

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 199 129

SO 013 166

AUTHOR Parker, Franklin  
TITLE Ideas Shaping American Education. Summary.  
PUB DATE 81  
NOTE 19p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.  
DESCRIPTORS \*Access to Education; \*Educational Assessment;  
\*Educational History; Educational Objectives;  
\*Educational Philosophy; \*Educational Quality;  
\*Educational Trends; Elementary Secondary Education;  
Higher Education; Public Education  
IDENTIFIERS United States

ABSTRACT

This paper traces objectives and implications of philosophies which have shaped American education from colonial days to the 1980s. Two recurring themes are stressed--educational opportunity and quality. From the perspective of 200 years of educational experience, it can be seen that schooling has been available to the vast majority of American youth. Exceptions (i.e., southern blacks before the Civil War and children who labored in the factories of the industrializing north during the 19th century) can be more properly considered as a result of historical developments than as intended victims of educational deprivation per se. Efforts to increase the availability of public schooling have been widespread and frequent--much more widespread than efforts to improve educational quality. For example, in the 17th century, two school laws were passed in colonial Massachusetts to expand public schooling, in the 19th century, the land grant college movement extended higher education for the first time beyond New England; in the 1930s, major efforts were undertaken despite post-depression financial difficulties to implement experimental progressive education; and, during the 1960's, movements for social equality encouraged numerous educational innovations, such as Head Start and bilingual programs. Efforts to improve educational quality, on the other hand, have been fewer and more sporadic. Even the most notable recent attempt to bolster educational quality (the period of massive federal financing of educational improvements in response to the launching of Sputnik by the Russians), was overshadowed by the more egalitarian focuses on President Johnson's Great Society programs. The conclusion is that American education has been quite successful in meeting its objective of educating the masses and somewhat less successful in meeting the objective of providing education of a consistently high quality. (DB)

\*\*\*\*\*  
\* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made \*  
\* from the original document. \*  
\*\*\*\*\*

ED199129

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Franklin Parker

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

IDEAS SHAPING AMERICAN EDUCATION (SUMMARY)

BY FRANKLIN PARKER

50 013 166

By Franklin Parker

In Europe ~~was~~ dramatically in the USA, a shift occurred from the narrow education ~~of a~~ selected elite<sup>s</sup> to more practical public education of all. Many critics ~~of~~ in American education's quality but acknowledge that it is widely spread. In the American gamble to educate all, inevitable failures are more ~~noticed~~ than are successes. Our broadening of opportunity to permit all to ~~reach~~ higher levels of education and our sporadic efforts to inject quality ~~have~~ been recurring themes.

Colonial ~~New~~ Puritan education saw a slow but steady extension of schooling ~~urged~~ by two early Massachusetts school laws and by the Puritan keynote ~~of~~: "We shall be as a City set upon a Hill." The Colonial Anglican South ~~of~~ aristocracy, based on slave labor, did not broaden its school base and ~~made~~ a proud people to delayed benefit from industrial progress. Ben ~~Franklin's~~ Academy movement represented the practical education for commercial ~~needs~~ which the rising middle class wanted.

Nineteenth ~~century~~ economic opportunity and social change led Americans to accept the ~~notion~~ that tax money should finance free public high schools. Post Civil War ~~industrial~~ and agricultural growth made the land-grant college seem a natural ~~way~~ to extend practical higher education. The land-grant college was, in ~~fact~~, a remarkable new idea that only an increasingly democratic and land-rich ~~free~~ society could create. America's open immigration policy attracted ~~Europe's~~ unwanted rural and urban millions eager for work, freedom, upward ~~mobility~~, and free schooling for their children.

Tax-supported ~~public~~ education took on an aura of faith and became America's ~~occult~~ religion. Influenced by Darwinian ideas, industrial democracy, economic abundance, ~~soaring~~ immigration, and enlarged public school enrollment, G. S. Hall and other educators enshrined childhood, gave birth to the child study ~~movement~~, and initiated psychological testing. John Dewey and others ~~laid~~ the groundwork for the new Progressive Education. Spontaneity and ~~freedom~~, play and activity were Progressive and in: Rote learning and ~~cumulative~~ knowledge were Traditional and out. Progressive Education seemed ~~to~~ fit the new masses of a democracy and an emerging world power. The 1930 ~~depression~~ lent urgency to the experimentation Progressive Education ~~advocated~~.

