

**TEACHING MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE SOUTH DURING
SLAVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION:
EDWARD WADSWORTH OF LAGRANGE COLLEGE AND
SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY**

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Southern Methodism's distinguished bishop Oscar Penn Fitzgerald, editor of *The Christian Advocate*, praised Edward Wadsworth as "a preacher of much clearness of thought and spiritual power, a scholar of varied learning who knew what he knew, a teacher who had the happy art of infusing moral influence while imparting knowledge, a man of thought who knew books, a man of prayer who knew God."² The Rev. Dr. Edward Wadsworth (1811-1883) taught moral philosophy between 1846 and 1870 at two of Alabama's finest institutions of higher learning, LaGrange College and Southern University.

This was a period when white slaveowners and former slaveowners held strong views generally favoring slavery, while slaves and freedmen held equally strong views generally opposing it. It seems fair to say that most white southern people, slaveowners and others, did not oppose slavery. Emancipation of slaves was not welcomed by whites, nor was Post-Civil War Reconstruction well received. Teaching the predominantly white youths who attended colleges and universities required special sensitivity when discussing moral philosophy during the eras of slavery and Reconstruction in the South.

The chief pre-war difference between the teaching of moral philosophy in the North and in the South was the issue of slavery. The professor's choice of textbook was influenced by the author's slant on slavery. This article seeks to shed light on Wadsworth's choice of textbooks.

Wilson Smith writes that "Francis Wayland's textbook, *The Elements of Moral Science*, the most widely used throughout the ante bellum period, emphasized obedience to our obligations to man, which is virtue, as well as obedience to our obligations to God, which is piety."³ As we shall see,

¹ The author is indebted to Guy Hubbs, Archives, Birmingham-Southern College, and Dawn Patterson, General Commission on Archives and History, United Methodist Church, for special research assistance.

² Oscar P. Fitzgerald, *John B. McFerrin: A Biography* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1889), 215.

³ Wilson Smith, *Professors & Public Ethics: Studies of Northern Moral Philosophers before the Civil War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), 34-35.

Wadsworth evidently learned moral philosophy from Wayland's textbook. Wadsworth taught duty to humankind and God. This helps to provide a definition of moral philosophy.

Wadsworth was born and reared in Newberne, North Carolina, a son of merchant Thomas Wadsworth and wife Eleanor. He was converted September 24, 1829, and in February 1831 was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church's Virginia Conference where his pastorates included churches in Buckingham, Hampton, Plymouth, Charlottesville, Scottsville, Lynchburg, Raleigh, Mecklenburg, Petersburg, and Norfolk (some of these are North Carolina communities then part of the Virginia Conference since the North Carolina Conference was not formed until 1840). He was a vice-president of the Virginia Temperance Society.

In 1838 Wadsworth became chaplain and a student at recently-opened (1832) Randolph-Macon College, a Methodist college in Athens, Virginia, and received his A.B. degree in 1841 and A.M. degree in 1844. He studied during the presidency of Landon C. Garland, which spanned 1836 to 1846. Garland was steeped in Scottish moral philosophy and exuded character development to his student body. Richard Irby, historian of Randolph-Macon and a student during Garland's presidency, recalled: "We looked up to him with marked reverence, though he was not quite thirty years old. It was his dignity of character which caused us to do this. Few men ever possessed more than he."⁴ When Southern University was founded in 1859, Garland (professor and ultimately president of the University of Alabama) was offered the presidency of Southern but declined.

Wadsworth almost certainly obtained his training in moral philosophy from Francis Wayland's widely-accepted *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835 and subsequent editions), which was in use at Randolph-Macon soon after publication and contained much of value as a guide to moral living. Wayland, president of Brown University in Rhode Island, was an adherent of Scottish philosophy. Albea Godbold's *The Church College of the Old South* (1944), Appendix I, outlines the course of study at Randolph-Macon College from its course catalog for 1842 and shows Wayland's textbook for the course in moral philosophy.⁵ Earlier information apparently did not exist when Godbold did his research, since judging from his bibliography this was the earliest course catalog then extant for Randolph-Macon.

