DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 310 968 SO 020 194

AUTHOR	Rutkowski, Edward, Ed.
TITLE	Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society. Volume 17, 1989.
INSTITUTION	University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls. Coll. of Education.
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	208p.; Papers and proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society (24th, Chicago, IL, October 28-29, 1988). Document contains a few illustrations that may not reproduce well.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society; v17 1989
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Armed Forces; Compulsory Education; *Educational Change; Educational Facilities Design; *Educational History; *Foreign Countries; Illiteracy; Literacy; *Progressive Education; Social Change
IDENTIFIERS	Addams (Jane); Deneen (Charles); Dewey (John); Dundel (Harold); India; Merbart (Johann Friedrich); Northwest Territories; Norway; Orton (Edward); Owen (Robert); Siedenberg (Frederick); South Africa; Washington (Booker T)

ABSTRACT

The 18 papers of this conference were divided into five topics ranging from literacy to the history of progressive reform to history of education from an international perspective. Part 1 includes: "Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune's Early American Experiments in Educating Illiterates" (L. Townsend); "The Dilemma of Equivalency: American Colleges and the Evaluation of Armed Services Training in the 1940s" (A. D. Rose); and "An Analysis of Historical Studies of Literacy Standards from Three Epochs in American Elementary Education" (K. Hanus). Part 2 includes: "John Dewey: 'Philosophy and Education in Their Historic Relations'" (J. J. Chambliss); "Addams's Pragmatic Impact on Adult Education" (M. T. Colky); "Charles Deneen and Illinois Education Reform during the Progressive Era" (E. E. Gordon); "Progressive Education and School Architecture" (D. Nelson); and "The Hessian Hills School, 1930-1941: Social Reconstructionism in Practice" (K. M. Campbell). Part 3 includes: "The Career of Edward Orton, the First President of the Ohio State University" (K. A. Work; D. L. Shaver); "Booker T. Washington and the Movable School" (E. H. Goldstein); and "Frederick Siedenberg, S. J.: Catholic, Priest, and Progressive, a Contradiction in Terms" (M. C. Schiltz). Part 4 includes: "Pre-British European Educational Activities in India" (K. C. Thottopuram); "Education for Subjugation and Liberation: The Historical Context of Peoples' Education in South Africa" (T. Reagan); "An Historical Overview: Educational Assimilation of the Saami in Norway" (G. Roland); and "Dunkel's Herbart Revisited: The Milieu in which He Worked" (E. V. Johánningmeier). Part 5 includes: "Education and Reform at Robert Owen's New Lanark" (G. Gutek); "The Old Northwest Revisited: Education before the Era of the Common Schools" (C. R. Wolf); and "The Passage of Compulsory Attendance Laws, 1870-1915" (M. J. Eisenberg). The conference program, minutes of the business meeting, and a directory of attendance are included. (JB)

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

Volume 17, 1989

Papers and proceedings of the 24th meeting

Published by the
Department of Educational Psychology
and Foundations
College of Education,
University of Northern Iowa

Distributed and Published for the Society by the
Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations,
College of Education, University of Northern Iowa,
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Edited by
Edward Rutkowski

Any subscriptions or inquiries should be sent to:

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society
Education Center, Room 513
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

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Part I
INQUIRY INTO HISTORICAL METHODS, LANGUAGES, AND LITERACY

Isabella Graham's and Joanna Bethune's Early American Experiments in Educating Illiterates

Lucy Forsyth Townsend
Northern Illinois University

In recent decades, the problem of illiteracy has generated much publicity. Yet this problem is not new to our continent. Over the centuries, Americans have used a variety of means to tackle the problem, including schools and associations. Some of these efforts developed into well-entrenched institutions. Others flourished for a time and then died out. Two Puritan women who were deeply committed to educating the illiterate poor of New York City experimented with Sunday schools and infant schools. In the 1820s, the Sunday schools in their union were educating around eight thousand illiterates. Joanna Bethune's infant schools, while recognized as successfully meeting the needs of young, impoverished children, flourished for around a decade but soon died out. This paper will explore the lives and contributions of the leaders of these educational institutions: Isabella Graham and her daughter Joanna Bethune.

Family Background

Isabella Marshall (afterwards Graham) was born in Scotland in 1742 to a pious, affluent Presbyterian family. From ages ten to seventeen, she attended a boarding school, where she received a good education for a girl of her time. In 1765 she married Dr. John Graham, a surgeon in the army, and moved with him to Fort Niagara, Canada, where he was stationed with the Royal American regiment. Soon thereafter she received news of the death of her infant son, who had remained in Scotland. She had four more children, her daughter Joanna being born in 1770, at Fort Niagara. Three years later, as the family was planning to leave the army and settle in New England, Dr. Graham transferred to the island of Antigua. There he died suddenly of a fever, forcing his wife, at thirty-one years of age, to return to her native Scotland [1]

As a widow, Isabella Graham lost both financial security and social class. Her mother had died shortly before her return, and her father had lost all his money. Thus, on only a widow's pension, she had to provide for her aging father and four children. The family moved to a small cottage, and, during the first difficult years, ate mainly porridge and potatoes. Isabella Graham opened a small school and later established a boarding school for young women in Edinburgh. Although she had once socialized with many wealthy people of the area, now most of them ignored her.

There were some exceptions, however, the most helpful being viscountess Glenorchy, a noted Scottish evangelical reformer. Joanna, who helped her mother teach, stayed in Lady Glenorchy's home for a time where she was deeply impressed by the wealthy woman's care for the poor. Many years later, Joanna wrote that Lady Glenorchy kept all kinds of medicines for her impoverished neighbors and a room full of garments which "had previously furnished work to many individuals in three difft. stages spinning-weaving; making." She continued:

> Her mansion was elegant her grounds tastefully laid out and she like the great had two porters' lodges at her gate — of these she made school rooms — two of her pious domestics took charge of them — in one poor children were taught reading to receive religious instruction, in the other the females were taught to sew, spin, and knit. I was witness to her having potatoes planted for the poor in her very pleasure grounds.[2]

Lady Glenorchy was frequently in poor health, so Isabella Graham served as her almoner. In this role she noticed that when someone in an impoverished family became ill, the entire family suffered, so she suggested that every family in her neighborhood contribute a penny a week to a fund to relieve those who were ill. This was called the Penny Society, later renamed the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick. This society was the first of many more such associations which Isabella Graham and her daughter Joanna would found in later life.[3]

When Joanna Graham was fourteen, Lady Glenorchy provided the money for her to spend two years studying at a French school at Rotterdam, Holland, to be her mother's assistant teacher. At her death, Lady Glenorchy left Isabella Graham a bequest of two hundred pounds which the family used to emigrate to New York City. Isabella said that she wanted her children to settle in the United States because "America was the country where the Church of Christ would pre-eminently flourish."[4] Once having settled in the city, Isabella Graham and her daughters became active in the Cedar Street Scotch Presbyterian Church. Their pastor, Dr. John Mason, was the son of their former pastor in Scotland. Isabella was active in forming perhaps the first missionary society in New York, through which she involved her friends in providing funds for missionary work among the Indians and frontier settlers.

Young Ladies' Boarding School

To support themselves, Isabella Graham and her daughters established a young ladies' boarding school, apparently one of the earliest and best of its kind. Joanna Bethune wrote later that it was "the only school in the States where young ladies could obtain a thorough and elegant education, with the yet higher advantages of sound Christian training." While this statement may have been a bit overblown, it is true that few schools of the 1790s offered women studies beyond the basics. The enrollment at Graham's school varied from fifty to sixty young women, one of whom was the daughter of the prominent New York politician, James Duane. Joanna wrote years later that public examinations of her mother's school drew distinguished people, including George Washington and "the venerable and amiable Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the State of New-York." The purpose of the school was "to train Republican wives and mothers." Students were taken on excursions, instructed in the usual "external accomplishments as ornaments to the female character," cared for during illnesses, and taught knowledge." Most important, of course, was "the practice of virtue as the highest accomplishment of all."[5] Like most women's schools of this era, the boarding school lasted only so long as its founder needed the money to support herself.

When Joanna Graham was in her twenties, she was attracted briefly by the social life of her wealthy acquaintances. In later years she detailed her struggle to make a serious religious commitment and recalled that a "nervous fever" plagued her for years afterwards. She was certain that her religious faith should be the central guiding force in her life, so she determined not to marry a man who was repulsed by her three-times-a-week church going. Another young merchant, Divie Bethune, was a frequent visitor in her home. Divie Bethune had arrived from Scotland in 1792 without any money, and he could not afford to marry when he first asked Joanna to be his wife in 1794. Within a few years, however, he was to become a wealthy merchant. A devoted Christian and active member of their church, Divie Bethune impressed Isabella Graham as a devout young man, and she urged her daughter to marry him. The following year, Joanna married Divie Bethune. She had six children, three of whom lived to adulthood.[6]

In 1797, Isabella Graham's youngest daughter married, affording her freedom from the financial burdens she had carried throughout her adulthood. She closed her school, moved into the Bethune's home, and she lived there for the rest of her life. With the aid of the Bethune wealth and important social connections, "the happy trio," as Joanna Bethune called them, became leaders in New York religious philanthropy.[7]

Historians have ascribed to religious philanthropists various motives. Some have posited that they were social elites who used such institutions maintain their own status while controlling the underclass. Others have

said that they were emotionally unstable or simply young and full of energy.[8] From the journals left by Isabella Graham and her daughter, it appears that their motives can largely be attributed to two factors — their intense religious faith and their own former impoverishment. They were part of a larger religious movement called the Second Great Awakening that spread to America from the British Isles in the late 1700s. Evangelicals such as Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, and numerous Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist ministers converted hundreds of thousands of people to evangelical Christian faith. These converts, many of whom were young women, began a massive movement of missionary work. They founded tract, Bible, home missionary, foreign missionary, education, relief, infant school, and Sunday school societies modeled after similar societies in the British Isles.

The leaders of the Second Great Awakening stressed the immortality of the soul, conversion to Christ, daily Bible study, and a lifetime of selfless service to humanity. Christians experienced "re-birth," they believed, after which they gave up many enjoyments such as dancing and card-playing to commit their time and money to converting and teaching the "unsaved." Central to one's faith was a knowledge of the Word of God, the Bible, which every Christian needed to study and, if possible, commit to memory. Without at least the rudiments of learning, a Christian could not read the Bible.[9] Thus, evangelicals like Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune placed great stress on educating illiterates.

Birthpangs of a Modern City

When Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune plunged into benevolent work at the turn of the eighteenth century, New York City was developing into the nation's commercial capital. Its population grew from 33,131 in 1790 to 166,068 in 1825. During summers, thousands of workers found ready employment. Stevedores and cartmen swarmed the shipyards, loading and unloading merchantmen, piling the warehouses with textiles and other goods. Carpenters built and refitted ships. All over the city, workmen demolished clapboard houses to put up tall brick buildings. Road construction crews carved out and paved streets, aiding transportation to outlying areas of the growing city.

When winter came, however, the city was plunged into poverty. Few ships would hazard the stormy Atlantic, so the shipyards lay empty and silent. Most construction stopped because of the cold and snow, and with the prospect of few buying customers, retail shops and auctioneers cut their staffs. Even more devastating were the recurring economic depressions and the epidemics which hit the city in cycles. Yellow fever, cholera, and "fevers" devastated the population, especially the poor who lived in cramped, dank quarters along the marshy areas around the Collect and on the East River. It is no wonder that New Yorkers died in the thousands. Their streets were littered with dead animals and horse manure. Their garbage often lay heaped on the streets and left for days to

be eaten by stray hogs and other animals. The city had no publicly-supported fire, police, or sewage departments.[10]

Helping the Poor

The hardest hit were orphans, widows, the elderly, and the infirm. By 1814 19,078 people, or one-fifth of the population, were receiving public or private charity. In 1797, at the suggestion of Joanna Bethune, Isabella Graham founded the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children (SRPW). She became "First Directress" or president, and her daughter served as "Third Directress." The women of the SRPW gave away food and clothing, found employment for widows, and tried to follow Lady Glenorchy's method of having the women make clothing to support themselves. This last effort proved a failure because the women could not make enough profit. The attempts of the women of the SRPW at schooling were more successful. They established charity schools for the children of the widows, where volunteer teachers taught basic literacy skills and the Bible. Ornamentals were not part of the curriculum. Survival was the goal, not upward mobility.[11]

Isabella Graham and her daughter quickly became aware of another problem. The widows whom they tried to help often died, and their children had nowhere to go except the city's almshouses. In 1806 Joanna Bethune founded the Orphan Asylum Society in the City of New York. She became the treasurer and, with her husband's credit, helped the society construct the earliest orphan asylum in America. She was a member of the board for fifty years, serving as directress for seven years and teaching in the asylum's Lancasterian school until there was enough money to hire a teacher. From 1836 to 1900 an average of two hundred children lived and were educated there.[12]

Following the War of 1812, New York City was plunged into a terrible depression. To assist the impoverished, Joanna Bethune established in 1814 the Society for the Promotion of Industry among the Poor. This organization set up a House of Industry where over five hundred women were employed to do handwork and sewing. One contract the women bid for and successfully completed was to outfit an American warship with bedding and clothing. On Sundays five volunteer teachers taught the women basic literacy skills and religion.[13]

Mother of the Sunday Schools

At the turn of the nineteenth century, New York City was full of private schools. In 1795 and 1805, the state legislature allocated money to encourage and maintain a system of common schools, but building such a system would take nearly fifty years. In the meantime, thousands of poor children were growing up without an education. Thus, in 1805 leading philanthropists, many of whom were Quakers, established the Free School Society to provide poor children with free schooling. By

1817 more than 1,000 children were attending the schools of the Society, yet it has been estimated that as late as 1829, around 50 percent of the city's youth aged five to fifteen were still not attending any school.[14] It was to this group to which Joanna Bethune next directed her attention.

In 1801 while Joanna Bethune and her husband had been visiting in Scotland, they had heard about the Sabbath schools that were being founded there. Joanna Bethune was interested, but her growing family and the orphan asylum took up most of her time. In 1812 a friend from England sent "many reports and documents" to inform the Bethunes of Robert Raikes' Sunday-school system designed to teach illiterate factory children the rudiments of learning. Excited by what she read, Joanna determined to set up similar schools in New York. She established several experimental schools in both the city and the country. She and her husband also tried to interest various ministers and congregations in establishing an extensive Sunday school network like that found in England and Scotland. Apparently they met with apathy and in some instances open hostility. A few years earlier, Joanna Bethune might have relied on her mother to assist her in setting up the society. After all, her mother had established a Sunday evening school for illiterate women in 1797. But Isabella Graham could be of no help now. She had died on 27 July 1814. At this critical juncture, Divie Bethune encouraged Joanna to gather women of various denominations and "begin the work yourselves."[15]

The first meeting of The Female Union Society for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools was held on 31 January 1816. The women elected Joanna Bethune to be their "First Directress." They wrote a constitution, stating that they had formed the society because "Vast numbers of the youth of both sexes are growing up, not only without religious instruction, but without education of any kind." Thus, the Society would endeavor to do four things: "to stimulate and encourage those engaged in the education and religious instruction of the ignorant; to improve the method of instruction; to promote the opening of new schools; to unite, in Christian love, persons of various denominations engaged in the same honorable employment." Following customary practice in most New York schools of separating males from females in the classroom, the Society opened its schools to children and adult females, most of whom were impoverished. A month later, Divie Bethune called the men of various denominations to a meeting to found a Sunday school society for males, the New York Sunday-School Union Society.[16]

Both societies were highly successful. By the end of its first year of operation, the Female Society reported "21 schools, 250 teachers, and 3,163 scholars" under its care; its male counterpart reported similar figures. By the end of the second year, the Female Society had added 10 more schools and 34 teachers. It now reported an "average attendance" rather than total membership of 2877 students. Like Scottish Sunday-school founders, Joanna Bethune asked people to serve as volunteer teachers. They used memorization as their main teaching method, a

practice that was to engender considerable criticism in later decades. The students began by learning the alphabet and then progressed to reading the Bible. They memorized the catechism, hymns, and lengthy Scripture passages.[17]

The 1805 New York City census figures reveal that of the 71,762 people living in the city, 2,048 were slaves and 1,960 were free Blacks. Some of this group were illiterates who eventually found their way into the Sunday schools of the Female Union Society. For example, School No. 4 reported:

> The School at present consists of one Superintendent, 18 Teachers, and 104 Scholars: of these, 26 are white children, 63 coloured adults, and 15 coloured children. Three women above the age of fifty, who commenced with the alphabet, have committed to memory the whole of Brown's catechism, 52 hymns, and the ten commandments, by spelling very word.[18]

School No. 6 reported that the adult white students were making slow progress, with one exception: "C.M. whose anxiety to acquire knowledge is so great, that since the 15th of February she has lived at service with no other remuneration than the privilege of attending Sunday School. She has attended three months, and now begins to read."[19]

In addition to establishing and overseeing schools, the Society published and sold Sunday school supplies. During 1818 the Society reported that Sunday schools in "sixty different places" had, purchased the following from its depository: "2500 copies Spelling-Books, 500 Hints for establishing Sunday Schools, 1500 Annual Reports of the Society, 4000 copies Lessons for Adults, 1000 Episcopal Church Catechisms, 7500 other Catechisms, 4000 copies Selection of Scripture Texts by Dr. Brown, 2000 Original Hymns for Adults, 2000 Robber's Daughter, And a variety of Register Books, Class-Papers, Cards, Tickets, etc." The women combined social work with education. They reported that since they had established the Society, the children were no longer "shivering little wretches, crying at their doors for the refuse of their tables." The children were fed and given clothing. Some were given employment.[20]

Within a few years, the Female Union Society for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools was educating between 7,000 and 8,000 students. There was criticism, however, from those who said that schools should not operate on the Day of Rest. Others warned that children and adults who memorized large chunks of Scripture would seriously harm their brains. In spite of sometimes fierce opposition, Sunday schools continued to proliferate. The success of the Female Union Society and that of similar societies in other cities led to the formation in 1824 of a national organization called the American Sunday-School Union. The Union soon grew into a vast enterprise with missionaries founding Sunday schools throughout the United States. Sunday schools began to cater not only to the impoverished but to all classes of people. In many desolate

places they were the sole means by which children and adults learned basic literacy skills. Sunday schools were the precursors of both churches and public school systems. Once district schools were established, however, Sunday school teachers limited instruction to religious education, which had all along been the main reason for their existence. By 1875, 6,500,000 American children and 300,000 Canadian children were reported to be attending these schools.[21]

The American Sunday School Union published curricula, hundreds of thousands of spelling books, tracts, magazines, and Sunday school papers. It paved the way for public libraries by publishing libraries of one hundred bound volumes for only ten dollars a set. These sets contained religious books but there were also juvenile selections of history, biography, travel, narratives, poetry, songs, conversations, and hymns. Missionaries distributed these inexpensive sets to such an extent that the 1859 *Manual of Public Libraries* reported that of the 50,000 public libraries in America, 30,000 were in Sunday schools. Many towns and villages had only one library, that found in a Sunday school. For her leadership in this movement, Joanna Bethune has been called "the mother of the Sabbath-schools in Americ. " She wrote many years later: "I had the privilege, . . . to establish the first Sunday-school Union in America, the first Sunday-school Depository, and to be I hope, usefully engaged in Sabbath-schools for fourteen years." Her union was not the first, but it was one of the largest and most influential early Sunday school unions in the United States.[22]

Infant Schools

Divie Bethune died in 1824, the same year that Joanna Bethune's Sunday-school Society merged with the American Sunday-School Union. At age fifty-four, she became heir and manager of her husband's estate, a position that forced her to fight with her husband's business partner for a share of the profits. Three years later, having sold the business, she received a request from the governor of New York, DeWitt Clinton, to found an infant school society.[23]

The infant school movement had begun in 1816 when Robert Owen founded an infant school in Scotland. These schools spread quickly to England, Ireland, and the United States and were the means by which poor children might be cared for and educated while their parents were working in factories. The first infant school was established in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1827. Four months later, Joanna Bethune established the Infant School Society in New York. She wrote later that she had often thought about the needs of the young children of impoverished families. Children four years and older might attend a school sponsored by the Free School Society, but preschool children had no one to look after them during the day. Usually their parents went away to work, leaving the children locked up and in danger of fire or wandering in the streets. "exposed to casualties and corrupting influences." An infant school

could care for and instruct poor children aged eighteen months to six years. More important to Joanna Bethune was the opportunity such schools afforded to train children to be Christians. "Give me to found Infant Schools wherever there are children growing up in ignorance, and vice," she wrote in her prayer journal. "Counsel me, Lord, as it respects publishing a little volume on the subject; if I can be useful in that way do thou aid me, and give me to furnish teachers with such lessons as shall ultimately be the means of training up many who shall fear God and keep his commandments."[24]

With her usual thoroughness, Joanna Bethune wrote to friends in England and Switzerland and received books about the infant school system there. She studied the theories and methods of Samuel Wilderspin and Johann Pestalozzi. In May 1827 she met with women of various denominations at the Brick Street Presbyterian Church and was elected "First Directress" of the Infant School Society. Along with five officers, thirty women were appointed "managers." It was not long before the Society, under the direction of Joanna Bethune, was operating an infant school in the basement of the Canal Street Presbyterian Church. The 170 children who registered were required to be vaccinated, and between 50 and 100 of them attended on a regular basis. Two sessions of at least three hours were offered, but children could remain from early morning until dark. During the winter, few children under three years of age were able to attend. A principal, two teachers, and an assistant cared for the children, using the Pestalozzian system as they understood it. The children sang songs, took part in activities, and listened to the teachers rather than using books or lesson boards.[25]

The trustees of the Public School Society soon became interested in the infant school. All their schools were conducted on the Lancastrian plan. Since one-third of the children who attended their schools were between the ages of four and six, they wondered whether the Lancastrian or the Pestalozzian system might be more beneficial to young children. Thus, they opened an infant school in the basement of School No. 8, calling it the "Junior Department." One female principal and a monitor conducted class for three hundred children, a few of whom were under three years of age. They appointed a committee to compare the success of the "Junior Department" with that of the Infant School Society. In 1828 the committee reported that the infant school's teaching methods were superior to those of the Junior Department:

> the one being the mere course of common instruction in the knowledge of letters and words, the other including the first, and extending its views to what is of much greater importance — the knowledge of things and ideas, with moral maxims and scriptural instruction; the whole illustrated by visible objects and verbal explanations calculated to excite the attention and interest the feelings of the infant mind.[26]

The committee also noted that women seemed to be better teachers of young children than men. On the basis of this experiment, the committee

recommended that infant schools be added to the basements of schools throughout the city, that Junior and Infant Departments be renamed "Primary Departments," and that the Infant School Society manage and superintend these schools. Shortly thereafter, two infant schools on the Pestalozzian plan were opened.

Infant schools had a promising start, but they were to die out in only a few years. First, legal questions arose as to whether New York State funds should be used to support infant schools. Apparently the number of young children in small towns and farming areas who would need such schools was small, whereas the number in large cities was much larger. It was argued that with an increase in infant schools, cities would receive a disproportionate share of state money. In consequence, the women of the Infant School Society appealed to the public to supply the needed money. Pointing out that they had had funds to operate only three infant schools, they wrote:

> What has been done for the Ten Thousand children reported last year as fit subjects for Infant schools, by the committee appointed to ascertain how many were under instruction? Nothing. Not a single school has been opened since that appalling report was made, and New-York, with its religious and benevolent institutions remains a nursery for crime. . . . Rouse then Christian brethren and sisters to this good work. Let not another race of infants be thrown on the world and nothing be done.[27]

Through such appeals, they apparently raised enough money to found nine or ten infant schools, but these were quietly absorbed into the "Primary Departments," which excluded children under four years of age.

A second question arose, however, as to whether the small children were actually benefitting from infant schools. Articles began to appear in the *American Journal of Education* pointing out that young children who were given too much intellectual stimulation might suffer irreparable brain damage. In 1833 Amariah Brigham published a popular book, *Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation and Mental Excitement upon Health*, which warned that educators were emphasizing too much intellectual growth too soon, thus harming young children. The same sorts of admonitions were heaped upon Sunday school teachers for encouraging children to memorize large portions of the Bible. Similar warnings would also be hurled against women later in the century when they insisted on pursuing collegiate studies.[28]

If Sunday and infant schools faced similar criticisms, then why did the former institution survive and the latter die out? Perhaps the answer lies in their clientele. Only in the beginning years did Sunday schools educate poor people. Soon they expanded to include people of all classes, many of whom had the financial resources to found and sustain Sunday schools despite the arguments of their critics. Some infant schools began to draw children of upper classes, but it was not long before educators began

to say that Pestalozzian's theories supported home care of young children. not institutional care. This idea was in keeping with the popular nineteenth century conviction that young children and their mothers belonged in the home and that mothers were the most important teacher in a child's life. Whatever their initial interest in infant schools, middle-class parents were reluctant to place their young children in institutional settings. Nor would they support such schools and thus relieve women of what they believed was their primary duty in life. The people who would most benefit from infant schools were the least powerful members in society — impoverished mothers and small children in cities. Thus, it is not surprising that an institution designed specifically to meet their needs would not have the strength to survive much opposition. It was not until the middle of the twentieth century that urban, impoverished children would begin to have their educational needs met on a large scale in programs such as Head Start, which are supported largely by the federal govemment.

Throughout the 1830s, Joanna Bethune continued to organize and supervise infant schools. She taught in an infant school in the notorious Five Points slum district and wrote and published several books on infant education. Although young women observed her work and founded similar schools in other places, by the end of the 1830s, infant schools were slowly losing patronage, not only in New York but in other cities as well. Joanna Bethune appealed to the America Sunday School Union to incorporate infant schools in their programs. They complied and printed pictures and cards for infant school teachers to use in their Sunday school classes. Joanna Bethune continued to be an officer of the orphan asylum and to teach Sunday school until she was in her eighties. She died on 29 July 1860 at the age of 92.

Conclusion

Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune experimented with new institutions and methods in order to teach large numbers of impoverished women and children. In a day when women could not vote, hold public office, or conduct a church worship service, these two women provided significant leadership in education. The numerous Sunday and infant schools that they founded were staffed by volunteers who happened to be women. Because these women were successful, especially in their work with young children, the public came to believe that women could be effective teachers. Thus, through religious schools designed to teach basic literacy, women gradually began to take over a profession that had previously been dominated by men.

When Joanna Bethune was fifty-five years old, she became so ill that she thought that she was going to die. In her journal, she wrote a will and addresses it to her Maker. She had five requests, the fourth of which was following: "that I may have a portion to give to the Widow, the herless. the stranger, the sick and afflicted, and if [it is] not too much to

ask that I may still be permitted to aid in institutions labouring for the spread of the Gospel and advancing the Kingdom."[29] This request perhaps best summarizes what both Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune wanted to give to American society. In reality, they gave far more.

Notes

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[2] 18 August 1814, autobiography, Joanna and Divie Bethune Journals, William Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[3] Joanna Bethune, *Power of Faith*, 68.

[4] Ibid., 78.

[5] Ibid., 92, 82; George W. Bethune, *Memoirs of Mrs. Joanna Bethune* (New York: Harper, 1863), 54-55; Dorothy G. Becker, "Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune: Trailblazers of Organized Women's Benevolence," *Social Service Review* 61 (June 1987), 322.

[6] George Bethune, *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 56-74; *Notable American Women*, s.v. Joanna Graham Bethune.

[7] Joanna Bethune, *Power of Faith*, 205.

[8] See, for example, Clifford Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960); Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), Lois W. Banner, "Religion and Reform in the Early Republic: The Role of Youth," *Feminist Studies* (4 October 1978), 677; Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 29, 49.

[9] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (reprint, Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1975), 504-20; Rosenberg, *New York City Mission Movement*, 44-69; Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis," *American Quarterly* 21 (Spring 1969).

[10] Rosenberg, *New York City Mission Movement*, 17-21; Ravitch, *School Wars* 5-6; Carl Kaestle, *Evolution of an Urban School System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), 32-35.

[11] Becker, "Trailblazers of Organized Women's Benevolence," 323.

[12] Thomas Boese, *Public Education in the City of New York: Its History, Condition, and Statistics* (New York: Harper, 1869), 24; Becker, "Trailblazers of Organized Women's Benevolence," 332.

[13] George Bethune, *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 122; *The Second Report of the New-York Female Union Society for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools* (New York: J. Seymour, 1818), 46.

[14] Ravitch, *Great School Wars*, 12; Kaestle, *Evolution of an Urban School System*, 89.

[15] George Bethune, *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 90, 120; Edwin Wilbur Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement, 1780-1917, and the American Sunday-School Union, 1817-1917* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 56-58, 419, 445-46.

[16] *Second Report of Female Union Society*, 47; Rice, *Sunday-School Movement*, 57. The accounts of the establishment of the male and female unions in New York are contradictory. According to Rice, the men, out of courtesy, allowed the women to initiate the first union although they were ready to establish their own union; however, according to a document that is copied in the back of Rice's volume, Joanna Bethune could not interest the men in the project. In her journal she wrote: "It is, again, the weaker vessels that commence this work, as they did the Sabbath-school." George Bethune, *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 164.

[17] Rice, *Sunday School Movement*, 57, 59. Each Sunday school submitted an annual report of the Society; from these summaries can be gleaned the teaching methods used. *Second Report of the Female Union Society*, 18, 11; George Bethune. *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 121.

[18] Boese, *Public Education in the City of New York*, 23; *Second Report of the Female Union Society*, 7.

[19] *Second Report of the Female Union Society*, 8.

[20] Ibid., 19.4.

[21] Bethune. *Memoirs of Joanna Bethune*, 121; Charles B. Eavey, *History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964), 234, 235, 246, 256, 258. For a discussion of the importance of the Sunday schools in the public school movement, see David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 35-38; F. Michael Perko, *A Time To Favor Zion: The Ecology of Religion and School Development on the Urban Frontier, Cincinnati, 1830-1870* (Chicago: Educational Studies Press, 1988), 27-31; *The Development of the Sunday-School, 1780-1905: The Official Report of the Eleventh International Sunday-School Convention* (Boston: International Sunday-School Association. 1905), 36. 95, 19. The Sunday school newsletter *Teacher Touch*, Fall 1988. 1, reports that 98 percent of all United States and Canadian churches have Sunday schools; around 4.2 teachers and 36 million students attend each week.

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[23] *Encyclopedia of Sunday Schools*, s.v. Divie Bethune; journal entries, 28 December 1824, 2 January 1825, 9 January 1825, Joanna and Divie Bethune Journals, William Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan. *The Constitution and By-laws of the Infant School Society of the City of New York; with the Subscribers' Names, Etc., Instituted May 23, 1827* (New York: Seymour, 1828), 10.

[24] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1948, 664-66; A. Emerson Palmer, *The New York Public School* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 72, 76-77; Dean May and Maris A. Vinovskis, "A Ray of Millennial Light: Early Education and Social Reform in the Infant School Movement in Massachusetts, 1826-1840, in *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930*, edited by Tamara K. Hareven (New York: View Points, 1977), 62-63; *Constitution and By-laws of the Infant School Society*, 3-4; journal entry, 18 September 1828, Joanna and Divie Bethune Journals, William Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan.

[25] The Free School Society changed its name to the Public School Society in 1826. Bourne, William, *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York* (New York: William Wood, 1870), 658-659; Boese, *Public Education in the City of New York*, 41, 50-53.

[26] Ibid., Bourne, 660-61.

[27] Ibid.; see also "Appeal of the Infant School Society to the Public in Behalf of Infant Schools Exclusively for the Poor," *New York Observer* (26 September 1829): 154.

[28] Vinovskis, "Ray of Millenial Light," 84-85.

[29] Journal entry, 7 March 1825, Joanna and Divie Bethune Journals, William Clements Library, University of Michigan.

The Dilemmas of Equivalency: American Colleges and the Evaluation of Armed Services Training in the 1940s.

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Introduction

In 1944 the American Council on Education (ACE) published a looseleaf edition of *A Guide to the Evaluation of Education Experiences in the Armed Services*. A completed edition of the Guide was subsequently made available in 1946. This Guide, which came to be known as Tuttle's Guide after its compiler was developed by an ACE committee headed by George P. Tuttle, Registrar at the University of Illinois. It was sponsored by a coalition of nineteen professional associations including seven accrediting associations. In this first edition over 800 training courses offered by the Armed Services were evaluated and recommendations made as to their value in terms of college and high school credit. Almost immediately the Guide was accepted by the majority of post-secondary institutions in the United States. While derived from the immediate problems of the veterans returning to college campuses, it solved a dilemma that went far deeper in terms of analyzing learning that takes place outside of the standard college curriculum.

The Guide and its successors are usually portrayed as innovations which proved to be enormously helpful in assimilating the vast numbers of veterans flocking to the colleges under the G.I. Bill. Yet little study has been made either of its development or its rapid and widespread acceptance within the academic community. This paper will examine the circumstances which led to the compiling of the Guide, especially the ACE policies which led to its formulation.

The Educated Army

During World War II, the United States had what was considered to be the most educated armed forces in its history. One researcher proudly proclaimed that the Army had the 'highest standard of intelligence in history." While the educational median for servicemen during World War I had been at the sixth grade-level, during World War II it was at the tenth-grade level.[1]

Not only were the Armed Forces better educated than previously, but once in the service, a plethora of training and off-duty educational programs were available. According to one estimate, the Armed Forces together trained over 12 million men and women during the war period.[2]

The primary rationale for this extensive educational effort lay in the

newly conceived notion of specialized warfare. This necessitated training so that soldiers could adequately perform their military functions. One indication of their widespread use can be seen in the fact that by 1943 63% of all those serving in the Army had had some form of technical training.[3]

While technical training programs were devised to prepare men for military missions, off-duty educational programs were developed as a means of raising morale. It was supposed that the off-duty programs would provide "enlightenment and understanding," that would make a "better military man as well as a better citizen." Through education and information the soldiers would learn the purpose of the fighting. Programs designed to accomplish this task were informational in nature. It was presumed that through a thorough grounding in American values, the soldier would become more committed to the war effort, "and because his education has impressed upon his mind the true meaning of the word 'Freedom' he is more than willing to do his part."[4]

In addition, it was observed that because so many soldiers had interrupted their education, study in the service could be an efficient use of time which would be particularly useful upon return to civilian life. Thus servicemen studied subjects designed to enhance their academic skills and enable them to continue their education after the war.[5]

Several types of programs were available. Instruction on location was possible wherever there were willing teachers and students. In addition, correspondence courses were offered through the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI). Finally, both the Army and Navy offered specialized training programs on college campuses throughout the country.[6]

USAFI was at the core of the Educational Program. Organized as the Army Institute shortly after Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, its task was to offer a variety of correspondence courses to soldiers anywhere in the world. By April, 1942 when the Army moved it to Madison, Wisconsin and expanded its operations, the Institute had two types of offerings. The first was a correspondence program offering high school courses. In addition, USAFI contracted with cooperating post-secondary institutions to offer college-level correspondence courses, as well. Later in 1942, a self-study program was initiated as it became clear that the soldiers were too busy and too mobile to engage in consistent correspondence study.[7]

At the time of the move to Madison the Army also requested civilian assistance. This assistance came in the form of a special committee established by ACE to study the USAFI program. While the Committee endorsed the program, it made suggestions about the need to facilitate the transfer of these courses through the development of rational procedures.[8]

Specifically, the ACE committee recommended that USAFI develop a testing program that would allow schools to objectively evaluate learn-

ing. On a conceptual level, it was stressed that success in Army courses needed to be tested in relation to skills, attitudes, and knowledge gained. Thus the emphasis would need to be on what had been learned rather than an evaluation of the "curriculum, the number of lessons, and the instructor." On a practical level it was felt that the differing circumstances of study made anything other than an evaluation of actual learning inappropriate.

The recommendation to develop a testing program was based on the belief that it was imperative to formulate a plan for placement before the veterans returned to college campuses. Furthermore, it was felt that such an evaluation effort (along with the coursework) would increase morale and facilitate adjustment to Army life by showing recruits that what they were learning would have implications for their postwar lives.[9]

Acting on this recommendation, the War Department contracted with the University of Chicago's Board of Examinations to prepare tests to effectively evaluate the learning gained in the Institute's educational programs. Ralph Tyler, as the University Examiner was made the Director of the Examinations Staff.[10]

Over the next two and a half years, Tyler and his staff constructed four types of exams. By the end of the project, in December, 1945 they had developed end-of-course examinations for 500 USAFI courses; 90 subject exams: and high school and college versions of a general educational development examination; as well as a series of exams in specialized areas such as electronics.[11]

Of particular interest are the subject area exams and the GED tests. The subject tests were designed to measure competence in dealing with material in high school and college courses. Tyler described the process of developing these exams as one where the examiners identified educational objectives in behavioral terms and then developed the examination based on what the student should be able to do with the information gained. Different forms of the test were then developed and tested. Finally the examinations were submitted to critics nominated by the appropriate professional associations.[12]

The GEDs on the other hand did not 'th any specific subject matter. They were not supposed to meas. e learning gained in a specific course, but rather to measure "incidental learning." The tests measured the extent to which an individual had gained the equivalent of a high school or college education. Both tests were predicated on the idea that general educational attainments were broadly conceived and that the desired outcomes were not to be expressed simply in terms of the acquisition of specific facts, but rather through an understanding of "broad concepts, generalizations, attitudes, skills, habits of thought, and improved judgement."[13]

American Council on Education

As the Tyler group began its construction of the examinations in the Spring of 1942, ACE began to consider how the accrediting process could be carried out once the examinations had been completed. ACE leadership in formulating such policy is not surprising. Founded in 1919 to deal with the confusion within institutions of higher education following the World War, ACE had worked during the following decades to help set national policy for and develop systematic procedures within the nation's colleges and universities. ACE's mission was to serve as a clearinghouse and as representative of higher education's interests.[14]

ACE became involved in planning higher education's role in the war effort even before Pearl Harbor. In addition to an early focus on helping colleges gear up for war, ACE was simultaneously exploring the question of veteran adjustment during the postwar period. Fear that the debacle of the period following the first war would be repeated, the ACE officials were committed to a national planning effort which would prevent such a reoccurence. Even before the passage of the G.I. Bill, it was expected that the colleges would see a vast increase in enrollment as those whose educations had been interrupted flocked back to the campuses. The planning concerns focused on the needs of what perceived to be this distinct group of students.

Early planning efforts were devoted to identifying an educational program appropriate for the returning veterans. A vast literature soon developed on the potential problems posed by this group. The veterans were viewed as different and in need of special care. They would return with myriad problems. In particular, they would certainly encounter many problems when they returned to the university. Writers predicted that the veterans would have experienced living "antithetical to class learning." They would have matured and would find passive learning difficult. In fact they might regard the entire curriculum childish. They would be critical of the teachers and their outmoded educational methods. Their skills might have deteriorated and they would be in need of remedial programs. They would desire a practical education which might include liberal arts to fill in the gaps but would be generally vocational in nature. They would therefore present a serious challenge to the concept of liberal education. Finally, time would be important to the veterans, who would not be satisfied with the usual "leisurely pace" of the traditional college experience. Because they would be in a rush to finish their degrees, the veterans would not wish to start at the beginning when they entered college.[15]

Such concerns needed to be translated into concrete programs that would aid the veteran. Thus there were calls for counseling centers, more appropriate teaching approaches, special programs, and flexible policies for admissions and placement. Some went so far as to suggest a reorganization of the entire curriculum to meet the needs of these students. Others feared that veterans would dilute academic standards and

that the maintenance of standards was the chief task for higher education planners.[16]

ACE was concerned that the planning efforts begin as soon as possible and that standards be maintained. As part of the general war effort, many changes had already been introduced into the colleges and universities. These included admission before high school graduation, acceleration through calendar changes and through increasing individual student loads, and the introduction of special training programs. While the easiest way of dealing with the situation would have been to introduce temporary emergency measures, the new situation opened the opportunity for significant change building on trends already present before the war.[17]

One concern which surfaced early as a possibly contentious area dealt with the question of allowing credit for armed services experience and training. This became an important issue because it touched on the immediate issues of admission, placement, and acceleration. ACE involvement in the question of credit for experience stemmed from its concern with the practices developed after World War I. In various articles and correspondence ACE officials reiterated the point that at the end of the first World War educators had not been prepared to evaluate learning on an individual basis and that "blanket credit" awards had been the result. ACE felt that this approach was an injustice to veterans who should be given an opportunity to prove their growth and learning. It also diluted the bachelor's degree and raised the specter of a tainted and suspect diploma.[18]

At first the problem was seen to be merely one of developing adequate bureaucratic structures and record-keeping apparatus. Working with military groups, professional associations and accrediting agencies, ACE's Committee on the Coordination of Accrediting Agencies called a conference in October 1942 to discuss these issues and to try to develop an adequate set of procedures.

In early 1943, ACE published a pamphlet entitled *Sound Educational Credit for Military Experience*. Developed by ACE staff and representatives from accrediting agencies, this booklet stressed the importance of the evaluation process and adamantly opposed any attempt to award "blanket credit" for experience rather than conducting an individual evaluation of the soldier's learning. ACE strongly advocated the importance of the individual institution retaining control over standards and the awarding of credit. In order to achieve this goal, ACE endorsed the use of the USAFI exams as an evaluative tool. Each college could decide which scores would be acceptable and whether a particular course should receive credit within the its own curriculum. The tests would only evaluate the learning. It was to be completely separate from the accreditation process.

