mason Dixon Line" but consisted of students from Pennsylvania and in large part from Juniata County. It survived the Civil War and continued through the decade into the 1870s. This article's goal has been achieved: the neglect of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians has been remedied—a history of the Tuscarora Female Seminary has been written.

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#### NOTES

1. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, October 27, 1847, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
2. *History of that part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys Embraced in the Counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck and Richards 1886); Uriah J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Publishing Co., 1889).
3. *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed at the Session of 1837–1838* (Harrisburg, PA: Theo. Fenn 1838), 332–33.

4. Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 6, "The Fight for Free Schools in Pennsylvania," Donald H. Kent, 3rd printing (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976), 4.
5. Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 74–75.
6. Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1996), 8.
7. Nineteenth-century physicians believed most mental derangement was caused by disorder in the individual's environment, disruptive tensions in the domestic or societal setting. Changing the environment was instrumental to the cure; therefore, individuals were removed to an asylum, a large building that provided for every need of the patient. In essence the building was part of the cure in restoring order to the individual's life. Mary Lyon built upon this theory of restoring order to the psyche when she planned Mount Holyoke. Basic to her beliefs were that an ordered life, rising early, scheduling each moment, and planning carefully would provide the structure that her students needed for nineteenth-century life. She chose the asylum architecture to provide the physical structure because it fit so perfectly into her teaching methodology.
8. Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 55–61.
9. *Ibid.*, 59–61.
10. Sarah Black, letter to Thomas Watson, April 28, 1846, from Gilson/Henry Collection, copy provided by R. Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
11. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 27, 1847, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
12. *Robert Stewart, Colonel George Stewart and His Wife Margaret Harris: Their Ancestors and Descendants* (Lahore, India: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1907), 194.
13. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 19, 1848, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
14. Obituary, Mrs. John Sterrett [Annie Kennedy Sterrett], Sterrett Family File, Juniata County Historical Society (hereafter JCHS), Mifflintown, handwritten, dated August 23, 1900.
15. Attendance record, Rose Hill Seminary, dated May 16, 1853, signed by Margaret Patterson November 13, 1853, from Gilson/Henry Family Collection, copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
16. Letter to Alexander Patterson from Nancy Williams, dated July 20, 1853, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.

17. Advertisement, Tuscarora Female Seminary, dated October 27, 1847, Gilson/Henry Family Collection, scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, January 18, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
18. All estimates for inflation come from Tom's Inflation Calculator, [http://www.halfhill.com/inflation\\_js.html](http://www.halfhill.com/inflation_js.html) (accessed April 27, 2015).
19. Margaret Stunkard, letter to Alexander Patterson, August 3, 1850, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
20. J. L. Ervinger, letter to Alexander Patterson, October 20, 1851, Gilson/Henry Collection, scanned copy donated by Adam Gilson, January 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
21. William J. Gibson, DD, *History of the Presbytery of Huntingdon* (Bellefonte, PA: Bellefonte Press Company Print, 1874), 156, 370–71.
22. Tuscarora Academy, Record Storage Box 16, Folder 3, *Catalog of the Officers and Students of the Tuscarora Academy for the Year Ending September 30, 1854* (Lancaster, PA: Rohrer and Weller, Printers), 11, JCHS.
23. *Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, presented to the General Assembly May 1868* (Philadelphia, Published by the Board, No. 907 Arch Street, 1868), <http://books.google.com> (accessed January 19, 2009).
24. Nancy Beadie, "Female Students and Denominational Affiliation: Sources of Success and Variation among Nineteenth-Century Academies," *American Journal of Education* 107, no. 2 (February 1999): 84–86.
25. *Catalog and Circular of the Tuscarora Female Seminary, Academia, Juniata County, Penna.*, Rev. Wm. S. Garthwait, Principal and Proprietor, Academia, PA, January 1, 1856, 6–7 (hereafter 1856 Circular). Scanned copy donated by R. Adam Gilson, April 23, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
26. *The Second Register of the Officers and Graduates of Washington Female Seminary* (Washington, PA: Observer Job Rooms, 1924), 20–38.
27. *Pennsylvania Female Seminary . . . Quintennial Catalog of the Corporation, Officers and Students for the Five Years Ending December 31, 1856* (Philadelphia: Oliver P. Glassner, Book and Fancy Job Printers, 1857), 5–18.
28. *Pennsylvania Female Seminary . . . Second Quintennial Catalog of the Corporation, Officers and Students for the Period Ending March 29, 1861* (Philadelphia: Bicking and Gilbert, Book and Job Printers, 1861), 4–8.
29. *Semi-Centennial Celebration of Washington Female Seminary, 1836–1886* (Washington, PA, 1886), 26. Class size diminished after 1861 due to the Civil War, competition with other schools, and lack of more modern facilities. Paul Allen Mertz, *An Historical Account of Pennsylvania Female College, 1853–1880* (Collegeville, PA: The Glenwood Association, 1880), 11, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076386492;view=1up;seq=7> (accessed January 2008). Tuscarora Academy, Record Storage Box 16, File 34, "Names