Wayland presented a mild anti-slavery argument, or "Northern sentiment," that Southern readers (including professors) often tended to ignore. Some years later, as slavery became more controversial, many in the South objected even to Wayland's position, and use of his textbook waned. Wilson Smith wrote: "The acceptance and ultimate rejection of Francis Wayland's *Moral Science* in Southern colleges is perhaps the best example of how the South

⁴ Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shep-
erson, 1899), 73.

⁵ Albea Godbold, *The Church College of the Old South* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press,
1944), 192.

treated Northern moral philosophy textbooks in the 1850's. . . [Wayland's] error was not so much compounded by this textbook's popularity, surely not by its manifest, though mild, antislavery position, as it was augmented by the pervasive intellectual stolidity of its author and other moral philosophers in their systematic presentation of social ethics."⁶ Wayland's book went unrevised through numerous printings.

The schism between northern and southern Methodists, which resulted in separation and formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1844, came to a head in Alabama. The proximate cause, according to Walter L. Fleming, was "ownership of slaves by the wife of Bishop [James Osgood] Andrew of Alabama. The hostile sections agreed to separate into a northern and a southern church, and a Plan of Separation was adopted. This was disregarded by the northern body and the question of the division of property went to the courts. The United States Supreme Court finally decided in favor of the southern church. From these troubles angry feelings on both sides resulted. The southern church took the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; the northern church retained the old name."⁷ This occurred while Wadsworth was pastor at Norfolk, Virginia, and he chose to affiliate with the new Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the fall of 1846 Wadsworth was named president of LaGrange College at Florence, Alabama. Wadsworth also was appointed Professor of Mental and Moral Science. He probably used Wayland's *The Elements of Moral Science* since he knew it well. The book remained fairly popular until the 1850s, and no better book was published until Laurens P. Hickok's *A System of Moral Science* in 1853.

In 1847 both Randolph-Macon and Emory & Henry colleges conferred on Wadsworth the honorary Doctor of Divinity degree. Professor Albert Alexander McGregor, who was a student at LaGrange when Wadsworth was president and taught there later, wrote of him:

I can truly say he was a man worthy of the respect of all persons. As president, he ruled with kindness and yet with firmness. Although he appeared to be stern and unapproachable, yet around the fireside, in his home, there was no one more companionable and his face was radiant with pleasant smiles. He was lucid in his instructions to his classes, and while he demanded good recitations, yet he was always ready to receive a reasonable excuse for failure, and to extend sympathy to any young man who unfortunately fell below his usual standing. In the pulpit his language was so plain and simple that even the uneducated listener could understand his preaching, and the cultivated and refined were made to feel that they were listening to one who was able to present the truths of Christianity so as to convince them of sin, and in language as chaste as that of Christ he warned men to seek a Savior and flee the wrath of God.⁸

⁶ Smith, *Professors & Public Ethics*, 196.

⁷ Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 22.

⁸ A[ibert]. A[lexander]. McGregor, *History of LaGrange College* (Leighton, Ala.: The Leighton News, 1904), 25-26.

Enrollment at LaGrange College fell to 76 students in 1850, due to a smallpox epidemic. Enrollment rose to 225 in 1851, and the college had a \$50,000 endowment. Nonetheless, Wadsworth resigned the presidency of LaGrange in the fall of 1852 and returned to preaching, his first love. He loved to preach and teach, but apparently he did not enjoy the college presidency. LaGrange was in debt when he arrived and departed, despite his best efforts to achieve stable solvency.

In 1852 Wadsworth was assigned to pastor the McKendree Methodist Church, and later the Andrew Chapel, in Nashville, Tennessee. While serving in this pastorate, he also taught English and belles-lettres at the University of Nashville from 1853 to 1855. In 1855 Wadsworth was transferred to the Alabama Conference and pastored at Greensboro, Alabama, through 1857. The Alabama Conference elected him a delegate to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to be held in May 1858; it would become the last to be held until 1866 after the war ended. In 1858 and 1859 he pastored at Selma, and in 1860 he served as presiding elder of the Greensboro District.