The proposals were generally well-received and there was agreement with the recommendations. But it soon became clear that the colleges did not know how to carry out the recommendations once they had accepted them in principle. Colleges continued to seek help from both ACE and USAFI in evaluating the examinations and courses.[19]

By the Fall, 1943 the colleges were already facing the first of the returning veterans and were calling for help in evaluating their course work. USAFI had received many inquiries from institutions about how to allot credit. One ACE representative who had traveled throughout the country explaining *Sound Educational Credit* and USAFI to the colleges felt that a crisis was approaching and that unless some central body took over the accrediting process there would be a wide variation in credit awards. The schools were uncertain how to award credit and because the military experiences were so difficult to fit into the curriculum it was feared that the institutions would fall back on blanket credit.[20]

While recognizing the problem, USAFI felt that it was inappropriate for it to pursue the accreditation issue. It saw its function as record-keeping and firmly stated its position that it was up to the individual institution to decide on credit. Recognizing the importance of the issue however, the USAFI Advisory Committee asked ACE and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) to suggest to the regional accrediting association that they set up committees to study the problem of accreditation and make recommendations.[21]

ACE's Committee on Accreditation headed by A.J. Brumbaugh of the University of Chicago took up this task. The group's principal aim was to explore procedures for evaluating both the formal and informal educational experiences of service personnel, to find some way of evaluating the technical training, and make recommendations about credit awards.[22]

As the ACE group began its assessment process, it surveyed all institutions offering specialized Army and Navy training programs in order to ascertain how records were being kept. It also called a special two-day meeting in December, 1943 to discuss the problem of the evaluating the technical training courses. Both ACE and the NASSP warily approached the issue of credit recommendations. While their purpose was to give general guidance they had to do so without usurping the local perogative of institutions to grant credit.[23]

The result of the December meeting was a recommendation that ACE form a group which would develop a manual describing training programs and indicating credit equivalents in terms of subject, level and credit. This new group would also advise accrediting associations and supply ACE with more information so that its policy could be refined at a later date.[24]

Once the decision had been made to proceed the work was commenced in great haste. In order to get under way as soon as possible, ACE made a preliminary study of the problem at the same time that it sent out requests for funding. The first step was to call together a group of educators to analyze case studies in Madison. At the same time funds were solicited from the five regional accrediting associations as well as other professional groups. The amounts requested varied from $200 to $3000. Replies from their request for funds was quite favorable. Officials from the different associations replied that the project was unquestionably needed and most associations pledged their aid.[25]

Even before the replies to the funding request were in, ACE had decided to go ahead with the project, hopeful that the money would be forthcoming. By March, 1944, George P. Tuttle, Registrar at the University of Illinois and past President of AACR had taken on the directorship of the project. His task was to analyze training programs in order to determine the level of work, the areas of content that would correspond to high school or college programs and the scope of this content. This would be summarized and published as a manual. In addition, he would help institutions arrive at policies for interpreting reports of exams and other credentials provided by USAFI and the Navy Institute. His group would gather information about policies adopted by institutions for use in advisement.[26]

By April. 1944 the project was underway. Its staff, consisting of two full-time administrators and a secretary with some clerical assistance started the task of amassing course descriptions. The different branches of the service as well as the USAFI Advisory Committee cooperated with Tuttle in collecting the information. This involved the development of course descriptions. since in many cases none existed. By June, the Navy had sent Tuttle several hundred descriptions and was in the process of writing more.[27]

In July. 1944 the first pages of the Guide were at the printer and 560 orders had already been received. It had been originally thought that the entire project would take six months, but it soon became clear that the task had been vastly underestimated. Tuttle's leave from the University of Illinois was first extended until January, 1945 and then extended again until September 1. 1945 at which time the funding for the project was ended.[28]

The Guide was printed and released as it was developed. It had been decided to print it as a looseleaf so that it could be easily disseminated and added to. The early responses were quite positive. It soon became clear however that the task would not be finished by August, 1945. New courses were constantly being developed and old ones changed. It was thought that the end of the war would bring about even greater educational participation by the G.I.s as they prepared for demobilization. USAFI asked ACE to establish a central body which would continue the

work begun by the Tuttle group as well as actively work for total acceptance of the USAFI tests and courses. This led to the establishment of the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experience (CASE) in 1945.[29]

Conclusion

The development of the Tuttle Guide emerged from a concern with situations that would occur on the nation's college campuses as the veterans returned from the war. Anxious to avert what was seen as the disaster of the World War I precedent when college credit had been used as a form of veteran's benefit much the same as preferential hiring, groups of educators began to deal with the issue almost as soon as the war began. It was the early consensus that such a benefit would not best serve the needs of the returnees and should be avoided at all costs.

This was at first seen as a matter of developing policies and procedures, but it soon became apparent that the colleges could not carry out the policies they had adopted and that some central agency was needed to do the work. The Tuttle project is important not only for work it did, but for the cooperative arrangements it developed and the fine line it walked in its evaluation process. The strict adherence to the tenet of institutional control of credit was maintained.

The Tuttle project and the resulting Guide were considered to be an unequivocal success. Floydine Miscampell, an assistant employed by CASE, stated "Probably no single educational achievement of our times has met with such universal approbation and acceptance." This assessment is probably not far from the mark. A study of Academic Deans conducted in 1948 showed that 99% of their institutions gave some credit for Armed Forces experiences. 94% of these accepted the formal courses as classified in the Tuttle Guide and 97% of these accepted Tuttle's recommendations for credit. On the other hand only 50% allowed credit for college-level GED.[30]

The development of the USAFI exams and the Tuttle Guide undoubtedly aided the returning veterans in their quest for a college diploma. The dire warnings concerning the problems the GIs would encounter on campus never materialized. The veterans, by and large, wanted a traditional curriculum, they did not need the extensive counseling and guidance services predicted, and they were quite happy with the methods used. The one area in which the soothsayers were correct was their perception of veterans' desire to accelerate. In order to achieve this they took advantage of all the opportunities provided by the USAFI examinations and the Tuttle Guide's recommendations.

On another level however the consequences of this war work were not as successful as had been hoped. The framers of the examination policy d hoped that the tests and the Guide would usher in a new era within

higher education. This would expand on the pre-war trend which had moved some universities away from merely counting hours as a way of measuring success. Before the war some institutions had introduced a comprehensive examination at the end of the four years as a means of abandoning the simple counting approach and moving toward "a final measure of the whole development of the individual." The basis GED lay in this rationale.

The policy on individual assessment clearly enunciated by the framers of the Guide as well as the examination staff fit in well this view. It was hoped that the approach would be expanded to non-veterans as well. There has been limited success in this area. Certainly, today the evaluation of military credit is firmly entrenched, as are the high school equivalency degree (GED) and the college-level exams (CLEP). Yet the current debate on the value-added approach is just one more manifestation of this attempt to reorient the basis for awarding the bachelor's degree.

Notes

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[12] Tyler, "Appraisal of Military Training."

[13] Tyler "Appraisal of Military Training"; Dressel, "The Use of the USAFI General Educational Development Tests."

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An Analysis of Historical Studies of Literacy Standards From Three Epochs in American Elementary Education

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Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own times.

Frederick Jackson Turner, 1897

President Ronald Reagan proclaimed 1987 to be the Year of the Reader by Public Law 99-494. *The Center for the Book*, in the Library of Congress declared an urgent need to focus national attention on the importance of reading to strengthen national and local efforts to combat illiteracy. Literacy standards, however, depend upon the circumstances of time and place. In our modern technological age, computer literacy, job literacy, functional literacy, and interpretation and synthesis of printed material (Cook, 1977) may be considered a minimum literacy standard.

This paper described the changing populations and standards used to assess literacy in elementary education. Three historical epochs were delineated, Signature literacy (1635-1783), Recitation literacy (1783-1876), and Standardized test literacy (1876-1920).

The task of determining the standards of literacy in an historical epoch. the accurate assessment of children's ability to read, and the achievement of universal literacy are each like the impossible endeavor of Tantalus in Greek mythology. As one nears achieving one's goals, it changes and moves further away, forever just out of reach. So it is with the task of trying to ascertain absolutes in the field of literacy.

This historical review reveals the complexity of making qualitative judgments from the quantitative data that comprises literacy assessment. It demonstrates that one definition of literacy is not possible, but is dependent upon historical context.

Definition of Literacy

Keeping in mind the difficulty of the task, the definition of literacy could broadly be conceived in two ways. One way to consider literacy is to take it as a given, a descriptive category under which we discuss our concerns about who is literate, who is not, and how we might evaluate and improve programs which seek to bring literacy to greater numbers. This view of literacy can be seen in the contemporary approach, requiring

minimum scores on reading sections of standardized tests for admittance to college, or the emphasis on strategies to improve literacy expressed in *Becoming a Nation of Readers* or *A Nation at Risk.*

A second view of literacy, however, is to ask questions about literacy that are socially constructed. Literacy can be defined, not in technical terms, but in terms of its use in social contexts. From this view, literacy can be analyzed as a means to certain kinds of social agendas. Literacy could then be defined as the possession of a particular set of beliefs and attitudes- to enable the literate to become a card-carrying members of a particular American dream. Literacy is the rhetorical capital to enable the individual to image, invent, or recover community (Estes, 1988). This second view of literacy has been the focus of this paper.

With literacy dependent upon social, political, and economic contexts, then the definition of literacy must be revised as major changes occur in one or more of the social determinants. For example, in the late 1800s, when more educated workers, rather than untrained child laborers were needed for industry, compulsory education and child labor laws were enforced to get and keep more children in school. This was the era of the greatest immigration and schools were seen as necessary to assimilate children into American culture, help them acquire language, and encourage them to develop work-related skills and attitudes. The burgeoning immigrant population also caused heightened concern over the high rate of crime and other social ills that were occuring in the urban ghettos where most of the immigrants settled (Cremin, 1961, 1977; Gross & Chandler, 1964; Katz, 1968, 1975; Violas, 1978). The Progressives such as G. Stanley Hall, Laura Zirbes, Colonel Frances Parker, and John Dewey advocated child-centered curricula, early education including the kindergarten, and real-life reading material to help children become assimilated into the society (Campbell, 1967; Hall, 1907; Tyack, 1974).)

Predominant Social Influence on Literacy

One of the factors that influence the definition of literacy is the social environment at the time the definition is being used. The results of the historical tracing of literacy has shown that it has been profoundly influenced, and will continue to be affected by the factors that necessitate the levels of reading and writing needed to function in an adult cultural community. The research conducted has indicated that throughout these epochs, there have been additional public and hidden agendas, but the major thrust of primary literacy education has been to inculcate the young in the language and culture of America. Primary literacy, however, was seen throughout these epochs as a way to attain higher goals: religious salvation in the Signature literacy period, national spirit and intelligent citizenship in the Recitation period, and cooperative and productive workers of the efficiency movement in the Standardized test period.

Nature of Literacy Education

The nature of literacy education that children received during the first three epochs of American history was heavily dependent upon the kinds of schools and the curriculum. There were regional differences and differences in educational opportunity based on a person's social place and residence. The character and nature of these schools also had an impact on the literacy education and the curriculum provided.

During the Signature literacy period (1635-1783), the more populous New England colonies had both population and an educational tradition to establish schools. In other colonies, however, the inaccessibility of schools hindered education for decades. The curriculum throughout this period was predominantly a version of the *Bible*, *Hornbook*, *Psalter* or other religious material that was to be memorized and repeated verbatim (Carpenter, 1963; Cohen, 1974; Cremin, 1970; Johnson, 1963; Mathews, 1966; Reeder, 1900; Rosenbach, 1933; Smith, 1965; Tuer, 1896). The *New England Primer*, the most popular reading text (also called a speller) of the period sold over 3,000,000 copies during this time (Ford, 1962). Religious instruction was the main purpose of primary school instruction and the main focus of the curriculum.

During the Recitation period (1783-1876), the curriculum in the rural schools continued to include the *Bible* and old *Hornbooks*. However, this was the era of decreasing religious and increasing patriotic reading material in children's texts. McGuffey's readers were popular from 1836 until the late 1920s (Kiefer, 1948; Lindberg, 1976; Minnich, 1936; Westerhoff, 1978; Wheat, 1923). *Webster's American Spelling Book* sold more than 2,000,000 copies of its five editions (Monaghan, 1983; Nietz. 1961; Warfel, 1936). The *North American Reader* by Lyman Cobb contained 119 pages of patriotic materials and 16 pages of government policy in it 350 page edition illustrating the increased interest in educating children for citizenship in this period (Smith, 1965).

During the Standardized test period (1876-1920), the predominantly small one-room schools grew in to district or common schools. Town schools emerged into large urban attendance areas because of the huge influx of immigrant children into northern and midwestern cities. In these cities, ghetto schools developed as the populations rapidly increased. Urban schools became overcrowded and understaffed and were considered inferior to the district or rural schools. For the first time in American history, urban areas were considered less literate than rural areas.

The profound changes in the Standardized test period occured because of the emergence and rapid growth of industry which required thousands of new workers. The new industrialization created a need for so many new workers that there was a great shift that occured with thousands of rural youth and millions of immigrants settling in Northern cities. The new factory model resulted in industry becoming large-scale and man-

agement more complex. Routine administrative tasks were multiplied and the growing corporate and government bureaucracies came to rely on paper records (Allen, 1952; Bobbitt, 1911; Butts, 1978; Butts, & Cremin, 1953; Cremin, 1961, 1977; Cubberly, 1916; 1934; Gutek, 1986; Katz, 1968, 1975; Tyack, 1967a, 1967b, 1974, 1982a, 1982b, 1985, Violas, 1978). This industrialization created a demand for large numbers of employees with a level of literacy that in earlier eras had been mastered by only an elite few.

The curriculum for this period reflected the movement toward the application of science to education, with an emphasis on standardized tests, usage handbooks, and other measures to quantitatively assess and define a standard. Education became less dependent on the individual teacher and became more text-centered because of this standardization. Basal and graded readers, child-centered stories, Mother Goose Rhymes, and folk tales became the classroom staples. The increases in class size forced teachers to adopt new methods to overcome the deficiencies created by students with more heterogeneous backgrounds compared with the smaller groups of previous generations.

Standards or Measures Used

Throughout these epochs, the attainment of various levels of literacy was considered proof of social status. In the Signature literacy period there are no records of children's literacy assessment, and so adult standards of literacy were described by the historians who attempted to assess literacy. Historians measured quantitatively the artifacts of reading and writing which was adult signatures on documents. Signing ones name was considered an indication of at least some formal training and education. First, Signature literacy was considered a valid test of the ability to read because children were instructed to read before they learned to write or sign their names (Lockridge, 1974, 1981). Second, few other opportunities were available to learn to write since papers, pens and books were absent from all but the wealthiest and most educated homes (Cremin, 1970). As a result since so few received more than a primary education, historians posted that adult signature literacy rates adequately reflected the level of reading and writing acquired by colonists (Auwers, 1980; Beales, 1978; Cremin, 1970; Galenson, 1979; Gilmore, 1982; Lockridge, 1974; Menard, 1973; Tully, 1973). Third, evidence presented by historians studying the colonial period indicated that colonists considered signing one's name sufficient proof of literacy to obtain many different positions in the colonies (Cohen, 1974). From signatures on wills, deeds, contracts and newspaper advertisements, it was found that making a mark was not considered a handicap for most occupations, but signing one's name signified that a person had acquired reading and writing instruction. Higher levels of reading and writing were required for colonial economic and political leaders, but these higher-level skills have not been directly investigated by the literacy historians. This discrepancy between levels of literacy that were assessed and the higher levels of literacy that were required, persisted in later

periods.

In the Recitation period, the ability to orally declaim memorized patriotic speeches was considered to be an indication of having attained some minimal skills needed to emulate prestigious professional status of law or ministry characteristic of this epoch. Oral declamation assessments were conducted in the grammar schools, district schools, and most of schools of the Recitation period. Students stood one at a time to "spout" or declaim one of the preannounced speeches that they had prepared. Each pupil was to recite individually coming forward to "toe the line" painted on the school house floor (Button & Provenzo, 1983). Students were judged on accurate memorization of the selection, gesturing. voice projection, articulation, emphasis and the ability to instill enthusiasm in the audience (Gross & Chandler, 1964). Historians of literacy in the Recitation period relied upon an examination of the textbooks. Carpenter (1963) and Johnson (1963) studied a variety of schoolbooks in the 1800s; Minnich (1936), Mosier (1947), Vail (1910) and Westerhoff (1978) researched the McGuffey *Readers*; and Monaghan (1983) and Warfel (1936) focused on Noah Webster's *Blue Back Speller*. To assess the literacy level of this period, historians counted the number of pages in the readers devoted to declamation and the number of remaining religious passages and compared these with the district examiners diaries of assessments in the colonial schools.

Other historians assessed the number of schools, the number of academic courses taught, enforcement of compulsory attendance, and child labor laws to determine literacy (Smith, 1965; Soltow & Stevens, 1981). Cremin (1980), Emery and Emery (1978), Mott (1962), and Tebbel (1976) examined literacy by considering the number of newspapers and magazines, their editors, and the kinds of subjects addressed in these publications. Taken together, the work of the aforementioned historians provide evidence of rapidly expanding literacy. The discrepancy persisted, however between assessment and expectations. The expectations for the Signature literacy period was knowledgable reading of the *Bible* for personal salvation, but adult signatures were considered proof of literacy. The expectations for the Recitation literacy was an informed voting populace able to read and evaluate political documents but oral declamation was assessed.

The Standardized test period was the beginning of the testing and measurement movement to assess literacy. Businessmen needed employees who would spell, punctuate their sentences, and observe the forms of standard English. Assessment of children's ability to read included matching vocabulary words with correct spelling and definitions, answering rules of correct usage, reading short passages, and answering typically multiple-choice questions. This method of assessment has persisted into this century and has taken the form of many of the national and state standardized tests. Orderliness, neatness, and accuracy were emphasized in the classroom, as well as in the workplace and children were taught to read and follow directions. Historians who examined the

literacy standards of the Standardized test period studied the textbooks, tests, and curriculum that affected literacy (Butts & Cremin, 1953; Cremin, 1977; Cubberly, 1934; Johnson, 1963; Monaghan, 1983; Mosier, 1947) and explored the relationship between the revolutionary scientific educational theories developing during that time and the literacy expectations of the period (Button & Provenzo, 1983; Campbell, 1967; Drake, 1955; French, 1964; Gross & Chandler, 1964; Gutek, 1986; Kaestle, 1983; Thayer, 1965; Wilds & Lottich, 1970). Other historians analyzed the influence of the new business administration model on schools and literacy assessment (Cremin, 1961, 1977; Cubberly, 1916; Katz, 1968, 1975; Tyack, 1974; Violas, 1978).

The discrepancy between literacy expectations and literacy assessment became more pronounced in the Standardized test period. With larger percentages of the population attending primary schools, more high schools and colleges were established. As more literate individuals were available in the work force, increased requirements were expected for many occupational roles and many professions. This continual raising of literacy standards as more educated people leave formal education has persisted. As expectations raise, assessment of literacy becomes more difficult because the measures are less quantifiable. Counting signatures in the Signature literacy period, or noting memorization or delivery errors in oral declamation in the Recitation period are much more quantifiable that assessing vocational literacy, survival literacy or higher level comprehension skills demanded in contemporary times. Literacy assessments throughout history have not kept up with literacy expectations and demands.

Population

Education has served individuals to achieve their personal goals, but it also can be viewed as part of a complex sorting process. During the Signature literacy period when only white male sons of property owners were educated, education served as a method of separating the colonial leaders from the rest of the population. The elite group would attend Latin grammar schools, which would exclude women, servants and the poor (Cremin, 1970; Lockridge, 1974).

During the Recitation period, again the population was very limited, and only those children that were destined to go on to study law or ministry were assessed. The other children that attended the rural schools or the town schools for a short period of time typically would be able to become apprenticed or to go into farming or other fields that did not require lengthy formal education.

The Standardized test period was the first time that large numbers of children had the opportunity for free public education. While earlier epochs had included only a very small proportion of the population and only a very select group, the population that attended the schools in the Standardized test period included non-English-speaking minorities, chil-

dren of illiterate rural families that had migrated to the cities for employment, and the urban poor. The purpose of the new school curriculum was to educate as many children as possible and keep them in school so that they would develop the necessary skills to be potential employees and citizens (Katz, 1968; 1975; Tyack, 1974, 1982a, 1982b; Violas, 1978).

Examiners

Education has tended to be reactive because adults determine what constitutes the nature of literacy education. However, adults are a generation removed by the time their children join adult society. Education, therefore, tends to lag behind because it is difficult to predict the future and what literacy needs may emerge for children. As adults, parents also tend to be protective of their children and traditional in their views of education.

The examiners of a school program have tended to be conservative in their assessments of educational progress and innovation. Those examiners who assessed literacy during the Signature literacy period were the religious leaders of the towns who were determined to see that children were being properly taught catechism and religious doctrine (Button & Provenzo, 1983).

The examiners of the Recitation period were judging if the schools were adequately preparing the children of town leaders for higher education in law or ministry. District examiners during this period checked to see that all students received some education, that teachers maintained their buildings, and kept a well-disciplined school, and prepared students in the "top form" adequately (Button & Provenzo, 1983; French, 1964; Gross & Chandler, 1964).

The Standardized test period was significantly different than earlier eras because examiners and critics of the schools included a large new group of people. The public, educators and administrators (Gray, 1922; Gray, 1946; Judd, 1916) journalists (Riis, 1890), educational researchers (Burgess, 1921b; Gates, 1921, Godkin, 1897; Judd, 1918; Kelly, 1916; Monroe, 1917, 1918b; Pressey, 1920; Pressey & Pressey, 1920, 1921; Stone, 1922; Thorndike, 1917; and Zeidler, 1916), parents, social groups, and internal critics were evaluating schools. With the advent of standardized tests, examiners had a method of computing children's progress within schools, classes, communities, and states. The impact of these trends was that schools became more vulnerable to outside pressure. The Standardized test period marked the beginning of both accountability of the schools and increased criticism.

Discrepancies Between Educational Aspirations for Literacy and Actual Assessment

The final question relates to areas of needed study. In the Signature period, more research could be undertaken to fill in time and geographic

locations to enhance comparisons. With the absence of complete research, quantitative analysis of signatures only provides a glimpse of the levels of literacy attained by early colonists. The Recitation period also requires a more in-depth study of the school examiners, teachers' journals, and diaries. Examining additional school records would focus in greater detail on the nature of the population that was education and the length of formal education. In addition, an extension of the Signature methodology in the Recitation period would facilitate a comparison of the two epochs and would provide additional information about the extent of school children's literacy. The Standardized test period provides the most research data of the results of the tests. However, few syntheses of the information were found, and an analysis of the testing and the results would be helpful to provide an overall view of the literacy of school children of this era.

Another area to provide additional insight is the social influences on literacy. This paper identified the major influence in each epoch. Exploring additional determinants, however, would allow a better understanding of the forces, and their consequences for literacy education for the school children during periods covered in this paper.

Events, for example, have a major impact on schools and literacy education. The more catastrophic the event, the more far-reaching and long-lasting the effect on literacy education. For example, major wars and their resulting social effects have been pivotal turning points in the character of literacy education (Tyack, 1967b). The political changes brought about by the American Revolution turned the curriculum and reading materials away from religion to focus on the development of an American culture and vocational character. The aftermath of the Civil War marked the end of the Recitation period and denoted another turning point in literacy education. It was a time for America to rebuild, unify, and adjust to a rapidly developing industrial- and business-oriented society. Education reacted to these changes by adopting a scientific temper of mind. World War I and America's arrival as a world power was a turning point. War pointed out the need to have a large educated populace to fight for the nation. Schools were seen as the means to educate and integrate children to meet the changing demands brought about by these pivotal, catastrophic events.

These social conditions that influenced the primary literacy institutions also affected the assessment of literacy. The questions, "What level of reading and writing constitutes literacy?" and "How does one measure it?" depend on the historical epoch, population, and social factors that impact on that era. Claims of universal literacy in the Signature period can be viewed from a historical perspective as being a measure of only a tiny portion of the total population that would have needed or desired literacy education. This very limited nature of literacy can be sharply contrasted with the literacy education of the Standardized test

period that attempted to assess the greatly expanded school populations. Did the literacy assessments of the Standardized test period adequately reflect the level of literacy attained by a society or an individual? Standardized tests are still used as the predominant means of assessment of primary literacy in American schools. Are these measures appropriate to the needs of contemporary American society?

The educational trend has been to continually increase the demands placed on primary literacy education. The problems of assessment of literacy will continue. This discrepancy between what is taught in the schools by the curriculum, what is assessed, and what is required for the society will continue. In addition, as children become more educated and society more complex, the demands for literacy will also increase, and like the task of Tantalus, remain forever just out of reach.

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Part II
THE HISTORY OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

John Dewey: "Philosophy and Education in Their Historic Relations, 1910-1911"

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John Dewey's knowledge of the history of philosophy is evident in his writings on education and philosophy. However, a historical problematic explored by Dewey — philosophy and education in their historical relations — has so far escaped the attention of Dewey scholars. The aim of the present essay is to examine Dewey's consideration of this problematic by making use of unpublished class notes from a course he taught in 1910-11, prior to his published pieces on the subject. While Dewey's conception of the philosophy of education is well known, his attention to the historical relations between philosophy and education has not been studied, even though the original connection between them was pointed out in *Democracy and Education*: "European philosophy originated (among the Athenians) under the direct pressure of educational questions."[1] An earlier version of this idea had appeared in Volume 4 of Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* in two articles, "Philosophy of Education" and "Plato," published in 1913.[2]

The course, "Philosophy and Education in Their Historic Relations," was taught at Columbia University in 1910-11. We have a set of notes from the course taken by Elsie Ripley Clapp.[3] About half the course is devoted to ancient Greek thought. Dewey discusses Plato and Aristotle at length; gives brief attention to the Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics, and Cyrenaics; passes on to Roman thought and the early Christian period; briefly considers Scholastic and Renaissance thought; discusses Francis Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Locke, Spinoza, Rousseau, Hume, and Kant; and ends with Fichte and Hegel.

In the first lecture Dewey tells his class that he will begin with Greek philosophy, emphasizing Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; the students are first to read about the Sophists. This is so because the Sophists seem "to afford a somewhat extraordinary evidence or symptom of the intellectual and social state of things under which philosophy and discussions about education both had their origin . . . it was the *same* situation that gave rise both to philosophy and to education. At the outset the two things are one."[4] The intimate relation between the educational questions raised by

the Sophists' activities, on the one side, and the philosophical questions raised by Plato in response to the Sophists, on the other side, was an historic event of the greatest significance. The way in which educational and philosophical questions are part of the same situation is better illustrated in no other place in the course. The nature of the relationship between education and philosophy did not merely exist in Greek culture, but it was an essential part of that culture. Dewey argued. "However far apart philosophy and educational theory may later have become," Dewey says, "in their beginnings they were strictly identical."[5]

Dewey explores five philosophical questions: the relation of the individual to the universal, of man to nature, of mind and matter, of theory to practice, and the nature of knowledge.[6] From the side of education, Dewey talks about common sense, which may be considered to have two meanings. One is the "practical" meaning, found in the ways of getting things done. The other meaning is found in the beliefs which are installed in individuals in unconscious ways — "the precipitate of philosophy of previous generations."[7] In ancient Greek culture there had been a long tradition according to which the "man of counsel ranks side by side with the man of deeds."[8] Even so, Dewey claims, "the ultimate standard was in custom — what had been done."[9] With the appearance of the Sophists the standard of custom was challenged: the Sophists were "symptoms" of a change in attitude: "They were symptoms of the change from the regime of custom to the regime of analysis and reflective thought."[10] In responding to the challenge of the Sophists, Plato joined them in criticizing existing institutions and the common sense handed down by tradition, which exists as a part of institutional life. Yet Plato went further than the Sophists: by seeking a standard in the nature of things by which the moral life of a society could be established, he pointed to the possibility of finding a rational meaning to put in place of the common sense of custom. Plato sought a rational standard which exists in reality, a supreme end which controls all things.

The five questions Dewey explores are "educational" as well as "philosophical," in that they represent just that body of beliefs which constitutes what human beings have in common that needs to be examined by students of education. In beginning his discussion of the relation of the individual to the universal, Dewey contrasts Greek with modern philosophy, saying that "in orthodox Greek philosophy, the presumption [is] on [the] side of the universal, [the] burden of defense on the side of the individual,"[11] while the contrary is true of modern philosophy. Dewey makes it clear that the relation is an educational matter no less than a philosophical one.

An essential part of Plato's significance for education lies in his insistence that we cannot call anything knowledge until it gets into the sphere of ethics. "If [knowledge is] merely intellectual, [it is] only *opinion*; [it is] not knowledge [until it] comes into [the] sphere of valuation. That, according to Plato, [is] impossible without a grasp of the

ultimate standard of Being and the Good."[12] Dewey goes on to say that action is important in the thinking of Plato and Aristotle and, what is more, action needs a standard. Dewey puts it this way: "Man must *know* the good, the end, to be able to act. Moreover, if man really knows the good he cannot help acting it. The agent, reason, insight, will inevitably control conduct. Intelligence, if it is adequate, *must* objectify."[13] The inescapable intimacy of knowledge and action, of reason and conduct, is of paramount importance in the Greek classical point of view. In this way of looking at things, action cannot be aimless, but is a phase of knowing; while knowing calls for the action by which knowing aims to fulfill itself. It is well to note that Dewey did not say that if one knows the good he will act "on" it, as though knowing is one thing, acting another; as if we first know, and then "apply" our knowing to our acting. Rather, to know the good is to do the good; this is the sense in which reason would control conduct, if reason knew the good. Knowing and acting are qualitative differences in the conduct of life, related phases of ongoing experience, rather than different kinds of experience. The idea that "intelligence objectifies" points to the naturalism in Plato's and Aristotle's ways of thinking about knowing which Dewey contrasts with modern conceptions of knowing. One way of contrasting them is to emphasize the difference between what Dewey calls "the subjective character of modern philosophy and the objective character of ancient philosophy."[14] Greek philosophy, Dewey says,

> starts with a fact — instead of with the individual. The world — nature — cosmos is *there*, and [the] individual exists by sharing with it; he is of common stuff with nature and all his processes [are] thereby derived. His mind itself must therefore be an expression of this objective, ontological world.[15]

What Dewey calls a "conception of mind as [a] dependent expression of nature"[16] is vividly illustrated by his characterization of perception, conception, syllogism, by which he shows us that the Aristotelian world is a *qualitative* world:

> Space, form and order belong to objects, work up through the body and come to full realization. . . . The table is a table, generically. When it expresses itself through this process, [we] have [a] conception. . . . Laws exist *in* nature. When that phenomenon of the object comes to consciousness, you have got a syllogism.[17]

Thus perception, conception, gaining syllogisms, are qualitative acts; they are ways of being in a world to which the perceiver naturally belongs; they are qualities of existence, rather than "intellectual" attempts to know a world external to the mind.

By contrast, in the modern world of Cartesian dualism the mind of the conscious individual finds itself existing apart from nature and has the problem of getting to know nature: the individual has become removed from the source of the essential qualities of human existence. Dewey asks his students: "What are you going to do with all these qualitative

differences?" From the standpoint of the problem of Cartesian dualism, he replies, "Dump them somewhere — in the *mind*! All qualitative differences [are] subjective."[18] For Plato and Aristotle, objectivity is not a problem inasmuch as human beings (including their minds) are a part of the objective world: it is no less natural to perceive or know than it is to breathe or to digest food: each activity, while qualitatively different from the others, is a part of what makes life worth living. "The Greeks (unconsciously) assumed that somehow the whole world of existence must be reflected in the world of human meanings and intentions," Dewey says. "So if you clarify this latter world enough, you would get at the real thing."[19] The world of the Cartesians is called by Dewey a "quantitative" world, in which the objects of knowing are no longer in and of mind, no longer exist as a part of the natural world.

Plato's treatment of "philosophical" questions such as the nature of the Good has its origins in the treatment of "educational" questions such as the nature of virtue. The two are connected in human nature; the actions by which we strive to perceive and know are expressions of nature. Our perceivings and knowings are part of a nature larger than ourselves, but in whose-reality our nature is able to take on the meanings we gain. We are a part of an objective world that simply is there; the meanings we come to have just *are* the qualities of our existence, part of our qualitative world. The world in which we seek meanings is the world in which philosophic standards, if known, would make a difference in things. In his *Cyclopedia of Education* article, "Plato," Dewey put the connection between the educational and philosophical problems as follows: "The problem of education is an inherent portion of the philosophic question, and conversely education is treated as the social and moral art through which the theoretical results of philosophy shall be made effective in life."[20] The Socratic dialectic as it is dramatized in Plato's dialogues shows us that Plato "did not begin with knowledge," Dewey says:

> Knowledge [is] an achievement with a history that went through certain stages. [The] beginning of learning [is] a consciousness of ignorance which follows upon conviction of inconsistency or self-contradiction, and which proceeds through particulars to the discovery of the universal or unity which alone can give consistency of meaning.[21]

Dewey's discussion of dialectic provides a good context for exploring the relations among meaning, social intelligence, and pursuit of the standard of virtue, the end which dialectic seeks. In its simplest form, dialectic means dialogue, conversation, Dewey says. When the participants in the conversation have a genuine interest in arriving at the truth about some matter, rather than in display, or in getting the better of another in argument, we find the search for a common end, one which all the participants will share. Dewey calls dialectic "the considerations of such a situation as an ideal where such an interchange of thoughts and beliefs [takes place] with a view to penetrating below differences of thought and belief and approximating reality, the truth of the matter."[22]

Getting at "the truth of the matter" through artful conversation is an act of social intelligence, made possible in the Greek mind by "the practical identification of thought and language," Dewey says.[23] In a technical sense, the aim of the dialogue is to form universals by a process which Aristotle called "induction." Yet in a practical sense, the aim is to subject to common scrutiny the propositions of common sense which are believed by the conventional wisdom, with the aim of finding new ideas which the participants can hold in common. Put differently, the aim is to unify the different views by determining that which they have in common. Even though the participants may not have known it when the dialogue began, they all would mean the same thing, if they knew what they were talking about. Dewey puts it this way: "The thing which they are all after . . . is what they all *mean*. The term *meaning* [is] the nearest translation of the Platonic idea."[24] Dewey emphasizes the point that the meaning sought is a goal of *knowledge*; at the same time, by insisting that all true knowledge is concerned with *ends*, "Man cannot be moral unless he knows what he is *about*. 'Know theyself.' [This is] meaning in the sense of the significance, importance, value, of things."[25] Plato's idea of the unity of knowledge and value gets at the point of our earlier discussion of a qualitative world. We may now say that what we know of nature *is* a value; for things to have meaning is to say that they are worth knowing. Their worth is found in the activity of dialectic by which their meaning is determined. What makes this a qualitative world is determined by the meanings which minds take in; we find out whether something is worth knowing through the means by which we come to know it. The activity of dialectic is a way of educating ourselves together with others. The meanings sought which would constitute a standard for conduct, if we but knew them, are found in (or *as*) the activity which itself is a kind of conduct. The agreement among the participants to seek an end in common is a moral commitment to join in an enterprise of education.

In a community, such as a Greek polis, in which standards for shared values of individuals is embedded, is to be found the basis for the good life. From this perspective, "the community itself [is] primarily an educational institution. . . . The Greek idea: the primary, *ultimate* function of the state is educational — all the others [are] merely particular ways of exercising this."[26] Plato's *Crito* provides a clear sense of the social consciousness of community life, of the dependence of Athenian citizens on what is held to be shared in common, which Dewey contrasts with modern philosophical individualism. In the *Crito*, Socrates is presented as taking "the standpoint of the community against him."[27] In taking upon himself the obligations of a citizen, Socrates is obliged to undergo the consequences of opposing what the community believes. Socrates "must look at himself from a community standpoint, no matter how much from the standpoint of intelligence he may put himself in opposition to the community."[28] This exemplifies the idea of the objectivity of conscience in Greek thought, the belief that in the nature of things an objective standard exists which makes possible a life to share in common with others. Here we see the necessity of the dependence of the

individual on the community's standards.

The intimate relationship between knowledge and virtue is both a fact of human existence and a problematic for dialectic. If to know the good is to do the good, then knowledge of the good and possession of virtue would be indistinguishable; it would be a fact of ethical life that knowing would be an act of virtue. Dewey points out the way in which the double use of the word *techne* throws light on the sense in which knowledge is knowing how to do something. *Techne* means knowledge *and* skill, "skill directed by intelligence. On the other hand it implied that only True knowledge is knowing how. So that knowledge inevitably runs over into activity."[29] For example, the shoe*maker* knows most about a shoe, from practicing his skill. The problematic lies in finding the way to know, learning how to come by the knowledge which, if possessed, would constitute virtue. The aim is to attain knowledge of how to do something, how to act in a virtuous way. "The knowledge that constitutes Virtue is fundamentally a practice, an exercising," is the way Dewey puts it.[30] The problem addressed in the *Republic* and in other dialogues is learning what the nature of virtue is. This becomes a two-sided problem: (1) finding out, through dialogue, what virtue is; and (2) reconstructing the community in such a way that its citizens will live according to the nature of the highest virtue. In Plato's dialogues we see the five philosophic questions pointed out by Dewey early in the course.[31] When we say that these are "educational" questions no less than they are "philosophical" questions, we mean that the activities by which we strive to answer these questions are the ways by which we educate ourselves.

Plato's idea that there is continuity between human beings and nature accounts for his belief in the possibility of knowing virtue, so that intelligence may come to be embedded in institutions. Thus Plato's answer to the question raised by the Sophists — Do morality and social institutions exist by nature or by custom? — is, by nature. Plato's nature here is the "absolute eternal moral order, which is the metaphysical order — the ultimately real nature," Dewey says.[32] This is "nature" in the sense in which we speak of "the nature of something," as distinct from events and laws in physical nature. The nature of the "eternal moral order" is the meaning sought in dialectic, when we try to know the essence of a thing apart from the incidental circumstances in which we pursue its meaning.

In a further discussion of Plato's account of the end sought by philosophers, Dewey acknowledges that Plato sets up an end outside the process of seeking. Dewey goes on to say, "If you keep it there [outside], you contradict all the motives which made him seek for it."[33] In another place, Dewey refers to "the great accusation against Plato, that he did separate his archetypal beings from the particular; therefore they are pure abstraction."[34] Yet Dewey maintains that there is another Plato, one who wants to find a place for the "eternal order" to work amongst the particulars of the temporal order. "[It is] equally true," Dewey says,

"that the interest of Plato [was] not in separation but in mediation — how to work up into the higher and then use the higher for the lower. The real problem [is] how they *inter*act."[35] We may think of Plato as having two aims: one is to work within the existing world of sophistry and suffering, to point out its lack of rationality, and strive to make it better; the other is to find an "eternal order" apart from the existing world, which would put us in mind of the order which should hold in the world in which we exist.

In discussing Socratic dialectic, Dewey makes an important distinction between what he calls the "logic of discovery" and the "logic of discussion:

> The process of clarifying and defining intention is a very primary consideration in both the matter of conduct and [the] matter of discourse, so far as we are dealing with the logic of argument, of discussion. That has nothing essentially to do with the logic of discovery. Purpose and meaning, intent, do not give a method by which the actual constitution of things can be made out.[36]

This reminds us of Dewey's discussion of Aristotle's "qualitative world." For Plato, the logic of discussion is a logic of discovery. This is the qualitative world of Socratic dialectic. Without denying the significance of Plato's qualitative world, in which human beings are a part of nature, Dewey argues that "the actual constitution of things" is not *given* by the method of discussion. At the same time, Dewey shows his students that the ways in which we characterize reality simply are influenced by our ways of talking with one another, by our ways of attempting to think through our problems together. What we learn from Plato is that we have to begin in the "world of human meanings and intentions" if we are to understand ourselves or anything else. Even though the human world may not "reflect" other kinds of existence, we are forced to begin with our intentions and the nature of our conduct, if only to find out how we may know things that differ from that conduct. It is only by efforts to find the means by which we come to know one another's ideas that we might learn to make something of them.

Dewey's discussion of Aristotle, in large part, contrasts him with Plato. "Aristotle returned to the rationalization of custom," Dewey says.[37] In this he differs from Plato, who criticized custom in beginning a search for an ideal. "Aristotle idealizes the existent," is another way Dewey puts it.[38] In modern philosophy, the criticism of existing institutions is a counterpart of the critical Plato. "[It is] not without significance that Rousseau [was] so much influenced by Plato," Dewey thought.[39] Both were interested in breaking away from the past. Rousseau "was only an individualist with reference to getting away from the past," Dewey continues.[40] Like Plato, he yearned for a form of community life in which rationality would be at home. Aristotle's influence is seen in Hegel, who "idealized the whole existing order. [He showed] that things which [the] 18th century considered absurd had an inner meaning to them."[41]

Aristotle's interest in biology led him to look at the processes of life for what Dewey calls "cues" to the nature of existence. Taking growth to be a natural phenomenon in living things, Aristotle was "led to interpret becoming as a controlled, regulated change," a change from potentiality to actuality.[42] Our word "actuality" comes from the Latin translation of Aristotle; it is "connected with act — the thing in full operation. The actuality is the whole reality of the thing."[43] The nature of living things, for Aristotle, is found *in* particular things. For Aristotle, Dewey says, "the universal exists only *in* the individual, never separated from it."[44] The universal, which informs us as to the *kind* of thing something is, is found in the subject matter, in examples of the things themselves.