A return ~~to~~ ~~basic~~ education 3 R mastery set in with the needs of World War II and the ~~Cold War~~. Sputnik and the threat of Russian supremacy evoked federally supported ~~curriculum~~ reform, an emphasis that largely benefitted the gifted. A liberal ~~swing~~ to uplift poor whites in and minorities accompanied President Kennedy's ~~election~~ and took shape in President Johnson's Great Society

Programs. The escalating Vietnam war, protests, and President Nixon's election led to socio-economic-educational retrenchment.

In the 1950's we accepted America's democratic dream and industrial promise. By the end of the 60's we were a changed nation, chastened, no longer a "City set upon a Hill." The legacy of the 60's, still with us in the 80's includes an erosion of belief in hard work and patriotism, a lifting of moral restraints, an attitude of entitlement, a belief that government owes us things.

The Reagan Administration, bent on fiscal solvency, promises private incentives to provide educational quality despite budget cuts. But critics say only the well-off will benefit, and public education will suffer. Have we so overpromised, materially and educationally, that drastic cuts might evoke revolution from below?

In the long quest to educate everyone, we have done well. Now we face a concern for quality in difficult economic times. Can we yet find a way to balance quantity with quality and in the process strengthen the fabric of our diverse society?

## Ideas Shaping American Education

By Franklin Parker

The Reagan administration, fulfilling its 1980 election mandate, is pursuing fiscal solvency and promises educational quality. We have yet to see who will gain in quality, who will lose in school budget cuts, and whether teachers and schools are helped to serve the nation better four years from now.

Critics say that foreign schools are better than ours, that their degrees mean more, that our cafeteria-style schools are poor in comparison. One answer is that we are trying to educate an entire people; that by trying to educate all, we run risks; that by keeping some in school who do not want to be there, we will have failures. Another answer is that for every French and German youth in university, we have seventeen. To compare their best with our worst makes their system look superior. But our best do as well as their best. Our gamble is to educate everyone. How many Americans, if born in another country, would have reached higher education? How many would have been doomed to a limited life? Yet, the quest for quality to match our numbers, which should be ongoing, has been a continuing theme in U.S. education for over 300 years, as the following examples show.

In June 1637 twenty-three-year old Ezekiel Cheever (1614 or 15-1708), middle class Puritan Londoner, arrived in Boston. An Emmanuel College, Cambridge University (model for Harvard College) graduate, Cheever, like thousands before and millions since, came to America for religious freedom and economic opportunity. He was a Latin grammar school teacher in the New Haven Colony, and at Ipswich, Charlestown, and Boston, Massachusetts, preparing boys for Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), and the other six

colonial colleges.

In his seventy years as New England's most famous Latin grammar school teacher, Cheever saw the spread of reading and writing schools, dame schools, district schools, of hornbooks and the New England Primer, and passage of two school laws, the first in any English-speaking country: the 1642 Massachusetts School Law requiring parents and masters to teach children to read and write and learn a trade; and the 1647 Massachusetts "Old Deluder Satan" Law, requiring towns of fifty families to have an elementary school and teacher and towns of 100 families to have a secondary school and teacher.

To Cheever's funeral, when he died (1708) full of years (ninety-four) and honors, came New England's religious and political greats, many of whom had been his pupils, including Cotton Mather, who preached the funeral sermon.

Through Cheever one can see early education as a private, family matter, religious in content, moral in tone, state-mandated and thus politically directed to perpetuate and improve the culture. Also, an historic keynote was struck in a 1630 sermon by John Winthrop (1588-1649), first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony: "Wee shall be as a Citty set upon a Hill. . . . The Eies of all People are Upon us." America with its schools as models for the world was admired by the many it tended to uplift and disdained by elites it threatened.

In September 1773 Princeton College (NJ) graduate Philip Vickers Fithian (1747-76), needing money to complete studies for the Presbyterian ministry, turned for job advice to President John Witherspoon, who had sent many Princeton graduates to the South as ministers and tutors. On Witherspoon's recommendation, Fithian rode seven days on horseback the 250 miles to Nomin

Hall, Robert Carter's plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia. On November 1, 1773, he began teaching the eight Carter children.

Fithian recorded in his diary, later published, his surprise at the refinement and culture he found. Robert Carter, III, a few years older than Fithian, had graduated from William and Mary College and then studied in England, as had his father and grandfather. Master of 70,000 acres and over 500 slaves, he grew tobacco and grain, rented land to white sharecroppers and former indentured servants, operated factories and shops, owned ships carrying supplies on Virginia rivers, was banker, moneylender, and employer of stewards, overseers, clerks, and craftsmen. He was justice, sheriff, vestryman, church warden, member of the Governor's Council and general court, and the plantation's protector and court of last resort.