Wadsworth was such an outstanding preacher that Bishop Joshua Soule called him “the John Wesley of Southern Methodism.”⁹ Wadsworth’s sermon “God and Man Are Co-Workers in the Salvation of the Soul” was published in the volume of collected sermons titled *The Methodist Pulpit, South* (1858).¹⁰ Wadsworth’s sermon gives excellent insight into his theology as integrated with Wayland’s moral philosophy. Wadsworth wrote:

We are taught by moral philosophy that the moral quality of an action resides in the motive or the intention; and we are taught by observation that there is connection between principles and conduct...No man cultivates right motives and has sound moral principles unless he receives into his mind and believes with his heart what God has revealed concerning his Son. This will produce sound experience, and Christian experience consists in the love of God in the heart; and he who has this in full measure is changed into the image of Christ.¹¹

Wadsworth emphasized a higher realm of thought, a spiritual dimension, than characterized most instruction in moral science of the era. The key to his passage above is what he meant by “changed into the image of Christ.” He wrote earlier in the sermon that he meant “the renewing of our minds by the Spirit of the Lord, for the same Spirit which dwelt in Christ now applies the truths of the gospel to human hearts, and changes our moral nature, and makes it like the nature of Jesus Christ.”¹² He spoke of “the work of instruct-

⁹ “Memorial Tribute to Edward Wadsworth,” *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1883* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1884), 98.

¹⁰ Edward Wadsworth, “God and Man Are Co-Workers in the Salvation of the Soul,” *The Methodist Pulpit, South*, William T. Smithson, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Henry Polkinhorn, 1858), 90-104.

¹¹ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 103.

¹² Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 90.

ing men in the things which contribute to their assimilation to the image of Jesus Christ.”¹³

Wadsworth wrote: “The model character to which this change assimilates men, is that of our Lord—’We are changed into the same image.’ We may search the records of history, and we find no one whose nature was so perfect and whose example was so lovely as Christ; hence, there is no one who can be followed with so much safety.”¹⁴ He also write in the sermon, “Every sinner who gives his heart to God is changed into the image of Christ; and every one who keeps the precious grace in his heart, and does not frustrate it, is advancing towards perfection.”¹⁵

Wadsworth claimed that the “capacity to see and understand the truth depends on the state of our minds and hearts. If the former be full of prejudice, and the latter be estranged from God, there will result darkness, and ignorance, and sin.”¹⁶ By contrast, he said “others have freed themselves from prejudice, have penitently, prayerfully, and believingly looked into the gospel; thus they have obtained help from the Holy Spirit, and have felt the power of the truth in changing them into the image of Him in whom they have trusted.”¹⁷ He went through his own period of estrangement from God and the resulting spiritual darkness. The memorial tribute for Wadsworth included the comment, “Many of the members of the Conference will remember how touchingly he used to tell of this struggle and victory in his talks at experience-meetings.”¹⁸

In 1856, Wadsworth, then pastor of Greensboro Methodist Church, was called to help establish the newly forming Methodist-affiliated Southern University in Greensboro, Alabama. The site of the University was in west Alabama where cotton was the dominant crop. It was hoped that wealthy planters would quickly endow the institution with financial assets and send an abundance of their sons to be educated there.

Wadsworth was one of the 23 original members of the Board of Trustees and was appointed to serve on the Building Committee, which was authorized to obtain plans for the main building and oversee its construction. Wadsworth may have been instrumental in selecting Adolphus Heiman of Nashville as Southern’s architect. Lindsley Hall, a building at the University of Nashville for which the cornerstone was laid April 7, 1853, was a Heiman design; Wadsworth taught at the University of Nashville from 1853 to 1855. Parks and Weaver wrote: “Architect Heiman and the Southern University building committee worked with considerable speed. By July 4, 1856, both plans and estimates of costs were ready for action by the board of trustees. The plans were approved and B. F. Parsons was named as superintendent of

¹³ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 93.

¹⁴ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 100-101.

¹⁵ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 104.

¹⁶ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 103.

¹⁷ Wadsworth, “God and Man,” 96.