We may now connect Dewey's characterization of Aristotle "as a systematizer of common sense"[45] with our earlier discussion of the objective character of Greek philosophy. In "systematizing common sense," Aristotle worked with the sense shared in common by all who investigate, taking it to exist in an objective way; it is there, and we exist *with* it. Again, it is in the subject matter of common sense that we find the principles which enable us to understand it. When Dewey says that, for Aristotle, "the individual exists by sharing with [the world of nature, and the world of society which itself is part of the natural world],"[46] Dewey emphasizes the fundamental kinship of human beings living as a part of nature. In Aristotle's world, there is no individual except by sharing with nature: to *be* an individual is to share something with a larger world. When Dewey says that, in Aristotle's world, "He [the individual] is of common stuff with nature,"[47] we are reminded of Plato's remark in the *Meno*, "All nature is akin,"[48] when Socrates was telling a story to show why the human soul was capable of learning. The modern idea that human beings exist apart from the world is absent from the objective character of Greek philosophy. In reference to Descartes' viewpoint that we find universals in ourselves, Dewey puts the modern problem in this way: "Starting from the individual, [we] have to work out *into* social institutions."[49]

Despite this close relation in Aristotle between the knower and the world to which the knower belongs, Dewey finds a dualism in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; it is "between living, and living nobly; between life, and life that is worthwhile," Dewey says.[50] Dewey also calls it a dualism between means and ends; e.g., slaves and artisans make the higher life possible by their labor. The higher life is to be lived by those who have the leisure to take part in public affairs or a life of contemplation. The idea is that the one who is engaged in supplying the means for leisured activities will not be able to be leisurely. The idea that liberal education is higher culture is directly connected with the idea of knowledge for its own sake, gained in the contemplative life, Dewey holds.[51] Dewey points to Aristotle's "depreciatory attitude toward anything professional, physical, or manual. . . . Knowledge for its own sake — as its own end or reward — that [is] the essence of a liberal education."[52] In Book X of the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle writes of Happiness as a contemplative activity, one in accord with the highest and most divine

part of human beings; there the sense in which Happiness is an "intellectual," rather than a "practical" activity, is emphasized.[53] Yet Dewey acknowledges the importance of activity in Aristotle, saying that actuality is "connected with act — the thing in full operation."[54] In seeking practical wisdom the individual begins with an idea of the end to be pursued (Happiness), and acts so as to bring the potential end into actuality. Insofar as Happiness is coming into being, the community itself must be changed, because Happiness can come into existence only in a polis of a certain kind; not just any form of community life will do. What Dewey calls the "continuous reconstruction of experience," which involves changes in both the individual and the social context, has a counterpart in the activity of Aristotle's investigator who strives not merely to *know* what Happiness is, but to *become happy*. Indeed, we may say that, for Aristotle no less than for Dewey, the struggle to attain the Good is an affair in which knowing itself needs action for its own fulfillment, and action needs knowing to put forth specific actions as human possibilities.

As we have seen, Dewey pursues the difference between the objectivism of the classical Greek conception of knowing and the subjectivism of the modern conception. From the standpoint of rationalism and individualism, Dewey finds that the dominant modern philosophy was articulated by Descartes:

> His logic [was] built still on innate ideas, a priori conceptions; but his actual procedure goes back to the individual. [There was] nothing more empirical and individualistic in Francis Bacon or John Locke. . . . Instead of truth coming to the individual from the [world], he [the individual] has to go to work to extract it. He was the responsible factor. If he did not go to work, [there] would not be any science.[55]

In Plato and Aristotle, it is "the reason in the world that communicates itself to the individual and makes him rational," whereas in modern thought there is "the substitution of a psychological point of view for a cosmological [one]," which Dewey calls "the reliance on the initiative of the individual as [the] controlling element in science."[56] With important exceptions, such as Rousseau, the significance of the community as an originative and objective context is largely missing in modern thought.

Dewey aimed to find a common ground on which certain historical dualisms, such as means-ends, subject-object, and experience-thinking, might be meliorated. For instance, he suggests "the notion that knowledge, thought is itself a function *in* experience . . . since experience is connected with life, action, passion, it is something that is going on, a transitive, a transforming, thing."[57] This responds both to the Greek idea that knowledge is something superior to experience and to the modern problem of getting minds together with the world in which they think. Instead of opposing the empirical and the rational, we may take them to be connecting phases of experience, Dewey says.[58] Again, the ancient

Greek ideal of community life enters into the following statement, in which Dewey articulates a conception of experience that is both individualistic and social in nature:

> When experience itself [is] conceived as a matter of social inter-connections. experience itself is a thing which is continued, a continuation of a process which the individual comes to share, then experience really *is* social. An individual may have to acquire experience, but experience is itself an interaction between social units.[59]

This is a way of saying that the individual already must *be* social, if the individual is to *have* experience.

Our aim has been to provide a sense of Dewey's approach to the subject matter of philosophy and education in their historic relations. Dewey's 1910-11 course shows us clearly that he was prepared for the discussion of the historic relations between philosophy and education which appeared in his *Cyclopedia of Education* articles (1913) and in *Democracy and Education* (1916).

Notes

1 *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), p. 385.

2 *A Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. IV, Paul Monroe, editor (New York: Macmillan. 1913): "Philosophy of Education," pp. 696-703; "Plato," pp. 722-25.

3 "Philosophy and Education in Their Historic Relations, 1910-1911," Columbia University. Lecture notes by Elsie Ripley Clapp. Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Permission to quote from the Elsie Ripley Clapp notes was granted by Jo Ann Boydston, The Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Hereafter these notes will be referred to as PEHR.

4 PEHR. p. 11.

5 Ibid. Cf. p. 47.

6 Ibid.. pp. 5-7.

7 *Ibid.*. p. 6.

8 *Ibid.*. p. 12.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*. p. 6.

Ibid.. p. 10.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[20] *A Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. IV, Paul Monroe, editor (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 723.

[21] PEHR, p. 20.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Meno*, 81d, translated by W.K.C. Guthrie, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[49] PEHR, p. 100.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[53] See PEHR, p. 38, where Dewey makes reference to passages in the *Politics* which deal with the slave and the artisan engaging in "mechanical" activities, and to Book X of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, "where he [Aristotle] contrasts theoretical and practical life."

[54] PEHR, p. 56.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Jane Addams's Pragmatic Impact on Adult Education

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Jane Addams's legacy to the adult education movement was a pragmatic one. Her philosophy and the Hull-House educational activities adhered to the ontological, epistemological and axiological tenets of pragmatism which encompass progressive educational principles. For most purposes, pragmatism can be regarded as being synonymous with functionalism and experimentalism whose principal philosophical themes contain the following: (1) people are free and responsible for their own interaction with reality, while reality is the sum total of what we experience; (2) change is the only constant as there is no assurance that anything will endure or be permanent; (3) knowledge is derived through experiences, leading to growth, which leads to more growth through the reconstruction of experiences; (4) values are relative; (5) democracy is important as a way of life; and finally, (6) critical intelligence is of prime importance in all human conduct. In a pragmatic system, education is seen as a continuous process of reconstruction of experiences leading to the individual's growth and development. This learning process is self-motivated as problems are solved by reflecting on actual experiences and perceiving their solutions and consequences. In turn, the individual chooses the best solution to the problem. The teacher in this process acts as a counselor or facilitator, giving guidance which aids in the individual's growth and development.

Progressivism, while rooted in pragmatism, is a humanitarian effort to bring about the American ideal through cooperation and social solidarity, creating a sense of community with the goal of obtaining democratic principles. Individuals develop their abilities to think critically about real life situations, thus aiding in problem solving by thinking of various solutions and alternatives to each experiential situation. Studying and weighing each choice will lead to the best decision or correct conclusion to each problem. This learning process focuses on the individual, encouraging self-improvement and growth, thereby having a positive effect on society and its development.

Epistemologically Hull-House provided for a pragmatic approach to the learning of knowledge through a variety of educational opportunities and in a variety of ways and means, including from life itself. Learning in life was emphasized because it taught people how to face and deal with everyday situations, providing practical solutions to relevant problems. It was hoped that this learning process, in turn, made each individual a better person and a better citizen.

Each program provided for social interaction, an important aspect of

democracy. by bringing a variety of people together to learn from each other cooperatively. while promoting a sense of community. It also allowed people to learn to tolerate different viewpoints while learning about life from another perspective. This humanitarian effort placed the good of many before the interests of a few. It allowed the group (when necessary) to take social action to try to alleviate wrongdoings while preserving and transmitting important democratic principles, values and customs. These programs helped people to learn by cultivating their minds with various thoughts, achieving the goal of personal development, growth and social interaction. Hull-House was a learning community and the motivation for attending the activities offered came from the individual. This pragmatic principle was essential if the program was to be successful in trying to create a positive learning environment which focused on meeting the needs of the individual. Since the person wanted to be in attendance. he/she would be a more active participant and learner, contributing positively to the activity.

Addams's philosophy focused on developing the mind and enhancing the individual's abilities to think and reason, thereby enabling people to make wise decisions in their daily lives. This was accomplished through a variety of formats. including: the Labor Museum, Social Science Club, Music School, Drama Club, and Americanization and citizenship classes. Each program aided each person's ability to think, grow and contribute to the community. For example, the Labor Museum, a unique educational concept. revealed that a nontraditional activity could provide for much learning and growth while bridging intergenerational conflict. The museum made people aware of several different traditions and cultures, the development and history of industrial resources and occupations, and created a learning environment between young and old and of people of diverse backgrounds. This nontraditional program was based on knowledge being transmitted from each individual's practical and vocational experiences instead of a formal learning process.

In pragmatism the traditional subjects are used to help develop solutions to problems thereby maximizing the dimensions of human growth and development. Therefore, Hull-House, as well as the adult education movement. capitalized on these activities. The college extension program was a traditional educational program whose foundations could be traced back to the beginning days of both Cambridge and Oxford. These courses were implemented at Hull-House because they met the needs of their respective populations. While they usually followed a formal educational format. the students and delivery systems were of a nontraditional nature. Classes were convenient and accessible to the working adult providing them with the opportunity to attend college at an off-campus location.

This pragmatic philosophy was found in the comprehensive programs and activities of Hull-House which provided the adult education movement with an excellent model: a paradigm based on the belief that educa-

tion was life and not a preparation for it. Thus, when the Chicago Forum Council was established in 1924, incorporated in 1925 and in 1929 changed its name to the Adult Education Council of Chicago, its roots were firmly planted in this philosophy.

Charles Deneen and Illinois Education Reform During the Progressive Era (1904-1912)

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The "Progressive era" in American life has been long known as an age of political reform. Well-known elected officials such as Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin, Albert Cummings in Iowa, Charles Enos Hughes in New York, or President Theodore Roosevelt typified this age.[1] Historical interest has focused on their enactment of legislation establishing direct primary elections, the initiative, referendum and recall. Progressive social legislation sought to control industrial conditions and gave life to innumerable regulatory commissions.

During this period in Illinois its Progressive Republican governor included sweeping state educational reform in his legislative program.[2] However, Charles S. Deneen (1904-1912) has long remained only an obscure, enigmatic political figure. This study will focus primarily on Deneen's interest in education, and offer several insights as to why he was doomed to political oblivion by his fellow progressives.

Political Origins

The Deneen family was one of the oldest in Illinois. Often believed to be Irish because of his name and Swedish because of his political associations with the then Scandinavian wards on Chicago's Southwest Side. Deneen came from a long line of strictly American ancestors, remotely French in origin. His maternal grandfather, Risdon Moore, fought in the Revolutionary War. Conflicting accounts speak of his immigration to St. Clair County, Illinois in 1812 from either Delaware or Georgia. He was chosen Speaker of the House in the Illinois Territorial Legislature, where he led the fight to prevent the admission of slaves into Illinois. Deneen's other grandfather, William L. Deneen, was a Methodist Episcopal circuit rider who came to Illinois in 1828. Deneen's parents, Samuel H. Deneen and Mary Frances Ashley, were both from upper-middle class families and college graduates. Samuel served as adjutant for the 117th Illinois Volunteers during the Civil War. During President Benjamin Harrison's administration he was appointed United States Counsel at Belleville in Ontario, Canada. Afterward, he was a Professor of Latin and Ancient/Medieval History for thirty years at McKendree College in Lebanon, Illinois. This family background seems to reflect the typical "Progressive."[3]

Charles Samuel Deneen was born at Edwardsville, Illinois on May 4, 1863. He attended school in Lebanon. In 1882 he graduated from his father's college. For a short time he taught country school in Jasper and Madison Counties. In 1885 he came to Chicago to attend the Union College of Law (later the law school of Northwestern University).

Deneen supplemented his funds by working as a law clerk and teaching foreigners in a night program located at Polk and Halsted Streets in the near Westside slum area.[4] In 1886 he passed the bar examination. Five years later Deneen married Bina Day Maloney from downstate Illinois. They would have four children.[5]

Earlier (1891) Deneen had attended a political meeting of William Lorimer, Chicago's notorious Republican machine boss. Lorimer was impressed by Deneen and told him to settle in the soon-to-be-annexed town of Englewood so that he could become a ward boss. Englewood was annexed to Chicago in the following year, and Deneen was elected immediately to his only term in the Illinois Legislature.[6] His power base was the Scandinavian wards in Southwest Chicago. By adhering to his political mentor Lorimer in city and county conventions he made rapid political progress. As 13th Ward Committeeman, Deneen supported Lorimer's nomination as Congressman to the 2nd Congressional District in 1893. When Lorimer won the election, their political relationship was cemented.[7] In 1895 Lorimer secured Deneen's appointment as the attorney for the Chicago Sanitary District. The following year, ar. ' again in 1900, he was elected Cook County state's attorney.[8] He established a good record as state's attorney prosecuting financial fraud.[9] This high profile office gave Deneen a powerful grip on the party situation and on public opinion in Chicago.

In 1898 he correctly perceived the growing public appeal for reform. He first distanced himself from Lorimer at the Republican Cook County Convention held that year. A resolution was passed with Deneen's support condemning a traction franchise bill (the Allen Bill) that had been enacted by the General Assembly in 1896. Lorimer had supported its chief benefactor, Charles Tyson Yerkes, "the chief bete noire of Chicago reformers," who wished to extend his existing traction lines franchise in the City of Chicago for fifty years. Commuters had long complained that Yerkes' cars were crowded, unventilated, dirty, poorly heated and lighted. Yerkes economized by using few safety devices on his cars. In spite of strong public discontent, Lorimer's political prowess and Yerkes' pay-offs, he got the "Allen Bill" passed by the General Assembly and signed by the governor.

Deneen's support of an Anti-Allen Law resolution acknowledged voter antipathy over these political pay-offs. "The stream of corruption that rolled through the Senate and House did not stop at the door of the Executive Mansion."[10] Between 1898 and 1904 he continued to back away from Lorimer. In turn, Deneen established a new political base built on the progressive reform element, the independe..: press of Chicago and his own patronage forces.[11]

Deneen's alienation from Lorimer can also be attributed to the broad ethnic and religious differences within their respective city ward constituencies. Swedes and other Scandinavians dominated Deneen's South-

west city base. Throughout the Midwest these groups' religious affiliations made them supporters of reform government and prohibitionists. In contrast, Lorimer's Westside wards were inhabited by Catholic and Russian Jewish immigrants. They favored an "occupational and entrepreneurial" attitude toward government (i.e. patronage and kickbacks). Their religious convictions caused them to reject an activist reform government and culturally, prohibition was anathema to them. The distinct cultural differences of these two blocs were the origins of Deneen and Lorimer's confrontation in a struggle to determine control of the Republican Party in Illinois.[12]

In 1904. Deneen sought his party's nomination for governor. As the Progressive "Better Government" candidate, he challenged Governor Yates, who the press characterized as the "rottenest, puniest spokesman we have seen in Illinois." Lorimer refused to support Deneen because it would "disrupt the organization." He also did not support Yates because he feared losing Cook County where the voters demanded Yates' ouster. Instead, he proposed Frank Lowden, a Chicago lawyer and son-in-law of George M. Pullman, the sleeping-car palace king.[13]

The 1904 Republican primary gave about 400 delegates to each of the three contenders. Beginning in May, and for twenty-two sweltering days afterward. the Republican State Convention took 73 ballots to break the deadlock over the gubernatorial nomination. Yates gave his final support to Deneen in return for a U.S. Senate seat, which was later denied by Deneen. This dealt Lorimer a severe blow and propelled Deneen's progressive faction into control of Republican Illinois for the next eight years. Deneen's nomination also split the Illinois Republican Party into two feuding factions, rarely at peace, as one was never quite able to dominate the other.[14]

The issue of party control dominated Deneen's political philosophy and his role in the Progressive movement. It served to differentiate his behavior from the typical "LaFollette kind of Progressive." Deneen as governor would continue to deal with the reactionary old guard "standpatters" in the Republican party. He eventually compromised Progressive interests in his struggle to unify all Illinois Republicans under his sole leadership. The inability of Deneen and his fellow Progressives to establish complete party control in Illinois may be the key factor to the state's "low key" progressivism.

Governor Deneen's Educational Reform

At the beginning of his first term as governor, Deneen was a forty year old. stocky man. five-feet-eight-inches tall, with hazel-brown eyes and brown hair. He possessed extraordinary physical strength.[15] This rather quiet young. unassuming man achieved an impressive progressive legislative record in the next eight years. Through his political protege, Walter yde Jones. a Republican Hyde Park progressive State Senator, Gover- r Deneen introduced reform bills touching on most aspects of com-

merce, industry and social welfare important to Illinois voters.[16]

During his eight years in office Deneen personally supported passage of occupational safety laws for men and women employed in mills, factories or retail stores. A child employment act was established. He created a State Mining Board to provide mine safety; a State Food Commission to bring Illinois into compliance with the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act; the State Bureau of Labor Statistics; and enlarged the regulatory powers of the Illinois Intrastate Commerce Commission. Deneen passed state conservation measures to preserve the environment. The enactment of an Illinois primary election law and the establishment of a state-wide civil service system underlined the progressive character of Deneen's legislative programs.[17]

As a former teacher, Deneen was equally interested in educational reform. While Governor, he increased appropriations for the State Superintendent's Office by almost thirty percent. The state's biennial educational appropriation doubled between 1909 and 1912 from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000. Deneen sought to abandon small schools and established township school units. The General Assembly began the practice of each county establishing its own school fund and distributing the revenue to the local townships. An important legal precedent was established through the requirement of a separate Education Fund and Building Fund for each Illinois school district. School attendance laws were strengthened in two ways: annual student daily attendance was increased by thirty-eight percent from 80 to 110 school days, and the age of compulsory attendance was raised from age fourteen to age sixteen.[18]

Prior to 1909 the Illinois School Code was not a serviceable document. It had 301 sections, 37 special charters, 8 supplemental acts and 28 additional acts. Over four hundred Illinois Supreme Court decisions had constructed this confusion of education laws. In 1907 Deneen established an Educational Commission composed of the state's leading public and private educators to revise the entire School Code. By 1910 the revised school statutes were enacted by the General Assembly. The new code reduced the large number of school laws, gave them symmetry and order, and made the accomplishment of future revision far easier. (Many educators still find the school code confusing.) The Educational Commission of 1907 also recommended the introduction of vocational education throughout the state's public schools.

Education's appropriations dramatically increased during Deneen's governorship. He enacted provisions for new college buildings at Normal totalling $800,000 and at the University of Illinois of $1,390,000. Additional appropriations for the University of Illinois rose from $1,600,000 in 1904 to $3,400,000 by 1910. Future tax levies of $2,000,000 per year were approved in 1911 by Deneen for the University of Illinois.[19]

The dramatic improvement of Illinois education was center stage during Deneen's two administrations.

Educational Growth In Illinois 1902-1910[20]

	1902	*1904*	*1906*	*1910*
School Population	971,841	1,449,000	1,473,000	1,543,000
Total Expenditures	$19,899,000	$22,812,000	$25,895,000	$35,259,000
Teachers' Salaries	$12,132,075	$12,812,000	$13,829,363	$17,287,000
Number of Schools[1]	12,855	12,895	12,973	NA[2]
Number of Teachers	27,186	27,471	28,128	NA[2]
New Buildings	$ 2,063,000	$ 2,435,135	$ 1,363,000	NA[2]
State Distributive Fund	NA	NA	$ 1,000,000	$ 3,000,000

[1] Common Schools Only.

[2] Not Available.

During these eight years (1902-1910) Illinois' school population rose by 571,159 students, or over fifty-eight percent. Total state-wide expenditures for education increased by over $15,000,000 (+77%). Teacher salaries increased by $5,155,000 (+42%). The number of school buildings and teachers from 1902 to 1906 remained almost constant, with only 118 additional buildings (+.9%), and 942 more teachers (+3.4%). New building construction initially increased only to again fall as pupil enrollments declined (1902-1906).

Deneen was able to increase school expenditures at a faster pace than the sharp rise in school enrollments. Direct state aid to education also rose by 200% from $1,000,000 to $3,000,000. Teacher salaries dramatically increased during the same time period. Only in new school construction did Illinois seem to lag behind what was needed to house a growing student population. Without doubt Deneen's education efforts were an important component of his progressive legislative record and kept pace with his other social reform programs.[21]

The Progressive Legacy of Illinois

Why then has the Progressive legacy in Illinois seemed fragmentary at best? Even the most sanguine appraisal of Charles Deneen uncovers neither a radical reformer nor an arch conservative. Though he supported progressive ideas, Deneen never openly aligned himself against the "Republican Old Guard" (i.e. President Taft). The governor was a cautious, highly secretive politican who formed alliances with both reformers and conservatives alike in a focused effort to acquire total control of the Illinois Republican Party.[22]

As the 1912 Presidential election approached, both Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft considered Deneen for the Vice-Presidential nomination. It now appears likely that Taft made Deneen such an offer in Springfield, Illinois in February, 1911.[23] From that time onward until the 1912 Chicago National Republican Convention, Deneen began to distance himself from Charles Merriam, Harold Ickes and other prominent Illinois Progressives.[24] Though Roosevelt overwhelmingly won the Illinois Republican Primary, Deneen successfully packed the delegation with his personal supporters and Taft adherents. He completed his political duplicity by assuring Roosevelt of his continued "loyalty."[25]

At the convention Deneen led the largest delegation of Roosevelt "Progressives." However, he offered little help to nominate Roosevelt. The former President felt that Deneen had stabbed him in the back. "I grew to feel a hearty contempt for him (Deneen) and entirely to mistrust his sincerity and loyalty."[26]

Deneen miscalculated badly, for Roosevelt and his adherents bolted the convention to organize a Progressive third party movement. During the subsequent Presidential and state campaign the entire Republican State Committee was badly shaken up by the Bull Moose Party threat. The same Progressives and press that had long supported Deneen's reforms now attacked the governor as a reactionary.[27]

His failure to reconcile himself with the Progressives cost Deneen the governorship. Edward Dunne, the Democratic candidate, received 443,120 votes. Deneen split the Republican vote with Frank Fink, the Progressive Party candidate, 318,469 to 303,401. In Illinois Woodrow Wilson only narrowly beat Roosevelt 405,048 to 386,478, a mere 18,570 vote plurality, while Taft was buried with only 253,593 votes.[28]

The Measure of a Progressive

Charles Deneen's educational reforms established the administrative parameters for Illinois public education during the next seventy-five years. Indeed, Deneen's entire tenure as governor was marked by the enactment of solid Progressive legislative program that compares favorably to other Progressive midwestern states.

However, Deneen's failure to join forces with the national Progressive coalition irrevocably splintered the Illinois Progressive movement. They rightly denounced the Governor's betrayal. In place of the recognition that Deneen's record earned, his contributions to Progressive educational and social change were relegated to the obscurity of a tarnished political hero. Our belated acknowledgement of Deneen as an important reformer, recognizes Illinois as a privotal Midwestern state in both the development and ultimate failure of the national Progressive movement.

Notes

1 John Chamberlain, *Farewell To Reform* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), pp. 73-74.

2 Charles E. Merriam, *Chicago* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 181-182. Carroll Hill Woody, *The Case of Fran. L. Smith: A Study In Representative Government* (Chicago: 1931), p. 186.

3 Edward F. Dunne, *Illinois the Heart of the Nation*, Vol. V. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 456-457. Woody, *Government*, p. 184.

4 Smith. *Illinois*, p. 354. Woody, *Government*, p. 185. Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Big Bill of Chicago* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), pp. 303-304.

5 Smith. *Illinois*, p. 354. Wendt, *Big Bill*, p. 56. Interview with Mrs. Bina House. Chicago, Illinois, January, 1971. The youngest child, Bina Day, married a great nephew of Colonel Edward M. House, the close adviser of President Woodrow Wilson.

6 Woody. *Government*, p. 185.

7 Tarr. *Boss Politics*, pp. 41-42.

8 *Ibid.* p. 126. Woody, *Government*, p. 185.

9 Wendt. *Big Bill*, p. 56. Deneen collected $243,000 as State's Attorney. This public office then operated on a percentage of fees for successful prosecutions. Margaret A. Haley, Robert L. Reid, ed., *Battleground: The Autobiography of Margaret A. Haley* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 64-67. Deneen ran afoul of Haley, President of the Chicago Teachers' Union, over a tax fight to raise higher levies for education. Even though she won the law suit her ire toward Deneen was great. "King Charles Deneen," she called him. "Outside an iceberg, he was the coldest proposition the city ever had as a public official."

10 Tarr. *Boss Politics*, p. 127.

11 Merriam. *Chicago*, p. 179.

12 Tarr. *Boss Politics*, p. 127.

[13] Edward E. Gordon, "Charles S. Deneen and the Progressive Movement in Illinois . . . 'To Insurge a Little' " (Unpublished Masters Thesis, DePaul University, 1972), p. 4.

[14] Wendt, *Big Bill*, pp. 54-56. Tarr, *Boss Politics*, pp. 128-140.

[15] Gordon, *Deneen*, p. 3.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[17] Roy O. West, William C. Walton, "Charles S. Deneen 1863-1940," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 1, March, 1941, pp. 7-25.

[18] William H. Haggard, "The Legal Basic of the Organization and Administration of the Public Schools in Illinois" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago. 1937), p. 67-237.

[19] *The Administration of Charles S. Deneen 1905-1908* (Chicago: Peterson Linotype Co., 1908), p. 82.

[20] Republican Committee, *Deneen*, pp. 89-90. *The State Manual and Pocket Business Guide* (Springfield, Illinois: Woody and Conim Publishing, 1904), p. 40. James A. Rose, *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1905* (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Journal Company, 1906), p. 461. James A. Rose, *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1907* (Springfield, Illinois: Phillips Brothers, 1908), p. 420.

[21] West, *Deneen*. Harry Woods, *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1913-1914* (Danville, Illinois: Illinois Printing Company, 1914), preface.

[22] Gordon, *Deneen*, pp. 6-8.

[23] Gordon, *Deneen*, pp. 22-27.

[24] Tarr, *Boss Politics*, p. 286.

[25] E.E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. VIII (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 579-580.

[26] *Chicago Tribune*, October 13, 1912, p. 3.

[27] Gordon, *Deneen*, pp. 83-90.

[28] Harry Woods, *Blue Book of the State of Illinois 1913-1914* (Danville, Illinois Printing Co.. 1914), p. 451.

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They would have four children.[1]

[1] Smith, *Illinois*, p. 354. Wendt, *Big Bill*, p. 56. Interview with Mrs. Bina House, Chicago, Illinois, January, 1971. The youngest child, Bina Day, married a great nephew of Colonel Edward M. House, the close adviser of President Woodrow Wilson.

Progressive Education and School Architecture. The Career of Dwight H. Perkins

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Introduction

Educational and architectural changes are often the result of rapid changes that occur in society. As America transformed from a rural to an urban society, the school buildings grew larger and more complex. The typical school building in the early years of the 19th century was the rural, one room school which may have had varied purposes of schoolhouse, teacher's home and community center. The first school in Chicago was held in a settler's private home as early as 1816.[1]

From the one-room adobe schoolhouse in a remote village of Eastern Africa, to the complex, modern school building in an urban environment, school buildings convey a message. Architecture, like artwork, is a reflection of society. It is a symbolic representation of the period of its creation. "It writes the record of civilization."[2] Architecture is created when groups of people have specific needs to be accommodated. The group is a social unit defined by the activities in which it engages. Our schools may be the collaboration of architects, administrators and teachers. Architecture is the physical form of social institutions. Physical elements of the environment can create an atmosphere that is conducive to the learning process. The buildings provide space and shelter for the functions of social groups. It is the architect who gives form to the functions of society, and we are the perpetual users of architecture. Architect, Frank Irving Cooper, has documented the evolution of the American school building in a 1929 article written for *Encyclopedia Britannica:*

> Originally the school building consisted of a single room or hall. As the schools developed there came into the use that treatment of this building having a room in each of the four corners with a hallway through the center; then came the two story plan, duplicating the first story, followed by the three story building with the third story containing the assembly hall. These buildings were usually surmounted by a cupola containing the school bell. As the number of pupils increased the need for more space resulted in the addition of more rooms and there followed diversity of arrangement in the general type of plan . . .[3]

This essay will examine the career of a notable Chicago architect, Dwight H. Perkins, who was the chief architect for the Chicago Board of Education from 1905-1910. During that time approximately forty new schools and additions to schools were erected from his designs. The buildings of Dwight Perkins included the whole range of planning from the great technical high schools down to a one story school for crippled

children. Public school buildings prior to the designs of Perkins were designed in conventional styles which involved attempts to give them "architectural effects" as opposed to "pedagogical efficiency."

Historical Analysis

Historically, we can trace the evolution of school architecture to the two great names of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. Both of these men are credited with major improvements in the school plant. It is often said that Henry Barnard accomplished in Connecticut and Rhode Island what Horace Mann was able to do in Massachusetts for the common school movement. Horace Mann described deplorable conditions of the schoolhouses in Massachusetts in his first report as Secretary to the newly created State Board of Education, and made specific recommendations for their improvement.

Henry Barnard is responsible for bringing the fields of architecture and education into harmony. He lectured extensively on school architecture and designed two schools that served as models for his lectures. Barnard viewed architectural designs for schools as the best source for discovering what actually happened in a classroom. "Designs for classrooms not only tell us much about the didactic means that were used in them; they also reveal the essence of pedogogy that directed the educative efforts of past times."[4] A keen sense of architectural judgement was combined with a profound understanding of education. School improvements were related to the physical, intellectual and moral culture of students. Barnard's view of the schoolhouse, as a work of architecture, enhanced the school's performance of its cultural task to an emblem for its pupils of high ethical and rational standards. Barnard saw children as independent, potentially rational persons who while in school were developing the standards they would accept in the range of manners, morals and mind. From the point of view of architecture, it was more important to ask the child what they would learn from the school as opposed to what they would learn at school.

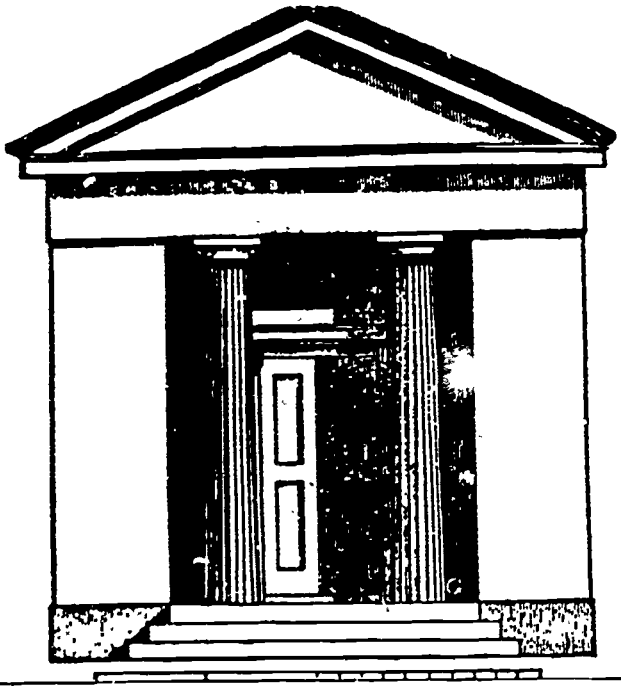
Two designs from the hand of Henry Barnard include the Windsor and Washington district schoolhouses in Connecticut. For reasons of association, both schools were given the Greek Revival facades.

Barnard felt that

> Every school house should be a temple, consecrated in prayer to the physical, intellectual and moral culture of every child in the community, and be associated in every heart with the earliest and strongest impressions of truth, justice, patriotism, and religion.[5]

Barnard was responsible for establishing general principles related to school architecture. These principles set the standard for the following features of the school building: location, style and construction; size; light; ventilation; temperatures; library arrangements; seats and desks for

The Windsor District School House (1839-40).



The Washington District School House (1939-40). Jean McClintock and Robert McClintock. ed., Henry Barnard's School Architecture *(New York Teachers College Press, 1970), 120, 124.*

scholars; arrangements for the teacher; and the school yard and external arrangements. He is also acknowledged for determining the principle concerns to which designers of schools still attend and to which Dwight Perkins paid a great deal of attention. "The essence of Barnard's conception of school architecture is found in his observation that

> It is not to be wondered at that children acquire a distaste for study and a reluctance to attend school, so long as schoolhouses are associated with hours of prolonged weariness and actual suffering from a scanty supply of air, and seats and desks so arranged and constructed as to war against their physical organization."[6]

Contributions of Dwight H. Perkins

Perkins launched his career at a most interesting time in American history. By the end of the nineteenth century, a reform movement was underway that had transformed us from an agrarian nation to an industrial nation. The city of Chicago was experiencing all of the necessary conditions for Progressive reform along with rapid ethnic expansion.

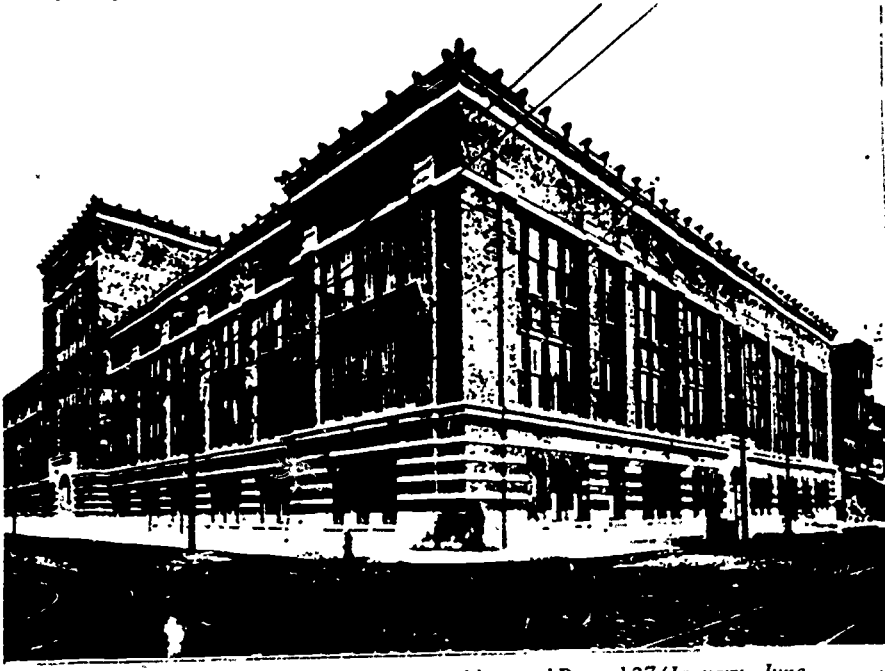
Perkins conforms to Robert Crunden's description of the progressive personality, having grown up under the cultural influences of New England and having family ties with Abraham Lincoln. As a "progressive," his architectural designs had an impact on the community, school administrators and individual students. Architecture, as viewed by Crunden is one of "the chief monuments of progressive creativity."[7]

Perkins, like Barnard, ignored the use of ornamentation of his school buildings and concentrated on the concept of form follows function. He was acknowledged by at least one historian as "the architect who set the standard for scholastic building in Chicago."[8] Even during his brief five-year tenure as chief architect to the Chicago Board of Education, he "quickly established himself as one of the country's top school architects. National journals praised his . . . designs, which emphasized horizontal lines and innovative use of interior space."[9] Donovan, in his standard work on school architecture, listed Perkins as one of a group of early architectural pioneers who,

> by their serious study of the problem and their good sense for simplicity in composition, have led the way in school architecture toward possibilities which have clearly exemplified the people's devotion to education and their appreciation for simple, substantial structures.[10]

One of the earliest buildings that Dwight Perkins was commissioned to design was the Albert G. Lane Technical High School (known today as the Cooley Vocational High School). The building has been described as "one of the largest and best equipped technical institutions in the world."[11] The exterior was designed for simplicity and for admitting the maximum amount of light into the building. The main purpose of this building was to furnish a good education for foreman and superintendents

of the manufacturing enterprises. The Lane School was replaced in 1934 by the present Lane building located on Addison street.

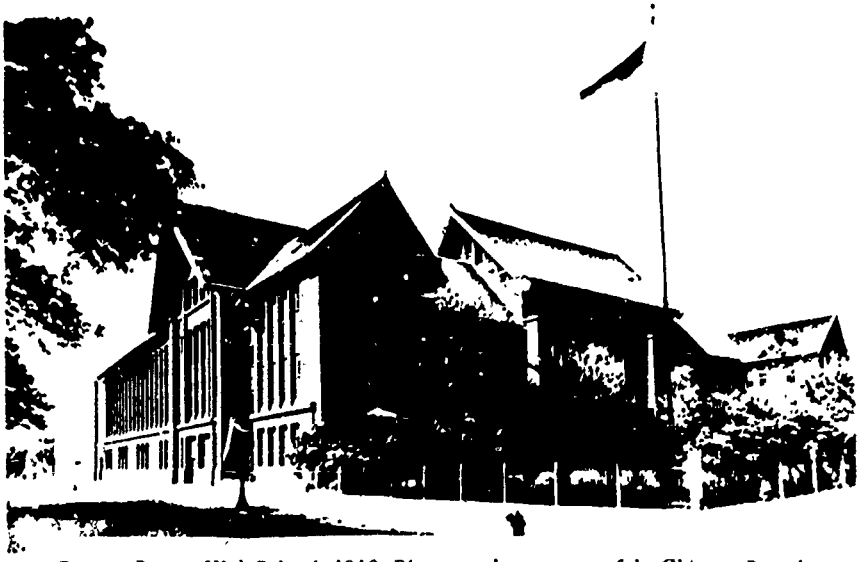


Albert G. Lane Technical High School. Architectural Record 27 (*January - June 1910*), 496.

The workshop designed for Lane. *Architectural Record 27 (January-June 1910), 498.*

A comparison of the original Bowen High School built in 1876 with the one designed by Perkins in 1910 exemplifies how early educational structures were imitative of European designs. The style of the original Bowen High School is related to the Second Empire style which was borrowed from France and named for the reign of Napoleon III. The present structure for the Bowen High School is similar to the design of the historical Carl Schurz High School (also designed by Perkins) which typifies the Chicago Style related to the renowned Louis Sullivan. Verticality is emphasized by piers between the windows.

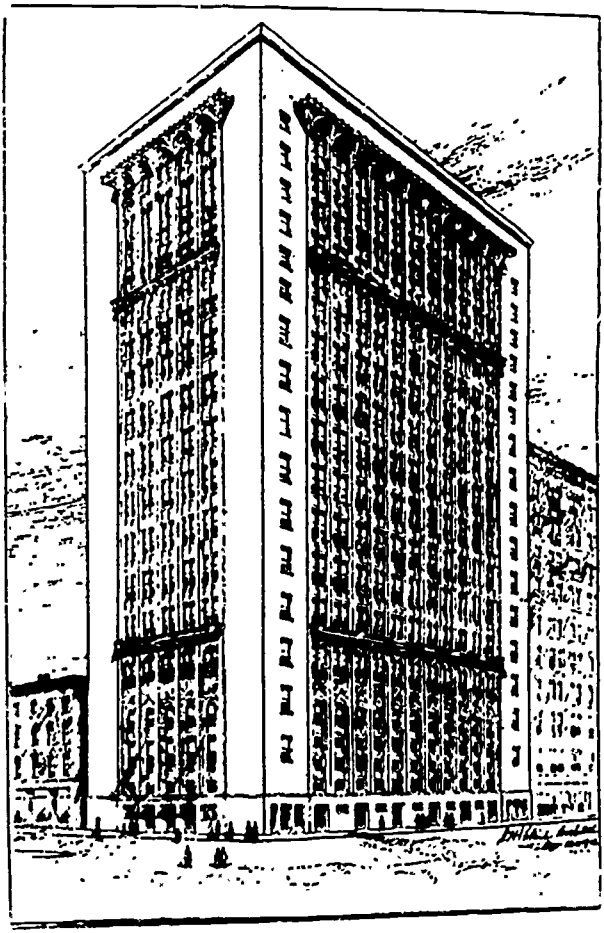
Original Bowen High School, 1876.



Present Bowen High School, 1910. Photographs courtesy of the Chicago Board of Education.

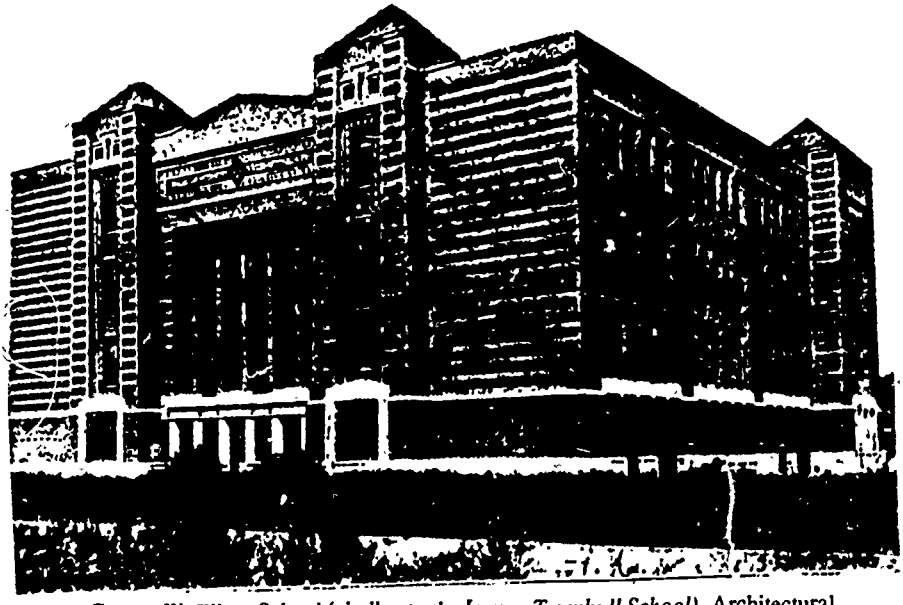
Perhaps no other design illustrates the farsightedness of Perkins more fittingly than his proposal plans for the "skyscraper school." Perkins submitted extremely radical and ambitious plans for a centralized commercial high school during his first year as architect to the board of education. The Chicago City Council passed an order on 27 June 1904 that

> the sum of $500,000 be and the same is hereby appropriated for erection of a high school of commerce on site of Jones School, and that the city comptroller is hereby authorized and directed to set aside the sum of $500,000 out of the unappropriated balance of the building account for the said improvement. $50,000 of which amount to be immediately appropriated to begin said work.