- of the Teachers and Students of Tuscarora Academy for the Winter Session of 1861–1862, J. H. Shumaker, Academia, Juniata Co., Pa March 19, 1862,” JCHS.
30. *Huntingdon Globe*, June 25, 1856, 3 . This letter to the editor states that Garthwait founded the school in 1854.
  31. Original receipt dated Academia, May 3, 1854, signed by W. S. Garthwait; original receipt dated September 22, 1854, signed by L. L. Garthwait, owned by the author.
  32. Deed Book G, 117, Office of the Register, Juniata County Courthouse (hereafter JCC), Mifflintown, Samuel Okeson to Rev. William S. Garthwait, August 3, 1853. Mortgage Book A: 69, Rev. Wm. S. Garthwait to Samuel Okeson, August 3, 1853; 117, Rev. W. S. Garthwait to Aaron O. Price, September 18, 1854. Office of the Register and Recorder, JCC, \$1,632 (mortgage on land) in August 1853 is equivalent to \$65,017 in 2015; \$7,000 (mortgage on building) in 1853 is equivalent to \$278,872 in 2015.
  33. *Huntingdon Globe*, June 25, 1856, 3.
  34. Dorothy Mark, granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Strassburger, conversation with the author, January 11, 2008; she spent many summers with her grandparents when their home was in the Tuscarora Female Seminary mansion (hereafter “Conversation with Dorothy Mark”).
  35. Tuscarora Female Seminary advertisement, ca. 1857, Tuscarora Female Seminary File Box 27, Folder 5, JCHS. This advertisement states that they could accommodate seventy-five students. Garthwait’s catalog and circular states that the building could accommodate one hundred students.
  36. Conversation with Dorothy Mark.
  37. Christie Ann Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 144.
  38. *Circular and Announcement of the Tuscarora Female Institute, Academia, Juniata Co. Penna* (Philadelphia: Duross Bros., 1860), 6 (hereafter 1860 Circular).
  39. Conversation with Dorothy Mark.
  40. Appearance Docket, Book H, 333, August 27, 1855, John R. Linn vs. William S. Garthwait, judgment against defendant for \$500, JCC.
  41. Appearance Docket Book H: 349, satisfied December 20, 1855, Joseph Pomeroy vs. William S. Garthwait; 352, Samuel Davis vs. William S. Garthwait, September 11, 1855; 333, John R. Linn vs. William S. Garthwait, August 27, 1855, JCC.
  42. *Lewistown Gazette*, December 18, 1856, 2; microfilm edition at Mifflin County Historical Society, Lewistown (all subsequent references to the *Lewistown Gazette* are from this source).
  43. *Lewistown Gazette*, March 12, 1857, 2.
  44. Appearance Docket, Book I, 166, John R. Linn vs William S. Garthwait, writ served on Ephraim Hinds, January 16, 1857, JCC.

45. *Juniata Sentinel*, December 2, 1857, 3. This and all subsequent references to the *Juniata Sentinel* are from the microfilm edition at JCHS.
46. David M. Jamieson to Aaron O. Price, Deed Book H, 390–91, December 22, 1857, Office of the Register and Recorder, JCC.
47. *Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary 1815–1923* (Princeton, NJ: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1933), 152.
48. Aaron O. Price and wife to Lucretia E. Patterson, Deed Book H, 626–628, April 1, 1858, Office of the Register and Recorder, JCC.
49. *Juniata Sentinel*, March 8, 1860, 3.
50. John Trevor Custis, *The Public Schools of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Burk and McFetridge Co., 1897), 377, <http://books.google.com/books?id=cgggUAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=John+Trevor+Custis&hl=en&sa=X&ved=OahUKEwiVjpf4xkflAhUC4SYKHV> (accessed February 2, 2008).
51. 1860 Circular, 8.
52. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania Passed at the Session of 1860 in the Eighty-fourth Year of Independence, An Act to Incorporate the Tuscarora Female Institute* (Harrisburg, PA: A. Boyd Hamilton, State Printer, 1860), 147–48.
53. 1860 Circular, 5.
54. Mary Kelly, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 90.
55. 1860 Circular, 3.
56. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 78, 94.
57. 1860 Circular, 3.
58. *Ibid.*, 5.
59. 1856 Circular, 12.
60. Jan Todd, *Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful, Purposive Exercise in the Lives of American Women 1800–1875* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 121–23.
61. 1860 Circular, 3.
62. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 112.
63. *Juniata Register*, April 12, 1860, 3.
64. 1860 Circular, 6.
65. *History of Port Royal and Vicinity and Sesquicentennial Celebration, July 24–29, 1962, Port Royal, Pa.*, 32, Juniata County Historical Society, Mifflintown, PA. According to the catalog of the Washington Female Seminary, 1875–1876, the fork and spoon was for use if the student was ill and confined to her room.
66. 1860 Circular, 5.
67. *Ibid.*, 6.
68. *Ibid.*, 5–6.