¹⁸ “Memorial Tribute...,” 98.

construction.”¹⁹ The cornerstone was laid on June 11, 1857.

Perhaps more than any other man, Wadsworth was responsible for shaping the University’s academic program. With the experience he gained from serving six years as president of LaGrange College and two years as a professor at the University of Nashville, he was the ideal person to be named chairman of the committee that prepared Southern’s initial curriculum and nominated the first faculty. Parks and Weaver noted, “By June, 1857, the committee on plans for instruction and professorships was ready to report. Chairman Wadsworth read the report: ‘We must have teachers in number and capacity sufficient to educate the youth of the country intellectually and morally so as to prepare them for the duties of life; and also to give scientific instruction in those liberal professions for which there will be demand.’”²⁰ Though the chancellor or president of a college or university typically taught moral philosophy, the professorship in moral philosophy went to Wadsworth while William M. Wightman was named President (soon changed to Chancellor).

When Southern University opened its doors in 1859, it would have been most expeditious for Wadsworth to teach from Wayland’s or any of the other Northern moral philosophy textbooks in common usage. However, Joseph H. Parks and Oliver C. Weaver, Jr., wrote: “The trustees appointed a special committee to examine the course of study being used by the University faculty to make sure that it met the needs of loyal Southern men. The committee found the course of study satisfactory but suggested that R. H. River’s new text entitled *Elements of Moral Philosophy* [1859] be adopted. The faculty was also urged to introduce other ‘Southern Text Books’ and eliminate undesirable books.”²¹

Richard Henderson Rivers, president of Florence Wesleyan University, had received his honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from LaGrange College in 1851 while Wadsworth was president. Rivers was ardently pro-slavery and the preface to his book claims: “It is the only work on moral philosophy which gives a full and correct view of the slavery question. It shows to the youth of the land that slavery is not a sin; that it was established originally by the Divine Being, for wise, just, and benevolent purposes; that it was directly sanctioned by Christ and his apostles, and is not, therefore, the sum of all villainies.”²²

The book was divided into two parts. The first treated the several theories of moral agency, moral obligation, and moral government. The second treated the principles of practical ethics in their relation to: God, personal duty, society, politics, the family, and slavery. Rivers endeavored to show

¹⁹ Joseph H. Parks and Oliver C. Weaver, Jr., *Birmingham-Southern College, 1856-1956* (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1957), 23, 25-26.

²⁰ Parks and Weaver, *Birmingham-Southern College*, 27.

²¹ Parks and Weaver, *Birmingham-Southern College*, 54.

²² R. H. Rivers, edited by Thomas O. Summers, *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1859), preface.

that the anti-slavery arguments of Wayland and others had no basis in reason or Scripture.

Rivers's book was edited by Thomas O. Summers, one of the best-known southern Methodist clergymen. Summers was among those leaders who were instrumental in forming the plan whereby the southern states seceded from the national Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844; for 36 years he was secretary of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; he was a close associate of Wightman's; and he was a trustee and faculty member of Southern University. The book was published by the Southern Methodist Publishing House in Nashville, of which Summers was book editor. At the time when Rivers's book was published, Summers also was editor of southern Methodism's theological journal *Quarterly Review*. The anonymous reviewer of Rivers's book in the *Quarterly Review* wrote: "The South has long needed such a book; and whoever has read Dr. Rivers's masterly vindication of slavery will conclude, as we have done, that while this book is extant we shall not need another."²³ Summers was a southern Methodist leader of such growing stature that in 1875 he became the first dean of the Vanderbilt University theological faculty and professor of systematic theology. Moreover, E. Brooks Holifield wrote of Rivers's book: "With its vindication of slavery, its Southern 'nationalism,' and its orthodoxy on religious and social issues, the book became a required text in the course of study for neophyte Methodist ministers."²⁴ Under the weight of such influence, Wadsworth surely must have acceded to the committee's suggestion and, at least until the Civil War ended, taught moral philosophy at Southern University using the Rivers book.