Perkins proposed plans for the "skyscraper high school." Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1909.

The Tilton School was designed with expansion in mind. It is noted as an example of "Perkins's interest in unusual masonry patterns."[13] The pattern is of horizontal bands with alternating courses of dark and light tones of buff brick. With a view to eventual expansion to forty classrooms, Perkins designed the assembly hall (seating 750), the gymnasium, the manual training and domestic science departments, and the heating and toilet facilities to sustain the full capacity of the building.[14]



George W. Tilton School (similar to the Lyman Trumbull School). Architectural Record *27 (January-June 1910), 505.*

Perkins's style becomes quite obvious when compared to the work of other notable school architects. Not all large city school systems had in house architects. Much of the building was done by contract so it was not unusual to have three or four firms designing schools in one city. The schools of Chicago and St. Louis had an architectural advantage over the school buildings in New York. Architects in Chicago and St. Louis were able to build/plan their schools lower which frequently emphasized horizontal expansion. The schools in New York were built up to the sidewalk line without playgrounds and school yards. A prominent architect whose work preceded that of Perkins was William Ittner of St. Louis. While Ittner varied the style of his school buildings among Colonial, Jacobean, Renaissance and cottage Gothic, Perkins more clearly developed a style of his own.

The use of ornamentation and architectural effects are quite apparent in the designs of Ittner.

An example of the Colonial style is represented in the Clay School. Architectural Record *23 (January-June 1908), 138.*

Perkins's contributions to school architecture were made in three major areas: in the use of schools as community centers, in their engineering, and in the integration of solid educational philosophy in their design. He brought common sense and creativeness to school buildings and also incorporated many of the ideals set forth by Henry Barnard.

The plans, designs and accomplishments of Perkins are a true testimonial of his effectiveness as architect, civic leader, and conservationist. His career was devoted to satisfy the increasing demands of society. In fact, his patrons became the environment. His farsightedness enabled him to provide for generations yet to come, and his principles espoused at the turn of the century are presently held in the highest esteem by architects and educators.

Notes

[1] J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*. Vol 3 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912), 278.

[2] Dwight Perkins, William Fellows, and John Hamilton, *Educational Buildings* (Chicago: Blakely Printing Company, 1925), 272.

[3] Frank M. Gracey, "A History of Secondary School Architecture in Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1937), 13f.

[4] Jean McClintock and Robert McClintock, ed., *Henry Barnard's School Architecture* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), 2.

[5] Ibid., 5.

[6] Ibid., 19-20.

[7] Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 90.

[8] Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 200.

[9] Perry R. Duis and Glen E. Holt, "Chicago As It Was. The Politics of Architecture," *Chicago* 30 (October 1981), 136.

[10] John R. Donovan, *School Architecture. Principles and Practices* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), 18.

[11] "Three New Schoolhouses, Chicago. Dwight H. Perkins, Architect." *Brickbuilder* 18 (November 1909), 228.

[12] *Proceedings of the City Council Chicago, Illinois, 27 June 1904*, 738.

[13] Mark L. Peisch, *The Chicago School of Architecture* (New York: Random House, 1964), 76.

[14] "Three New Schoolhouses," *Brickbuilder*, 229.

The Hessian Hills School, 1930-1941: Social Reconstructionism in Practice

Katherine M. Campbell
Boston University

In April, 1932, Columbia education professor George S. Counts electrified his Progressive Education Association audience with a call for them to "be progressive," to inculcate the values of "a socialized economy." He attacked the "extreme individualism" of the middle class parents whose children attended child-centered schools, and asked the movement to "emancipate itself from the influence of this class, . . . fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny, and become somewhat less frightened than it is today at the bogeys of *imposition* and *indoctrination*."[1]

Elizabeth Moos, director of the Hessian Hills School in Croton-on-Hudson, New York, was one of only a few educators who said they had already reached similar conclusions. "He voiced the longing felt by both youth and adults today for an ideal, a vital directing tradition, something to live for," she wrote. "For the past year indeed, this urgent need has been discussed at many of our faculty meetings."[2]

Founded in 1925, Hessian Hills was a pastoral, community school devoted to year-long study of the Greeks, Medieval Europe, farm crafts and creative artisanry. Parents Floyd Dell and Stuart Chase extolled its capacity to "humanize the machine age." Moos, trained at the Parker and Walden Schools, was devoted to Ruth Doing's eurhythmics. While the parents were an eclectic group of socialists, Quakers, radical Jews, prominent intellectuals and liberal business-people, as a former student commented, "in the early years, they were leftists somewhere else."[3]

Yet as Moos looked back, she admitted,[4]

> In the beginning there was no overt political interest. We were concerned with the individual, but we were not concerned only with his development as a creative person, but his development as a citizen. . . . we were, more than we realized, concerned with social issues. Even in the beginning, students were expected to participate in all the necessary work. . . . But this was not done with any political philosophy behind it. Perhaps with a humanistic philosophy.

Political concerns impinged on the school, she added, "in spite of us." Quaker teacher Ruth Edgerton, who joined the school in 1928, while studying Egypt, Greece, and Medieval Europe with eight to ten year olds tried to bring out racism, economic exploitation, and other issues with contemporary parallels. She kept a detailed daily journal through 1932 which, for example, shows a spring, 1929 debate on the

proposition "gold makes wars." Edgerton wore a Norman Thomas button to class and had her students distribute disarmament petitions.[5]

Socialist writer/historian George Willison taught the eleven through thirteen year olds American history straight from Charles Beard between 1929 and 1935. His classes read French and English textbooks for an anti-American view of the Revolution; they concluded, as Moos wrote in 1932, "in a war one side is never all right and the other all wrong and if there is trouble, economics will be found at the root of it."[6]

Willison helped students address current events through collectively written class plays about slavery, militarism, class conflict, and imperialism.[7] This technique of play writing became a hallmark of Hessian Hills, and Willison published many of these plays in his 1940 book, *Let's Make a Play*. Teachers at Hessian Hills began to develop their method — in some ways, a parallel philosophy with George Counts — even before his manifesto of 1932.

However, when Moos tried to set out the school's philosophy in an article for *Progressive Education* in 1935, she was unable to satisfactorily resolve the Deweyan "learn-by-doing" and "educate the whole child" precepts with her emerging political principles. Writing about Hessian Hills and the other six New York area institutions which had formed the Associated Experimental Schools in 1934, she said,[8]

> These schools use the child's experiences of all sorts and help him interpret the world as he meets it, this may have been through contact with a group of pickets on his way to school, through the experience of finding that his little negro friend cannot go to parties . . . There can be no evasion of controversial issues.

Unfortunately for Moos's logic, neither of the situations she cited could have much reality for Hessian Hills children. The school's first negro student was the 3 year old daughter of the janitor in 1939; students riding their ponies to school through Croton's woods were unlikely to meet pickets.

After 1935, William Marvin, who replaced George Willison, asked "the right to teach that [a world of poverty when able to produce plenty] is wrong, that it is bad, and that the good man direct his energies today to correcting that evil. To my mind, there is no qualitative difference between the [student's] intellectual decision . . . that workers, if they are to avoid poverty, must go out on strike, and his going out on a picket line. . . . Surely, our whole concept of education growing out of the experience of the child has a corollary . . . that education will in turn influence action."[9]

William Marvin's first politicization of Hessian Hills was to organize a conference on "What can education contribute to the struggle against war?" in November, 1935. The meeting brought area progressive educators to a morning symposium, asking "Is there a place in the lives of

children from 3 to 10 for anti-war education?" While Hessian Hills staff answered. "yes." many others listened as Lucy Sprague Mitchell warned against "indoctrination." That afternoon, students from fifteen area secondary schools formed a League Against War, which met at Hessian Hills until it became a chapter of the American Student Union in 1936.[10]

Elizabeth Moos, as rhythms teacher, tried again to integrate creative expressionism with politics in her work on the senior class play that spring, 1936. After a year's study with Marvin, she found the students "had something to say and were determined to say it," so Moos helped them produce an anti-war ballet. "These socially-sensitive children were in real need for some medium, some channel through which their longing to participate in the fight against war could be active," she concluded.[11]

The ballet's characters were deliberate caricatures. "War-makers" in papier-mache masks seduced "workers" into a war, where all but two died as the instigators piled up moneybags. The survivors joined an imprisoned conscientious objector and convinced the warmakers, one by one, to fling off their evil masks and join the workers. This play clearly expressed the anti-war, anti-fascist, yet essentially humanistic philosophy of liberal students in 1935.[12]

After working on the pantomime, Moos believed even more strongly that Hessian Hills was contributing to social change. She was sure their cooperative play-writing expressed not only Marvin's socialist teaching but, more importantly, the effect of years of living in a collectivist atmosphere. In spring, 1936, she stated her "profound conviction . . . that these children are the instruments or agents through which this great social upheaval is being achieved, for social change . . . occurs in the reorganization of the conduct and thinking of individuals whose lives, thus reorganized, produce the new society and the new climate of opinion."[13]

In spring, 1937 the academic social reconstruction movement began to split between radicals and liberals. George S. Counts, for instance, resigned as editor of *The Social Frontier*, disagreeing with the doctrinaire positions of some radical successors.[14]

This split was reflected at Hessian Hills. William Marvin left the school in spring, 1937, and some parents hoped left-wing politics would leave with him. Parent Donald Slesinger, founder of progressive Camp Treetops, argued that the school should stop bringing ideology into the classroom. In a discussion among parents of the oldest three groups on February 26, 1937, Slesinger said,[15]

> The problem of widening a child's experience with social reality arises because of a misconception of ourselves, a misunderstanding of the world in which our children live, and a misuse of the educational process. Considering ourselves as having arrived at a final wisdom, and the child's

world as a way station. education becomes a means of vicariously bringing into being a Utopia we have not quite the courage to fight for ourselves.

Communist parent Elizabeth Cousins responded that it was right for Hessian Hills to try to bring real political issues into the classroom. The school has excellent methods, she said, but "pure technique is in danger of sterility if it isn't closely tied to actuality." Hessian Hills should become more active, to work for socialism directly, attempt to reform the public schools and support labor union colleges.[16]

After 1937, Hessian Hills embodied an uneasy compromise between these two extremes, a compromise which reflected the active political united front at the time in which liberal and Communist parents raised money for Loyalist Spain, sponsored anti-fascist conferences, and ran a food cooperative. Teachers did increasingly try to clarify and publicize their methods to reach into the public schools; not only their social reconstructionism, but also their commitment to being "a school where children can experiment," where math and science as well as social studies, art, music, and dance were emphasized.

At the same time, many teachers found it difficult to work with Elizabeth Moos. As the school matured and experienced staff came, they resented what they saw as her "proprietary attitude." Sara Eastburn, who worked with the oldest group, and Walter Clark, who led eight-ten year olds, both left in 1938, Eastburn to the Little Red School House and Clark to found the North Country School which embodied many early Hessian Hills methods without the politics.

Sara Eastburn's ninth graders in 1938 insisted on performing a play which focused a "Spotlight on Spain." George Willison, who reprinted it in his book, commented that the work "brought home the worldwide struggle for liberty and democracy as nothing else at the moment could have done."[17] It was students who insisted on the topic, made floodlights, and concluded with a call for American aid against Franco. Eastburn in turn tried to apply the play's abstractions to their personal lives. Tom, the originator of the script, was unwilling to help light the road for weaker bicyclists one afternoon. As Sara "drew parallels between the necessity for this strong member to act for the safety of the group and the function of unity which this same child had brought up in relation to the people's front in Spain. The result was an immediate and willing acceptance of responsibility, and a deepened understanding of social action."

Alice Edgerton Rothschild pointed out this connection in a 1938 article for the Associated Experimental Schools explaining Hessian Hills' social studies method. She showed how teachers successfully integrated progressive methods with development of social and political awareness at all ages.

Rothschild had been a parent and teacher at Hessian Hills since 1927. A Quaker, she was particularly interested in Native American crafts and

ecology. which she used with first through third graders between 1936 and 1938. Even preschoolers discussed Hitler; political issues. like sex, should be "in the open where misconceptions can be spotted." With her own group. Alice compared Hitler to a schoolyard bully, and democracy to the Student Council. "One of the children is a 7 year old German refugee." commented Alice. "During this discussion he . . . realized his social acceptability . . . joined with classmates in condemning a social wrong from which he had suffered personally."[18]

As the shadow of fascism deepened after 1938, Elizabeth Moos increasingly tried to turn Hessian Hills into a "school for democracy." The entire school presented an elaborate "Pageant of American Democracy" to 200 people on Washington's Birthday, 1939. The spectacle turned our country's heritage into a contest between popular sovereignty and fascism, focusing on the Bill of Rights, slavery, lynching, labor struggles. and defense of "a full democracy for all."[19]

Even the conservative Croton paper wrote that "this historical drama, cooperatively conceived, written, and staged by the children, deepened their understanding of their background and identity with the continuous struggles of our country. The children have attained what we feel is patriotism in the truest and deepest sense."[20]

Moos tried, too, to make Hessian Hills into a forum for a "schools for democracy" philosophy. At a symposium entitled "America Today" in April, 1939, 250 teachers from the metropolitan area heard Charles Beard denounce fascism, Ruth Benedict attack racism, and representatives of the government, media, and C.I.O. explain their role in the fight to preserve democracy. This concentration continued as parents raised money for scholarships for Jewish and Spanish refugees. The school held another conference in 1940 entitled "The Crisis in Education." This time, Elizabeth Moos, who represented the Hessian Hills American Federation of Teachers local, brought Bella Dodds, communist former head of the union who had just been dislodged by George S. Counts. Thus the movement at Hessian Hills showed both the potential and the weakness of the "schools for democracy" movement as a whole.[21]

The climax of this period came in May, 1941, when forty ten to fourteen year old students painted a mural entitled "Education in a Democracy," filling a wall of the gym/auditorium. In the center of the picture was the school with an American flag above it, and the Student Council in a circle, with others painting, working at the forge, reading, dancing. gardening, playing instruments and feeding chickens. Around the edges appeared the farms, factories, rivers, and mountains of modern America. Twelve who worked on the mural were refugees, and one parent found it "a miracle the way some . . . suddenly switched from drawing swastikas to drawing the American flag."[22]

This attempt to become a "school for democracy" seems to be similar to George Counts' *Prospects of American Democracy* (1938). The Pro-

gressive Education Association's new 1941 principles also called for "education for democracy." But just as historian Patricia A. Graham finds that this satisfied neither conservatives nor radicals in the Progressive Education Association, the "school for democracy" could not survive long at Hessian Hills after the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August, 1939.[23]

During early summer Moos found a new mission, in addition to her dedication to experimental education: she joined the Communist Party. Returning to classroom teaching for the first time in ten years, she led ninth and tenth graders in 1939-41 to directly and indirectly attack the evils of privilege in modern America. The group's 1940 play on unemployment, and their 1941 drama on the triumph of dictatorship in ancient Rome, however, were no more radical than students' work in previous years.[24]

But community reaction after the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August, 1939 changed. John Dewey, George Counts, and others denounced Russia. Wealthy Hessian Hills backer J.M. Kaplan offered to finance a much-needed second story for the school if Elizabeth Moos would publicly denounce the January, 1940 Soviet invasion of Finland. Seeing this as a loyalty oath, she refused. "The last straw," commented Moos's assistant teacher, "was Elizabeth's decision to take the whole group into New York City for the May Day demonstration" in 1941.[25]

Personal and political resentment simmered among staff and parents, culminating in the staff's surprise request that Elizabeth Moos resign as director and teacher in September, 1941 — on thinly veiled political motives. Moos did resign, but the resulting political furor prompted left wing parents to remove their children from Hessian Hills, and the period of social reconstructionism, or to use Counts' phrase, the search for "democratic collectivism," ended.[26]

The Hessian Hills School during the 1930s succeeded in developing methods of instruction which combined a high level of experimental creativity with a commitment to students' development and practice of "collectivist" values. This success depended on the presence of activitist master teachers and upon a supportive group of parents. Just as liberals and Communists worked together to oppose fascism and war in public movements, this "privatized" reform demonstrated their cooperation in creating a small ideal society for their children. However, unity did not continue long after the larger united front's breakup in 1939. The experiment, and its fragility, both are worth remembering today.

Notes

[1] George S. Counts, "Dare progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Progressive Education* 9, no. 4, April, 1932, pp. 257-259.

2 Elizabeth Moos. "Steps Toward the American Dream." *Progressive Education* 9. no. 4, April. 1932, p. 260.

3 David Elwyn, interview December 8, 1980: "Hessian Hills School Opens $100,000 drive: Lincoln Steffens, Floyd Dell, and Stuart Chase Laud Progressive Education Aims at Dinner," *New York Times* May 5. 1931, p. 22, col. 2.

4 Elizabeth Moos. interview April 26, 1981.

5 Ruth Edgerton Hoge, daily journal, spring 1929; Meg Barden Cline, interview January 20, 1983.

6 Elizabeth Moos. untitled address to Smith College alumnae, June, 1932, pp. 6-10.

7 "Smith, Wagner, and Thomas Write Views on Disarmament for Schoolboy Editor," New York Times, p. 22, col. 4, February 13, 1932; Thomas S. Kuhn. interview December 16, 1982; David Elwyn, interview December 8, 1980; Ruth Edgerton Hoge, interview October 21, 1982.

8 Elizabeth Moos, "The Associated Experimental Schools," ms. dated 1935.

9 William Marvin, "Conviction in the Teaching of Social Studies," *Hessian Hills School Bulletin* 2, no. 1, November, 1935.

10 Ira Robbins, notes on group discussion "Is there a place in the lives of children from 3 to 10 for anti-war education," November 16, 1935 anti-war conference, Hessian Hills School, ms., 4 pp.; "Children's Discussion," November 1935 conference, ms., 7 pp.; Erica Harris and Sally Elwyn, "The American Student Union," Hessian Hills School *Crier*, spring, 1936, pp. 3-4.

11 Elizabeth Moos, "'Under the Stars:' The Origins of the Anti-War Ballet," spring, 1936, ms., p. 4.

12 Elizabeth Moos, "Preparation for Anti-War Ballet," ms., p. 4.

13 Elizabeth Moos, "Associated Experimental Schools," ms. dated March 11. 1936.

14 C.A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years*, New York, Random House, 1969, p. 166.

15 Donald Slesinger, "Relating the Child to Social Reality," *Hessian Hills School Bulletin*, 3, no. 3, March, 1937, pp. 23-25

16 Elizabeth Cousins, "Let's Be Specific," *Hessian Hills School Bulletin* 3. no. 4. May, 1937, pp. 38-41. Her article reflected the Communist line on education, as expressed in Richard Frank (pseud.), "The Schools and the People's Front," *The Communist*, May, 1937, pp. 431-436. Elizabeth Cousins put her philosophy into practice when she left Hessian Hills and Croton to work at Commonwealth College, a socialist workers' community in Arkansas. in 1939. See also Lucien Kohn, "Commonwealth College," *Progressive Education* April-May. 1934, pp. 301-302.

17 George Willison, *Let's Make a Play*, New York: Harper's, 1940, pp. 185-6, 219, 271-5; entire play reproduced on pp. 187-219. Used with permission of Florence H. Willison.

18 Sara Eastburn Glenn, interview March 11, 1983; Alice E. Rothschild, "Do staff members and Associated Experimental Schools schools, as schools, consider the present world conflict suitable for classroom discussion?" *Hessian Hills School Bulletin* 4, no. 4, May, 1938, pp. 16-25.

19 "The Growth of American Democracy: A Pageant written and produced by children from 6-14 years old," Croton-on-Hudson: The Hessian Hills School, February, 1939, 35 pp.; Elizabeth Moos, "The Story of the Pageant," November, 1939 ms., 6 pp.

20 "Students Create Historical Pageant," Croton-on-Hudson *News*, March 10, 1939, p. 1.

21 "Play to Help Refugee Children," *New York Times* November 29, 1938, p. 28, col. 2; "School Has Country Fair," *New York Times* May 21, 1939, section 3, p. 5, col. 6; "Professor Beard Makes Plea for Learning: He Warns Teachers of Croton that 'Knowledge Without Aspiration is Dead,'" *New York Times* May 25, 1939, p. 20, col. 1; "The Crisis in Education," Croton: The Hessian Hills School, May, 1940; Cecile H. Biondo, ms. notes on the "Crisis in Education" conference, May 18, 1940.

22 "Youthful Artists at Work on Democracy Theme," *New York Times* March 26, 1941, p. 15, col. 2; Grambs Miller Aronson, interview January 22, 1983.

23 Gerald Gutek, *George S. Counts and American Civilization*, Mercer University Press, 1984, p. 131; Patricia A. Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955*, New York: Teachers College Press, 1967, p. 107.

24 Elizabeth Moos, interview March [illegible] 1984; Elizabeth Moos, *Memoirs*, 1982, ms., pp. 95-101; "And We Are In[illegible],000,000," written and produced by Group IX, Croton: The Hessian Hills School, May, 1940; "Bread and Circuses," written and produced by Group X, Croton: The Hessian Hills School, May, 1941.

25 Milton Barnett, interview November 8, 1980; Evelyn Hunt Harris, interview March 12, 1983. For the local papers running litany of attacks on Communists and suspected Communists, including Moos, see the Croton-on-Hudson *News* January 18, 1940, p. 3; January 25, 1940, pp. 1, 6; February 15, 1940, p. 5; March 14, 1940, p. 5; July 11, 1940, p. 6; July 18, 1940, p. 4; August 1, 1940, p. 4; and August 29, 1940.

26 "Statement of the Board of Trustees to the Members of the Hessian Hills School Association Regarding Elizabeth Moos' Leave of Absence," ms. in Moos papers, October 6, 1941; Meyer Katzman, letter to parents, September, 1941; Sally Elwyn Popkin, interview December 27, 1982; Elizabeth Moos, interviews April 26, 1981, March 17, 1984; Evelyn Hunt Harris, interview March 12, 1983; Milton Barnett, interview November 8, 1982; Alice Rothschild, interview December 25, 1982; Helen North, interview December 9,

1980; Vera Rubin, interview June 23, 1983; Cora Reuben Weiss, interview March 13, 1983; Winifred Stevenson, letter June 16, 1983. For evidence on the lack of political activism at Hessian Hills after 1941 (the school closed a decade later), see Katherine Moos Campbell, "An Experiment in Education: The Hessian Hills School, 1925-1952," Boston University doctoral dissertation, 1984, chapter 9, pp. 297-335. There is also evidence that as left-wing parents became active in the Croton public schools, progressive methods began there, see especially pp. 339-341 in Campbell thesis.

Part III
EDUCATORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION

The Career of Edward Orton, The First President of the Ohio State University

Kevin A. Work and Donald L. Shaver
Bowling Green State University

In 1878, Thomas C. Jones, a former member of the Ohio State University's Board of Trustees, leveled the following blast at the eight-year-old institution: "The institution has already got as far as possible away from God and Agriculture."[1] This attack on the relatively new land-grant institution was not merely an isolated example of one man's railing against the "godlessness" of a state university. It was, in fact, representative of what historian Francis P. Weisenburger has termed "the crisis of church-going America,"[2] the great conflict of the period of American history from 1860 to 1900. The "confrontation of doubt and faith;" as Paul Carter has aptly termed it,[3] produced a conflict at the very heart of American thought. On one side stood those who believed that the scientific discoveries of the previous fifty years had cast doubt upon many traditional religious beliefs. On the other side stood those who believed that their Christian faith was founded upon a firm and immovable basis of truth, which was revealed to mankind through a careful study of the Bible. Any attempt to call the literal truthfulness of the Bible into question was viewed by these people as an attack on God and upon the orthodoxy of existing Christian denominations.

After 1860, this orthodoxy became increasingly difficult to defend due to the impact of Darwin's theory of evolution and other scientific research, the "Higher Criticism of the Bible" movement, and the American Civil War. A discussion of these three major factors, and several lesser ones that combined to create a split between church and science can be found in the Weisenburger and Carter works that have been cited above. The historical context suggested by Weisenburger and Carter in these works provides an insight into the career of Edward Orton, the first president of the Ohio State University. Events in Orton's career as a trained geologist and as an ordained minister illustrate both public and personal aspects of the church versus science conflict of nineteenth century America.

Edward Orton was born on March 9, 1829, in Deposit, New York. His father, Samuel Gibbs Orton, though originally a farmer, had become a Presbyterian minister, largely through the urging of the eminent Congregationalist Lyman Beecher.[4] When Edward Orton was four years old, his family moved to Ripley, New York, where he grew into young manhood.[5] Through instruction he received from his father and by virtue of his studies at the nearby academies in Westfield and Fredonia, New York. Edward Orton was prepared for enrollment at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, which he entered as a sophomore in 1845.[6]

Following his graduation from Hamilton College in 1848, where he had concentrated in classical and literary studies, and a year of teaching in an academy at Erie, Pennsylvania, Edward Orton decided to become a Presbyterian minister.[7] With this aim in mind, he entered the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1849, where the presiding genius at the time was his father's mentor, Lyman Beecher.[8] It appears, however, that the theological traditionalism of Lane ran counter to young Orton's personal convictions. Washington Gladden, a noted clergyman, lecturer, and writer of the time, who came to know Orton intimately, offers this glimpse of Orton at Lane:

> He [Orton] heard a sermon one Sunday, on the condition of the heathen world, which consigned to a hopeless doom all who die without the knowledge of the historic Christ, and the injustice of the dogma made him angry: he told the professor with whom he walked home from church that it was a horrible doctrine — that he could never preach it. From this time his mind was full of questionings: he did not care to continue his studies at Lane.[9]

Plagued by doubts and failing eyesight, Orton left Lane and spent a year traveling and working outdoors. In 1851, his eyesight having improved, Orton joined the faculty of Delaware Institute in Franklin, New York, as an instructor of the natural sciences.[10] It was at this time that Orton developed the fondness for science and the scientific method that formed the basis for his future career. In 1852, he entered Harvard for a year of study at the Lawrence Scientific School.[11] Expressing the fear that his faith in the Presbyterian theological creed was faltering under the influence of his contact with scientific research, Orton entered the Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1853 in an attempt to resist this challenge to his religious faith.[12]

Because a much more liberal theological atmosphere existed at Andover than at Lane, Orton was able to complete his theological training, and in January 1856, he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister. Immediately following his ordination, Orton accepted the pastorate of a church in the little village of Downsville, New York. He only remained in Downsville from January to June of 1856, when he left the ministry to become a professor of natural sciences at the Albany State Normal

School in Albany, New York.[13] Uncharacteristically, Orton said little in later years about his brief experience in the pulpit, and one can only speculate as to why he left the ministry in Downsville.

It is possible that the reality of life as a small town minister failed to match the twenty-seven-year-old Orton's high expectations. It could also be that Orton's love of science led him to accept the opportunity to leave the clergy for an academic career. It is probable that both considerations played major roles in Orton's decision to leave Downsville for the Albany State Normal School.

It should be noted that Orton did not break his ties with the Presbyterian Church upon accepting the position at Albany. In addition to teaching the natural sciences, he became involved with the First Presbyterian Church of Albany and taught a large Bible class at the normal school. Orton's liberal convictions, however, soon brought him into conflict with the conservative Albany Presbytery. The precise reason for the disagreement is not entirely clear, but Gladden states that it was quite likely the result of a conflict between Orton's belief in science and his church's traditional interpretation of Genesis.[14] Whatever the reason, the end result was that Orton was arraigned for heresy in 1859 by the Albany Presbytery and was forced to resign his position at the normal school.

Following his resignation at Albany, Orton became the principal of a small academy in Chester New York, where he remained until 1865. At this point, several questions must be asked. Why would Orton stay at tiny Chester Academy for six years when his previous career had been marked by frequent moves and advancement? Was Orton blacklisted in some way by the Presbyterian Church? Could his six years at Chester be a sort of exile resulting from his heresy arraignment in Albany in 1859?

While one may never know the answers to these questions, this much is clear. Orton's troubles in Albany had been given a lot of coverage in the New York City newspapers, and the Presbyterian Church at this time wielded a great deal of influence in educational institutions throughout the state of New York. These considerations, plus some of Orton's later statements, seem to support the possibility that Orton was subject to some degree of censure during his years at Chester.

It is worthy of note that Orton's tenure in Chester and the Civil War both ended in 1865. There are several plausible explanations for why these two events coincided. The demand for academics such as Orton would have been quite limited during the war. After the war, however, when many young men returned to their studies, the demand would greatly increase. It could have been that Orton, who would have been of conscription age, found Chester to be a convenient place in which to wait out the war. While one can speculate at length why Edward Orton stayed in Chester for six years, it seems totally out of character, in light of the rest of his career, for him to have remained there that long.

Orton's work at Chester had not gone unnoticed. An acquaintance with Austin Craig, a minister in a neighboring town, provided Orton with an opportunity to leave Chester. Craig, who had been a protege of Horace Mann during the latter's presidency at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, was himself named the acting president of that college in 1865. That same year, the new acting president, having admired Orton's work at Chester Academy, appointed him to be the principal of the preparatory department of Antioch College.[15]

Upon his arrival at Antioch, Orton is reported to have remarked, "The prison doors are at last opened for me."[16] While that quote seems a bit contrived, the same biographer describes Orton's hiring at Antioch in more realistic terms as "the real beginning of Dr. Orton's useful life."[17] The first statement seems to suggest that Orton viewed his years at Chester as a type of exile or prison sentence. Whether this "exile" was self-imposed or had been imposed upon him by the Presbyterian Church is open to question.

Orton lost no time in distancing himself from the Presbyterian Church after leaving New York. Antioch College was controlled by the Unitarians in 1865, and Orton became a Unitarian soon after accepting the position at Antioch.[18] Unitarianism certainly seems to have suited Orton's religious temperament better than the strict Calvinistic dogma that governed the Presbyterian Church in 1865, but Gladden writes that Edward Orton's conversion was a "calamity" for his father, Samuel Orton:

> He could not regard his son's action in any other light than that of apostasy; for a long time he could neither be reconciled or comforted. At length, however, he was persuaded to visit Yellow Springs, and after a few weeks spent in the home of [illegible]n, the father returned to his own home greatly reassured and quiet.

Orton appears to have found a degree of contentment in the liberal atmosphere of Antioch College. Thomas Meadenhall, who served as one of the Ohio State University's original faculty members under Orton, reports that twenty years after leaving Antioch, Orton wrote to that college's president, "I look back upon the years which I spent there as among the most enthusiastic and fruitful of a lifetime spent in teaching. There was a certain zest and charm in the work there that I have never found elsewhere."[20]

Orton also found rapid career advancement while at Antioch. After a year as principal of the preparatory department, Orton was promoted to the position of Professor of geology and natural history. His knowledge of these subjects soon won him a considerable reputation throughout the state of Ohio. In 1869, Orton was appointed to be an assistant to the state geologist by Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, although he continued his duties at Antioch.[21] In recognition of his excellence in teaching and his renown as a geologist, Orton was named president of Antioch College in

1872.[22]

Orton's duties as assistant to the state geologist required him to conduct frequent surveys throughout the state. In the course of his travels within Ohio, Orton met and favorably impressed a number of powerful and influential men. Some of these men. including Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, were instrumental in the creation of Ohio's land-grant college that had received its charter from the state legislature in 1870.[23] Hayes and the others were having a hard time finding the strong president that they sought to lead the Ohio College of Agriculture and Mechanics, as the fledgling institution was then named. They had first offered the presidency to former Ohio governor and Civil War general Jacob D. Cox, who declined the offer. The college's Board of Trustees then elected James W. Patterson, formerly a U.S. Senator from New Hampshire and a professor at Dartmouth, to the presidency of the college. Widespread reports that Patterson was involved in the Credit Mobilier scandal soon became known, however, and he declined the nomination to the relief of those concerned with the college.[24]

Near desperation, the Board of Trustees offered the presidency and the professorship of geology, mining, and metallurgy to the president of Antioch College, Edward Orton, who had quietly campaigned for the job while conducting his geological surveys throughout Ohio. Orton, who had earlier declined the offer of the professorship, accepted the offer of the two positions. In 1873, he became the president of the institution in Columbus, Ohio, that would soon change its name to the Ohio State University.[25]

It is probable that Orton received the appointment as president of the new college more for his vision of the role of land-grant institutions, which closely matched that of Rutherford B. Hayes, than for any campaigning for the job that he had done. Both Orton and Hayes, who would be a dominant figure in the affairs of the college for the first twenty years of its existence, believed that land-grant institutions should offer a broad curriculum, with special emphasis placed on the role of scientific investigation. "The Ohio Agriculture and Mechanical College," Orton once insisted, "is a scientific school, liberal in its character and practical in its aims."[26] This belief in a liberal education is evident in his inaugural address:

> In the third place, and finally. the education to be furnished by this institution must, accordingly to the terms of its character. be a liberal education. What is a liberal education? Aristotle first used the term . . . and by it he attempted to designate an education fit for a freeman. He might have justly included an education that should give freedom to its predecessor. that should liberate him from the narrowness, and prejudice. and isolation. the slavery of an uneducated mind. Something at least of this meaning has been retained and today the conception of a liberal education that would be accepted in the largest number would be bound to include the

> education of a man as man, rather than that which equips him for a particular post of duty; the education that concerns itself with the broad substratum of general knowledge, rather than with the special applications of knowledge to some isolated field; the education that aspires to a symmetrical and balanced culture of all human faculties, rather than that which selects one set of faculties for training and leaves the rest to accident or atrophy; the education that imbues the mind with a generous sympathy for every department of knowledge, and that recognizes the contributions of each department as necessary to the perfect whole, rather than that which transforms its possessors into narrow and concerted specialists, mutually ignorant and intolerant of each other's and of all other's work and claims.[27]

Both men also agreed that land-grant institutions should be free of compulsory religious worship and domination by any religious denomination. Orton stated this belief in a commencement speech delivered at Ohio State University in 1878:

> They [land-grant colleges] do not have much to say about the Council of Trent or the Synod of Dort, it is true, and they do not nail to their doors the Augsburg Confession, the Westminster Catechism, or the Thirty-nine Articles, and above all they do not establish compulsory religious worship . . . They do not attempt these things for one reason because they have no right to attempt them, for the colleges belong to a divided people — a people with ways of expressing their religious faith as many and as various as were the tongues at the Pentecostal feast. . .[28]

With the backing of Hayes and others of like mind, Orton was able at first to avoid instituting compulsory religious worshop at the college. In 1877, however, the Board of Trustees recommended that compulsory daily chapel services be established at the college as soon as it was feasible.[29] (Hayes was not able to help Orton because he was in Washington serving as the President of the United States at this time.) Initially, Orton was able to delay instituting daily chapel services by pointing out that there was no time during the day when all of the students would be free to attend. In 1880, however, the Board of Trustees renewed their insistence on the establishment of a compulsory daily worship service. In June of that year, citing a desire to devote more time to geology, Edward Orton submitted his resignation to the Board of Trustees. Mendenhall states, however, that Orton's real reason for leaving the presidency was that he was vehemently opposed to the practice of compulsory chapel that had been mandated by the Board of Trustees.[30] The Board of Trustees, believing that they had found a worthy successor in Reverend Walter Quincy Scott, accepted Orton's resignation in 1881, after he had served for eight years as Ohio State's president.[31]

As a side note, it is ironic that Reverend Walter Quincy Scott was hired to be the president of the Ohio State University because of the Board of Trustee's belief that as a Presbyterian clergyman Walter Scott would move quickly to institute compulsory chapel. Upon attaining the presidency, however, Scott proved to be every bit as unwilling and slow

to institute compulsory chapel as Edward Orton had been. In 1883, therefore, the Board of Trustees failed to re-elect Scott as president and replaced him with the more compliant Reverend William Henry Scott (not related to Reverend Walter Quincy Scott), who moved quickly to institute daily compulsory chapel services at Ohio State.

Orton was able to keep from becoming embroiled in the controversy that swirled around the Scotts. He retained his professorship at Ohio State until his death in 1899. Professor S.C. Derby, who had been a colleague of Orton at both Antioch and Ohio State, gave this description of Orton as a teacher.

> Then as always Dr. Orton toiled terribly; much of the discipline of an unusually heterogeneous body of students rested upon him; his instruction was not confined to his chair . . . but rather included Latin, with History or English or a normal class in Higher Arithmetic . . . His pupils there, as everywhere, were inspired with a good measure of his enthusiasm and carried forward by the forcefulness of his teaching.[32]

Orton's career prospered in the years following his presidency of Ohio State. In 1882, a year after his resignation, Orton was appointed state geologist. In this capacity, he soon earned a national reputation as an expert on coal, oil, and natural gas deposits. Orton was also among the first to warn of the probability of the exhaustion of America's fossil fuels through a continuance of the wasteful practices employed in nineteenth century America.[33]

In recognition of his many achievements and national reputation in geology, Orton was invited to speak to the alumni of his alma mater, Hamilton College in 1888. In this speech, he returned to the theme that had proven so important in his life, the relationship between Christian theology and modern science. In his address, Orton paid homage to "the immence and inestimable service that modern science has rendered to Christian theology, how much it has done to broaden and rationalize it and thus perpetuate and strengthen its hold on the world."[34]

Orton expanded on the theme of modern science serving theology later in his speech:

> Modern Science, working especially through historical and literary criticism, is giving to theology a combination of priceless value in a natural and rational Bible not an infallible book that would be of no use to us in any case without an infallible interpreter as the older church has always rightly insisted and as the warring sects of Protestantism have abundantly demonstrated, but a book charged with fresh and original life, giving light to all that are in the house when set on its candlestick and not covered by the bushel of fictitious claims, under which it has been so long hid, incomparably more persuasive and powerful when studied as literature and as all other literature is studied, than when made a miraculous book and set in a class by itself . . . In the light of these studies all the great religions are seen to be the altar stairs of the widely sundered nations "that slope thro'

darkness up to God." In their earlier stages all of them helped to make life better worth the living to those that accepted them. It is only when overgrown with superstition and hardened into lifeless and inflexible creeds that they lose their power of inspiration and service and even become the most formidable obstructions in the way of progress.

The method of science is the best gift that God has given to the mind of Man. Let us adapt it for ourselves as "the light of all our seeing" and thus hasten as far as in us lies its universal sway.[35]

In 1891, Orton suffered a stroke which deprived him of the use of his left arm and left him with a slight limp. Despite his handicap, he continued to teach classes at Ohio State and to attend to his duties as state geologist.[36] In 1897, Orton was elected president of the Geological Society of America, and in the following year, he became the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. After requesting the members of his family to read aloud to him "Prospice," Robert Browning's poem about facing death, Edward Orton died at his home in Columbus, on October 16, 1899.[37]

A study of the career of Edward Orton leads one to several awarenesses. As a scientist and minister, Orton was caught between opposing viewpoints in a national conflict of faith. His heresy arraignment, which marked both a career and a theological turning point for him, symbolizes this quandary. While Orton was expected to believe in the validity of the scientific method when he taught his natural science classes at the Albany State Normal School, he was not permitted to use the scientific method in teaching his Bible class at the same institution.

That the Albany Presbytery was able to drive Orton from his position at the Albany State Normal School in 1859 clearly demonstrates the immense power and influence that Protestant churches could exert in the affairs of state institutions of higher education in this period of American history. It also indicates that our present-day belief in the need to keep state institutions of higher education out of the control of any religious denominations would have been incomprehensible to many Americans in the nineteenth century.

Before the nineteenth century, higher education had been viewed as a function of the churches in America, indeed since the founding of Harvard in 1636. Similarly, administrating and teaching roles at American institutions of higher education had been the province of the learned clergy. The singular fact that during the first fifty-two years of Ohio State's existence men who were or had been ministers held the presidency for forty-eight years demonstrates that this province of the clergy did not end with the advent of state colleges.[38] However, the last half of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of an evolutionary shift away from church domination of state institutions of higher education. There was an increasing separation of church and state. That there was disagreement about the role of religion in state universities is apparent when

one considers the debate over the institution of compulsory chapel at the Ohio State University.

A study of the career of Edward Orton provides an insight into the personal aspect of the crisis of faith. Orton's inward struggle over whether to follow the path of religion or to pursue a career in science is apparent in his frequent career changes from 1849 to 1856. Even after leaving the ministry in Downsville in 1856, Orton was active in the service of the Presbyterian church in Albany, until his arraignment for heresy in 1859. The events at Albany appear to have finally pushed Orton away from a career in religion and into his career as a scientist.

Orton, however, continued to exhibit a certain religious spirit throughout his life which William H. Scott spoke of in his memorial to Edward Orton:

> He regarded moral interests as incomparably more important than material interests. That missionary spirit which put him in the ministry when he was a young man never died out of him. It was forever stirring within him and forever seeking a way to express itself. Sometimes it found a regular outlet, as in the instruction of a Bible class. At other times it would smoulder a while, and then, waxing and rising and getting possession of him, it would at last find a definite and inspired form for itself in a lecture.[39]

It is perhaps instructive to notice the change in Orton's manner of dealing with the conflict of science and religion throughout his career. A biography of Orton provides a case study of the maturing of a man of high principles. During the trouble in Albany, the young Orton had stubbornly stuck to his principles to the detriment of career. In a similar conflict at Ohio State twenty years later, a more mature Edward Orton temporized for as long as he could and then resigned his presidency. By so doing, Orton maintained his principles and his career. In his speech at Hamilton College in 1888, the fifty-nine-year-old Orton seems to have finally found the balance between religion and science that had eluded him earlier in life by stressing science's ability to "broaden and rationalize" Christian theology. For Orton, religion and science had found a meeting place.