Admiring southern elites' grace and culture, Fithian was critical of slavery, shocked at the treatment of blacks considered difficult, and saw the South as a house of cards built on slave labor. Tutors such as Fithian and then education abroad served the elite. Some privately endowed schools served the few middle class children--such as the Benjamin Syms School, 1634, and the Thomas Eaton School, 1659, in Virginia. Poor white children were negligibly taught in Anglican charity schools of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (founded 1701). Few black children were taught by occasional itinerant teachers in abandoned "Old Field" sheds.

The South Fithian saw preferred a literary few to the literacy of many. In time, private colleges and military academies for elites did flourish, but publicly supported schools lagged and illiteracy mounted. Educational limitations, slavery, Civil War defeat, and Reconstruction made a proud people, overly

sensitive to states' rights, slow to change and industrialize.

Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) spent a year in a Latin grammar school but was withdrawn and apprenticed to a printer. With seventeen in the family, there was little money to continue schooling, let alone pay for a college education. Later, in the Junto, a discussion group he founded (it became the American Philosophical Society, 1769), Franklin cited the need for a practical commercial, terminal alternative to the Latin grammar school, such as Academies in England (where for a year he was an apprentice printer). These Academies had grown out of necessity. Barred from Anglican-controlled Oxford and Cambridge colleges, Puritans, Quakers, Baptists, and other dissenters were not interested in Latin grammar feeder schools but wanted instead terminal schools with practical subjects for success in life.

Franklin's early plan for a Philadelphia Academy failed in 1743. He began again with a 1749 pamphlet, "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," in which he wrote:

As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental; but art is long, and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental.

Despite the path the Philadelphia Academy took (it became a college, 1755, and the University of Pennsylvania, 1791), Franklin did make the Academy a terminal secondary school with modern subjects (he suggested 20 subjects). Academies spread among the rising middle class, especially on the moving frontier, with more representative trustees, policies, and support. They still charged fees, but many were locally subsidized and some received state funds. There were Academies for girls and some Academies had female departments. The



1850 census listing 6,085 Academies (there were many more) reflected their popularity. There was a tax-supported "English high school" in Boston from 1821. What hampered the spread of such tax-supported public high schools was resistance to paying for the secondary education of other people's children.

A legal test case came in January 1873 in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Three influential citizens filed suit against using part of the school tax to finance the local high school. State Supreme Court Associate Justice Thomas McIntyre Cooley (1824-98) delivered the positive decision (July 21, 1874). He traced the state's intent to promote education from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 to Michigan's State Constitutions of 1835 and 1850, noting that the last two called for common schools and a university and stressing that the connecting high schools were part of the system. Earlier suits, as in Pennsylvania in 1851, had not been decisive. The Kalamazoo decision was decisive because Cooley was an eminent jurist (his books made him an authority on constitutional law) and because he argued that the high school was part of a system of public education. This legal justification of tax-supported high schools spurred their growth nationally and set a precedent for later similar acceptance of public support for kindergartens, junior colleges, and adult education programs.

The important half century in America, 1830-1880, saw the Age of Jackson and the rise of the common man. After the Civil War, agriculture became mechanized, factories expanded, industry boomed, cities grew, and immigration soared. Socio-economic and industrial change underway, exploitation of vast natural resources, needed and aided public school growth, particularly technical and scientific education. What was needed, practical higher education, emerged in the land-grant colleges.

Jonathan Baldwin Turner (1805-99) was a late starter (age 24) at Yale, where he received the classical education of the time, and then went west to help spread learning and religion. Teaching at Illinois College, Jacksonville (1833-47), Turner saw the need of Illinois farmers for fencing. Unfenced livestock wandered off, ate and trampled crops and gardens. In the 1840s he grew and sold osage orange, a thorny bush useful as fencing (Charles Glidden did not patent barbed wire until 1874). Persuaded by this practical need and by other similar experiences that future farmers needed practical higher education, Turner campaigned for tax-supported public schools, helped organize the Illinois State Teachers Association and the Illinois State Normal School (now Illinois State University, where Dr. Gene Budig was previously president), and persuaded the Illinois legislature to petition Congress (1853) for federal lands to establish an industrial university in each state. Precedents for this proposal were the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, which reserved part of each township for public schools ("Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged"), land grants to veterans of the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and land given to promote railroad growth and so attract Western settlers.