Moreover, Dr. and Mrs. Wadsworth owned five slaves in 1860: two adults, a male and female each 46 years old; and three youths, a male (age 13) and two females (11 and 7), presumably the children of those adults.²⁵ Perhaps the Wadsworths were among certain southerners who were educating their slaves, instilling in them the gospel of salvation through faith in Christ, and otherwise preparing them for eventual freedom.

After the war, with slavery no longer the compelling issue, Wadsworth may have been the first professor of moral philosophy at Southern University to teach from Laurens P. Hickok's *A System of Moral Science* (1853), which appears as the moral philosophy textbook in Southern's earliest extant course catalog (1870-1871), the academic year after Wadsworth left. Hickok was a professor (and later president) at Union College in New York, and his moral philosophy textbook was used at Southern at least into the 1890s.

Published a decade before emancipation, Hickok's textbook defined and discussed morally righteous domestic slavery versus morally unrighteous

²³ Anon., "Review of Rivers's Elements of Moral Philosophy," *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* 14, 2(1860), 186.

²⁴ E. Brooks Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1978), 136.

²⁵ Source: U.S. 1860 Census Slave Schedules.

domestic slavery. Righteous slavery was intended to educate and otherwise prepare the slave for freedom and instill in him or her the teachings of Christianity. Unrighteous slavery was intended to satisfy the pleasure of the slaveowner and nothing more. Hickok condemned state authority that supported the latter. This placed the duty upon the white citizenry to modify state authority that supported unrighteous slavery and failed to encourage righteous slavery. Successive professors of moral philosophy at Southern after Wadsworth taught the subject using Hickok's textbook for many years. It aided the cause of Reconstruction in support of African-American rights and education.

Southern University opened in 1859 with 50 students enrolled. Enrollment in 1860-1861 reached 77, and one of the senior oration subjects at the 1861 commencement was "The Modern Philosopher." Chancellor Wightman, in addressing the seniors, called attention to the fact that their "studies have also led you to consider the principles of moral law--the eternal, immutable law of ethical obligation."²⁶ Prospects for future growth of the University seemed bright, but war clouds were moving overhead.

Unfortunately the Civil War intervened just as Southern University was getting firmly established. Fleming stated:

By law ministers were exempt from military service. But nearly all of the able-bodied ministers went to the war as chaplains, or as officers, leading the men of their congregations. . . .The preachers at home were nearly all old or physically disabled men. Gray-haired old men made up the conferences, associations, conventions, councils, synods, and presbyteries. But to the last their spirit was high, and all the churches faithfully supported the Confederate cause.²⁷

Wightman, Wadsworth, Oscar F. Casey, and other elderly scholars (clergy and non-clergy) on the Southern faculty were able to stay and teach so long as they had students.

However, only 38 students enrolled at Southern University during 1861-1862, 32 during 1862-1863, and 14 during 1863-1864; the school closed during 1864-1865. During the War of Secession, enrollment at Southern declined markedly as young men, both students and professors, went off to war. There were no graduates in either 1864 or 1865. It is not clear what the faculty members did in the last year of the war. Some may have taught at elementary or preparatory schools that were open for children too young to fight in the war. Since Southern had a preparatory department, Casey taught a sizeable class of young children during 1864-65. Other professors may have farmed or taken any job to eke out an existence.

When the war ended and young men could again seek to obtain an education at Southern, reorganization and resumption of activities was hardly underway when the University's Chancellor Wightman was named a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1866. After a year of striving

²⁶ Park and Weaver, "Birmingham-Southern College," 51.

²⁷ Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 224.

to serve in both capacities, he resigned his post at Southern in 1867 with its operation reasonably well restored. The graduating class reached 17 in 1867 but fell to 10 in 1868, as financial problems again beset the institution.

Enrollment had reached 56 in 1866-1867 and dropped to 28 in 1867-1868. With strenuous efforts to increase enrollment and restore financial health, by 1869-1870 University enrollment stood at 68. This fell to 45 in 1870-1871 and finances did not improve. Enrollment was low and volatile at Southern, and a similar situation existed at the University of Alabama. In 1869-1870 the University of Alabama had 30 students and, in 1870-1871, 21.