It is important to understand that the biography of Edward Orton tells the story of a survivor of the great conflict between science and religion in nineteenth century America. Orton only escaped Chester, New York in 1865, after his six years of "exile" there because of his chance acquaintance with the acting president of Antioch College. Without this bit of good fortune, Edward Orton might never have had the opportunity to demonstrate the talents that he exhibited throughout his subsequent career.

Notes

[1] Thomas C. Mendenhall, ed. *History of the Ohio State University: Volume I., 1870-1910* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1920), 108.

[2] Francis P. Weisenburger. *Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), Title Page.

[3] Paul A. Carter. *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), 1.

[4] Washington Gladden. "Professor Edward Orton. 1829-1899: A Memorial Address." *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 8 (1900): 411.

[5] Ibid., 412.

[6] Edward Orton. *An Account of the Descendents of Thomas Orton of Windsor, Connecticut, 1641* (Columbus, Ohio: Nitschke Bros. Press, 1896), 157.

[7] Mendenhall, 574.

[8] Gladden, 415.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Mendenhall, 574-575.

[11] Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Orton, Edward Francis Baxter." *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Orton, Edward."

[12] Mendenhall, 575.

[13] Gladden, 416.

[14] Ibid., 416-420.

[15] I.C. White. "Edward Orton." *The American Geologist*, (April 1900): 199.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Gladden, 420.

[19] Ibid.

[20] James E. Pollard. *History of the Ohio State University. The Story of Its First Seventy-Five Years. 1873 1948* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press 1952), 21.

[21] Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Orton, Edward Francis Baxter."

[22] Ibid.

[23] William A. Kinnison. *Building Sullivant's Pyramid: An Administrative History of the Ohio State University. 1870-1907* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1970), 31.

[24] Mendenhall, 40-42.

[25] Kinnison, 77-78.

[26] Pollard, 40.

[27] "Industrial Education, Its Character and Claims," Inaugural Address of Edward Orton, in *Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College to the Governor of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio 1874), 21-22, The Ohio Historical Society.

[28] Mendenhall, 76.

[29] Kinnison, 80.

[30] Mendenhall, 76-77.

[31] Kinnison, 88.

[32] Pollard, 21.

[33] *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Orton, Edward Francis Baxter."

[34] Weisenburger, 317.

[35] "The Method of Science and Its Influences Upon the Branches of Knowledge Pertaining to Man," Address delivered by Edward Orton before Alumni of Hamilton College, June 1888, 29-30, The Ohio Historical Society.

[36] White, 204.

[37] Gladden, 432-433. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. *"Orton, Edward."*

[38] Pollard, 20.

[39] "Edward Orton, Citizen" address delivered by William Henry Scott at Ohio State University, Sunday, November 26, 1899 in *In Memoriam, Edward Orton, Ph.D., LL.D.* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press 1899), 49-50. The Ohio Historical Society.

Booker T. Washington and the Movable School

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Booker T. Washington and the Movable School

"Cast down your bucket where you are"
"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."
— Booker T. Washington, "The Atlanta Exposition Address"

These two sentences from Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address delivered on 18 September 1895 are often quoted to illustrate Washington's position on the future of American Blacks. The first sentence is intended to convey the idea that the future of the Black people could be satisfactorily achieved in the American South — that it was unnecessary to migrate to the northern states or to return to Africa, the latter idea having been suggested by people such as Bishop Turner and, somewhat later, Marcus Garvey.[1] The second sentence is probably most frequently referred to as the antecedent of the *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* opinion in which the U.S. Supreme Court enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine. Probably most Americans of the 1980s have heard of Tuskegee Institute as Washington's major effort to cast down his bucket where he was and have heard him castigated for contributing to the "separate but equal" reality that so long dominated the South.[2]

It is likely, however, that few contemporary Americans are familiar with Washington's contributions to improved Agriculture in the South, especially improved farming on the part of Black southern farmers. In *The Future of the American Negro* he notes that, "at least eighty per cent of the coloured people in the South are found in the rural districts, and they are dependent on agriculture in some form for their support." He questioned at the same time whether there were as many as half a dozen Blacks, other than graduates of Hampton, his alma mater, and Tuskegee, who had "received anything like a thorough training in agriculture."[3] Training in agriculture and related trades, therefore, became the linchpin of his educational endeavors. That so little is known about Washington is testified to in an assertion by Booker T. Gardner of the University of Wisconsin when he asserts that:

> "Washington was one of the most significant individuals of the period between the Civil War and World War I, but educational historians and philosophers have not adequately explored his contributions to education."[4]

At the heart of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of education lay his concept of "industrial education." This concept he apparently began to develop during his childhood. When a teacher told him that "the chief

purpose of education was to enable one to speak and write the English language correctly," he "had reasons for feeling that education ought to do more for a boy than to teach him to read and write." The "more" he had in mind was the improvement of the quality of Black life through hard and honest labor at gainful, if modest, occupations.[5]

Industrial education as seen through Washington's eyes has been described as "training in industriousness," and certainly economic independence and self-support were both ends and means in his educational scheme for Southern Blacks. One need not argue that these ideas were original with him. Far from it. His debt to Samuel C. Armstrong, his mentor at Hampton Institute, has been widely acknowledged. The Freedman's Bureau, the American Missionary Association, the Rosenwald and Slater Funds, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and the Morrill Act were all dedicated to the support and provision of industrial education. Yet to recognize the myriad of contributions from a variety of individuals and agencies is in no way to demean the towering, if controversial, achievements of Booker T. Washington in this endeavor. No less an authority than John Hope Franklin, distinguished Black historian, has commented that, "Washington's influence, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse, was so great that there is considerable justification in calling the period, 'The Age of Booker T. Washington.'"[6]

Washington was given his great chance to implement his theory of industrial education when he was appointed principal of Tuskegee Institute in 1881.[7] To say that the task confronting the new principal was Herculean would be an understatement. There was no school, no land, no teachers, only an appropriation of two thousand dollars from the Alabama legislature to pay teachers' salaries. Washington, however, was not easily discouraged. A Negro church in Tuskegee, a shanty nearby and, soon after, the purchase of one hundred acres of land, made possible by a personal loan from the Treasurer of Hampton Institute, served as the setting from which he would launch his endeavors. Miraculously, in four and a half months the total purchase price of five hundred dollars for the one hundred acres had been paid, the money realized from subscriptions from Whites and Blacks, from student earnings, and gifts like that of a friend from Connecticut who contributed three hundred dollars. Clearly, the new principal had established his competence as a fund raiser.[8]

Washington's concern for agricultural education is confirmed by the establishment of a separate Department of Agriculture at the Institute just a year following its founding; and soon thereafter such courses as carpentry, cabinet making, wagon building, and harness making were added to the curriculum. The principal's early visits to farms in Macon county, however, convinced him that agricultural education needed to be conducted on site. Yet he faced great difficulty in selling his ideas for this kind of education to members of both races. His own people needed to be convinced that he was not merely consigning them to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water. His white neighbors, on the other hand,

wanted assurances that he would not develop a group of uppity dandies immune both to the development of salable skills and the industry to use them.

The hundred acre acquisition offered the first opportunity to demonstrate better farming methods. Planting, tending, and harvesting crops under the supervision of a farm manager was but a portent of things to come. His visits to neighboring farms had confirmed his belief that the need for improved farming methods was immediate, that improvement could not await the development of a new generation of farmers. Accordingly, he chose to raise the sights of farmers who, as slaves, had become accustomed to a cotton monoculture. As Sherman Spencer put it:

> Vassalage to King Cotton also blinded them to the possibilities of bettering their condition by raising their own food. In a country where pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, berries, peaches, plums, vegetables, nuts, and other foods could be produced with relatively little effort, Washington found even the best of the Negro population eating salt pork from Chicago and canned chicken and tomatoes from Omaha. Most did not fare well, for the combined forces of poverty, ignorance, and habit kept them on the old slave diet of fatback, corn bread, black-eyed peas, and an occasional ration of molasses. Improper nutrition in turn contributed to a high incidence of disease and early mortality.[9]

The provision of adequate housing and the restoration of family life that had been violently torn asunder by the institution of slavery were related needs that had come to Washington's attention. Spencer went on to say:

> The lack of any real family life disturbed Washington even more. One-room living, hardly conducive to modesty, contributed to loose morality among the Negro population. Existence was geared to the needs of the cotton crop: the mother and children wielded hoes and, when picking time came, went to the fields with gunny sacks over their shoulders. Babies, laid down at the ends of the rows, were cared for at intervals by their mothers or by one of the older children. As in slavery days, there were no organized meals at which the family sat down together.[10]

Washington apparently lost little time in beginning to address these needs. He initiated a series of monthly meetings to which he invited local farmers and other workers for the purpose of discussing their problems. In connection with these meetings:

> He arranged displays of simple but attractive exhibits of produce from the Institute farm, which was located on land of the same grade as that occupied by the farmers. Effort was made to show these untrained people that they could raise more produce on smaller acreage at less expense and make their homes more attractive and sanitary.[11]

A further step in Washington's plan of continuing education for Black farmers was his institution of the annual Negro Farmers Conference held

for the first time in February 1892. Washington, who had expected a reasonable attendance at the first conference, was himself hardly prepared for the crowd, variously estimated at four hundred to five hundred, of people who actually appeared. In succeeding years the Conference sometimes attracted more than a thousand participants. The Conference adopted from time to time, resolutions dealing with such objectives as the elimination of the mortgage system, raising their own food supplies to obviate the need to incur debt for the purchase of food at stores, home ownership and improvement, and improved nutrition and health care.[12]

Agricultural education at Tuskegee took a giant step forward with the employment of George Washington Carver to give new leadership in promoting scientific agriculture at Tuskegee. Carver came to the Institute in 1896, fresh from graduate work at Iowa State. Emulating Washington's practice, Carver, during his early years at Tuskegee, spent weekends traveling by buggy to nearby farms armed with a few tools and exhibits to give practical demonstrations of a seasonal nature.[13]

The two men labored together to advance farming methods. In the same year that he brought Carver to the Institute, Washington induced the Alabama Legislature to create the Tuskegee Agricultural Experiment Station. The station was apparently Carver's idea, and he successfully encouraged Black farmers to send to it samples of soils, fertilizers, insects, and plants for analysis and experimentation. His work proved highly competent, and he was soon recognized by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as an authority on soils and plant life. Farmers came to consult him, and he provided advice with respect to a myriad of problems. Anne Kendrick Walker wrote of him that:

> There was no subject upon which Dr. Carver could not advise the farmers who came to him for help. They would send him samples of water from the wells in the country. If a cow was found dead, he was asked to analyze the reservoir. He could tell the farmer of cattle feeding; he knew how to make "butter come." He once found a pumpkin vine in the dumping ground on the campus. Loaded with fine pumpkins, growing from the center of what appeared to be tin cans, he seized upon it for one of his projects. The land was plowed up, harrowed, leveled up and planted in white silver-skin onions, cantaloupes, watermelons, Irish potatoes and corn. He started compost piles for all organic waste — paper, rags, grass, street sweepings, overlaid them with earth from the woods and the swamps. He was possibly the first man to plant Leguminosae from which vetch and peas and beans and clover were products — various member of this family.[14]

While Carver is apparently best known for his work with the peanut, it seems that his efforts in improved breeding and culture of sweet potatoes and cotton were equally important.

The work of Washington and Carver was obviously having a positive impact on the lives of many Black farmers and their families, but the two men continued to struggle to find yet a better way to help more farmers.

Hoping to reach especially those farmers who did not attend his conferences, Washington appointed a committee headed by Carver to develop plans to implement what he had conceived as a system of itinerant demonstrators or, more precisely, a "Movable School of Agriculture." The plans drawn up by this committee were apparently persuasive, since Thomas Campbell reported that:

> With these plans, Dr. Washington was able to interest a friend, the late Morris K. Jesup in New York, in the project. Mr. Jesup made a donation with which to purchase and equip a vehicle to carry exhibits and demonstrations to the homes of Negro farmers. "The Jesup Agricultural Wagon," the first "Movable School," was fitted and set in operation in June, 1906.[15]

By today's standards, Jesup's financial contribution to this endeavor was miniscule, but it was a most welcome gift with which to address a demonstrated need. The cost of the wagon, fully equipped was $674.50. This included two mules and their harness, the wagon, a cream separator, two crates, a churn, and a cultivator. In November 1906, Washington asked Thomas M. Campbell, who had just graduated from Tuskegee, to assume responsibility for the "Movable School" as part of a new program known as "Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration." If one adds Campbell's salary, the initial investment in the "Movable School" came to $1,515.50. Campbell's appointment by the U.S. Department of Agriculture was arranged through a letter from Booker T. Washington to Seaman Knapp, who by that time was working in the USDA in the effort to save cotton crops from the ravages of the boll weevil.[16] One writer has reported that Washington invited Knapp to Tuskegee and showed him the demonstration wagon.[17] The Cooperative Extension Service, formalized by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 is generally considered Knapp's brain child, but Washington's contribution to the establishment of this service was also substantial.

Even the meager equipment on the first wagon proved to be too sophisticated for some farmers whose cows did not produce enough milk to use the cream separator, churn, and Babcock tester. Campbell, therefore, varied the equipment according to the needs and resources at hand. He also varied it according to the needs of the season. Just before garden planting time, for example, he equipped the wagon with a portable garden, complete with growing vegetables. Campbell often stayed overnight at homes where he would provide a demonstration the following day. The austere and often unsanitary conditions he encountered at such times convinced him even more of the urgent need for the demonstrations he was providing. Such experiences also promoted the addition to the demonstration team of a home extension agent who instructed the Black farm women in such matters as proper preparation of nutritious meals and how to clean, paint, and decorate the home. They also led to the addition of a nurse to demonstrate sanitation, disease prevention, home care of the sick and injured, and proper child care.[18]

At first, the Jesup wagon was transported to more distant parts of Alabama by rail, but increasing demands for service and newer developments in motor transportation soon made this impractical. In 1918, three years after Washington's death, state funds were secured for the purchase of a fully equipped truck to replace the horse drawn wagon. The truck was appropriately named the "Knapp Agricultural Truck" to honor Seaman Knapp for his contributions to farm demonstration work. Later, a two reel motion picture, "Helping Negroes Become Better Farmers and Homemakers," made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture became part of the regular equipment of the Knapp Truck.[19]

The Knapp Truck was widely used to bring improved farming and homemaking methods to Blacks in the rural South for a period of five years. By 1923, however, the truck was worn out and had to be replaced. This time the replacement was made possible by a five thousand dollar donation collected from thirty thousand Black Alabama farmers. The new vehicle was named "The Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels." A tablet mounted on the truck carried this inscription:

> This Truck With Its Equipment Was Donated To The Federal And State Agricultural Extension Service By The Negro Farmers And Their Friends Of The State Of Alabama, In Appreciation Of Tuskegee Institute And In Memory Of The Late Booker T. Washington, Who Helped To Make Negro Extension Work Possible, And Who Loved The Country People And The Great Out Of Doors."[20]

The new vehicle had some equipment that reflected newer technology as well as expanded goals for the Movable School. Included in the new equipment were an inoculation set, a farm lighting plant, a motion picture projector, cameras, a sewing machine, baby clothes and a baby's bath tub, a medicine cabinet, kitchen utensils, and playground apparatus. Like its predecessors, the truck was staffed by trained demonstration agents. Farmers who permitted the use of their farms for demonstrations were frequently the beneficiaries of greatly improved houses, wells, outbuildings, etc., usually for the price only of the materials used. An important criterion in site selection was the credibility of the farmer on whose land the demonstration would be conducted. Before and after pictures related to these demonstrations present a striking contrast. The day's demonstration would usually be followed by a period of physical recreational activities, dinner, and motion pictures. Accounts of specific demonstrations and their impact have been documented in Thomas Campbell's *The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer.*

The Movable School idea proved to be transportable well beyond the boundaries of Macon County, Alabama. In fact, the school attracted visitors from various parts of the world, including the continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Albania developed a "Donkey Back School" based on the Tuskegee model. Other countries such as China, India, Greece, and Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, developed their own

adaptations of the Movable School.[21]

It is difficult at this distance to evaluate the long-term effects of the Movable School. Unquestionably, it was an idea that was both creative and practical. Writers such as Campbell and Gardner have documented some admirable achievements, especially in Macon County, with convincing evidence. Critics, however, will be quick to point out that while some Southern Black farmers profited from the work of the Movable School, they were being trained for a type of farming that was already obsolescent and that Washington and his staff failed to anticipate the advent of highly mechanized and expensive farming methods that were hopelessly beyond the reach of impoverished Black farmers. Many of these critics seem in agreement with William E. Burghardt DuBois in his insistence that Blacks could be better served by a type of education designed to prepare a "talented tenth" to provide leadership for their Black brothers and sisters.

Critics will also note that lynchings continued throughout the period of Washington's leadership, albeit at a decelerated pace, and that southern states generally restricted the franchise during the period from 1890 to 1910, so that a South Carolina Senator was able at the turn of the century to say on the floor of the U.S. Senate without any challenge that, "We took the government; we stuffed the ballot boxes, we bulldozed the niggers and we shot 'em. And we are not ashamed of it."[22]

Criteria such as the number of lynchings and data regarding the restriction of civil rights may indeed be appropriate criteria, among others, to be considered in evaluating the general impact of Washington's work considered as a whole. These criteria, however, appear to have questionable validity when specifically applied to the Movable School. Perhaps Gardner is more nearly correct when he suggests that many critics confuse Washington's short range objectives with his long-term goals. Perhaps the understandably biased assessment of Thomas Campbell was too optimistic when he wrote that:

> . . . the Negro farmer who has come under the influence of systematic instruction is enjoying an emancipation of a new kind, and accordingly is raising his economic status. In agricultural practices, he is learning how to rotate his crops more intelligently; to raise livestock profitably; to market his produce advantageously; to improve and beautify his home; to educate his children and to take better care of himself and the health of his family.[23]

Booker T. Gardner's more recent assessment, however, tended to be in general agreement with that of Campbell when he wrote that:

> Washington's educational philosophy made significant contributions to education with its impact upon the growth and development of Negro education in the South, industrial education in both Negro and white schools, and his influence in getting philanthropists to support the public education movement in the South. Washington's impact was also noted in

the establishment of many schools patterned after Tuskegee Institute in many African colonies, United States possessions and territories, and countries in Latin America.[24]

Elsewhere I have written my own assessment that:

> It is true that Washington contributed little to the liberal arts and political education of his people. Yet, unlike DuBois and his followers, he was convinced that economic education and the achievement of a degree of economic freedom and power was essential to the later pursuit of full political equality and ready access to the kind of liberal education sought by DuBois for his "talented tenth." A recent and perceptive biographer, Louis Harlan, has referred to Washington as "neither a black Christ nor an Uncle Tom, but a cunning Brer Rabbit, 'born and bred in the briar patch' of tangled American race relations."[25]

Notes

[1] For a copy of Washington's Atlanta Address, see Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*. New York: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 157-162 and Hugh Hawkins, *Booker T. Washington and His Critics*. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1962, pp. 15-17. For a discussion of the "Black Exodus" movement, see Hugh Hawkins, *Booker T. Washington and His Critics*. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1974, pp. 100-108.

[2] See Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955, p. 105 and Henry J. Perkinson, *Two Hundred Years of American Education Thought*. New York: David McKay, 1976, pp. 184-199.

[3] Booker T. Washington. *The Future of the American Negro*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1899, pp. 49-50.

[4] Booker T. Gardner, "The Educational Contributions of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Negro Education, 40*(102), Fall 1975.

[5] Booker T. Washington. *Working With the Hands*. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904, pp. 1-10.

[6] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969, p. 397.

[7] Booker T. Washington. *Up From Slavery*, pp. 76-95.

[8] Max Bennett Thrasher, *Tuskegee, Its Story and Its Work*. Boston: Small Marynard & Company, 1901, pp. 21-25, and Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 76-100.

[9] Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Thomas M. Campbell. *The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer*. New York: Arno Press, 1969, p. 81.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[14] Anne Kendrick Walker, *Tuskegee and the Black Belt*. Richmond: The Dietz Press. 1944.

[15] Campbell. *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93, 160-161.

[17] Hawkins. *op. cit.*, 1974. p. 7.

[18] See Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-106, and Willis D. Moreland and Erwin H. Goldenstein. *Pioneers in Adult Education*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1985, pp. 138-139.

[19] Campbell. *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

[22] Spencer. *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

[23] Campbell. *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[24] Gardner. *op. cit.*, p. 518.

[25] Moreland and Goldenstein. *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

Frederic J. Siedenburg. S.J., Catholic, Priest and Progressive: A Contradiction in Terms

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The genesis of this paper was my reaction to the paradigm used by Robert Crunden in his book on the Progressive Era, *Ministers of Reform*, which specifies a devout Protestant heritage as one of the principal criteria in the definition of a Progressive. Because of my association with Loyola and its School of Social Work I've become interested in the life and career of Father Frederic Siedenburg, the Jesuit priest who founded that School in 1914. Many of his activities, interests and writings seemed to me to be quintessentially progressive and I became curious as to whether, in spite of the fact that he was not only a Catholic but a priest, an examination of his life might indicate that he qualified as a Progressive as defined by some of the major historians of the period.

I began by developing a stipulated definition of some of the principal characterists of a Progressive. These included:

— Richard Hofstadter's notion of "social activism" — the idea that social evils will not remedy themselves and that it is wrong to sit by passively and wait for time to take care of them;[1]

— Arthur Mann's argument that government functions are too limited and should be expanded to relieve social and economic distress;[2]

— John Higham's view that the Progressive's democratic vision led to such concrete activities as the settlement house movement and the development of social work as a profession. Higham also felt that for such social work professionals, "a philosophy of alleviation was giving way to one of prevention and social action."[3]

— To these I added the concepts of reform through informed regulation, of procedural alternatives within the existing system of government, of positive intervention by the state in social questions and a faith in the value of an informed public opinion as a catalyst for social reform. Finally, I would argue that part of being a Progressive was a sort of cross-pollenization, that association with other Progressives at the levels of interchange of ideas and of concerted action to achieve a social goal helped to mold individual Progressives.

Certainly it is arguable that this definition of a Progressive is limited; someone else might choose a different set of characteristics which might definitely exclude — or as firmly include — Fr. Siedenburg. The only possible response to this lies in the ambiguities present in any attempt to define the Progressive movement. To quote Arthur Link,

> . . . The Progressive movement never really existed as a recognizable organization with common goals and a political machinery geared to achieve them . . . from the 1890's on there were many "progressive" movements on many levels seeking sometimes contradictory objectives.[4]

The above characteristics do, I believe, form a defensible definition, and the next step is to analyze Fr. Siedenburg's life for evidence of them.

Siedenburg's Life

Frederic Siedenburg was born in Cincinnati in 1872. He attended the Jesuit college of St. Xavier and joined the order in 1893. After serving his novitiate at Florissant, Missouri, he earned a Masters Degree from St. Louis University in 1899 and was ordained a Jesuit priest in 1907.[5]

From 1909-1911 Siedenburg studied in Europe at the universities of Innsbruch. Berlin and Vienna. Although his religious superiors had encouraged him to study chemistry, he was more interested in the social sciences and opted to study economics and sociology.[6] While in Europe, Siedenburg encountered the thinking of various progressive European reformers. most notably the German Bishop Emmanuel Von Ketteler, the "Social Bishop" whose socialist ideas pre-dated Leo XIII and *Rerum Novarum*.[7]

Returning to the United States, Siedenburg served as headmaster of Loyola Academy from 1911-1913, after which he was assigned to Loyola University. One of his first acts there was the formation of the Loyola University Lecture Bureau, organized to give extension lectures on topics of social interest. The response to these lectures was so great that in 1914 he renamed the Bureau the School of Sociology and it became an academic division of Loyola University. Also in 1914 he founded the University College (night school), in 1921 he reorganized the School of Law, in 1922 he established Loyola's Home Study Division and in 1926 he founded the School of Business Administration. In 1932 he was sent to Detroit where he continued his pattern of educational eclecticism by organizing their School of Dentistry.

In addition to his academic activities Siedenburg wrote, lectured and was active in a number of professional organizations usually related in some way to social welfare issues. He was involved in ecumenical and interracial dialogue long before these became fashionable in the 50's and 60's. In 1937 he visited Russia, traveling incognito as part of a group of sociologists. since at that time priests were not permitted to enter Russia. He was a supporter of the New Deal and was appointed by FDR to the position of chairman of the Detroit Regional Labor Board in 1935. He died on October 20, 1939, a few hours after addressing a "Brotherhood Week" conference on Human Relations.[8]

Siedenburg the Activist

The effort to define how (or whether) Frederic Siedenburg fits into the Progressive mainstream seems to fall into two distinct, though sometimes overlapping, categories: his activities, memberships and associations with other Progressive leaders of the period, and his beliefs, as expressed through his writings and speeches. Looking first at Siedenburg the activist, we find a man of remarkably diverse interests. His memberships included such typically Progressive organizations as the National Conference of Social Work, the American Sociological Society, the Child Labor Commission, the League of Nations Association and the American Association of Social Workers. One perspective on his claim to be considered a Progressive might be found in his membership in the Society for the Advancement of the Colored Race as early as 1921. Arthur Link has argued that such membership was the mark of a "radical Progressive" in the early 20th century.[9]

Siedenburg was a friend of Jane Addams and of the Abbot sisters, wrote for the *American Journal of Sociology* during the period when it was edited by Albion Small, and was a friend of Msgr. John Ryan, cited by Eric Goldman as a leading Catholic Progressive. While Goldman shares with Crunden the conviction that the Protestant religion was a key component in the background of most Progressives, he says of Fr. Ryan:

> . . . so pervasive was the religious trend that American Catholicism produced, under other names, its own forceful brand of Reform Darwinism, most notably the burly, blunt-spoken Irishman, Father John August Ryan.[10]

An unpublished letter by one of Siedenburg's closest friends in the Jesuits, Father Robert Hartnett, gives additional details about his interests and personality.

> His own interests were very wide. Latin America (he led tours), the theater, movies, etc. etc. He played golf and bridge. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. He was a *born* sociologist. If he was waiting to be driven somewhere and a maintenance man was cutting the grass, he'd ask him his salary, where he lived, how many children, what schools they were in, etc. etc — maybe what *rent* he was paying. Such data and concerns were "the breath of his nostrils."[11]

The Loyola University Years

The formation of the Loyola University Lecture Bureau and its subsequent transformation into the School of Sociology provides some insights both into Siedenburg's method of approaching a problem and into his beliefs about some of the social issues of the day. The Bureau provided speakers for both Catholic and nonCatholic organizations: women's clubs, church societies, fraternal organizations. Siedenburg shared the prevailing Progressive faith that an informed public would be more

supportive of social reform efforts and in this pre-radio era such lectures provided one of the surest means of disseminating the "new" social and philosophical ideas to the growing middle classes. Thirty different topics were available among the first year's offerings: nearly all might have been chosen by any minister of the Social Gospel. A representative sample included: The Social Problem Today, Child Labor, Woman's Suffrage, Workingmen's Compensation Laws and the History of Labor Unions.[12]

The success of the Lecture Bureau led to the inauguration of Loyola's School of Sociology in 1914. According to Father Hartnett, the School aimed to focus on "applied sociology" — what has subsequently become known as professional social work. Innovative not only because it was the first such school under Catholic auspices in the United States, the new School scheduled classes in the late afternoons and evenings as well as on Saturday mornings. It was designed to appeal to Catholics who were already working in the helping professions and who sought the college degree for what we would now call "credentialing." For undergraduates with no previous experience, the School also provided practica — on-the-job training in social agencies. Course areas included social and legal ethics, civics and law, local government, psychopathology and social legislation. In addition to the full-time faculty, seventeen other "special lecturers" were listed as addressing the students on specializations within the area of social welfare.[13]

Siedenburg brought other innovations to Loyola. One that deserves special mention was the University College, notable because it was designed to serve the part-time student and because it admitted women to its program. Siedenburg was the first dean to admit women to Loyola. For a Jesuit school this was a major break from a 350-year-old tradition of admitting only male students to Jesuit schools.[14]

Another early activity was his participation in the German-American "Central Verein." He often lectured in German to German-speaking groups. In 1913 Fr. Siedenburg was involved with a project of the Central Verein to establish a "Study House" in conjunction with Loyola which was to provide a "center for social education and an agency for social action" and would, according to Philip Gleason, champion the Central-Verein's "Ketteler-like view of the social question." World War I delayed this project and it was finally shelved completely in 1921.[15]

In 1932 Fr. Siedenburg was abruptly transferred from Loyola to the Jesuit University in Detroit. There is little written commentary or record anywhere about this event; even the records of the School of Social Work do not deal with the reasons. What little is known is summarized by Robert Paskey in a draft chapter of his dissertation on Jesuit social work education.

> The oral tradition on this dismissal and exile involved a conflict between the conservative ideas of Cardinal Mundelein, then Cardinal of Chicago, and the progressive ideas of Father Siedenburg, specifically ecumenism, i.e. his extensive religious and social interaction with Protestants and Jews. . . . Fr. Siedenburg sorted out his affairs as quickly as possible, cleaned out his personal belongings from his desk and was driven to the University of Detroit by a fellow Jesuit.[16]

Siedenburg the Theorist

Siedenburg's writings also illustrate how his ideas meshed with the overall progressive climate of the day. For example, in an article for the *Catholic World* he makes a case for the professional training of social workers. He begins with a discussion of the problems of urbanization, arguing that a village or farm community doesn't need trained social workers, but that:

> . . . the congested, complicated city . . . presents social problems of distress and delinquency that baffle even the wary and the knowing.[17]

Like the professionals in colleges of education who sought improvement in pedagogy through the application of scientific methods, Siedenburg proposed a social work curriculum designed for the "scientific study of social problems with a view to seeking a scientific solution."[18] The methodology proposed (one still broadly followed by schools of social work) was a tripartite system consisting of an introductory survey of the field (including discussion of the causes of poverty from the economic, social and physiological viewpoints), the mastery of specific social work techniques, and a "practice and investigation" component. This last presumed that, like the investigative journalist, the beginning social worker needed to visit the agencies and institutions already providing services, in order to determine how well they functioned, and to visit the homes and communities of the individuals who would be receiving social services. This concept of social work as a profession was made explicit in the promotional materials for Loyola's program. A 1915 ad states that "Modern charity workers must have training. Poverty today is not individual but social; most of the relief must be social."[19]

Siedenburg also shared the consistent Progressive faith in the value of government regulation. In one 1930 article he inveighed against the immorality of the film industry, arguing first that films which glorify crime and vice spread a "false impression of America" among the nations of Europe, and then calling for the *regulation* of the film industry, specifically for the support of some pending legislation to declare the motion picture industry a public utility, subject to public control. He combined this typically Progressive faith in regulation with an equally typical confidence in the value of a commission as the appropriate instrument for carrying out such a policy.[20]

Siedenburg was very supportive of the settlement house movement.

which he viewed as the natural heir to the Christian tradition of the Middle Ages. He wrote about medieval abbeys as "community centers on a large scale," providing recreation, education and culture (the latter in the form of plays and pageants, libraries, and handicraft and agricultural training) and argued that the settlement house of the early 20th century provided many of the same services.[21]

One of Siedenburg's main interests was in labor issues. In a 1936 address to the National Conference of Social Work he took a position based on Charles Beard, arguing:

> The Constitution of the United States was not a document of economic democracy . . . Therefore it is not surprising that laborers still lack economic freedom and equality of opportunity for wealth and human security.
>
> . . . Because our laborers have been our forgotten citizens, there is need of special agencies of government, of labor boards to study their problems and to assist them toward economic freedom. Such boards must be national in their scope because forty-eight separate state boards with diverse and contradictory laws would jeopardize the competition of industry as well as the welfare of labor.[22]

Siedenburg's address goes on to set forth the history of labor problems — inadequate wages, especially for women, efforts to regulate the length of the working day, minimum wages, laws, legislation to improve working conditions, the legality of the strike and the boycott, and laws regarding industrial safety. His conclusion: without the standard Progressive remedies of reform through informed regulation and positive intervention by the state in social issues, labor is fighting a losing battle.

> At present industry has gone back to the old regime of laissez faire, with its rank materialism and its human greed. . . . This brief but stern story of labor is the best argument for the need of a workingman's board or court, an agency created to know the problems of labor and to adjust them in the common interest of labor, of industry, and of the public. . . . We must have national labor boards, and if they cannot fit into the framework of our Constitution we must make amendments to that august document in keeping with the spirit of our government. . . . Interstate commerce has been regulated for a hundred and fifty years, and now on account of new conditions we must regulate labor and finance and agriculture and intrastate commerce for the public welfare.[23]

Other Questions of Public Policy. A selection of Siedenburg's writings on various other public policy issues reveals a consistently Progressive position and a consistently Progressive rhetoric.

> We must socialize our processes of production and distribution, not by resolution but by evolution, that is, by education, propaganda and legislation.[24]
>
> . . . The times demand unemployment insurance, minimum wage legislation, health insurance, old age pensions, shorter labor weeks and days,

restrictions on women and child labor, and others.[25]

. . . When all this shall have been done . . . we must make ourselves articulate in the councils of the League of Nations and in the revision of the Covenant of the League.

. . . And there is the progressive control of natural resources and utilities, extravagances of government, and last but not least, the fate of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution and all that it implies.[26]

Siedenburg used similar rhetoric and logic in "A Plea for Old Age Pensions," published in 1930. He begins with an argument that might have comfortably been made by Henry George: ". . . the major part of our poverty is not due to personal causes but to economic and social and even political conditions, over which the exploited poor have no control."[27] He then proceeds to make the case that "alms and the poorhouse are no permanent solution to the permanent problem of the aged," in a series of statements which strike the Progressive notes of reliance on facts and "studies," of "social justice," and of calls for legislative remediation.

old age pensions (are) . . . a constructive solution which by the test of experience is found to be quite satisfactory to the aged poor and a saving to the state. From data available two or three persons can be supported by what it costs to maintain one person with institutional care.

. . . The state, which acts for us as a group, has made adjustments in many places by the fiat of the law, for the child, the widow, the workingman and the working woman.

. . . we should . . . use every means at our command, — money, — persuasion — personal service, — the ballot and legislation to stop forever our inhumanity to the dependent aged.

. . . Let us take up the challenge of our citizenship and to our religion and by constructive legislative give relief to the aged poor.[28]

One occasion on which Siedenburg took a "Catholic" as opposed to a "Progressive" position occured in 1915 in a national debate over literacy tests for immigrants as a measure of their assimilation into American culture. In a series of articles in the Catholic paper *The New World*, Siedenburg argued against the measure.

The Catholic position called for appreciation of immigrants' gifts, expressed beliefs in the benefits of cultural diversity, and challeged discriminatory revisions of immigration legislation.[29]

In this instance, of course, it is possible to argue that the Catholic position was the more Progressive one; certainly the issue of Americanization was one which frequently divided Progressive thought and is not one which can be cited as some sort of "benchmark" of Pro-

gressivism. This argument is made by J. Joseph Huthmacher in talking about the split between "old-stock Protestant, middle-class reformers" and "lower class reform spokesmen" over issues of Americanization. Specifically, he quotes Progressive leader Robert Wagner in a 1917 speech opposing a literacy bill before Congress.

> If the literacy test was not applied to the Irish and the German, why should it now be applied to the Jew, the Italian or the Slav of the new immigration? Like our ancestors, they are now flying from persecution, from ignorance, from inequality; like our ancestors they expect to find here freedom and equal opportunity.[30]

Other Progressive causes espoused by Siedenburg included unemployment insurance, old age pensions, child labor laws, the League of Nations. He always, however, retained a Catholic perspective — frequently referring to *Rerum Novarum*, or bolstering his arguments by references to the early Christians or the medieval church.

Conclusions

The question raised by this paper was whether Frederic Siedenburg might "qualify" as a Progressive. The answer seems to be a qualified "yes." Measured against the criteria given earlier it appears that:

— Siedenburg's writings, public activities and the philosophy of the School of Sociology all illustrate Hofstadter's view of a Progressive as a social activist who seeks out solutions for social problems instead of waiting for them to solve themselves.

— His writings also demonstrate a Progressive conviction that the role of government should be expanded to relieve social and economic distress.

— Certainly the establishment of the School of Sociology meets Higham's criterion of the Progressive vision leading to concrete activities for social welfare.

— His writings show a belief in the ideas of reform through government regulation, of the need for legislative remediation and for positive intervention by the state in social issues.

— His education in Europe, his faith in the efficacy of the scientific method and his enthusiasm for the German approach to scholarship are all typical Progressive traits.

— His friendships with leading Progressives, memberships in Progressive organizations and writings for Progressive publications involved him in the Progressive mainstream.

On the other hand, Siedenburg's Catholicism does create some obstacles to his being considered a true Progressive. There are two aspects to this question.

— For writers like Crunden, for whom a Protestant heritage is a sine qua non for true Progressivism, Siedenburg would clearly be excluded. Crunden argues that Al Smith, John Ryan and other Catholics "cooperated with Protestant reformers in what remained to them an intrinsically alien world."[31]

— More specifically, his religious faith did color both his writings and actions in a way that differs from typically Progressive behavior. For example, his docility in being "exiled" from Chicago by the Cardinal would not have been an issue for a Protestant minister. Siedenburg also shared to some extent in the typical Catholic insularity of the period; while he himself was of an ecumenical spirit, he felt it essential that Catholic young people be educated in a Catholic milieu.

A final objection might be that Siedenburg was more a precursor of the New Deal, a Rooseveltian liberal, than a true Progressive. The response to this is that, if true, it applies equally to such mainstream Progressives as Charles Beard, Louis Brandeis and Harold Ickes who lived long enough to become influential in the Roosevelt administration. Certainly Siedenburg's activities and writings in the unquestionably Progressive period of the second decade of the century fit a specifically progressive, rather than simply a vaguely "liberal" mold.

On balance, I would argue that Frederic Siedenburg did in fact fit the definition of a Progressive, as articulated by many of the major writers of the period. While some aspects of his philosophy and activities differed from the paradigm of "classical Progressivism," this is probably true to some extent of every leading Progressive. Crunden himself probably makes my point as well as it can be made when he says "Life being as messy as it is, no model is perfect."[32]

Notes

[1] Richard Hofstader, *The Progressive Movement, 1900-1915* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 4-5.

[2] Arthur Mann (ed). *The Progressive Era: Liberal Renaissance or Liberal Failure?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 2.

[3] John Higham, "A Brake on Nativism" in Mann *op cit*, p. 50.

[4] Arthur S. Link, "Not So Tired." in Mann *op cit*. p. 107.

[5] Robert V. Paskey, S.J. "History of School of Social Work at Loyola" (draft of chapter in unpublished. untitled dissertation, 1985), unpaginated.

6 Robert C. Hemett, S.J. "The Siedenburg Years: A History," *Loyola Today* (Spring 1978), p. 10.

7 Paskey, *op cit.*

8 Marie Sheahan, "A Catholic School of Sociology," *Catholic Charities Review* Vol. V., No. 6 (June 1921), p. 196.

9 Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), p. 54.

10 Eric F. Goldman, *Rendevous With Destiny* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 86.

11 Robert Harnett, letter of May 15, 1976, to Matthew Shoenbaum, Dean of Loyola University School of Social Work (unpublished, School of Social Work files).

12 Loyola University of Chicago Archives, Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., Biographical Materials.

13 Loyola University of Chicago Archives, *op cit.*

14 Paskey, *op cit.*

15 Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the School Order* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), p. 120.

16 Paskey, *op cit.*

17 Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. "Training for Social Work," *Catholic World*, Vol. 113 (June 1921), p. 320.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 323.

19 Loyola University of Chicago Archives, *op cit.*

20 Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. "Motion Pictures Abroad," *Commonweal* Vol. 13 (August 13, 1930), pp. 381-83.

21 Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. "Recreational Value of Religion," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 25 (January 1[illegible] 449.

22 Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., "Social [illegible] of National Labor Boards," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 63rd Annual Session, May 18-23, 1936), p. 346.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

24 Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., "Charter of Human Security," *Catholic World* Vol. 136 (February 1933), p. 582.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 583.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 585.

[27] Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., "A Plea for Old Age Pensions," *Catholic Charities Review* Vol. 14, No. 1 (January 1930), p. 38.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

[29] Charles Shanabruch, *Chicago's Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), p. 173.

[30] J. Joseph Huthmacher, "The Urban Mooses on the Move" in Mann *op cit*, p. 42.

[31] Robert M Crunden, *Ministers of Reform* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 278.

[32] Crunden, *op cit*, p. 277.

Part IV

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Pre-British European Educational Activities in India

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A. Introduction

The scope of this paper is to inquire into the educational and literary efforts of the Portuguese and other pre-British European settlers in India. This has been one of the areas in the educational history of India seldom researched and studied. Historians of educational development tended to ignore the Portuguese influence on education and its impact on the formation of a civilization which continued even after the arrival of the British. This study also indicates that the Dutch and French educational activities were minimal in India.

Up until the fifteenth century, generally speaking, the western world was conducting trade with the Arabs, who were directly trading with India to obtain Indian spices. The Moorish princes levied heavy taxes on the Arab ports and the Arab merchants were making unjustifiable profits on the Indian spices from their business transactions with the Europeans. Moreover, the Muslims were very hostile to Christian Europe. These are the main reasons why the Portuguese set out to establish direct trade relations with India.[1]

When the Portuguese arrived at Calicut in 1498 under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, India was not one nation as it is now. There were hundreds of petit kingdoms ruled by native princes. The geographic region where the Portuguese mainly concentrated their activities was South India, especially Kerala (Malabar) although Goa was one of their chief ports. Therefore, we will discuss their activities chiefly in that region.