In Congress, former Vermont storekeeper Justin Smith Morrill (1810-98), was concerned about the waste of public land and also wanted to popularize his new Republican Party. What better way than to incorporate Turner's ideas and language into a bill, the Morrill Act; it barely passed Congress in 1859 but President Buchanan vetoed it. Reintroduced, the bill was passed and signed by President Lincoln in July 1862 in time to meet the needs of post-Civil War industrial America.

Enrollment mounted in the new agricultural and mechanic arts colleges:  
 1882: 2,243; 1895: 25,000; 1916: 135,000; 1926: 400,000; 1979: 1,695,087.  
 The over seventy land-grant colleges and universities broadened and diffused  
 knowledge widely to meet state and national needs in agriculture, engineering,  
 other professions, ROTC, and arts and sciences. Students included women, first  
 taught home economics and then all fields, thus aiding coeducation.

Frontier wealth and challenges enabled America to develop a new optimism,  
 a can-do pragmatic philosophy different from that of the Old World. Wisconsin  
 historian Frederick Jackson Turner, seeing in the 1890 census the shift westward  
 of the population center, noted in a famous paper, The Significance of the  
 Frontier in American History (1893), that Old World religion, law, literature,  
 and education had been altered and changed in the American context. Later  
 historian Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas theorized that frontier  
 gold, silver, furs, and timber had flowed first abroad to enrich Europe. This  
 frontier wealth found Europe a crowded metropolis with people bound religiously,  
 politically, economically by church, state and class. Frontier wealth, said  
 Webb, loosened Europe's medieval outlook, leavened the Renaissance, aided science,  
 spread representative government, and advanced Europe to modern times. Also,  
 America's empty frontier beckoned Europe's rural and urban poor. By the millions  
 they fled poverty, intolerance, and impressment, many finding in North America,  
 after suffering and sacrifice, new lives and fortunes. In the glow of vast U.S.  
 immigration Emma Lazarus wrote words later carved on the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,  
 Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free;  
 Send these the homeless, tempest-toss'd to me;  
 I hold the lamp beside the Golden Door.

And immigrant Mary Antin wrote of what schooling meant to her:

Education was free. That subject my father had written about repeatedly . . . his chief hope for us children, the essence of American opportunity, the treasure that no thief could touch. . . . It was the one thing he was able to promise us when he sent for us; surer, safer than bread or shelter.

Education in America had an aura of faith: first church-connected, as were the colonial colleges; then secular, as were state universities; then nationally broadened, as were land-grant colleges; then cathedral-like gifts by private donors: Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore and Ohio Railroad money), Stanford University (western railroad money), University of Chicago (Rockefeller oil money), Duke University (tobacco money), and others. In our time, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam GI Bills of Rights and the 1970s open university admissions have made higher education, once a privilege for the few, a natural right for many. This phenomenon, arising from vaster opportunities than Europe could imagine or afford, fixed the myth of Americans as new people in a new society (a "Citty set upon a Hill"). Faith in learning was part of this myth. Education was the new religion looking for something to worship and finding it in childhood.

Granville Stanley Hall (1846-1924), western Massachusetts farm boy, attended Williams College, Union Theological Seminary, went to Berlin, taught at Antioch College, studied under William James at Harvard, went back to Germany under Wilhelm Wundt, was psychology professor at the new Johns Hopkins University (founded 1876), where he founded the first experimental psychological laboratory, and was finally president of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, which he made a center for psychological studies. Hall moved from theology to philosophy to psychology during the great debate over Darwinian evolution, which he embraced.

Recapitulation was Hall's theme, a belief that the child relives in capsule stages what mankind went through from savagery to civilization. Using question-

naires administered by trained kindergarten teachers. Hall collected data from children to establish norms of their thinking, behavior, and abilities. His pioneer book, The Content of Children's Minds (1883), helped initiate the child study movement. His two-volume Adolescence (1902) justified psychologically and philosophically the junior high school as a separate school for students no longer children but not yet fully mature.

Combining John Locke's empiricism, Jean Jacques Rousseau's romanticism, and Charles Darwin's evolution, Hall saw children as coming uncorrupted from God's hand, learning through play to develop physical and intellectual abilities. Instinct was raised above reason. Play and activity became more important than books and memory as central teaching devices. Spontaneity and freedom became more important than social mores or cumulated knowledge. Forced book learning was wrong. Rebellion in youth was natural. Sin was caused by environment, not by human depravity. The original tendencies of childhood are good.