Wadsworth was appointed acting president in June 1868 and was largely occupied with keeping the ship afloat. The graduating class of 1869 numbered only six, but rose to 10 in 1870. He served as acting president through December 1870, and in February 1871 he resigned as professor of moral philosophy. He was immediately succeeded in teaching moral philosophy by the Rev. John S. Moore, then pastor of the Greensboro Methodist Church, who after that first year continued on the Southern faculty as professor of mathematics through 1884. Wadsworth, a member of Southern's Board of Trustees since the University's beginning, continued to serve on the Board after leaving the administration and faculty.

While at Southern University, Wadsworth taught moral philosophy to dozens of students including Thomas J. Seay (class of '66), who was twice elected Governor of Alabama (1886 and 1888). Seay is of special importance not only because he was elected Governor, but also because he supported measures to improve the rights and education of Alabama's African-Americans. These included establishing the State Normal School for Colored Students (now Alabama State University) in Montgomery, for the training of black teachers. Thomas McAdory Owen wrote that it was said of Seay "by Booker T. Washington that he was the best friend the negro race ever had."²⁸ Seay was defeated when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1890.

From 1871 to 1875 Wadsworth served as an assistant to Bishop Wightman and pastored at the Court Street Methodist Church in Montgomery. In 1872 he was a representative of the Alabama Conference among the petitioners who obtained a charter from the State of Tennessee to establish the Central University of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. This university was renamed The Vanderbilt University the following year and became Southern Methodism's leading institution of higher learning.

Wadsworth was increasingly concerned about Methodist higher education in the Alabama Conference. In 1874, in his report as chairman of the Conference's Board of Education, he lamented:

In former years we stood in the front rank among the conferences of the Methodist Church in our regard for scientific, literary and religious education. Now we fall behind all them that have colleges. This is especially afflicting when we consider

²⁸ Thomas McAdory Owen, "Seay, Thomas," *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, Vol. IV (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1921), 1523.

the many thousands of dollars collected from our people to establish and conduct institutions of learning. Our present embarrassments cannot be ascribed to financial troubles, exclusively. We must conclude that Boards of Trustees have been unskillful in the management of this great interest, or that the preachers and people do not value as they ought, institutions of the highest grade. If we cannot produce a more lively interest among the preachers and people, we will be compelled to reduce all our colleges to the rank of high schools, or see them pass into the hands of other people, who can and will manage them more skillfully than we have done.²⁹

The catalytic effect was not immediate; it took almost a decade before Southern University was well on the road to recovery.

From 1875 to 1879 Wadsworth pastored at the Franklin Street Methodist Church in Mobile. In 1880 and 1881 he was presiding elder of the Mobile District. At this time he suffered a paralyzing affliction and returned to his home in Greensboro, where he died two years later.

Wadsworth had married Anna Eliza Felton of North Carolina in 1841. They had one child, who died in infancy. Mrs. Wadsworth died in 1848. Wadsworth was survived by his second wife Mary Winnifred Sledge of Alabama, whom he married in 1850. They had no children. She lived to the age of 103, dying in 1933.

The Brant and Fuller *Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893) says of Edward Wadsworth: "To believe a certain course of action to be right, that was enough. What is duty? was always with him the paramount question, and having settled that question he would go right on without regard to the popular drift of opinion, into which so many throw themselves in order to secure the praise and admiration of the multitude."³⁰ O. P. Fitzgerald wrote of him: "He adopted a high standard of Christian experience, and dared not to live below it....He was too conscientious to be shallow or slipshod either in the lecture-room or the pulpit."³¹ Clearly, Wadsworth believed that to do one's duty to God and others, and do it well, is God's will in this life.

²⁹ Edward Wadsworth, quoted in Daniel P. Christenberry, *The Semi-Centennial History of the Southern University, 1856-1906* (Greensboro, Ala.: D. P. Christenberry, Publisher, 1908), 13-14.

³⁰ Hannis Taylor, Joseph Wheeler et al (eds.), *Memorial Record of Alabama*, Vol. I (Madison, Wisc.: Brant and Fuller, 1893), 1070-1071.

³¹ O. P. Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: A Life-Study* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1885), 173-174.