As we have said, the Portuguese came with commercial intentions. However, they also had other motives. Pope Nicholas V commissioned the Portuguese King Affonson V to evangelize the new lands his country would find by a bull dated January 8, 1454. However, the expedition

under Gama which landed at Calicut on May 17, 1498 was arranged by Dom Joao II. The educational activities of the Portuguese are intrinsically connected with their religious works as in the case of several other colonial settlers. Therefore, this inquiry is made within that perspective.

B. Educational Activities of the Portuguese

Missionary activities, especially after the reformation, could be carried out only through the medium of written language. Therefore, missionaries usually concentrated their initial efforts on the study and development of native languages if they had not obtained the desired maturity. When the Portuguese missionaries came to India, they had a double task. To evangelize the heathens was the first. To bring the already existing Christian community, called the St. Thomas Christians or Nazarenes (*Nazaranees*), under the Roman hierarchy and rite was another task. The native Christians belonged to the eastern Church, and followed the East Syrian rite. They were in agreement with the Hindu customs as long as they were not in direct conflict with the Christian faith and sacraments.

The Portuguese suspected the native Christians as heretics holding unorthodox doctrines, which they were not They were orthodox in their fundamental faith. But the missionaries could not understand their liturgical language Aramaic and the symbolism of their rites. They could not tolerate a married clergy.[2] They could not understand the various purification ceremonies of the native Christians in tune with ancient Hindu traditions. Because of the *Nazaranees*' association with East Syrian liturgy they were also suspected of Nestorian heresy, despite their deep devotion to the Mother of God.

So the Portuguese had to declare an all out war against the native Christians. The major changes they proposed in an ancient Church were complete Romanization by establishing a Latin hierarchy and by obstructing the entry of eastern bishops, and imposing western liturgies on her people.

Evangelization of the heathens required preparation of catechetical books in the native languages. The Portuguese missionaries, therefore, concentrated their attention on developing the native languages and creating literary works in those languages.

Thus the Portuguese educational activities may be understood in two different perspectives.

1. *Romanization Efforts Among the Native Christians*

The time under discussion is a few years after the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Malabar (1544 or 1545). A letter written by Xavier to the king Portugal explicitly admits that the archbishop of the *Nazaranees*, Mar

Jacob. was an orthodox bishop and he deserved the protection of the crown.[3] However, his priests were suspected of being schismatics by the Portuguese. Hence comes the first proposal for establishing a college to educate priests who would be faithful to the Portuguese and the Roman Church.

(a) *The College of Crangannur, Cochin:* During this period, Dom Joao de Albuquerque, the first bishop of Goa, decided to establish a seminary. Thus, Father Vincent de Lagos, was sent to Malabar to start a college for the aspirants to the priesthood in 1541. Mar Jacob conceded to this proposal reluctantly, and the seminary was established in the same year. Mar Jacob brought seven boys there "presumably to be trained for the priesthood."[4] On January 20, 1545, Francis Xavier wrote the following letter to King John III of Portugal:

> The College of Cranganore, which is the work of Fra Vincenzo, makes great progress and will advance from good to better if Your Highness continues to favour it heretofore. There is really a truest reason for giving constant thanks to God for the great fruit to the service of Christ our Lord which has arisen from that holy College. There is a very probable hope that it will send forth religious men who may make the whole of Malabar, which is now sunk in vice and error, feel a saving shame at its own state of misery, and may bring the light of our Lord Jesus Christ to the benighted minds of the people and make his Holy Name manifest among them all, by the work and ministrations of the disciples of Fra Vincenzo.[5]

In 1549 his seminary at Crangannur near Cochin had 100 pupils, sons of noble St. Thomas Christians. In 1539 four students from this school were sent to Lisbon for priestly education.

The seminarians at the College of Crangannur were educated in the Roman way. and no instruction in Eastern theology and Aramaic was given to them. However the college gave a fairly sound training in view of the sixteenth century standard of clerical education. The college also contained several manuscripts from Europe.[6] Despite its anti-eastern focus. Mar Jacob tolerated it. But his successor Mar Joseph denied the graduates of the college ordination to the priesthood.

Educationally considered, this school was the first attempt for western education in Malabar. Previously, priestly candidates were trained by *malpans* (learned priests or bishops) in their residences. Such a training consisted of studies in Aramaic and liturgical performances in the church and a practicum with the *malpan* in the parish ministry and church leadership.

> The general formation of the Malabar clergy before the arrival of the Portuguese was probably as good as in many countries in Europe at that time. Simple priests may have learned just enough to perform the different functions attached to their office. These functions do not appear to have gone beyond saying Mass and reciting the office on certain days and

assisting at marriages, funerals and family functions. All that a priest had to learn was the liturgical functions and an elementary knowledge of Syriac and the Holy Scripture. All this he could learn, as far as was necessary for practical purposes, from elderly priests of his own church.[7]

The general education of Christian youth was conducted in an *Ezhuttupalli* (Writing School) just as that of a Hindu child. However, he was given orientation to Christian living by teaching prayers, mostly in Syriac. He also learned the use of weapons after that. Candidates for the priesthood came from families which maintained a hereditary line of priesthood. After secular studies the candidate would go to a *malpan* (a reputed priest with authority from the bishop to teach liturgy and the Holy Bible) for his priestly education. After certication by the *malpan* that he had fulfilled all the requirements for the priesthood, and his home parish had recorded its consent, he would be ordained to the priesthood by the bishop.[8]

We have seen that the Syrian Archbishop Mar Jacob endorsed the priestly training given at the College of Crangannur, Cochin, though reluctantly. But his flock did not admit many of the priests that came out of that seminary, because they feared them having been already Romanized. When Mar Joseph did not ordain the graduates of this college, the bishop of Goa had to ordain them and use them for the newly established Roman Catholic parishes of his diocese. This created additional tensions between the Roman Catholics and the St. Thomas Christians.

(b) *The Vaipicotta College:* To avoid further throuble, the successor of Mar Joseph, Mar Abraham, requested the help of Jesuits to reform the education of the Syrian clergy in the Eastern tradition. Accordingly, in 1577 a Jesuit house was established at Vaipicotta in the name of the Holy Cross. The house slowly developed into a college or seminary between 1581 and 1584. Aramaic, Malayalam, Ethics, and Theology were some of the major subjects taught there. Even the already ordained priests began to attend this college. Classes were offered to laymen also.

Eventually, the school became famous and the curriculum became broader. There lived fifty to sixty "students belonging to the descendants of those who were converted to true faith by the Apostle St. Thomas. They are taught the humanities, Latin, Chaldaic, the cases of conscience, the rudiments of Catholic faith and of the Liturgy."[9] The king of Portugal also helped the running of the seminary. A Dutch traveller, Baldaeus by name, witnesses that this seminary has been endowed with a huge library of native and European books and manuscripts, and the building itself has been equal to the size of such European institutions.[10]

In the meantime, there was another school opened for the Jesuit scholasticate at Cochin leaving the Vaipicotta Seminary for the education of the Syrian clergy. The College of Crangannur, run by the Franciscans, became a secular school for lay students.[11]

As years went by, there were several changes in the religious realm of India. Goa became an archbishopric, and Alexis de Menezes became the archbishop and primate of the East. Mar Abraham, the Syrian Archbishop, died and before his death he appointed his Archdeacon as his vicar *sede vacante*. Displeased with the appointment, Menezes appointed Father Francis Roz, the Rector of the Vaipicotta College, as vicar apostolic of the See of Ankamali. Consequently the Syrians became very angry and no longer permitted a Roman priest to officiate in their churches. Finally Menezes revoked his appointment of Roz.

(c) *The Synod of Diamper, 1599:* However, the rift began to widen. The archdeacon did not want to yield to the archbishop of Goa. He believed in the independence of his church and held that his people were not under Roman prelates. Archbishop Menezes began to take stronger measures to bring the Syrians under his control and his efforts climaxed with the Synod of Diamper in 1599.

The Synod of Diamper succeeded in bringing the Syrians (St. Thomas Christians) under the Roman hierarchy at least for a short period with the force of the Portuguese military. But some of the Synod deliberations are of great significance to historians of education.

The 12th Decree of the Synod demands that children should be educated under Christian schoolmasters. If only pagan schools are available, Christian students should not be allowed to take part in pagan rites. This decree indicates that there were schools before the Diamper Synod. Some schools were Christian as the decree says. Actually it was the *Ezhuttupallis* that the Synod was referring to. These schools were uncommitted to any religion; however, Hindu influences were predominant. This decree also paved way for opening new schools adjacent to the churches by the Portuguese. Thus the concept of "parochical schools" in India was a contribution of the Portuguese as they began to establish such schools immediately after the Synod of Diamper. Although the concept of "parochial schools" received momentum since the Synod of Diamper, we find that such activities had begun long before that. For example, the Jesuits had a regular school at Crangannur since 1577.[12] Although these schools were attached to parish churches, there is no evidence to show that they were directly under the control of parishes. They might have been under the political control of the Portuguese, but run by native Christian noble men. That is why the could not survive after the Dutch takeover. If they were directly under the churches, they would have continued like some seminaries.

The 13th Decree of the Synod points to the abuses in the schools run by Christian masters. To attract non-Christian students, those schools used to keep idols. The Synod condemns this practice.

The 17th Decree recommends the preparation of a Catechism in alayalam. The Rector of the Vaipicotta College was authorized to dertake that responsibility.[13] The priests were also asked to give basic

education in their own residences to children to counteract pagan influences.

(d) *The Ambalakad Seminary:* The Seminary at Vaipicotta served the Latin and Romanized churches for over eight decades. However. the Jesuits could not continue their educational activities freely as the Portuguese political power began to disintegrate. In 1664 Cochin was invaded by the Dutch, and as a result, the Jesuits had to flee from the seminary. They went to the dominions of the Zamorin of Calicut and established their seminary at Ambalakad. However, their educational activities again were restricted because the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Pope 1773. Their seminary was finally destroyed in 1789 by Tippu Sultan.

The seminary at Ambalakad was named after St. Paul, and meant for the Jesuit scholasticate and for Syrian seminarians. The seminary went through severe hardship due to lack of money and necessary books in its early period. Although there was only one rector for both the scholasticate and the Syrian seminarians, the training was done separately. Eventually the school grew to a *collegium magnum* for the Malabar province of the Jesuits. Languages, Theology, Mathematics, Philosophy and Geography were taught there. The school also grew to a center for language studies. Sanskrit, Malayalam, Latin, Syriac, and Tamil were the main languages taught there. The printing press at Ambalakad published several Tamil books of religious content. The Jesuits themselves wrote several grammars and lexicons which later became helpful to the English missionaries in the study of native languages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these linguistic contributions of the missionaries were crucially important, and Malayalam and other south Indian languages had immensely benefited from their contributions.

Parenthetically, there was another school for the training of Syrian clergy conducted by the Jesuits at Angamali from as early as the last decade of the sixteenth century. From a report of Cardinal Gesualdo to the Pope (1599) we understand that the students in that school had received instructions in humanities, Latin and Chaldean languages, cases of conscience, ecclesiastical rites and in the Roman Catholic faith.[14] However this school did not have any particular social significance like others.

The colleges founded by the missionaries gave leadership in educational matters during this period. K.M. Panikkar, a famous diplomat-statesman and historian, himself a Hindu, says:

> The colleges founded at Angamali and Cochin for education of Malabar Christians in the Roman faith were useful in the spreading the knowledge of Latin and Portuguese. The later Raja of Cochin conversed fluently in Portuguese, and often corresponded directly in that language. In fact, till the establishment of British supremacy in Kerala. Portuguese continued to be the diplomatic language of the Kerala rulers.[15]

(e) *The Verapoly Seminary: A Test of Native-Foreign Collaboration*

When the native Christians became fed up with Jesuits who were considered incompetent to heal the factions between the Latins and the Syrians. Rome sent a Romo-Syrian priest, Bartholomew Hanna, from Aleppo to start a seminary in which he could teach other courses. Since the seminary could not be opened soon, Hanna went to teach Syriac in some of the malapanates. But when it was opened in 1682 at Verapoly, he became the first rector. Again the seminary was closed due to lack of support from the Romo-Syrians, and due to unfavorable political conditions created by the Dutch presence in the Cochin area.

Although the Propaganda Fide Congregation reestablished it in 1764 for both the Syrians and the Latins, the attempt did not last long due to the rift between native Christians and foreigners. They were separated again; the Latins continued at Verapoly and the Syrians started another seminary at Alengad. Again in 1773 under the leadership of the Apostolic Visitor both seminaries became one at Verapoly. The seminary followed a systematic curriculum. The medium of instruction was Malayalam. It was a tedious job to translate the original works into the native tongue. This urged the missionaries to learn the native languages, like Malayalam. Tamil, Sanskrit etc. Philosophy, Theology, Rhetoric, Latin, Portuguese. Syriac etc. were some of the major courses of the curriculum. The duration of studies lasted from seven to eight years.[16] One of the rectors of this seminary, Paulinus de Bartolomeo, was a great linguist who contributed immensely to the language and culture of Kerala.

But again, due to the rift between the two rites, the Syrians moved back to Alengad, and the Latins remained at Verapoly. Later the seminary at Verapoly was transferred to Puthenpally in 1866.

(f) *Centralization of Clerical Education:* There were several *malpanates* existing simultaneously during this period. In spite of the systematized education in seminaries, most of the Romo-Syrian clergy came out of these malpanates. Although the malpanates provided a basic priestly education in liturgy, scripture and languages, its standard and quality were not considered equal to a seminary education. However, the spiritual and pastoral formation imparted by these *malapanates* was no way inferior. But the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, Msgr. Bernardine, who also had jurisdiction over the Romo-Syrians, could not tolerate a dual system under him. As a result, he arbitrarily abolished all the malpanates in 1850 and established four seminaries. The seminary of Verapoly, transferred to Puthenpalli in 1866, thus became one among them; and the seminary of the Romo-Syrians at Alengad had to close its doors forever. The Vicar Apostolic also decreed that only the graduates of these seminaries would thereafter be ordained to the diocesan ministry. The Romo-Syrians did not particularly appreciate this arbitrary step, but they had no options. Among the four seminaries, three were given to the Romo-Syrian Carmelites (a third of the Carmelites founded by native priests of

the Syrian Church) to operate, and the one at Puthenpalli was given to foreign Carmelites. The one at Puthenpalli trained both Latins and Syrians; and the other three were exclusively for the Syrians.

In 1887, two dioceses were established for the Romo-Syrians, thereby separating them from the Latin jurisdiction. This created further crisis. The Syrians controlled all seminaries but the one at Puthenpalli, which trained both Syrians and Latins. The Seminary at Puthenpalli was under the control of the Latin Vicariate of Verapoly. The question arose whether each diocese should have its own seminary. Finally, the Propaganda Fide Congregation intervened and decreed that Malabar needed only one central major seminary and took over the Puthenpalli Seminary under its jurisdiction declaring it an "Apostolic Seminary" in 1890. Thus all other seminaries ceased to exist.

Since the Puthenpalli Apostolic Seminary adopted the curricular structure of European philosophates and theologates, the medium of instruction became Latin. Therefore, all the Syrian dioceses had to teach their priestly candidates the Latin language well enough for them to comprehend philosophy and theology in that language. Consequently, each diocese began to open minor seminaries as feeding institutions of the Apostolic Seminary.[17]

The Apostolic Seminary at Puthenpalli was later transferred to Alwaye in 1933. Ever since, this institution became a learning center, especially for the Roman Catholics of Kerala. The seminary was accorded "Pontifical" status in 1964 and recently in 1975 became a Pontifical Institute, with academic autonomy to grant its own advanced degrees in the faculty of Philosophy and Theology. The seminary also houses one of the largest libraries in India.

2. *Evangelization Efforts and Their Implications to Education*

Evangelization efforts of the Portuguese fully started with the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in May 1542. He was a Jesuit. Even before the arrival of Jesuits in India, a group of far-sighted laymen and priests had founded in 1541 the College of St. Paul in Goa, which was earlier called the "Seminary of Santa Fe." It was meant for young men from Africa and the East who were there to be given solid Christian formation, and then to be sent back to their countrymen as real apostles."[18] When St. Francis Xavier came he was given charge of this college. Without assuming that responsibility, he appointed another Jesuit, Paul de Camerino, to teach in that college. But in 1549 the administration of the college finally fell into Jesuit hands.

This school was initially meant for elementary education; and it was exclusively for externs. However, Jesuit tradition was to conduct apostolic schools to prepare candidates for the order. Yet they insisted on education for externs in reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. St. Paul

eventually developed into a university and a *studium generale* was started there. College courses were given in Arts, Philosophy, and Theology. The St. Paul College Press in 1556 published a list of philosophical theses to be defended in public disputation. In fact, the Jesuits' career as schoolmasters in Europe was initiated in India.

During the same period, Father Lancilotti established another college in Quilon, Kerala, where he admitted boys between seven and twelve years of age, rather than older ones. He accepted children from more influential noble families. He had the blessing of Ignatius Loyola in starting such schools. Loyola writes to Lancilotti: ". . . from multiplication of similar colleges, I shall always hope that there will follow great fruit for God's glory."[19]

We also have documentation that shortly after 1580, another Jesuit college was established in Chaul near Bombay. There were 300 students in that school. The curriculum consisted of courses in Latin, Logic, Theology, rudiments of Portuguese grammar, and Music.[20]

In the midst of the Iberian missionaries, we see an Englishman, another Jesuit, the first English missionary to land in India, engaged in educational and culturai activities. He was Father Thomas Stephens, who came to Goa in 1579. He was a capable rector of the Jesuit College in Margoa, and later of the Salsette College. He studied Indian languages and wrote several books. He mastered the Canarim language and translated a Portuguese book of Father Marcos Jorge, *Christian Doctrine* into it. He even wrote a Grammar in that language which was published posthumously by St. Ignatius College Press in 1640. But his *opus magnum* is *Christian Puranas*, an epic poem, narrating the incarnation of the Son of God and redemption of mankind. The influence of the Puranas on Konkani Christians and Konkani literature was enormous.[21]

Jesuits constructed another college at Bandora in 1620, the College of St. Anne; and under the mandate of King Dom Joao IV, another one at Monpacer. Most of the schools were financed by the king of Portugual.

The above treatment does not rule out the possibility of other schools established by Portuguese missionaries in conjunction with their evangelistic activities. We also have evidence that these missionaries have started several other schools in Diu, Damaun, Hoogly and other places. "The Portuguese started schools with the sole purpose of educating their new converts to Christianity, and their Portuguese schools taught reading and writing in Portuguese as well as in the language of the region."[22]

C. Printing and Literary Activities as Sources of Educational Stimulation

1. *Printing Efforts*

Writing on palm leaves and transcribing the same content on other palm leaves to hand them down to the next generation were the chief methods of preserving knowledge and information in many parts of India. It was a very difficult task. Hence, the establishing of printing presses marks the beginning of a new generation in letters, and is considered an enhancement in educational activities.

Jesuits brought the first printing presses to India; and according to Father Ferroli two of them were first established at Goa in 1550.[23] According to Father Siquiera Ambalakad near Cochin had the first printing press in India (1577).[24] Both of these opinions are expressed by Jesuits, and which one is the first is a matter of debate. But this writer tends to agree with Father Ferroli's opinion due to the evidence of the publication of theses for public disputation at St. Paul College at Goa in 1556. Books in Marathi and Konkani also were printed at Goa, but in Roman characters.

The Ambalakad Press was attached to St. Paul's College, elsewhere mentioned. In 1577 a Spanish Jesuit lay brother, John Gonsalves, was the first to cast a Malayalam-Tamil type in that press. It is believed that these types were made at Goa and brought to Ambalakad.[25] In 1679 Father Anthony de Provensa printed the first Portuguese-Tamil dictionary at this press.

During this period the scholarly priests of St. Paul's College engaged in the study of Sanskrit with the help of some local Brahmans, and collected several Sanskrit books. A Tamil grammar and Tamil lexicon were also prepared by Father Da Costa and Father Provensa respectively. Several books for the evangelical work of Robert de Nobili were also prepared at St. Paul's College. It was the press at Ambalakad that enabled the printing and publication of these books.[26]

By 1579 there were two other presses in the Malabar region, one at Cochin and another at Vaipicotta attached to the seminary. The press at Cochin printed several liturgical books for the Malabar Church; and the one at Vaipicotta printed grammars, lexicons and religious books. These printing institutions were indeed helpful to the evangelical work of Francis Xavier.

Father John De Faria cast Tamil types on the Fishery coast at Pannikkayal in 1578, and printed *Flos Sanctorum* and some other devotional books. It is not certain if this is the same printing press at Tuticorin mentioned by Father Ferroli[27] as Tuticorin is on the Fishery coast. However, the printing of *Flos Sanctorum* and the establishment of the press at Tuticorin were in the same year (1578). and hence this writer believes that both are the same.

Father Thomas Stephens, elsewhere mentioned. had a Polyglot Press at Rachol: many works including his Canarese grammar and lexicon,

Father Cinnamo's Catechism, *The Lives of Saints*, *A Treatise of Apologetics*, and several religious books were printed there.

With these highlights in printing efforts, we now turn to some of the major literary contributions of foreigners who were not British.

2. *Literary Activities*

As far as the Malayalam language was concerned, none of the above mentioned works was printed in Malayalam, although most of them were printed in the Malayalam-speaking region of south India. Malayalam books were printed in Tamil or *carson* (writing of Malayalam in Aramaic characters). When we come to the eighteenth century we would find printing in Malayalam characters. The first Malayalam book, *Samkhepavedardham* (A Compendium of Christian Doctrines) was printed in Rome in 1772 written by Clement Peanius. However, Malayalam types had been cast long before that. *Hortus Malabaricus*, printed between 1686 and 1703 in Holland, had contained Malayalam types. This book was a treatise on plants of the Malabar region. Names of plants and some definitions were given in Malayalam characters along with Arabic, Latin and Sanskrit.

When the pre-British Europeans came to India, the language of literature was Sanskrit; and literature was then considered as poetic expressions. As a rule, prose was regarded as inferior. Although they had some prose works, they were semi-prose, a mixture of poetry and prose, and people seldom concentrated on creating prose works. Foreign missionaries began to change this trend. They transplanted the European style of narration in prose. This was done basically by translations and original works which, they thought, are important to literary development.

When the missionaries came to Malabar (South India), Malayalam did not possess a scientific grammar or lexicon. Because of the influx of Sanskrit vocabulary and the literary use of the language by the *Brahmans* (the Hindu priestly caste), Malayalam was Sanskritized; and hence, Sanskrit grammar and syntax were widely used in literary circles. The rank and file did not cherish any interest in such sophisticated linguistic exercises. Missionaries began their efforts to popularize Malayalam for the ordinary people. Although Malayalam had a rudimentary grammar called *Leelathilakam*, it only gave some guidelines to create a predominantly Sanskritized Malayalam; and it did not provide foreigners the mastery of Malayalam grammar. Hence they had to get into the field of constructing grammars and lexicons.

During the sixteenth century there were several attempts to bring out a Malayalam grammar; but they were all for the purpose of personal use. It was Archbishop Angelo Francis of Verapoly who made a relatively comprehensive Malayalam grammar in 1700. St. Francis Xavier also made a grammar and concise lexicon for the Tamil language. Some of the

names of prominent foreign missionaries are worth mentioning as they are the foundations of the present Malayalam literature; they are John Ernestus Hansleden, S.J., Paulinus de San Bartolomeo and Father Mattew, O.C.D. Other foreigners who contributed to the development of various Indian languages are Archbishop Angelo Francis, Bishop John Baptist, Bishop Innocent, Father Stephens. Father Germinian, Father Clement Peanius, Father Feros, Bishop Ildephonse, Father Aloysius Mary, Bishop Pintel, and Father Florence. They engaged in literary activities in various Indian languages, such as Malayalam, Hindustani. Telugu, Aramaic and Sanskrit. On the Fishery coast Fathers Robert de Nobili and Beschi engaged in extensive linguistic and literary activities in Tamil in connection with their evangelical work.

D. The Dutch and the French

The Dutch came to India in 1604. They had their main interest in trade; which also was the target of all other European settlers. But unlike the Portuguese who exercised their religious mandate to the extent of committing crimes, the Dutch remained indifferent to the religious issues of the time. And it may be because of that their contribution to education and literacy happened to be negligible. However, Bishop Brown mentions that the Dutch Officer Visscher has suggested to train young Dutchmen in Aramaic and Malayalam with a view of converting the native Christians to the reformed faith, and of making more profits for the company as the native Christians were the principal merchants who supplied commodities.[28] Nevertheless, they did not make any valuable contribution to language or education, except the *Hortus Malabaricus*.

As their prerogative was commercial, their attention turned to the methods of profitable cultivation of crops. To this effect, they taught the people of the coastal areas the scientific methods of cultivation, especially of coconuts and rice, and other plantation crops. The farmers were excited to see best results after employing their methods of cultivation. "Both by their improved methods and by their scientific system, the Dutch attempts at cultivation improved and the coastal people took to plantation of coconuts for the purpose of trade and this introduction of commercial economy was highly beneficial to the population."[29]

The French were never a power in India. However they established several elementary schools and admitted children without consideration of religion or race.[30] The very few secondary schools they started were by their settlements and the medium of instruction was French.

E. Conclusion

This paper highlighted the educational implications of the pre-British European activities in India. There is a tendency to ignore these activities in their relation to the enhancement of education. As we have seen, the literary and educational activities of the Portuguese colonialists have a

great impact on formalizing and developing linguistic life of the people and thereby reforming and modernizing native education.

The activities of Christian missionaries had a great impact on native scholars and kings. The planting of Roman Catholicism itself brought about many substantial changes in the cultural structure of the society. Their seminaries were sound educational institutions. A part of the people thus became familiar with foreign languages like Portuguese, Latin and Greek; and the culture they represented. They studied the native languages and brought them to the curriculum of the institutions they ran. Thus, there was a cultural assimilation of the East and the West. They, together with the men they educated, contributed to the development of native languages and to the enhancement of native education. The literary styles they produced in translations and new works have become a headstart for the builders of modern prose literature. Their grammars and lexicons have become an index for native linguists in matters of scientific approach to the intricacies of language treatment. No educational historian of India can ignore such a valuable and great contribution.

When the British came to India, they already had a prepared field to work on. In fact, the grammars and lexicons prepared by the Roman Catholic missionaries were foundations for the British to further enrich the language and the existing system of education in India. Many noble families got their education from the systems and linguistic efforts of the missionaries who followed the Portuguese colonialists.

The Dutch and the French did not do much to enhance education or the language of the region. In fact, the Dutch destroyed the Jesuit library at Cochin which was one of the best in Asia at that time. The books in the library were used to light the tobacco of the Dutch soldiers. But the Portuguese activities became a foundation to the development of education, although it was the British who modernized it in its present form. Therefore, the educational development of India cannot be fairly treated without giving deserving credit to the Portuguese.

Notes

[1] D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I (Banglore City: The Banglore Press, 1939), p. 86.

[2] In the Eastern Church a person in minor orders can marry and get ordained a deacon and priest, although no marriage is permitted after the diaconate and priesthood or when a priest becomes widowed. Another stipulation is that a married priest is conventionally restricted to become the head of a diocese as bishop.

[3] D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, pp. 149-150.

[4] Ibid.. p. 150.

[5] V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. II (Trivandrum: The Travancore Government Press, 1906), p. 155.

[6] P.J. Thomas, *Malayalam Literature: Contributions of Christians* (Kottayam: Sahitya Pravartaka Cooperative Society, 1935; rev. ed. 1961), p. 80.

[7] George Anathil. *The Theological Formation of the Clergy in India* (Poona: Pontifical Athenaeum, 1966), p. 7.

[8] P.J. Thomas, *Malayalam Literature: Contributions of Christians*, p. 76.

[9] D. Ferroli. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1, p. 169.

[10] P.J. Thomas, *Malayalam Literature: Contributions of Christians*, p. 81.

[11] George Anathil, *The Theological Formation of the Clergy in India*, p. 25.

[12] P.J. Thomas, *Malayalam Literature: Contributions of Christians*, p. 80.

[13] D. Ferroli. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, pp. 187-188.

[14] George Anathil, *The Theological Formation of the Clergy in India*, p. 26.

[15] K.M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala 1498-1801* (Annamalai: Annamalai University, 1960), p. 182.

[16] George Anathil, *The Theological Formation of the Clergy in India*, p. 78.

[17] Ibid., pp. 111-113.

[18] John Correo-Affonso, *Even Unto the Indies* (Bombay: St. Xavier's High School, 1956), p. 74.

[19] Ibid., p. 76.

[20] N.N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915), p. 80.

[21] D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, p. 454.

[22] Singarayer Fernando. *The Teaching of English in Madras' Secondary Schools Before and After Indian Independence* (Chicago: Loyola University of Chicago, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1960), p. 14.

[23] D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, p. 471.

[24] T.N. Siquiera, *The Education of India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1952). p. 23.

[25] P.J. Thomas, *Malayalam Literature: Contributions of Christians*. p. 81.

Ibid.. p. 85.

[27] D. Ferroli. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, p. 471.

[28] L.W. Brown. *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 6.

[29] K.M. Panikkar. *A History of Kerala 1498-1801*, p. 311.

[30] T.M. Thomas. *Indian Educational Reforms in Cultural Perspective* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1970). p. 83.

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Education for Subjugation and Liberation: The Historical Context of "People's Education" in South Africa

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The education of black South Africans is both symptomatic and characteristic of the problems and dilemmas of apartheid itself. From its assumption of political power in 1948, the governing National Party has used education as one of its principal tools in the creation and maintenance of a society divided, by law, along racial lines. Few aspects of contemporary South African society are as marked by controversy and conflict as its educational system, and nowhere — not in the mines, not in the hostels, not even in the bantustans — has the resistance of the black community to their continued subjugation and oppression been clearer or more forceful than in the schools.[1] The resistance to educational apartheid has been manifested in a number of ways, ranging from school boycotts to the development of altemative curricula. In this paper, the social and historical context in which "people's education" emerged will be explored, and nature and role of "people's education" in the more general liberation struggle will be discussed.

The Articulation and Implementation of "Bantu Education"

When the Nationalists came to power in 1948, black schooling in South Africa was almost entirely mission education, controlled and operated in relative independence and isolation by various Christian missionary groups.[2] Mission schooling was characterized in South Africa by many of the same problems and biases that colored it elsewhere in the third world: it was sexist, racist, eurocentric, and elitist.[3] What government involvement existed in mission education was concentrated at the provincial, rather than national, level, although since the establishment of the Union govemment there had been additional (though far from adequate) funding provided by the national govemment for black education.[4]

The high degree of autonomy enjoyed by the mission schools prior to the ascendancy of the National Party ended with the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was in large part based on the recommendations put forth by the Eiselen Commission in 1951.[5] The Bantu Education Act in essence transferred control of black education from the churches to the State, and changed black schooling from a provincial to a national concem, thus making possible the wholesale conversion of black schooling into yet another facet of the implementation of the ideological system of "grand apartheid" being imposed by the State on virtually all aspects of South African life.[6] "Bantu education," which was actually merely one component of the broader educational philosophy of "Christian National Education" (CNO),[7] sought to provide black

South Africans with a schooling experience which would emphasize and reinforce ethnic and tribal identity, while at the same time providing affective and vocational skills deemed by the dominant white elite to be "appropriate" for blacks in the apartheid society.[8] The idea that blacks were to be trained to be little more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water" was made vividly clear by Hendrik Verwoerd, the principal architect of apartheid and the Minister of Native Affairs at the time "Bantu education" was introduced:

> I will reform [education] so that Natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them, . . . racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of a frustrated people who . . . have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled . . .[9]

This was necessary, Verwoerd believed, because there was "no place for [the black South Africa] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . it [would be] of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorbtion in the European community."[10] Finally, as Frank Molteno has insightfully argued, Bantu education "was to prepare young Africans psycho-ideologically for the position in which the Bantustans placed them physically and politically."[11] As Verwoerd put it.

> [Bantu education] should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. . . . The basis of the provision-and-organisation-of-education-in-a-Bantu Community should, where possible, be the tribal organisation.[12]

The implementation of the Bantu Education Act was met with resistance, not only among black students, parents and political leaders, but also by many of the churches that had previously been involved in the provision of schooling for black children. A spokesperson explaining the decision of the Anglican church to close its mission schools rather than handing them over to the State, for instance, asserted that:

> If the Minister of Bantu Education cannot entrust the training of African teachers to Christian missions, we, as a Christian mission, cannot and will not entrust our land or our buildings to him or his Department for educational purposes. We are convinced that the true welfare of the African people is being denied by a political theory.[13]

Within the black community itself, there was widespread and vocal resistance to "Bantu education," which included both school boycotts and efforts (such as those of the African Education Movement) to provide alternative educational options for black students. The 1955 school boycott, initiated under the auspices of the African National Congress (ANC) as part of the more general "Resist Apartheid Campaign," in retrospect must probably be judged to have been something of an organi-

zational and political failure, "characterized by uncertainty and disagreement between different sections of the leadership and between leaders and rank and file."[14] Similarly, although well-intentioned and initially successful, the African Education Movement (AEM) and the "cultural clubs" are important in terms of understanding black resistance to "Bantu education" more for their symbolic value than for their practical consequences.[15] In the end, black children were in fact reabsorbed into government schools devoted to the establishment and articulation of an education for subservience and obedience.

The 1976 Uprising and Its Aftermath

Although black resistance to "Bantu education" did not disappear after the mid-1950s by any means,[16] it was not until 1976 that schools once again became a media and political focal point for resistance to apartheid. The 1970s witnessed a number of developments that made a confrontation with the government over black schooling almost inevitable.[17] Among the most serious factors in this context were the on-going "crisis of black schooling," which was exacerbated by the increased number of secondary students entering an already overcrowded and underfunded educational system, the general downturn in the South African economy and resulting increase in the unemployment rate among black South Africans, and the widespread sense of oppression and resistance to apartheid in the black community.[18] In addition, the liberation struggles in the rest of Southern Africa, and the growth of the black consciousness movement in the South Africa itself, contributed to what might be called an "atmosphere of revolt" in the 1970s.[19]

The spark that ignited Soweto in June 1976 was an ill-advised educational policy concerned with the use of Afrikaans as a language medium in black schools.[20] Black students had long resented having to study Afrikaans, a language closely identified with the police, the government and apartheid. In 1975, in spite of student feelings about the language, the Minister of Bantu Education issued a regulation requiring that half of the school subjects in Standard 5 and Form 1 be studied through the medium of Afrikaans. The result was predictable. Resistance to the policy mounted, and on June 16, the day on which the half-yearly examinations in secondary schools were scheduled, a well-organized mass protest, initially involving some six thousand schoolchildren, took place.

The revolt spread, outward from Soweto to other black schools, universities, and, ultimately, to black workers who participated in strikes aimed at "paralysing the economy and bringing the Government to a fall."[21] There were in fact a total of four stay-way (*azikwelwa*) calls for workers, and those of August and September resulted in 70 to 80 percent of the workers remaining at home.[22] Altogether, the student uprising lasted some eight months, and cost 575 lives before it was over.[23] Although Bantu education remained in place and intact when the student

uprising ended, 1976 nonetheless marks a watershed in the history of black resistance in South Africa. The students had shown themselves capable of organizing and mounting a widespread and popular campaign in opposition to the government and its policies. Further, the uprising had forced the government to re-examine and evaluate its policies and priorities, which it did by establishing a Commission of Inquiry.[24] Finally, although not the underlying cause of the 1976 uprising, the educational policy mandating the use of Afrikaans as a language medium was ultimately abandoned by the government.

In many ways, the events of 1976 set the stage for later student protests, both ideologically and pragmatically. The student boycott of 1980, for instance, as well as the more recent school boycotts of the post-1984 period, clearly show the influence of the events of 1976. Perhaps most important in this regard has been the continuing identification of school boycotts and resistance to "Bantu education" with the more general political struggle of black people. As student leaders noted during the 1980 boycott,

> Our parents, the workers, are strong. They have power. We, the students, cannot shake the government in the same way. We have got to link up our struggle with the struggle of the black workers. Our parents have got to understand that we will not be "educated" and "trained" to become slaves in apartheid-capitalist society. Together with our parents we must try to work out a new future. A future where there will be no racism or exploitation, no apartheid, no inequality of class or sex.[25]

Black resistance to "Bantu education" has not been restricted to boycotts and other confrontational activities, however. Just as the 1955 school boycott had entailed the rise of the AEM and the cultural clubs as alternative educational institutions for black students, so in recent years has there been the emergence of various alternatives to state-sponsored and controlled institutional schooling. In a sense, it could be argued that school boycotts are a challenge to the formal, institutional structures of apartheid in general and "Bantu education" in particular, while alternative educational efforts constitute a challenge to the *content* and *methods* of such schooling. These two types of challenges in turn share a common rejection of the goals and objectives of separate education, as well as of the underlying political, ideological and social assumptions of apartheid and contemporary South African society. At this point, we can turn to a discussion of contemporary educational alternatives in South Africa, with a focus on the development of "people's education."

"People's Education" and Liberation

Criticisms of and challenges to "Bantu education" have been concerned not only with the formal structure of racially segregated schooling, but with the content of that schooling as well. Although contemporary black schooling in South Africa no longer reflects the

blatant commitment to the provision of inferior schooling that characterized it during the early years of apartheid, it nonetheless remains qualitatively poor in comparison to white education in the country. Further, a compelling case can be made for the view that contemporary black schooling continues to function as a method of social control and social class reproduction.[26] On such an account, the differences between the "Bantu education" of the 1950s and that of the current period have more to do with the changing needs of the economy than with the reform of South African society.[27]

An important feature of contemporary black education is not merely how much is taught (or learned), nor pragmatic issues (such as class size, student-teacher ratio, availability of resources, matric pass rates, etc.), but rather, what is actually taught in the schools. The curriculum in South African schools, like that in schools elsewhere, is highly politicized and reflects the ideology and world view of the dominant elite.[28] Given the structure and nature of South African society, we should not be at all surprised to discover that a number of recurring themes in the formal curriculum entail distorted (and often factually absurd) historical, sociological and anthropological perspectives. Du Preez, in a detailed study of South African textbooks prescribed for both white and black secondary schools, has identified twelve "master symbols" that appear repeatedly in set textbooks and materials, and which presumably reflect the content of much of the formal curriculum. These twelve "master symbols" include:

(1) Legitimate authority is not questioned.
(2) Whites are superior. Blacks are inferior.
(3) The Afrikaner has a special relationship with God.
(4) South Africa rightly belongs to the Afrikaner.
(5) South Africa is an agricultural country; the Afrikaners are a farmer nation (*boerevolk*).
(6) South Africa is an afflicted country.
(7) South Africa and the Afrikaner are isolated.
(8) The Afrikaner is militarily ingenious and strong.
(9) The Afrikaner is threatened.
(10) World opinion of South Africa is important.
(11) South Africa is the leader in Africa.
(12) The Afrikaner has a God-given task in Africa.[29]

Further, the official syllabi issued for black schools by the Department of Education and Training reflect a eurocentric bias not only in terms of what is worthy of study, but of how to understand and interpret that which is studied. This is especially true in subject areas such as history, where recent scholarship quite critical of traditional accounts of South African history and historiography are simply ignored altogether.[30] In short, structural issues aside, there are compelling intellectual and academic reasons for challenging the existing educational system.

"People's education" has emerged as the most clearly identified

alternative to state-sponsored schooling in South Africa, but its very popularity suggests the problems which underlie it. Foremost of its problems has been its use as an educational slogan,[31] which has entailed the lack of any clear, distinct programmatic meaning for the term. As Johann Muller has noted, "people's education is less a concept with precise semantic content than the symbol of a national educational and political movement in the making."[32] It is, however, possible to identify the three general areas with which "people's education" has been concerned: the control of black education, curricular options in black education, and freedom of educational association.[33] It is also possible to identify, albeit with some significant caveats, the primary institutional base for "people's education": the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

One of the major focuses of the NECC has been the re-writing of curricula, with an initial emphasis on those of English and history at the secondary level. Characteristic of the types of materials envisioned by the NECC are *What Is History? A New Approach to History for Students, Workers and Communities*[34] and *Write Your Own History*.[35] Other efforts to provide alternative, community education have also been made, such as the occasionally banned publication *Learn and Teach*. The central theme of alternative educational materials in recent years has been summed up in the expression "people's education for people's power"[36]; the close identification of the educational struggle with the more general liberation struggle is a deliberate, and essential, one. This identification with the liberation struggle also explains the resistance of the State to "people's education." Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, at a meeting of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in July 1986, said that the government "would strongly oppose 'people's education' as it led to revolutionary education, the promotion of violence and disorder, the political brainwashing of pupils, and the passing of educational control from professional educationalists to politicised community organisations."[37] While one might argue that what "people's education" actually involves is not so much the politicization of schooling so much as a change in the type and focus of ideology in an already highly politicized educational system, Viljoen is certainly correct in seeing "people's education" as a threat to the established order. So it is, and so it is meant to be. And that, I would suggest, is enough for us to wish it and those promoting it well in the months and years ahead.

Notes

1 See Ernest F. Dube. "Racism and education in South Africa," in David Mermelstein, ed., *The Anti-Apartheid Reader: South Africa and the Struggle Against White Rule* (New York: Grove Press, 1987), pp. 177-184; Peter Kallaway, ed., *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984); Mokubung O. Nkomo, "The contradictions of Bantu education," *Harvard Educational Review* 51, 1 (1981): 126-138.

[2] See A.L. Behr, *New Perspectives in South African Education*, 2nd ed. (Durban: Butterworths, 1984), pp. 173-178; Frank Molteno, "The historical foundations of schooling of black South Africans," in Kallaway, *Apartheid and Education*, pp. 45-107.