69. Benjamin Greenleaf, A.M., *A Practical Treatise on Algebra, Designed for the Use of Students in High Schools and Academies* (Boston: Robert S. Davis and Co. 1856), 6. <https://books.google.com/books?id=5toPAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:dVB7vdysjj8C&hl=en&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwjGiufB16fLAhWDSiYKHQzQBRU4ChDoAQgyMAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed May 7, 2008).
70. Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2003), 92.
71. *Ibid.*, 35.
72. Leonard I. Sweet, "The Female Seminary Movement and Woman's Mission in Antebellum America," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 54, no. 1 (March 1985): 45.
73. 1860 Circular, 6. Lessons for piano or guitar, depending on the length of the lesson, cost \$16, \$20, or \$25 per session. Charges were also incurred for the rental of the instrument, \$4, \$5 or \$6 per session.
74. Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, 87.
75. Lucretia E. Patterson and John J. Patterson to Andrew Patterson, Deed Book J, 512–514, October 1, 1862, Office of the Register and Recorder, JCC.
76. *The Buchtel '87*, Published by the Junior Class (Cleveland: Clark-Britton Printing Co. 1887), 18. According to his biographical information Kolbe taught at Millersburg, Ohio, Olome Institute, and Jefferson College between 1855 and 1861.
77. Report no. 96, House Report 2439, 50th Congr., 1st sess., *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress 1891–1892, in Twelve Volumes* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1892), <http://books.google.com> (accessed October 15, 2009).
78. "Educational Events in Penna April 1863," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 11, no. 1 (May 1863): 323.
79. *Presbyterian Banner* (Pittsburgh, PA), October 21, 1863, 3.
80. *The Buchtel '87*, 18.
81. Tuscarora Female Seminary, File Box 27, Folder 1, Report of Ada F. Patterson, ending September 21, 1864, JCHS.
82. *History of Port Royal and Vicinity and Sesqui-centennial Celebration, July 24–29, 1962*, 32.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Biographical and Historical Catalogue of Washington and Jefferson College Containing a General Catalogue of the Graduates and Non-Graduates of Jefferson College of Washington College and of Washington and Jefferson College 1802–1902* (Philadelphia: George H. Buchman Company, 1902), 268. <https://books.google.com/books?id=NqtBAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=biographical+and+historical+catalogue+washington+and+Jefferson&hl>

- =en&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwiPh6zarKfLAhXdqrDdcQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=biographical%20and%20historical%20catalogue%20of%20Washington%20and%20Jefferson&f=true (accessed April 14, 2009).
85. *Juniata Sentinel*, August 21, 1867, 2.
86. *Juniata Sentinel*, September, 27, 1865, 3.
87. *The Buchtel '87*, 18. *The Buchtel*, By the Class of Ninety-Three of Buchtel College (Akron, OH: Capron and Curtice, 1893), 11.
88. *Juniata Sentinel*, March 20, 1872, 3.
89. Mertz, *Historical Account of Pennsylvania Female College*, 11.
90. 1870 US Census, Upper Providence Twp., Montgomery County, PA, Dwelling #57, Household #63, 374 (stamped), Ancestry.com image (accessed January 28, 2008). Census lists his wife, children, teachers, domestic staff and students at the Pennsylvania Female College. *History of Litchfield and an Account of Its Centennial Celebration, 1895* (Augusta, ME: Kennebec Journal Print, 1897), 406.
91. *Juniata Sentinel*, March 20, 1872, 3.
92. *Juniata Sentinel*, May 1, 1872, 2; Mertz, *Historical Account of Pennsylvania Female College*, 11. Mertz also reports that when Sherman left Pennsylvania College for the Tuscarora Seminary, "some of his students followed him there."
93. *Juniata Sentinel* July 17, 1872, 2.
94. *Juniata Sentinel and Republican*, December 10, 1873, 3.
95. Act No. 277, *Laws of the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania Passed at the Session of 1873* (Harrisburg, PA: Benjamin Singerly, State Printer 1873), 269.
96. *Juniata Sentinel and Republican*, December 10, 1873, 3.
97. W. D. Henkle, ed., "Educational Intelligence, Personal," *The Ohio Educational Monthly and the National Teacher*, 3rd ser., vol. 2; old ser. vol. 26 (1877 <https://books.google.com/books?id=BiAbAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=editions:uLkyMN84OTYC&hl=en&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwjgksijoqfLAhUBfCYKHx4ZAwQ4FBD0AQglMAI#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed October 15, 2009)).
98. *Port Royal Times*, May 3, 1877, 3; this and all subsequent references to the *Port Royal Times* are from the microfilm edition at JCHS.
99. *Port Royal Times*, July 26, 1877, 3.
100. *Port Royal Times*, February 7, 1878, 3. Carl Kolbe also composed music for the piano that was published by S. Brainard's Sons of Cleveland, Ohio. One piano piece, dedicated to Mrs. A. B. Fry of Millersburg, Ohio, was entitled "Water Drop Schottisch." He was described as the author of "Jolly Polka, College March and Tuscarora Waltz."
101. 1856 Circular.