So Hall preached the new gospel of childhood, of a permissive return to Eden, aided more than resisted by his famous students: James M. Cattell, Lewis M. Terman, and others in the psychological testing movement; Franz Boas in anthropology; Arnold L. Gesell in child development; and John Dewey, his student at Johns Hopkins University, in Progressive Education.

John Dewey's (1859-1952) first book was Psychology (1887), written while he taught philosophy at the University of Michigan where, helping to accredit Michigan high schools, he became familiar with public school problems. Then came an opportunity at the University of Chicago (1894-1904) for Dewey to head a combined department of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy and to direct (1894-1904) an experimental laboratory school for teachers trained in that

department. It was to be an important progressive school. In Europe, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and others had established such experimental schools; as had Amos B. Alcott in Boston, Francis Wayland Parker in Quincy, and others. What made the later Dewey school different was his defense in speeches and books of why he had moveable furniture to encourage small- and large-group work, replacing conventional fixed seats and silent children; why, instead of teacher-dominated drill on set lessons from prescribed textbooks, he encouraged discussion, questions, and activities by children who shared toys, materials, and books. Few at first grasped his concern to integrate and reconcile what educationally had always been kept separate: interest and effort, school and society, the individual and the group, the child and the curriculum.

What influenced Dewey was Darwinian evolution, pragmatic adjustment to change, the child study movement, and ten years' experience at the turn of the century directing a model school amid Chicago's teeming one million people, two-thirds of them poor immigrants and the children of immigrants. Dewey saw and said: what we learn comes from experience (learning by doing); the best experience is life as we must live it (education is life); democracy requires interaction (education is a social process).

Rejecting eternal truths and fixed ends, accepting Darwinian change and adjustment, Dewey wrote that education is not church-centered or state-centered or subject-centered, but child-centered; that it is growth leading to further growth, that education is a process of continual reconstruction of experiences. These ideas in his book, Democracy and Education (1916), came to him about the time the U.S. changed from pre-1890 rural agrarian simplicity to urban, industrial complexity. His book was published a year before U.S. military and industrial might helped win World War I, marking U.S. emergence as a world power; and three

years before the founding of the Progressive Education Association (1919). If Dewey's writing style was difficult, interpreters sprang up everywhere, most prominently William H. Kilpatrick at Columbia University's Teachers College, whose "project method" of organizing a subject into manageable units was a much publicized progressive education teaching device. Liberals looking for a champion found one in Dewey. With him as sage, Progressive Education as a rallying call, and Traditional Education as straw man to knock down, the child became the focus and democratic education the promise of social improvement.

In the 1930s Depression, with experimentation in the air, Progressive Education rhetoric put children's interests and needs first. The high point was the Eight-Year Study (1932-40), in which the Progressive Education Association compared students from progressive and traditional high schools through high school and college. Progressives claimed victory because, while their students did almost as well academically (except for math and foreign languages), they did excel in extracurricular activities. Traditionalists objected to the experiment as biased and ill-conceived.

The Progressive Education attitude persisted as late as 1950, when a national "Life Adjustment" conference urged public schools to serve the majority of youth (some sixty per cent) not going to college who needed personal adjustment and job skills. But a reactionary return to basic education, enhanced by World War II and Cold War demands, has dominated since the 1950s. Historian Arthur Bestor, Admiral H. G. Rickover, and other conservative critics demanded 3 R subject matter mastery. The shock of Sputnik, October 1957, spurred this quality drive out of fear of Russian supremacy in space. The 1958 National Defense Education Act was followed by the new math, new biology, new chemistry, new social studies, and other curriculum revisions, and was supported by

psychologist Jerome Bruner's theme: "Any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." It was a quality drive largely benefitting the gifted.

The pendulum swing to uplift poor whites and minorities educationally came after John F. Kennedy's assassination, during Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency, through Project Head Start, Follow Through, Community Action Programs, Job Corps, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and similar Great Society education programs. President Johnson, former Texas teacher, saw a chance to leave his mark by remaking America educationally. It was bold and heroic, but in retrospect too much and too quick an overpromise. The escalating Vietnam War after 1965 and consequent student protests killed that dream, forced President Johnson to retire in 1968, led to President Nixon's election, and socio-economic-educational retrenchment since.