[3] Pam Christie, *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan/Sached Trust, 1985), chapter 3.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Native Education Commission, 1949-1951* (U.G. 53/1951). See also Brian Rose and Raymond Tunmer, eds., *Documents in South African Education* (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1975), pp. 244-258.

[6] Of interest here are T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Heribert Adam, *Modernizing Racial Domination: The Dynamics of South African Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Hermann Giliomee and Heribert Adam, *Afrikanermag: Opkoms en Toekoms* (Stellenbosch: Universiteitsuitgewers, 1981); and Pierre L. van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 96-111.

[7] An insightful critique of CNO is provided in W.E. Morrow, "'Philosophies of education' in South Africa: Part I," *South African Journal of Education* 4, 1 (1984): 35-40; idem, "'Philosophies of education' in South Africa: Part II," *South African Journal of Education* 4, 2 (1984): 84-90.

[8] See Pam Christie and Colin Collins, "Bantu education: Apartheid ideology and labour reproduction," in Kallaway, *Apartheid and Education*, pp. 160-183.

[9] House of Assembly *Debates* (17 September 1953).

[10] Senate *Debates* (16 June 1954).

[11] Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans," p. 93.

[12] H.F. Verwoerd, *Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future* (Pretoria: 1954), p. 23, quoted in ibid., p. 93.

[13] *SA Outlook* (November 1954), quoted in Christie, *The Right to Learn*, p. 83.

[14] Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983), p. 121.

[15] Ibid., p. 129.

[16] See Molteno, "The historical foundations of the schooling of black South Africans."

[17] See Christie, *The Right to Learn*, pp. 240-241.

[18] Ibid.

[19] See Frank Molteno, "Reflections on resistance: Aspects of the 1980 student boycott," conference paper, Kenton-on-the-stadt Education Conference, Mmabatho.

[20] For discussions of the role of language policy in black education in the South African context, see H.P. Kotze, *The Notion of People's Education and the Implications for an English Curriculum in Black Education* (Honour's thesis in Applied Linguistics, University of the Witwatersrand, 1987); Timothy Reagan, "The politics of linguistic apartheid: Language policies in black education in South Africa." *Journal of Negro Education* 56, 3 (1987): 299-312.

[21] See Christie, *The Right to Learn*, p. 242.

[22] Behr, *New Perspectives on South African Education*, p. 195.

[23] Ibid.

[24] The Cillie Commission. See Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere* (RP 55/1980).

[25] Quoted in Christie, *The Right To Learn*, p. 245.

[26] See Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp, "The state and the reproduction of labour power in South Africa," in Kallaway, *Apartheid and Education*, pp. 296-340; Linda Chisholm, "Skills shortage: Black education in South Africa in the 1980s," *Comparative Education Review* 19, 3 (1983): 357-371; and Elmon Nqabeni Mathonsi, *Black Matriculation Results: A Mechanism of Social Control* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1988).

[27] Ibid.

[28] See J.M. du Preez, *Africana Afrikaner: Master Symbols in South African School Textbooks* (Alberton: Librarius 1983).

[29] Ibid., p. 71.

[30] See. for example, Ken Smith, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing* (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988); Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988).

[31] For a detailed analysis of the concept of an "educational slogan," see B. Paul Komisar and James E. McClellan, "The logic of slogans," in B. Othanel Smith and Robert H. Ennis, eds., *Language and Concepts in Education* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961), pp. 195-214. Also useful here is Richard Pratte, "More on educational slogans: A possibly effective model for analyzing slogan systems," in *Philosophy of Education: 1977* (Bloomington, IL: Philosophy of Education Society, 1978), pp. 120-130.

[32] Johann Muller, "People's education and the National Education Crisis Committee," in Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, eds., *South African Review 4*

(Johannesburg: Ravan/South African Research Service, 1987), pp. 18-32, quote from p. 18.

[33] See Lebamang Sebidi, "Towards the en-fleshment of a dynamic idea: The people's education," in *Education for Affirmation: Conference Papers* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1988), pp. 49-60.

[34] National Education Crisis Committee, *What Is History? A New Approach to History for Students, Workers and Communities* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1987).

[35] Leslie Witz, *Write Your Own History* (Johannesburg: Ravan/Sached Trust, 1988).

[36] Muller, "People's education and the National Education Crisis Committee."

[37] Quoted in *Race Relations Survey, 1986: Part 2* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1988), p. 425.

An Historical Overview: Educational Assimilation of the Saami in Norway

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This paper has been drawn from an educational comparative study of selected groups of indigenous peoples in Scandinavia and the United States in their establishment of specialized higher education. For the Midwest History of Education Society, it will identify the Saami (Lapp) groups of the northern cap, and it will render an historical overview of Saami domination and exploitation. The focus will be on the educational assimilation of the Saami in Norway, especially on the period from the mid-1300s to the mid-1900s.

For nearly a millenium, the Saami were subjected to Russian and Scandinavian domination. In the beginning the methods used were taxation and exploitation of land. In the early Middle Ages, the northern cap was sparsely populated by approximately ten thousand people, half of whom were Saami. The Old Norse sagas (about A.D. 850-933), specifically the Egil saga, told about Thorolf Kveldulfsson from Sandnes, Norway and his dealings with the Saami to collect taxes for the great king, Harald the Fairhaired. The earliest reliable historical account of the Saami was given by Ottar of Haalogaland to King Alfred of England who described the Saami's means of subsistence, the areas where they lived, and the methods of Saami taxation. The Saami lived by fishing, bird trapping, hunting, and reindeer herding. They paid taxes to Ottar in feathers, walrus tusks, whale bone, and rope for ships made from the skins of whale and seal. The richest paid in reindeer, bear skins, and various kinds of furs. Above all the Saami were hunters; however, at the same time some kept tame reindeer and pursued a seminomadic lifestyle.[1]

The Saami soon became caught between the kingdoms that fought for domination of land and rights to Saami taxation. Accordingly, the nation-states supported the Christian missions and strategic construction of churches. Saami religious conversion and Scandinavian colonization were carried out to secure the borders and to eradicate the Saami culture and language. The earliest conversions of the Saami took place in the thirteenth century by the Norwegian missions. In the late fourteenth century, the Norwegian missions came under Danish rule. Also Swedish missions increased during this time. The northern cap was pinpointed for the competition for souls between the Roman Catholic church and the Russian Orthodox church. In the eighteenth century, the Russian faith was firmly established on the Saami inhabited Kola peninsula. (Today some fifteen hundred Saami, who are referred to as Eastern Saami due to their distinct dialect and Russian influence, live in the Soviet Union.)

The Reformation was introduced to Scandinavia in 1536. Luther's catechism and the Bible were to be taught in the language of the people. Accompanying the Lutheran religious revitalization were Sweden's expanionist policies on the coast of Norway. During the Kalmar War (1611-13), Denmark put a stop to Sweden's efforts, and soon after the war Denmark's Kristian IV demanded that a church be built in Tysfjord on the northern coast. He proclaimed that the clergy had to learn the Saami language and that they would receive higher pay for missionary work in northern Norway. In 1635 he called for traveling "Saami ministers" to teach the Word. The call was rarely followed. No doubt few wished to live in the outermost regions of the North.[2]

In Sweden whole families of Saami clergy evolved and for a certain time the Saami language began to make literary progress. An ABC primer, a liturgy, and a hymnbook were prepared by Rector Andreaa for the Saami boys in Piteaa. They could continue their education at the University of Uppsala. The Saami cleric, O.S. Graan, directed the Piteaa school from 1657. He published writings in the Saami language. Tornaeus, the vicar of Alatornio, collaborated with the Saami Lars Paalsson and other Saami interpreters to write an over one-thousand page work, *Manuale Lapponicum*, which was published in 1648. At the turn of the century, no books were published in Saami or Lappish for the next fifty years. The Swedes had turned to assimilatory practices.[3]

In the 1700s when the Pietistic Movement from the continent was felt in Denmark-Norway, the Luthern church carried the message to convert the heathens. Fredrik IV of Denmark was active in furthering the mission in northern Norway. The Swedes had already built churches in Kautokeino and Utsjok and were planning one in Alta, all in the province of Finnmark. In Norway Governor Lorch actively worked to move the Aaroeya church closer to the Saami mountain settlements. Churches were built in Talvik and Masi to secure the district against Swedish expansion. The most prominent figure in the eighteenth century was the minister Thomas von Westen. Westen's missionary work was intense and hectic earning him the sobriquet of "the Saami's apostle." Churches and meeting houses were constructed in all of Finnmark's fjords and plains populated by the Saami.[4]

A conflict arose between Westen and Peder Krog, the Bishop of Troendelag and northern Norway. Westen, who could teach brilliantly in the Saami language, encouraged separate institutions for teaching the Saami and strove to convince teachers and ministers to learn the Saami language. He ran the missionary academy set up in 1714. In a few years, the whole Saami district from Troendelag to Finnmark was divided into thirteen missions with traveling missionaries. In Trondheim Westen instituted the Seminarium Scolasticum, a seminary to educate Saami for missionary work and teaching. The cathedral school in Trondheim also recruited Saami missionaries.

Denmark-Norway proceeded to institute seminaries for the purpose of educating Saami and non-Saami clergy to carry out religious and language instruction in Finnmark. Still there was limited success at assimilating the Saami due to the disunity of the clergy on the language issue, that is, whether the Saami should be instructed in their own language or only in that of the nation-state. From Saami sources, it has been revealed that Westen conducted a census in 1724 and identified 1,472 Saami families. Westen's aim was conversion of this Saami population, his true opponents being the shaman and rebellious and community leaders. He was not adverse to using the law to bring them back to the fold. He utilized his thorough knowledge of Saami beliefs, shamanism, and religion in endless discussion and persuasion. He collected a number of shaman drums, but those among many of the Saami books were lost in the fires in Copenhagen where they were stored.[5]

The northern Danish-Norwegian ministers and teachers believed that the Saami should be able to read Luther's catechism in their mother tongue. As a result, in the 1700s the reading ability among the Saami was higher than among the non-Saami in Finnmark, at least until 1739 when Norway's first school law was enacted, and "Traveling schools" for the scattered populated areas as well as the common school were decreed. The instructors in the mission schools were often educated Saami. On the other hand, Bishop Krog favored explicit Dano-Norwegianization because he felt the Sammi should give up their language as soon as possible. Therefore, the Seminarium Scolasticum was discontinued.[6] This kind of opposition between subsequent bishops and the ministers continued into the nineteenth century and thwarted concentrated attempts at Saami assimilation.

The vast territories of the Saami were split by the dominating kingdoms of Denmark-Norway and Sweden in the peace treaty of 1720. However after some thirty years of collaborating and evaluating the borders, Denmark-Norway and Sweden reached agreement and the Lapp Codicil of 1751 resulted. The border brought Kautokeino, Karasjok as far as the mouth of the Tana River, and Utsjok on the northern side of the Tana came under Denmark-Norway's jurisdiction. The codicil, a landmark in acknowledging certain Saami rights, secured the right of nomadic Saami to cross the borders and to use the land along the coast. The Finnish Sami were excepted, but double taxation of the Norwegian and Swedish Saami came to an end. The Saami became citizens of Norway or Sweden depending on where their winter lands were located.

Meanwhile, the Norwegian migrant and Finnish immigrant farmers were pushing into the Saami majority populated inland areas of the tundra. As a result, the Saami became overpowered by colonization and other political strategies. In Norway border and cultural conflicts took place between the Reindeer Saami, the colonizers, and the state's courts. For all the Saami groups, the fishing, forest, and reindeer Saami, their

social status reached the lowest point in the nineteenth century.

Most importantly in the nineteenth century, Norway vied for independence from Denmark (and later from Sweden) and developed compulsory public schooling, to raise national consciousness in the population. Norwegian nationalism led to utilizing the laws and school policies to assimilate the Saami. The debate on language policies raged in the 1840s. A group from Tromsoe, called by one bishop "an anti-Saami or anti-Finnish party," went in for the new political line. The leader was N.A. Aars, the minister for Alta-Talvik and parliamentary representative for Finnmark in 1848 and 1851. In regard to the kvaener or Finnish immigrants there was no doubt that they should accept Norwegian culture and language as their own. Despite the increasing success of the powerful arguments for Norwegianization, at least one isolated voice became prominent. In the parliamentary debates of 1848 and 1851, a University of Christiania lecturer, J.A. Friis, stood up to champion the Saami's right to their own mother tongue. He stated that historical experience had shown it was useless to "sneakily murder" a people's language. The government compromised in that it decreed a yearly assessment of Saami willingness to learn the Norwegian language. Instruction in the Saami language by the church was still allowed.

Nevertheless, in 1853, a principal break with allowing the Saami language to be taught took place by royal resolution. It installed teaching positions with higher salaries at the Tromsoe seminary. The graduates, who had passed examinations in Norwegian and Saami (Lappish), were contracted for a seven-year duty as teachers in the common school. Their explicit directive was to facilitate Saami proficiency in the Norwegian language.[7] The school law of 1827 had proclaimed permanent schools at all the major churches, and the law of 1848 was for the establishment of the common school in the towns.[8] The law of 1860, decreeing permanent schools and school districts, was a preparation for the boarding schools in the North. After a transitional period and publication of double-language textbooks and instructional materials between 1860 and 1870, teaching got underway.[9]

In 1877 Nils Hertzberg, the department head of schooling for the Ministry of Church Affairs, visited Finnmark. His assessment of the situation was that Norwegianization of the kvaener and Saami had not made the desired progress. His recommendations were the following: (1) strengthening the established schools in the municipalities; (2) improving supervision between the school and the minister, or another kind of supervision; (3) arranging an independent school directorship for Finnmark and parts of Troms; (4) instigating longer instructional hours, especially in Norwegian; and (5) hiring teachers of Norwegian heritage. From 1879 to 1882, schooling to Finnmark was reorganized. The underlying ideology of Norwegianization was to be coordinated and centralized.[10]

The "Instructions to Teachers in the Saami and Finnish Transitional Districts in Tromsoe Diocese" expressed the hard political line on 12 October 1880. From then on, the earlier policy that children should first be taught in their mother tongue was struck from the books. The teachers [illegible] take care that the Saami language was not used by the pupils. In addition, they were to convince parents and other adults about the importance of Norwegian proficiency. The course in religion could officially be taken by free choice, but applying to the Ministry of Church Affairs for exclusion was complicated. The local governing bodies continued to have few Saami and kvaener representatives, so little opposition could be made by representatives of these major minority groups. The school law of 1889 clearly stated that the Norwegian language was to be used exclusively for instruction in the elementary schools. It also began the construction of the government boarding schools.

In 1897 Karl Aas became the director of schooling for the diocese of Tromsoe. A year later the Ministry of Church Affairs issued a new policy entitled: "Instruction on the Continued Use of the Saami and Finnish Languages as Helping Languages for Teaching in the Elementary Schools." It was more or less the same as the previous instruction, but added increased financing for school construction. Designated as Pastor Wexelsen's bill, or Wexelsensplakaten, it became the major document for cultural Norwegianization policies till after the Second World War.[11] Director Aas set in motion an investigation of language in the regions of Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark in 1899. In Finnmark alone there were fifteen municipalities. None of the towns participated; in fact, Karasjok and Vardoey gave no answer to the questionnaires. However the teachers conducted the research with astute thoroughness and found out the "home language" of their pupils. The largest Saami-speaking districts were Nesseby and Polmak, Tana, Porsanger, Maesoey, Talvik, and Kautokeino; the last one was 100 percent Saami-speaking with 119 homes. The Finnish-speaking homes were in Alta, northern and southern Varanger, and Porsanger, a half to a quarter of each population. The rest were Norwegian-speaking homes. Aas sent his language overview to the government and urged greater Norwegian instruction in the schools. He conceded in permitting the other languages to remain in teaching. Aas used the term "foreign nationalities" in referring to the Saami and the kvaener.[12]

School reformation in Finnmark led to the construction of state boarding schools and of churches in mixed language areas. A position for director of schools was instituted and was filled by Bernt Thomassen from 1902 to 1920. Many teachers, including Isak Saba, a Saami parliamentary representative, said that to the Saami, Thomassen was like Bobrikoff who was chosen by the Tsar to russify Finland. In this case, it was Wexelsen who was the Tsar. When Professor Friis left the university, the professorship in the Saami and Finnish languages, which he had held, was reduced to docent or associate professor.[13] In 1902 a govern-

ment edict permitted only those who could speak, read, and write Norwegian to purchase state land in Finnmark. The teaching of the Saami language and Finnish was discontinued at the Tromsoe teachers' seminary in 1905-06. The dark epoch on Saami cultural preservation had fallen.[14]

In 1936 the elementary school law indicated some change in assimilation policies. The school board, formed in 1936, comprised the school directorship, the mayor, and the bishop. Their recommendations were discussed by Parliament. The ministry had to decide whether the Saami and Finnish languages could be used as instructional helping languages in mixed language districts. The debate was resolved in that it was allowed to use Finnish. With this, a certain discrimination was made between the Saami and the kvaener.[15]

In regard to the boarding schools, at the end of the 1860s three were in use. By 1940 there were thirty-three municipal boarding schools and nineteen state boarding schools. As the Nazis retreated from the North of Norway, most of Finnmark, and with it the boarding schools, was set in flames in 1944. In 1951 a boarding school was constructed in Karasjok and the Fossheim boarding school, established in 1905, was rebuilt in 1962 after it was destroyed by fire. It was the last state boarding school. In commenting on his long years' experience as a principal of the Karasjok boarding school and later as school director (1968), L. Lind Meloey said that the construction of the boarding schools and Norwegianization were intricately tied together. Norwegianization was the goal and construction of the boarding schools the means. Both were part of Norway's school policies for Finnmark for the first half of the twentieth century.[16]

Norwegianization flowed over into almost all the sectors of government. It was particularly aimed at Finnmark, in southern Varanger, from 1870 into the 1930s. The socialist left and the conservative right parties of government were in agreement on this issue. Norwegian farmers were encouraged to settle in the northern areas. In industry, communications, defense, and commerce, nationalization was intentional and went through different phrases. Until 1905 it involved the establishment of institutions including those for education. From 1905 to 1920, it was purposely developed and consolidated ideologically. During this phrase the military and the security police were strongly engaged. Between the world wars, all of these elements were brought together.

How could the attempted suppression of the native Saami, of their culture and language, have happened with such intentional severity? One explanation has pointed to the wave of nationalism in Norway. Norway had been under Denmark's rule for hundreds of years and temporarily under Sweden's until it achieved independence in 1905. Another explanation has pointed to the mass of emigrating Finns in the 1860s. The central governing officials feared the "Russian threat," for Finland was

under Tsarist Russia's domination. The large Finnish nationalistic mobilization aggravated the situation as well. For national security, rapid Norwegianization was the solution. It was uppermost in any evaluation of the Norwegian assimilatory politics until World War II. Had the Finnish issue not been as imminent, the Saami would have received milder treatment. Officials were not of a mind to differentiate between the two ethnic groups. They also willingly tempted teachers, who were among the immense class of the poor, to work in Finnmark by adding a bonus to the low wages. The new recruits tried to do their best and obeyed the official instructions.

Sweden, in contrast to Norway, had a much more stable government administration in foreign affairs and defense. Norway lacked this tradition and the accompanying flexibility. External, or international, influence brought in social quasi-Darwinist attitudes so that the indigenous Saami culture was viewed as backward. The scientists and researchers bearing this view in the mid-nineteenth century had bated government fears. Racism was not unusual. Some felt it a duty to accept "the white man's burden" and civilize the "primitive" people in Finnmark. Paternalism increasingly took over as the fear of national security subsided, and this attitude has lingered for a time.[17]

Norwegian nationalism had a pronounced language orientation. Outstandingly gifted nationalists took up the battle for a "real Norwegian language" cleansed of Danish. Literature, songs, texts and materials for education were Norwegianized. City folk and the upper classes of society spoke *riksmaal* or *bokmaal*, the "language of the state" or "book language" which was used in the schools and in literature. With this "Danified" Norwegian dialect, they carried the banner of upper-class power and privilege. The rest of the country spoke many different dialects designated collectively *landsmaal*, "the language of the land or people." *Landsmaal* received an official standardization and was renamed *nynorsk* or New Norwegian. In the schools both languages were required, and continue to be so. Standardization of the two officialized dialects went through several revisions in periods of scores, and textbooks had to be republished at each revision. Norway was a young nation retrieving its own cultural identity, and language was the key to national unity and social equality.

Notes

1 Reidar Hirsti, *Samisk Fortid, Naatid og Framtid*, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1980), 17-19; Bjoern Aarseth, "Samisk Folkekultur," lecture, University of Oslo, 11 February 1988.

2 Bjoern Aarseth, "Fra Nordkalottens Historie," *Ottar* 84 (Tromsoe: April 1975): 9-12.

3 Samuli Aikio, "The History of the Saami" (Kautokeino: The Nordic Saami Institute), photocopied.

[4] Aarseth, *Ottar*, 34-37.

[5] Aikio, "The Saami in History," 28-29.

[6] Bjoern Aarseth, "Kultur-og utdanningspolitikken in historisk perspektiv," *Report of the Saami Culture Committee to the Norwegian Government, Norges Offentlige Utredninger (NOU 1985:14 Samisk kultur og utdanning*, by Kirsten Myklevoll, Chair, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1985), 42-46.

[7] Aarseth, *NOU 1985:14*, 48-49.

[8] Reidar Myhre, *Den Norske Skoles Utvikling*, (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1982), 247.

[9] L. Lind Meloey, *Internatliv i Finnmark — Skolepolitikk 1900-1940*, (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1980), 18.

[10] Ibid, 19.

[11] Aarseth, *NOU 1985:14*, 50-51.

[12] Meloey, *Internatliv i Finnmark*, 20-21.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Karl Nikkul, *The Lappish Nation: Citizens of Four Nations*, vol. 122, (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1977).

[15] Aarseth, *NOU 1985:14*, 50-52.

[16] Meloey, *Internatliv*.

[17] Ibid.

Dunkel's Herbart Revisited: The Milieu in Which He Worked

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Introduction

Herbart is, or certainly should be, of special interest to theoreticians of education. He was perhaps the first to demonstrate that education was an activity which could be studied directly, and is frequently acknowledged as the founder of the science of education. For Herbart's predecessors as well as his contemporaries, the consideration of educational theory and practice was largely an amateur endeavor. Its origins were not scientific, not based on systematic study and observation, but metaphysical. Development of educational theory was a speculative undertaking. Educational theory and prescriptions for educational practice were commonly founded on advice from a figure whose authority in some field other than education was transferred to his or her pronouncements on education, a topic upon which any learned and accomplished person was supposed to be an expert. Informed opinion ruled. The writer's eloquence and status were the criteria by which educational theories and prescriptions were evaluated. Herbart believed that order and deliberation had to be introduced into how education was conceptualized. "The more education appears in the daily round of experience," he wrote, "the more necessary it is to bring our thoughts about it into more definite order and to fix them lest they be lost in the stream of opinion."[1] His contribution was to change how educational questions would be addressed. It was a contribution that John Dewey clearly recognized when he wrote that "Herbart's great service was to take the work of teaching out of the region of routine and accident, and make it into a conscious business with a definite aim and procedure, instead of being a compound of casual inspiration and subservience to tradition."[2]

Herbart and the Herbartians may belong to the past, but the issues they raised, defined, and addressed belong to the present. Whether education is an area of inquiry clearly distinguishable from other areas, chiefly the traditional disciplines, how it relates to philosophy and how it relates to psychology are questions which continue to merit attention. They warrant further inspection, for they remain open, awaiting satisfactory resolution. While Herbart did effectively show that education could be conceived of as an activity worthy of study in its own right, he also claimed that his philosophy and his psychology were related to his educational theory. The purpose of this paper is to examine Herbart's claim about his work and to explore an approach to the study of Herbart and his contribution to the development of the science of education different from the approac' Harold Dunkel used in his study.[3] In con-

ducting these explorations, care should be taken not to criticize Dunkel for not having written books different from those he wrote. To so criticize him would be unfair as well as a denial of his contribution to our understanding of Herbart. It would be a failure to recognize the milieu in which Dunkel worked. Examination of that milieu which is reflected in Dunkel's work shows that there is still another road to travel in our study of Herbart. Dunkel explored how Herbart's work on education related to his philosophy and his psychology. The other road allows us to explore Herbart's interest in the development of the moral person, an interest which is at the center of both philosophy and education.

In *Herbart and Herbartianism: An Educational Ghost Story* (1970), Dunkel gave us an analysis which demonstrated that he clearly understood the great differences between Herbart and the Herbartians. He began with what Herbart said. He accepted Herbart as a philosopher, not an educator who had visited Pestalozzi and then set out to develop further the insights of the Swiss educator. Accordingly, his work is a study of Herbart the philosopher, Herbart the psychologist, and Herbart the educator, but mostly Herbart the philosopher. He searched thoroughly and diligently for the connections among Herbart's philosophy, psychology and pedagogy. Indeed, in *Herbart and Herbartianism*, there is scarcely any significant discussion of Herbart's educational conceptions until the middle of the work. *Herbart and Education*, published a year earlier, is more focused on education but is a smaller book which contains less documentation than the major work. Still, its chapters on education are preceded by chapters on Herbart's ethics, metaphysics and psychology.

It may now be useful to attend a little less to what Herbart said and a little more to what he did as well as to review Dunkel's work and the milieu in which Dunkel worked. Like many of his contemporaries working in the 1950s and 1960s, Dunkel investigated the relationships between education and the traditional disciplines, especially philosophy. Like many of his contemporaries, he was not very much interested in demonstrating that education was or could be an autonomous discipline. That task was left to Foster McMurray.[4]

The Milieu in Which Dunkel Worked

As World War II ended, critics of public education began their work. Public education was the object of their intense and extensive scrutiny. Educators were then interested, or told to be interested, in excellence. Those who had committed their professional lives to the study of public education and the preparation of teachers were keenly interested in inproving public education, in restoring rigorous study of the disciplines to the school's curriculum. Not surprisingly, many then believed, or surely acted as though they believed, that ignorance of the field in which they were working was a virtue. In the social, political, professional and intellectual climate of the 1950s and early 1960s, ignorance of education

was at a premium. Ignorance of education gave one status and credibility. Those who wanted to pursue a career in education were encouraged to study not education but something else, the social and behavioral sciences, history, philosophy or perhaps even business administration.[5] There was a widespread belief that the study and practice of education could not be improved unless they were firmly rooted in some discipline, the legitimacy of which was not questioned by traditional scholars. Society's decision makers were soliciting and following the advice not of professional educators but the advice freely offered by those with credentials in the disciplines. Funds were given to scholars to make better curricula; educators received funds to implement what the scholars decided should be taught. It was assumed that psychologists knew about learning so they could tell us how to teach what the scholars were telling us to teach.[6]

Education needed sound and rigorous theory, a theory based on the disciplines. Students did not know what they should know, so it seemed, because neither educational theory nor education practice was supported by theories from the disciplines. That still troublesome area Social Foundations of Education was all but disassembled and gave way to specialized work rooted in a discipline. Anthropology of Education, Sociology of Education, Economics of Education were obviously better than a course the base of which consisted of a little from many disciplines and not very much from any one of them.

The philosophers of education and the historians of education turned to the "parent" disciplines. Philosophers of education tried to become more philosophical than they had been.[7] They set out to strengthen their relationships to "pure" or "straight" philosophy. For example, in 1955 the NSSE devoted one of its yearbooks to the philosophy of education, the second NSSE yearbook to be devoted to the philosophy of education. Like the earlier yearbook (the 41st in 1942), it was organized according to the now out of fashion "isms," but the explicators of the "isms" were not philosophers of education. As Harry S. Broudy observed in the third yearbook devoted to the philosophy of education, "it entrusted the writing of the chapters to 'real' philosophers. . . ." Each real philosopher was assigned "a philosopher of education to keep him relevant, so to speak, to problems of education."[8] Broudy further observed that "the decision to have the chapters written by philosophers rather than by philosophers of education reflected an awareness on the part of some of the prominent figures in the Philosophy of Education Society that philosophy of education needed more philosophy."[9]

Philosophy of education needed more philosophy, and history of education needed more history. On October 16-17, 1959, Bernard Bailyn presented his interpretive essay on "Education in the Forming of American Society."[10] Historians of education had a historiographical essay prepared for them by a proper historian. Soon thereafter, Lawrence A. Cremin argued in *The Transformation of the School* (1961) that progressive education ran amock because it lost touch with the sound social,

psychological, and philosophical theories which supported it in its early years. Cremin's work, methods, conclusions, and even his subsequent historiographical essay, originally presented at a conference sponsored by the Committee on the Role of Education in American History,[11] were difficult to ignore, for *The Transformation* earned him the Bancroft prize. In *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (1962), Raymond E. Callahan studied most of the same period Cremin studied and concluded that the schools had gone soft because school administrators had not studied the social and behavioral sciences. Because they had not been so prepared, they lost touch with sound educational theory and sound educational values. Consequently, they allowed the schools to abandon the traditional curriculum. Cremin wanted educational theory to be rooted in the disciplines housed across the street from Teachers College, and Callahan effectively agreed that would be good for school administrators too.[12]

During the 1960s, educational researchers seemed prepared to define educational research out of existence. Certainly, there was an attempt to minimize the differences between educational research and research in the disciplines. In the 4th edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (1969), Fred M. Kerlinger defined educational research in a way that emphasized how similar educational research was to research conducted by practitioners of the disciplines. Educational research, he wrote:

> . . . is social scientific research, for a simple reason: an overwhelming majority of its variables are psychological, sociological, or social-psychological. Consider some of them: achievement, aptitude, motivation, intelligence, teacher characteristics, reinforcement, level of aspiration, class atmosphere, discipline, social class, race. All of these but the last two are psychological constructs. If the large portion of the variables are psychological, sociological, or social-psychological, then the conceptual and methodological problems of educational research are very similar to the problems of psychological and sociological research.[13]

For Kerlinger, educational research that was neither historical nor social scientific was simply "not as important as" that which was.

There is no reason to believe Dunkel was unaware of the *Zeitgeist* which haunted his professional chambers. He was aware of developments in his field. He attended to the role of theory in education. As Kingsley Price observed in his response to Dunkel's Philosophy of Education Society paper on Herbart:

> Professor Dunkel, as I understand him, is interested primarily in two propositions. The first is that if education possess a system or theory of their subject, their practice of education is effective. The second is that if the practice of education is effective, they possesses a system or theory of education.[14]

Dunkel practiced his craft at the University of Chicago where there

was a strong commitment to unite education to the disciplines. He was supported by those efforts. "Through the kindness of Ralph W. Tyler, director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and of Ronald F. Campbell, chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago," he had the opportunity to devote full time to his study of Herbart during the 1965-66 academic year.[15] In such a context and with such support, Dunkel devoted half his major book on Herbart to Herbart the philosopher and Herbart the psychologist. He organized his inquiry by asking how firmly rooted Herbart's educational notions were in philosophy and psychology. It is not surprising that he would ask how faithful the Herbartians were to Herbart, for it was a time during which educators were understandably interested in the vitality and viability of education's theoretical foundations — the disciplines. The logic was clear. Herbart was a philosopher. If the Herbartians correctly based their educational theory and programs on Herbart's work, Herbartianism could be judged a sound and respectable approach to education: "If Herbart's educational doctrine is tightly cemented to its alleged metaphysical, ethical, and psychological foundations, but these are seen as eroded away by the advancing waves of thought, analysis, and inquiry, the educational doctrine can hardly stand firm, and it too becomes little more than a shattered ruin to b. visited occasionally by curious antiquarians."[16]

Dunkel's was the era during which educators were rightfully concerned about the "observation that philosophy of education courses were often taught by instructors relatively innocent of training in formal philosophy."[17] The distance we now have from the context in which Dunkel worked affords us the opportunity to gain new perspectives on some of the issues he addressed. The relationships among education, philosophy and psychology were important then. They may be even more important now, for we practice in an era during which purpose has all but been abandoned for goals and objectives which are defined not by a clearly articulated set of values but by the few allegedly effective processes we have at our disposal.

Philosophy, Psychology, and Education

Dunkel searched for a clear and direct relationship between Herbart's psychology and Herbart's pedagogy, for a relationship between psychology and pedagogy would be tantamount to a relationship between pedagogy and philosophy because psychology, for Herbart, was applied metaphysics. The relationship was not as strong as he would have liked it to be. The relationship was and was not there. Dunkel wrote: "The relations of Herbart's psychology to his pedagogy should be closer and in a sense they were."[18] Herbart simply did not "adduce" his psychology "in connection with his practical programs."[19] He found in his the study of Herbart the educator, the relationship between the metaphysics and the psychology was not a strong relationship: "But metaphysics, cut off

from ethics, is linked to education only through psychology, and this connection is tenuous insofar as the links between psychology are weak or are difficult to assess."[20] There was good reason to suggest that "Herbart's educational theory was largely independent of his metaphysics and his psychology, or at least it can be treated as it were."[21]

Herbart failed to develop a psychology upon which he later systematically based pedagogical principles. Dunkel reported:

> In the pedagogical works the explicit references to psychological theory are much less frequent than those to ethical theory. And in both explicit and implicit references, the pedagogical material was used to illustrate or suggest psychological theory. It was not the other way around; psychology was not used to predict or explain the pedagogical phenomena.[22]

Dunkel did not deny that if one focuses on general principles rather than specific references and specific principles it is possible to see that in a "larger sense Herbart's psychological ideas indubitably permeated the whole fabric."[23] It is possible that Dunkel failed to recognize the possibility that pedagogy and philosophy were and are not as separable from each other as we now often tend to think they are.

Herbart's approach to pedagogy, psychology, and philosophy as well as how he saw the relationships among them may be very different from what many writers on education have frequently believed the proper approach and relationships are. What is especially significant about Herbart is that he may have begun with philosophy, psychology and pedagogy simultaneously. Philosophy and pedagogy may have been two aspects of the same activity just as soul and mind were conceived by Herbart as two aspects of the same essence. If philosophy and education are not conceived of as separate activities, it may be difficult to find the string which ties them together.

Herbart's Contribution

Dunkel demonstrated that "there are good grounds for suggesting that Herbart's educational theory was largely independent of his metaphysics and his psychology, or at least can be treated as if it were."[24] The discovery or creation of that independence made Herbart the father of the modern science of education. Herbart's successors could adopt his educational views and easily leave his metaphysics behind. Herbart exacted no metaphysical tribute from his successors:

> For Herbart metaphysics becomes involved in education mainly through its application, psychology, in regard to the natures of the soul and mind and the origin and nature of presentations. But in his educational works Herbart does not make much of these metaphysical foundations. As a result, the educators following him were tempted not to pay much attention to them, to take "mind" (in some sense) as somehow furnished with

"ideas" through sense impressions, without prying too much into what mind is, why it has ideas, or why these ideas become associated or otherwise react with each other.[25]

If the independence between pedagogy and metaphysics obtained, it was possible to build a science of education and to train teachers in an effective and systematic way without being required to either solve metaphysical puzzles or to take positions on longstanding philosophical differences. Like Herbart, his followers could work in the realm of naive realism,[26] in the experiential or natural world. That was an important contribution to those who were trying to assemble systems of schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as to those who would later want to free psychology from philosophy.

To his followers, or perhaps, we should say to those who used him as justification for their own pursuits, Herbart gave education status and independence, especially independence. In Herbart, they saw not a philosopher but an educator. To illustrate that point, Dunkel cited a 1903 criticism of Herbart by F.H. Hayward:

> . . . Herbart's interests were primarily educational and only secondarily philosophical. Herbart's educational system was no deduction, as many people supposed, from a prearranged and artificial philosophic system; his philosophic system was rather an artificial system thrown around or placed beneath his educational system. He was not, like Kant, philosopher first and educationist afterward; education was his first and last interest.[27]

Dunkel, however, did not accept Hayward's assessment. He called it a "nugget of misinformation" and answered it with Herbart's own assessments of his interests and intentions:

> My *General Pedagogy*, though it appeared earlier than the *Practical Philosophy*, was acquainted with the latter since the complete sketches for both, along with that for the *Metaphysics*, lay side by side, and the choice was open as to which should be worked out first.
>
> In comparison with my other activities it [pedagogy] was only a side issue.
>
> My *Pedagogy* was a brief, in part not wholly understandable compendium. Were pedagogy the chief subject of my official activity, I should long ago have presented my thoughts about it exhaustively. Only, pedagogy has never been for me anything else than the application of philosophy.[28]

It is possible that neither Hayward nor Dunkel were correct. Pedagogy and philosophy may be two aspects of the same undertaking. Pedagogy may be the practice of philosophy. For Herbart, education occurred in the natural world and was therefore accessible. Herbart did emphasize that it was the contents of mind which was important and did, as Dunkel acknowledged, maintain that mind was made within culture.[29] Experience was important for Herbart. It was as important to him as it was for

Dewey. Herbart may very well have been a *de facto* experientialist. Mind was developed within experience. It was the product of one's interactions with things and with people — interactions which occurred in the natural world and interactions which could, in principle, be controlled, in large measure, by teachers. And it is precisely experience which can be controlled by the educator.

Herbart's Chief Interest

There may be some advantage to asking whether Herbart was addressing the same problem in his educational endeavors as he was asking in his philosophical endeavors rather than asking how his philosophy and his psychology are related to his educational notions. To understand what Herbart was trying to accomplish it may be necessary to get on the other side of Herbart and Dunkel's glass, to move back beyond the effects of what he accomplished and examine what he was trying to achieve. He was a professional philosopher. He began to study philosophy before he took a position as a tutor. As a professional philosopher, he taught philosophy, wrote philosophical works, tried to develop his own philosophical system, and like many other philosophers who worked before the development of modern psychology and its clear and distinct separation from philosophy, he developed a psychology. Education, as a distinct and definable field or activity, was clearly not the only item on his agenda. Indeed, while education was extremely important to him, its conceptualization as an activity or field which can be identified and studied may have been the result of his primary philosophical interests.

Education may have been an instrumentality for Herbart. He may have used education just as Dewey used it. "Education," Dewey wrote in *Democracy and Education*, "is the laboratory in which philosophic distinctions become concrete and are tested."[30] Actually, it is more accurate to say that Dewey may have used education as an instrumentality in the pursuit of his philosophical interests just as Herbart may have. To focus on how his philosophy and his psychology are related to his educational notions is probably to focus on the effects and the uses of his work, and reflects the belief that the study of education must be based on a discipline or that education is only something to which disciplines are to be applied. To maintain such a focus may be to neglect Herbart's own purposes, purposes which were different from those of the Herbartians and many other professional educators who have invoked Herbart to justify their own purposes.

Herbart's interest was not so much in schooling as it was in education. His conception of education focused on the individual *qua* individual, not on the individual as a member of either an instructional or social class. Dunkel even noted that "His first and true love was education within the family through the private tutor — at a time when state and national systems of education with large schools and large classes were first coming into their full strength."[31] Indeed, the psychology he developed

was one which focused not on groups but on *the* individual.[32] He was more interested in the tutorial relationship than in modern classroom instruction. He was not concerned with producing citizens for the modern nation state but was concerned with how to create a moral person. He did not believe that the state should direct schools. His emphasis on the individual was clearly recognized and articulated by A.E. Winship in 1888 when he announced that the *Journal of Education* would soon publish a series of articles on Herbart by Margaret K. Smith who had recently completed a translation of Herbart's *Teacher's Manual of Psychology*. According to Winship, "Herbart's centralizing of his psychology and pedagogy in the individual, protesting against all theories which place as the aim of education, the family, the church, the state, or humanity, has captured not a few."[33] The Herbartian philosophy, Winship suggested, was an alternative to the "Hegelian or Rosenkrancian philosophy" which drew "away from the individual through the home and church to the state." For Herbart, mind and morality occurred within the experiential world, the space-time, or natural world. Mind is made within experience[34] as is that which makes morality possible, the will. For Herbart, it was possible to become a moral person. He wanted to make people not "better" but "morally good."[35] One became a moral person through an educative process, an educative process which required teachers to pay particular attention not only to the way they instructed their charges but also to the content of instruction.

Pedagogy may have been a "side issue" for Herbart just as much as it was for Dewey. But a "side issue" is not an incidental or a casual issue. Herbart wrote on education from the beginning to the end of his career. He developed his pedagogy with his philosophy. The interest Herbart developed in education as a tutor as well as the time he spent with the wives of friends discussing the development of their children are quite possibly not just expressions of an interest in children and pedagogy. They may have been philosophical inquiries and observations into the nature of the process whereby humankind acquires its distinctive characteristic, the process whereby it becomes moral. Dunkel repeatedly observed, that "Herbart was interested only in moral education," and Herbart designed his program to produce it. "All the materials and procedures of education were to be selected and judged on the basis of their contribution to his one end, morality."[36] Herbart observed children and concluded that morality, the essence of humankind, depended upon the contents of mind. Subsequently, in his school at Konigsberg he worked out and studied ways whereby the right content could be ordered and presented to students so they would become moral beings. Two generations later Dewey founded a school. He did not emphasize content in the way Herbart did but, like Herbart, he departed from the traditional school curriculum. Dewey, as we know, emphasized the occupations and activities, emphases which were based on psychological considerations. For Herbart, psychology was instrumental in trying to control the process whereby content was presented and acquired. It was to give the laws for

the force of ideas or presentations and the way the contents of mind would be assembled. His pedagogy and philosophy were not unrelated. They are quite possibly two aspects of the same undertaking, the attempt to work out a system whereby humankind can become distinctively human by acquiring mind and will.