To understand better the educational legacy of the 1950s and sixties, begin with black seamstress Rosa Parks heading home after work seated in the front of a Montgomery, Alabama, bus in December 1955. When the bus filled, she refused to move but instead courted arrest. In protest, local black Baptist minister Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organized a bus boycott. A year later a federal court ended Montgomery's bus segregation. The victory sparked the black protest movement and in the early 1960s white students joined sitins, walkins, and freedom rides to challenge southern segregation.

In September 1964 at the University of California, Berkeley, officials removed protest literature from a regular student gathering place. Disturbances and arrests followed. On December 1, philosophy student Mario Savio rallied students with a ringing speech. Folk singer Joan Baez led students chanting "We Shall Overcome." Thus was born the Free Speech Movement. Had there been



no black protest movement in Montgomery and no Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, there might not have been massive student protests in 1968 aimed at ending the Vietnam War, and toppling an American president, and no women's movement. Why had students in the sixties made history when their counterparts in the fifties were so placid?

In the 1950s, American institutions provided what Americans wanted. Things people wanted denied by the 1930s Depression and the scarce World War II years, were a home, a car, a washing machine, a television. Lucky, successful families moved up from a Chevrolet to a Buick, maybe even to a Cadillac. Dad as masculine provider, Mom as mother and housewife had undisputed roles. School graduates wanted marriage, a well-paid job, and a family of three or more. Young people accepted the work ethic, knew that ambition paid, and enjoyed suburbia. Between 1950-70 average family income almost tripled. We changed from a largely two-class society (near poor and wealthy) to a three-class society: a wealthy minority, a residual poor minority, and a majority moving to middle class affluence. Unemployment and inflation were low. The proportion of high school graduates increased. College and graduate school enrollment mounted. Education was the royal road to success.

Government supported these values: an interstate highway system promoted car sales, the GI Bill underwrote the education boom, GI home loans built suburbia, and government expanded its commitment to social welfare. People trusted government, business, brand names. We knew who we were, despite troublesome events emerging almost unawares: the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision; the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott; the 1957 confrontation in Little Rock; the discovery of poverty in Appalachia and in rural and urban America; the idealistic need for Peace Corps abroad and Vietnam at home; the 1963 John F. Kennedy assassination; the 1964

Berkeley Free Speech Movement; the 1965-68 escalating Vietnam War; the 1968 assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., in April, and of Robert F. Kennedy in June; and the August 1968 student-police clash at the Chicago Democratic Convention.

"The whole world is watching you," changed politicized students to TV cameras, a perverse echo of Governor Winthrop's Calvinistic cry, "We shall be as a City set on a Hill." Many asked what happened to "I lift the lamp beside the golden door".

The 1960s, a revolution of the haves, not the have-nots, has left the following legacy: (1) an erosion of the belief that hard work pays; (2) a lifting of restraints on drugs, marriage, family, religion, morals, patriotism; (3) a new attitude of government-guaranteed entitlement to food, shelter, jobs, medical care, higher education (the new administration says this entitlement attitude has hemmed us in with government regulations, changed our outlook on work and government's relation to big business, and weakened the free market economy); (4) a new sensitivity to environmental concerns and belief in the interrelatedness of living things; and (5) industrial waste and nuclear power plant concerns that have an anti-technology bias.

When President Reagan told Congress on February 18, 1981, that the role of government is not to change society, he shut the door again on achieving Johnson's Great Society by spending. The mandate of the 1980 election is interpreted as reversing the recent legacy of entitlement, restoring authority, restraint, limited central government, and letting free enterprise operate in a market economy. This counter reformation heralds increased private enterprise to complete and, by competing, to improve public education. Tuition tax credit, which failed in the 1978 Congress, and vouchers will be reintroduced. Both of

them give parents a choice to use public money to help pay for private elementary, secondary, and higher education. Critics say these changes will be at the expense of the poor and of those of average and lesser abilities, that only well-to-do parents will be able to pay the difference for private education, that public schools will be drained of money, their brightest pupils, and essential parental support and involvement. Because we overpromised and are now taking away, do we have the makings of a revolution from below? Is the new administration aware of this possibility as it seeks to fulfill its mandate?

Education for all, as far as people want to go, along with job availability and upward mobility, has given common people a big stake in this country. The long quest of America has been to educate the masses, with frequent pendulum swings to quality. Many doubt that any society, no matter how democratic, can ever be truly equal and excellent, too. Most believe with Thomas Jefferson that a nation that is ignorant and free is something that never was and never will be.