Herbart did produce a complete, if somewhat unsatisfactory, philosophical system. That he did so is not surprising. He was expected to do so. As J.W.L. Adams observed, there was ". . . pressure on Herbart (in common with other aspiring philosophers in German universities) to produce a fully-fledged system of metaphyusics in order to further his academic career." Adams who relied heavily on Dunkel's work concluded that:

> The available evidence, however, suggests that the origins of the Herbartian philosophy can most convincingly be located in Herbart's own classroom and tutoring experiences. The line of development, therefore, (contrary to Herbart's own assertions) would run from pedagogy via psychology to the grant philosophy.[37]

Adam's, however, was not the first to suggest that the key to Herbart was in his educational work not his philosophical work. Percival R. Cole suggested in his 1909 *Cyclopedia of Education* article that Herbart's theory of education may have been "based . . . as much upon the results of his own experience as the logical implications of his philosophy and psychology."[38] Tutoring the sons of Herr von Steiger was a task to which Herbart applied himself with great diligence. His time with the Steiger children may have given him, as Cole suggested as early as 1909, the material out of which he fashioned his educational notions. Dunkel effectively agreed with Cole when he indicated that there was good reason to suspect that "Herbart developed his psychology out of his pedagogy rather than basing his pedagogy on psychology as he insisted he did."[39] Yet, while making that important point, Dunkel also obscured it with the structure of his works.

Hebart's chief interest was the nature and the development of the moral person, and education may have been the activity on which he focused to get at that problem. Dunkel frequently acknowledged that "The only kind of education in which Herbart was interested was moral education."[40] Dunkel, however, seemed not to entertain the possibility that Herbart's educational activities were actually an integral part of his philosophical inquiries. Education was clearly an important interest for Herbart and it was clearly related to his subsequent interests and endeavors.

Notes

[1] Harold Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism. An Educational Ghost Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970). p. 181.

[2] John Dewey. *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 83.

[3] *Herbart and Herbartianism* is Dunkel's most comprehensive works on Herbart. His other book on Herbart is: *Herbart and Education* (New York: Random House. 1969). Also of use are his works in the *History of Education Quarterly*: "Herbartianism Comes to America, Part I: The People," Vol. IX, No. 2 (Summer 1969), pp. 202-233 and "Herbartianism Comes to America, Part II: The Doctrines," Vol. IX, No. 3 (Fall 1969). pp. 376-390.

[4] An exception to his generalization is: Foster McMurray. "Preface to an Autonomous Discipline of Education," *Educational Theory*, Vol. V, No. 3 (July 1955). McMurray's efforts are viewed as important and doubtlessly have influenced the approach taken in this paper. Those interested in McMurray's statement should not overlook: Joe Burnett. "On Professor McMurray's 'Autonomous Discipline of Education'," *Educational Theory*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January 1956). McMurray's reply to Burnett immediately follows Burnett's analysis.

[5] For an earlier expression of this belief see: T.R. McConnell, "The Nature of Educational Research," *The Conceptual Structure of Educational Research*: A Symposium Held in Connection with the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the University of Chicago. *Supplementary Educational Monographs* published in conjunction with *The School Review* and *The Elementary School Journal*, No. 55 (May 1942). McConnell wrote: "Competent educational research cannot be conducted without thorough knowledge of relevant phases of the basic disciplines which provide the foundations for a given field of educational activity. Problems in financing of education are obviously related to the whole field of public finance. Educational administration is one of several forms of public administration. It is difficult to see how research in educational finance and administration could be intelligently planned or executed without an understanding of the related portions of economics and political science. Almost every field of educational activity and research is, in like manner, tied in with other fields of knowledge and investigation" (p. 4).

[6] At the end of the 1950s, the Education Committee of the National Academy of Sciences called a meeting — and the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Air Force, and the Rand Corporation financed it — to enable thirty-five scientists, scholars and educators to meet for ten days at Woods Hole "to discuss how education might be improved in our primary and secondary schools" (Jerome S. Bruner. *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. vii.). After the meeting, Jerome S. Bruner proclaimed that any student could learn anything at any age if educators would only attend to the structure of the disciplines. Educators generally tried to do what he said should be done. Bruner was a proper psychologist and was reporting what a distinguished group of scholars just knew had to be so. His was a strong and a popular voice, but not the only voice, telling educators how important the scholarly disciplines were.

[7] N. Champlin, et al. "The Distinctive Nature of the Philosophy of Education," *Educational Theory*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1954).

Harry S. Broudy. "Between the Yearbooks" in Kenneth J. Rehage (ed.).

Philosophy and Education: Eightieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 20.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[10] Bernard Bailyn. *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (New York: Vintage Books, n.d.). Originally published in 1960 by the University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia.

[11] Lawrence A. Cremin. *The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965).

[12] It may or may not be to the credit but those responsible for the training of school administrators generally did what Callahan suggested. In their recent attempt at a history of educational administration, Ronald F. Campbell, Thomas Fleming, L. Jackson Newell, and John W. Bennion clearly show the extent to which Callahan has influenced educational administration. Callahan is cited on the first page of their text and is cited four times as frequently as is Cremin. See: *A History of Thought and Practice in Educational Administration* (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1987), pp. 1, 23, 32-44, 39-40, 103, 126, 128, 130, 131.

[13] Fred N. Kerlinger, "Research in Education" in Robert L. Ebel (ed.). *Encyclopdia of Educational Research*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1969), p. 1127.

[14] Kingsley Price, "Comments on Professor Dunkel's System Trouble in Herbart and the Herbartians" in D.B. Gowin (ed.). *Philosophy of Education 1967: Proceedings of the Twenty Third Annual Meeting* (Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville: Philosophy of Education Society, 1967), p. 32.

[15] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 10. Dunkel dedicated *Herbart and Education* to Tyler and added the following acknowledgment: "a small recompense for thirty years of moral (and often financial) support."

[16] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 95.

[17] Broudy, "Between and Yearbooks," p. 21.

[18] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 97.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[20] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 201.

[21] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 102.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[25] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 200-201.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[27] F.H. Hayward and F.E. Thomas. *The Critics of Herbartianism* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1903), p. 38 quoted in Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 267.

[28] Quoted in Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 267.

[29] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 127.

[30] Dewey. *Democracy and Education*, p. 384. In *Sources of Progressive Thought in American Education* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1980) Philip L. Smith has convincingly argued that "Dewey was not interested in philosophy primarily as an instrument for dealing with practical problems, like those that arise in education. Instead, he was interested in practical problems, and especially education, primarily because of their instrumental value in resolving philosophical disputes and confirming philosophical hypotheses" (p. 147). In support of his argument, he cites Dewey's own remarks made at his ninetieth birthday party: "But as I look back over the years, I find that, while I seem to have spread myself out over a number of fields — education, politics, social problems, even the fine arts and religion — my interest in these issues has been specifically an outgrowth and manifestation of my primary interest in philosophy" p. (146).

[31] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 286.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[33] A.E. Winship. "The Herbartian System," *Journal of Education*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 7 (August 23, 1888), p. 128.

[34] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 71.

[35] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*, p. 83.

[36] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 65.

[37] J.W.L. Adams, "Johann Friedrich Herbart: His Contribution to Educational Theory and Practice," in James V. Smith and David Hamilton (eds.). *The Meritocratic Intellect: Studies in the History of Educational Research* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1980), p. 41.

[38] Percival R. Cole. "Herbart" in Paul Monroe (ed.). *Cyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 3 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1909), p. 253. Cole had earlier completed a doctoral dissertation, half of which was devoted to Herbart: *Herbart and Froebel: An Attempt at Synthesis*: Columbia University Contributions to Education, Teachers College Series No. 14 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1907).

[39] Dunkel. *Herbart and Herbartianism*. p. 140.

[40] Dunkel. *Herbart and Education*, p. 65. Also see pp. 30, 98 and pp. 83-84, 151 and 159-160 in *Herbart and Herbartianism*.

PART V
CRITICAL CONCERNS AND ENDEAVORS ON THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Education and Reform at Robert Owen's New Lanark

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New Lanark, the location of Robert Owen's experiment in reform and education from 1799 to 1824, today, is a scene of historic preservation and restoration. Situated in the Clyde Valley, near the falls of the River Clyde, New Lanark is located halfway between Scotland's large cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Entering New Lanark is to return to the past when the United Kingdom was in the early stages of the industrial revolution. An industrial village constructed of gray stone, New Lanark consisted of mill buildings where cotton cloth was produced by water driven machinery, of large residential apartment buildings which housed the workers and their families, of schools, the company store, and the homes of the owner and manager. This was the location where Robert Owen (1771-1858) conducted his first experiment in educational and social reform. It was here that he gained prominence as a successful entrepreneur, a self-made businessman, a social reformer, a utopian socialist, the founder of infant schools, a muddle headed do-gooder, and a benevolent but paternalistic despot. To Owen's New Lanark came a stream of visitors. Some were curious skeptics and others were seeking to find the secret for creating utopia from the self-proclaimed prophet of the New Moral World, Robert Owen.

Owen was born in 1771 in Newtown, a small town in Wales. In his autobiography, Owen identified his father, Robert, as an iron monger and saddler and claimed to be influenced by his parent's habits of hard work and thrift.[1] Owen's autobiography reveals a self-satisfied egotist who delighted in hearing his own voice and reading his own words. Owen's reflections on his childhood are full of self-praise. He was, he asserts, the fastest runner, the best dancer, the most popular, and the most gifted scholar in Newtown. Because of his academic accomplishments, the village school master relied on him to instruct the other children in the school. His own self enthusiasm imbued him with a confidence that he carried throughout his life. His own self-generated enthusiasm for his

own ideas, his own words, and his own plans caused him to operate in a reality of his own making. Owen, the eternal optimist, could not distinguish between his successes and failures.

At the age of ten, Owen left Newtown to seek fame and forture. He returned seventy-seven years later, in 1858, to die in the place of his birth. After spending some time in Stamford and London, he became an apprentice in a draper's shop in Manchester, a burgeoning city in the throes of England's industrial revolution.[2] At age eighteen, in 1789, Owen became a partner in manufacturing cotton-spinning machinery. His next venture in 1792 saw him managing a mechanized cotton mill owned by Peter Drinkwater. Commenting that his business career was an educational experience, Owen noted that he improved the technique of cotton manufacturing, gained expertise in factory management, and was stimulated by association with Manchester's leading entrepreneurs and intellectuals.[3]

In 1799, Owen and several associates formed the Chorlton Twist Company which raised sufficient capital to purchase control of David Dale's New Lanark mills. While negotiating for the properties, Owen met Dale's daughter, Caroline, and fell in love with her. When he married Caroline Dale, Owen had not only made a business arrangement but had also married into one of nineteenth century England's leading industrial families.

When he took charge of the mills in 1799, Robert Owen found that he was responsible for managing more than one thousand workers. Surveying the living and working conditions at New Lanark, Owen was disturbed by his findings. The town, he observed, was ridden with delinquency, vice, drunkedness, and theft. Consistent with the character that he would exhibit throughout his career as a social reformer, Owen acted in the paternalistic fashion that earned him the title of the "benevolent Mr. Owen." Deciding that reforms were needed, Owen acted to effect them. Owen's reforms were based on what he claimed to be his great philosophical discovery that "Man's character is made for and not by him."[5] Rejecting the conventional wisdom that attributed a depraved human character to poverty and vice, Owen argued that character was shaped by environmental circumstances. Better housing, food, clothing, and education would improve the social environment and thus the character of the inhabitants of that reformed environment. In his theorizing, Owen had not yet determined that communal ownership of property was a necessary condition for social reform. Still committed to private ownership at New Lanark, he believed that a businessman could earn profits without exploiting his workers. Initially suspicious of Owen's promises to improve their living and working conditions, the New Lanark workers feared that Owen was trying to guile them into working harder and producing more profits for the company. Nevertheless, despite suspicion and opposition, Owen inaugurated his reform program at New Lanark.

Along with socially-controlled general reform, Owen emphasized that education, especially the schooling of children, was a key element in improving human character. In *An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark*, Robert Dale Owen, Owen's eldest son, has provided a detailed account of schooling in that industrial village.

Robert Dale Owen described the school as a two-story building, constructed of gray stone as were the other structures at New Lanark. The first story was divided into three large rooms where classes were held on reading, natural science, history, geography, and other subjects. After attempting to teach large classes of one hundred pupils, Owen decided that it was more effective to limit a class in these subjects to fifty pupils.

The school's second story most uniquely reflected the Owenite educational philosophy. Its upper story was divided into two apartments. One apartment, the principal school room furnished after the Lancasterian plan, was 90 feet long, 40 feet wide and 20 feet high. The second apartment on the second floor was somewhat smaller. Its unique feature was that "the walls are hung round with representations of the most striking zoological and mineralogical specimens; including quadrapeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, shells, minerals, & c."[6] At one end of the room was a gallery for the orchestra; at the other end were hung representations of the hemispheres with the countries and seas indicated by various colors but otherwise unidentified.[7] This room also served as a lecture hall and a ballroom.

The school's physical design and its furnishings reflected Robert Owen's educational theory. The large rooms made it possible for children to move about from area to area, depending upon the subject being taught. Owen stressed using objects, or their representations in the form of drawings and models, in instruction. Believing in the importance of music and dancing, the orchestra platform was a rare educational feature for a nineteenth century school.

Owen, often cited as the father of infant education, firmly believed in early childhood education. His emphasis on the importance of early learning experiences rested on his emerging belief that reform would be advanced as children were educated in a controlled environment away from socially corrupting influences. At New Lanark, the ages of the children attending the school ranged from eighteen months to twelve years, with many children leaving school to work in the mills at age ten. Although Owen wanted the children to remain in school until age twelve, he yielded to parental demands that they be allowed to work in the mill at age ten.

The school day began at 7:30 a.m. and ended at 5 p.m., with long breaks or intervals during the day that ranged from one to two hours. The infant classes, enrolling children from ages two to five, were in session

for only half of that time.[8] In addition to the day classes, the school was open at night and instruction was provided for older children and adults.

For infants and older children, instruction was free. For children between the ages of six and ten, a small fee was charged. Owen's rationale for charging this fee was that its payment would prevent parents from negatively regarding the school as a charity institution.

Both boys and girls wore a similar uniform, a white Roman-style cotton tunic. The boy's tunic came to the knee while the girls' tunic reached the ankle.[9] The students' uniform dress reflected Owen's belief that schooling should foster a sense of equality.

Within the school, Owen sought to create a permissive but controlled environment in which learning would be a pleasurable experience for the children. All types of extrinsic rewards and punishments which Owen regarded as contributing to an artificial character were abolished. Owen believed that such extrinsic incentives which substituted false goals for the natural consequences of action produced persons with weak and unstable characters. At New Lanark, no rewards were given for outstanding scholarship or good conduct; nor, were children punished for idleness or disobedience. The motivation for learning was to come from the child's interests. Good conduct would result from the spirit of amiable cooperation engendered by group membership. Teachers were to treat all children with kindness and use restraint only to protect young children from physical harm.[10]

Owen's prescriptions regarding a child-centered classroom climate were a radical departure from the conventional teaching styles and behaviors of the early nineteenth century. Given such permissive guidelines for school management, Owen had difficulty in finding suitably trained teachers. Since he opposed religious and classical education, he did not want to employ teachers who stressed either catechetical instruction or Latin and Greek. In many British primary schools, conventional teaching practices called for strongly controlling teachers, who, with the rod, demanded and obtained strict discipline and rigid conformity. In contrast to teachers trained according to conventional practices, Owen sought teachers who were patient, loved children, and related to them easily and naturally.

The first teachers in the New Lanark schools were persons whom Owen believed had the right disposition rather than pedagogical training or experience. Owen identified two individuals who met his requirements: John Buchanan, a local weaver, and Molly Young, a seventeen year old mill employee. He regarded these two individuals as unspoiled and sufficiently flexible to teach according to his pedagogical design.[11] As Owen added to the teaching staff, he selected others as teachers who had a background and disposition similar to Buchanan and Young.

Unfortunately, unlike Pestalozzi and other educational innovators, Owen did not institutionalize his pedagogical style by developing teacher education programs. An exception to using untrained teachers were the instances of the music and dancing teachers who were to be skilled in their arts.

While Owen based instruction on children's interests and emphasized using object lessons, the New Lanark curriculum was more subject-centered than was the case with either Pestalozzi or Froebel. The curriculum for the six to ten year olds consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, Natural Science, geography, history, singing, and dancing. In addition, the girls were taught sewing and needlework. Some selected comments on these subjects will illustrate the curricular content and method used in Owen's school.

In teaching reading, Owen's general principle was that "children should never be directed to read what they cannot understand. . . ."[12] The method was to have a child read aloud and then to have the other pupils in the class question him or her about the content. Understanding was emphasized rather than mimicry of the author's language and style.

Owen anticipated what has come to be called the "broad fields curriculum" in that he stressed that Natural Science, geography, and history should be taught in a correlated manner. The method was for the teacher to present a general outline of the topic which was then slowly filled in with supporting details.[13] According to Robert Dale Owen:

> In . . . Natural History, the division of Nature into the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms, is first explained to them, and in a very short time they learn at once to distinguish to which of these any object which may be presented to them belongs. The teacher then proceeds to details of the most interesting objects furnished by each of these kingdoms, including descriptions of quadrapeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects—and of the most interesting botanical and mineralogical specimens. The details are illustrated by representations of objects, drawn on a large scale and as correctly as possible.[14]

Owen, who personally enjoyed music and dancing, strongly advocated aesthetic education. All the children were instructed in singing by both ear and notes. Dancing, which Owen claimed was a pleasant, natural, and social exercise that improved carriage and deportment and "increased cheerfulness and hilarity" was taught by varied Scotch reels, country dances, and quadrilles.[15] Both boys and girls performed military drill. They were formed into divisions led by young drummers and fifers and moved in unison from place to place in the industrial village.

In addition to the school, Owen designed and constructed a three-storied, multi-functional. educational and cultural center which formally opened in January 1816 as the Institution for the Formation of Character. It was here that Owen's concept of infant education was more fully

implemented. The curriculum and methods in the infant school were child-centered, play-oriented, and aimed to stimulate children to use their senses to develop skills of careful observation. Teachers placed objects in strategic locations throughout the building to stimulate the children's curiosity and observation. Resistant to book-centered education, Owen wanted children to be taught the nature, qualities, and uses of common objects by exploration and by casual conversation between teacher and child. The teacher was to use the natural objects within the environment to excite the children's curiosity. This initial interest was to lead to animated conversation between the youngsters and their teachers, who, in turn, gained new knowledge about the objects and their pupils.[16] Anticipating what came to be called the British Primary Method, Owen developed a method of early childhood education in which children moved about freely and learned by pursuing activities that stimulated their interests.

In his commentary about his father's educational efforts at New Lanark, Robert Dale Owen identified several factors that limited the experiment's effectiveness. First, the children were in school for only five hours each day. The remaining time was spent with parents and others who lacked the proper disposition to the knowledge and values emphasized in Owen's schools. Later, Owen recommended that children be separated from their parents and raised in communal dormitories and educated in communal boarding schools. Second, it was difficult to locate teachers who possessed the character and temperament that were compatible with Owen's educational philosophy. Although he recognized this problem, Owen did not engage in the kind of teacher education that could institutionalize his educational theories. Third, parents did not support certain features of Owenite education. For example, they wanted their children to read at an age earlier than Owen prescribed. They also wanted them to leave school at age ten rather than twelve as Owen recommended. Finally, parents wanted religious instruction which Owen believed was harmful. Throughout his career Owen would encounter opposition from religious educators. Owen argued that the emphasis on the supernatural and the abstract impeded the formation of concepts based on observation and produced prejudicial attitudes rather than egalitarian sentiments.

After gaining a reputation as a successful industrialist and local reformer, Owen enlarged his vision to encompass general social reform. Owen's *Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor*, in 1817, and the *Report to the County of Lanark*, in 1818, reflected his movement to the larger role of social critic and reformer.[18] It was at this stage in his career that Owen's communitarian ideology emerged.

By 1820, Owen, now a committed communitarian socialist, was calling for the creating of self-supporting "Villages of Unity and Mutual Cooperation" for all socio-economic classes and not just for the depen-

dent poor. In these villages, all accommodations, arranged in a parallelogram of buildings, would satisfy the residents' social, economic, educational, and cultural requirements. The concept of the "Village of Unity" soon matured into a comprehensive communitarian ideology that Owen tried to implement at New Harmony, Indiana, from 1824 to 1828. The Scottish factory town of New Lanark and the American frontier village in southern Indiana were linked by the trans-Atlantic bonds of Owenite communitarian ideology.

At the communitarian experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, education was a crucial component in Owen's plans as it had been at New Lanark. At New Lanark, however, Owen was exclusively in control of the educational arrangements. At New Harmony, in contrast, educational arrangements were under the control of William Maclure, the pioneer geologist and philanthropist, who was Owen's partner in the communitarian venture.[19] Maclure, who sought to integrate basic scientific research with Pestalozzian pedagogy, had a different educational philosophy than Owen. These philosophical and pedagogical differences between Owen and Maclure, and the presence of a number of significant educators such as Joseph Neef and Marie Duclos Fretageot made education at New Harmony a much more complex and often controversial undertaking than it was at New Lanark.

Owen, as an educational innovator, should be credited with developing his own theory and practice of education at New Lanark. Important elements in this theory was his stress on the importance of early childhood or infant education and his broad concept of education as a means of bringing about social change. At New Lanark, Owen had mixed motives. For him, education was a philanthropic means of improving the living and working conditions of the residents of the industrial village. It was also a means of social control by which Owen placed himself in the position of being the chief engineer in shaping the behavior of those who associated with him. Like Janus, Owen presents two faces to those who seek to interpret him: a social reforming liberator and a paternalistic benevolent despot.

Notes

[1] Robert Owen, *The Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself: With Selections from his Writings and Correspondence* Vol. I (New York: Augustus Kelley, 1967), pp. 1-2. Published originally in 1857-58.

[2] Margaret Cole, "Robert Owen Until After New Lanark," in *Robert Owen: Industrialist, Reformer, Visionary, 1771-1858* (London: Robert Owen Bicentenary Association, 1971), pp. 4-14.

[3] Owen, *Life*, I, pp. 34-38.

[4] Harold Silver, "Owen's Reputation as an Educationist," in Sidney Pollard and John Salt (eds.,) *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1971), p. 65.

[5] A.L. Morton, *The Life and Ideas of Robert Owen* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), p. 24.

[6] Robert Dale Owen, *An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark* (Cincinnati: Deming and Wood, Printers, 1825), p. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1906), pp. 136-137.

[11] Owen, *Life*, I, p. 140.

[12] Robert Dale Owen, *Outline*, p. 14.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 16

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

[16] Owen, *Life*, I, pp. 140-141.

[17] Robert Dale Owen, *Outline*, pp. 3-4.

[18] Robert Owen, *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of The Life of Robert Owen* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858). See Appendix I, *Report to the Committee for the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor*, 1817, pp. 53-64; and also see, Appendix 5, *Report to the County of Lanark*, 1820, pp. 263-320.

[19] Paul K. Bernard, "Irreconcilable Opinions: The Social and Educational Theories of Robert Owen and William Maclure," *Journal of the Early Republic*. 8 (Spring 1988), pp. 21-44.

The Old Northwest Revisited: Education Before the era of the Common Schools

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Introduction

It is rather common for those who teach history of education, and for the textbooks they use at the undergraduate level, to characterize American education before the Common Schools era as a wasteland; and the time between the Revolution and 1837 is summarized as a time of experimentation and floundering. In fact, many sources suggest that there *was* experimentation and floundering in that period, but could that have been all? If so, the appearance and triumph of Horace Mann is almost miraculous. As myth, this is appealing, but it is hardly reliable history. We who are historians would be more honest to ask whether the Common Schools movement was a heroic revolution (the vision of Ellwood P. Cubberley!), or whether it may have been the plausible, evolutionary outcome of ongoing cultural changes in the early republic.

Part of our trouble stems from the difficulty of obtaining reliable sources from that early period. There are few good educational histories of the states that go back so far, and documentary sources are scattered in various state archives or buried in courthouse cellars, if indeed they have survived at all.[1] The necessary scholarship is still going on; histories are being pieced together. A really thorough investigation is demanded, and it would be a major task; yet there are some sources of information readily available. Bit by bit, it becomes possible to see what the frontier states were doing to encourage education within their borders; the debates over free public education become more focused and comprehensible; and the cultural and economic changes that require formal instruction become evident. If nothing else, we may get a sense of the groundwork that was done before the Common Schools arrived. What follows is an examination of school laws and financial struggles in the pre-Common Schools era and the cultural environments in which these efforts were sustained.

Early School Laws

One of the most obvious and easily researchable factors in this kind of study is the existence of legislation, particularly pro-school legislation. In the case of the Northwest Territory, it begins with the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, whose education clauses do not need to be repeated here. In general, the congressional acts that separated the Northwest into smaller territories that eventually became states merely affirmed, in some general way, the necessity of observing the stipulations of the Ordinances. When these territories applied for statehood and entered the Union, more specific legislation began to appear.

Ohio was the first territory of the Old Northwest to enter the Union, an event which occurred in 1803. Its constitution framed in 1802, repeated Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, adding to it the words ". . . by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience."[2] The thrust of this clause was to give the General Assembly the right to pass education laws while protecting the rights of citizens against intrusive government. (This tension is evident in other states as well.) In 1817, Govemor Worthington recommended that the Ohio legislature create a system of elementary schools and a state normal school; although the assembly did not act on this recommendation, it is remarkable for being one of the first such plans to be discussed in the United States.[3] The 1817 legislature did pass a law that provided school income from the leasing of sixteenth section lands, and additional finance laws were passed in the 1820's. A comprehensive free school law was not passed until 1853, well into the Common Schools era, but the tax laws that had been passed in the meantime expressed Ohioans' concern for schooling and supported a growing network of schools.

Indiana has the distinction of being the first state to acknowledge, in its constitution, extensive state responsibility for initiating the means of public enlightenment. Article IX of its 1816 constitution pays homage to the desirability of "knowledge generally diffused through a community" and requires the creation of public schools and libraries. Section 8 of this article spells out what the state is to do:

> It shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular graduation, from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.[4]

Unfortunately, circumstances did not permit quick action, because Indiana languished without a viable school law until 1852. Here, as elsewhere, the sentiment for free schools was present, but the means to proliferate them were not.

Illinois entered the Union in 1818. At the first session of its general assembly (1818/1819), Lieutenant Govemor Pierre Menard spoke on the importance of education, but no specific legislative action was presented or taken. In 1820, the City of Alton received permission from the legislature to tax certain city lots for the support of a school; however, it is not clear whether the city actually used the money to finance a public school.[5] Other legislation of the early 1820's had to do with the disposition of school lands.

The first attempt to create free public schools in Illinois came in 1825, when a bill sponsored by state senator Joseph Duncan of Morgan County was approved by the legislature. This bill mandated the establishment of ". . . a common school or schools in each of the counties of the State, which shall be open and free to every class of white citizens, between the

ages of five and twenty-one years. . . ."[6] Duncan's law failed to achieve its goals, primarily because of inadequate fiscal provisions. The state was to contribute two per cent of treasury revenues annually, and local districts could tax themselves voluntarily to support schools. In fact, no districts voted to tax themselves, and the legislature repealed the state appropriation in 1829; these actions left the state helpless to create its school system. Further efforts to levy school taxes met a similar fate until 1855, when a massive public campaign led to a comprehensive school law that included mandatory taxes.

The far northern states of Michigan and Wisconsin were settled more slowly and received statehood later than Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Yet one reads of a committee of industrious settlers at Detroit in 1799 who petitioned the territorial government to provide educational facilities. The plea fell on deaf ears, but it should be noted.[7] A territorial act passed in 1805 allowed lotteries "for the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the City of Detroit."[8] In 1808, the territorial legislature passed a series of resolutions, the eighth of which affirmed the desirability of establishing "seminaries of learning" in the territory. A year later, the departing Governor Hull and Judge Witherell drew up a plan for publicly-supported education in the territory, with the "overseer of the poor" in each judicial district supervising the school districts; there is no evidence that this plan was enforced.[9]

After the War of 1812, Michigan Territory's new governor, Lewis Cass, formed an education committee with Fr. Gabriel Richard, a French Catholic priest, and Rev. John Monteith, a Presbyterian minister. The result of their discussions was a rather ambitious plan that was enacted into law in 1817. This law authorized primary schools in major settlements, a classical academy in Detroit, and a "College of Detroit," all under the control of a body called the University of Michigania, alternately the "Catholepistemaiad."[10] (In this endeavor, the French influence is rather obvious.) Elementary schools were in fact created under this law, although they were not tuition-free, and the rest of the apparatus came about later or not at all. Cass, however, believing in "the cultivation and improvement of all," continued to pressure the legislature until a Common Schools Act was passed in 1827, basing itself heavily on Massachusetts district school laws and the Old Deluder Satan law itself.[11]

According to Cubberley, the 1827 school law in Michigan was in principle a good law.[12] It placed the responsibility for schooling on the public, and in particular it required all residents of a district to pay school taxes. However, it provided no territorial assistance, and few townships outside of Detroit actually organized schools. Governor Cass's dissatisfaction with its results led him to request the territorial legislature to pass a new law in 1829 that effectively repealed the older law. This new law gave very specific directions for the organization of public school districts, and it created a territorial office of Superintendent of Common

Schools, which at that time was a notable innovation. The law directed the districts to collect property taxes for the building of schoolhouses, but it also allowed rate bills to provide salary support for teachers. The law had its opponents, who called it "oppressive and uncalled for by the circumstances of the country."[13] Eventually, Governor Cass became convinced that the law was too complicated and generated too much general hostility; by 1830 he was imploring the legislature for yet another reform, made more urgent by the influx of immigrants and the rapid creation of new townships. No action was taken, and Cass left Michigan to be Andrew Jackson's Secretary of War in 1831. The new governor, Stevens T. Mason, continued the struggle for school legislation. In 1832, the majority of Michigan citizens voted to apply for statehood, which was not granted until 1837. During the debates on the new constitutions, the issue of education was kept alive by Rev. John D. Pierce and a lawyer named Isaac Crary. Inspired by Cousin's report on education in Prussia, they campaigned for state provisions for education in the constitution of 1835; subsequently, they authored a primary school law that was adopted in 1837 and remained a basic piece of school legislation thereafter.

Wisconsin was the last of the five territories to be settled and to achieve statehood. Settlement was sparse until after the Blackhawk War of 1832. As Wisconsin was part of the Michigan territory until 1836, its first school laws were patterned after Michigan laws. Political and tax struggles that affected schooling took place in the 1840's, but the free schools movement enjoyed considerable local support. An 1846 school census showed 14,131 pupils enrolled in the local schools, and in 1847, thirty-three towns reported that all of their school revenues were derived from local taxation.[14]

What the early school legislation the old Northwest suggests is that pro-education sentiment was present, at least among prominent citizens of those territories and states; furthermore, the idea of free public schooling was being discussed in the Old Northwest as early as the 1820's, showing that this idea was not unique to Massachusetts. What often defeated free public schooling in the first four decades of the nineteenth century was less a preference for mass ignorance than an unwillingness (or a perceived inability) of the western settlers to pay school taxes.

School Finance: The Perpetual Problem

The assumption of many early settlers in the Northwest seems to have been that income from the sale or lease of the sixteenth section would be adequate to support the necessity of schooling. This assumption proved false, especially because in the first wave of settlement, immigrants were not eager to lease school lands when they could buy cheaper lands elsewhere. An Ohio law of 1817 provided for the leasing of sixteenth section lands, but the total income from this source was about $5000 in 1825 and 1826.[15] According to an act of Congress of 1804, if these lands were sold, the income was to go into investments and reserved funds, with the

interest used to support schools: but poor economic conditions could wipe out much of this income, as was the case in Illinois as a result of the panic of 1837. Finally, monies from the sixteenth section did not automatically flow to local, territorial, or state authorities, but required legislative action to be released. Although Ohio, as previously noted, was able to release these funds by 1817 or possibly earlier, Michigan had no income from this source until a congressional act of 1827 gave the governor and territorial council control of school lands.[16]

The inadequacy of sixteenth section funds must have been largely responsible for the proliferation of private schools, subscription schools, and rate bills: eventually, it led to the slow acceptance of the hated property tax. Ohio had a general school tax at the district level enacted in a law of 1821; this was supplemented by a county-wide tax imposed in 1825. In 1827, Ohio judges were authorized to turn over fines for misdemeanors to district treasurers for use in supporting schools.[17] The tax laws remained in force, with some modifications, until the school law of 1853 replaced them. Elsewhere, there was more resistance to such taxation.

Although the Indiana constitution of 1816 gave the state responsibility for education, no tax monies were actually spent on schools in that state until the first public school law was enacted (under a new constitution) in 1852. The few town and country schools that were not in private hands were supported only by sixteenth section funds, and this money was hardly adequate: as a result, in 1840 only 48,180 out of 273,784 eligible children were attending local district schools.

The tax struggles that took place in early Illinois are particularly illustrative. The 1825 free schools law was placed in almost immediate jeopardy by the fact that local taxes were not made mandatory and by the repeal of the two per cent state appropriation in 1829; in any case, there is no record that school funds were collected or distributed between 1825 and 1829.[18] In the 1830's, the state continued to try to use income from school lands to support schools. The ninth general assembly in 1834-1835 tried but failed to pass a school tax law. A "common schools" law was passed in 1841, but it failed to mention local taxation. An amendment to this law in 1845 allowed local taxpayers to meet in order to vote on levying school taxes, but the results were predictably disappointing, and in fact school taxes were not made mandatory until the law of 1855.

Even Michigan had its finance struggles, despite the influence of such luminaries as Governor Cass, Fr. Richard, and Rev. Monteith. In 1805, Fr. Richard petitioned the territorial legislature for funds to support mission schools open to the poor, but the legislature failed to act. Fr. Richard then went to Washington and approached President Jefferson in person for school support; Jefferson responded by ordering his secretary of war to contribute $400 annually to Fr. Richard's schools, but after

Jefferson left office no written record of the agreement could be found, and the arrangement ended.[19] The plan to create schools for the poor in 1809 would have required an appropriation in each district according to census, but there is no record that it was enforced. The territorial assembly repealed the law before 1811. The ambitious plan for the Catholepistemaiad (1816-1824) gradually failed due to lack of adequate finances. By the 1830's, with the influx of immigrants arriving via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, the school situation in Michigan was becoming critical, but the school law of 1827 allowed townships to delay compliance with the law if two-thirds of the electors agreed to do so, and many townships so voted; this was especially true in the newer townships, where settlers complained of their inability to pay taxes. Some relief came from the release of money from federal lands in 1827, but the need to levy taxes in the townships was again recognized in the law of 1829. This law was widely perceived as "dictatorial."[20] In the 1830's, the campaign for free schools finally gathered momentum, resulting in a more workable law in 1833.

Wisconsin, having arrived late on the scene, seems to have suffered less from divisions over school finances; its tax debates took place in the 1840's but in general common schools were able to elicit local support.[21] Perhaps a closer examination of this state is in order; there is evidently a matter of Zeitgeist operating here.

The Cultural Milieu

In the course of this investigation, much material on pre-1850's schools and schooling was uncovered. It is available but omitted here for the sake of brevity. Suffice it to say that schooling of some kind was a perpetual concern and an enterprise that often appeared, even under difficult frontier circumstances. The schools that were founded, whether subscription schools, religious institutions, or experiments such as Robert Owens's school at New Harmony, tried valiantly but often with little success to meet the needs of the growing population. Gradually, education began to shift from private into public hands, but even before the 1850's (the era of common schools legislation), some free publicly-supported schools had appeared, and many more had been discussed.

Was the eventual triumph of the common schools really the triumph of New England over a backward West? This question should probably be answered by "yes, no, and perhaps." There was once a perception among historians of education that the public education issue was a North/South issue or a New England vs. the Barbarians issue. Today, we are not so sure.[22] The 1876 history of education in Ohio touts the superiority of early schooling in the Yankee-settled northern and eastern sections of the state over the southwestern portion of the state, ". . . settled by people from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas, who, probably, did not appreciate educational privileges so highly. . . ."[23] Much the same is suggested about the values of the early

inhabitants of Indiana.

When we reach Illinois, however, we find that the 1825 school law was sponsored by a native of Kentucky (Sen. Duncan) and approved by a predominantly southern legislature. Of that brief legislative triumph, historian W.L. Pillsbury observed:

> Not the least remarkable thing in connection with the law is that at the time it was passed it is not probable that five per cent of the inhabitants had come from States which had free-school laws, and that with two or three exceptions the members of the legislature had come from the South. If we could get at the unwritten history of the passage of the law we should, I imagine, find that its passage was secured by strong personal influences, more potent in Vandalia with the small number that could be talked to face to face, than with the sparse and widely scattered people of the State in those days of few newspapers . . . when travel was chiefly on horseback.[24]

Southern culture remained dominant in Illinois until after the Blackhawk War of 1832, when large numbers of New Englanders and New Yorkers moved into the state's desolate northern swamps and prairies. Their arrival made its most immediate difference in the founding of the church colleges in the 1830's. Eventually, the northern presence probably contributed to free school legislation.

In Michigan, there was no North/South conflict because there were hardly any southerners. There were New Englanders and New Yorkers, many of whom advocated modern schooling practices. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, their most serious opponents were the remnants of the French *habitants*, who resisted political change and assimilation.[25] By the 1820's, when northern settlers were coming in great numbers, the enemies of school legislation and school taxes were generally the newest arrivals, most of whom felt themselves too poor to deserve taxation. The bitter rhetoric that surrounded the school laws of 1827 and 1829 was due to economic differences, not ethnic differences.

Wisconsin also had few southerners, although she had large numbers of immigrants. In 1850, Wisconsin had 106,000 foreign-born and 135,000 American-born. Of the Yankees, most were from New England, New York, and Ohio; of the foreigners, most were from the British Isles, Canada, Germany, and Scandinavia. As a rule, neither group resisted education: in particular, the newly arrived Germans often opened their own schools. Taxation issues were debated more on economic than on ethnic grounds.

An issue allied to the North/South, New England vs. the Others contention is the perception that free schools were the work of New England "reformers" in the Northwest. Were there cultural missionaries, transplanted or home-grown Horace Manns in the Northwest? Undoubtedly there were. Lawrence Cremin names quite a few of them in *American Education: The National Experience*.[26] They include Calvin

Stowe and Catharine Beecher in Ohio; Caleb Mills in Indiana; Ninian Edwards and John Mason Peck in Illinois; John D. Pierce and Isaac Crary in Michigan; and they were variously clergymen, teachers, lawyers, and publishers, all of whom, in Cremin's words, "shared a common belief in a millennialist Christian republican political economy in which education would play a central role. . . ."[27] Some were New England Puritans, and some were not.

Caleb Mills of Indiana fits the traditional model well. Born at Dunbarton, New Hampshire, in 1806, Mills was educated at Dartmouth and at Andover Theological Seminary. He arrived in Indiana in 1833 to open Wabash College, and this was his base of pro-education activities until the end of his career. Among his significant accomplishments was the publication of five "Addresses to the Legislature" in the *Indiana State Journal* that outlined the program of education reform in the state; the organization of a State Teachers' Association in 1854; and his service to the state as Superintendent of Public Instruction in the 1850's.[28]

The author of Illinois's first education law, Joseph Duncan, was a Kentuckian who was orphaned at the age of nine and took responsibility for sustaining his family. He fought with distinction in the War of 1812, and settled in the Illinois territory where he was soon involved in politics. Perhaps his early experiences served to make him more sympathetic to the educational needs of the poor. In any event, Duncan was a persistent advocate of school legislation, and when he served a term as governor of the state in the 1830's, he tried (but in vain) to get adequate school laws passed.[29] Other crusaders for education in Illinois included the Yale band of Congregationalists centered at Illinois College in Jacksonville, who generally cooperated with Presbyterians, giving rise to the term "Presbygational"; Rev. John Mason Peck, a Connecticut Baptist; Rev. George Gale, a Presbyterian from New York; Rev. Gideon Blackburn, a Virginia Presbyterian; Ninian W. Edwards, a Kentuckian by birth; and Newton Bateman, who was born in New Jersey.[30] New Yorkers and New Englanders dominated the group, but it was not an exclusive club.

Michigan's early triumvirate of planners for education consisted of Governor Lewis Cass, an archetypal New Englander, born in New Hampshire and educated at Exeter Academy; Rev. John Monteith, a Presbyterian minister from Princeton, New Jersey; and Fr. Gabriel Richard, a Catholic priest who left France during the anti-clerical excesses of the Revolution and was posted to Detroit in 1802 by the Bishop of St. Louis. Together, they formed a most ecumenical and farsighted group. When the 1817 law devised by Judge Woodward created the Catholepistemaiad and required a thirteen-man school board, Cass, Monteith, and Richard undertook to fill all thirteen positions themselves until such time as suitable candidates could be found. When Congress in 1824 authorized Michigan to send its delegate, the choice was Fr. Richard, who served the territory admirably until his death from cholera in 1832.[31]

Among the most visible of agitators for school reform in the Northwest were the editors and publishers of newspapers and periodicals. In fact, whenever and wherever newspapers appeared, they usually supported those who advocated schools; often, in fact, newspaper publishers led these crusades, and it is fairly clear why they did so. Publishers were themselves men of some education, and they also knew that they could not sell their papers to an illiterate public. In Illinois, the Goudy brothers of Jacksonville began publishing *The Common School Advocate* in the 1830's. More well-known were the arguments of John S. Wright, a transplanted New Englander who published the *Prairie Farmer* in Chicago in the 1840's and 1850's; Wright highlighted educational developments in his paper, but he also took an active role in assembling a state convention of educators in 1844 and in providing financial support for Chicago's first public school.[32] Michigan's Governor Cass encouraged the founding of the *Detroit Gazette*, which commenced publication in 1817, and which generally published his views on education laws. In 1829 and 1830, the cause of education in Michigan was championed by the *Northwestern Journal*, whose editor, William Ward, from Massachusetts, served on the board of Detroit's first common school, called meetings to promote the infant school and the classical school, and personally hired the classical school's teacher, professor Houghton from New York, who together with Ward formed a Lyceum in December 1830 with Cass as its president.[33] After Ward left Detroit in 1831, another paper, the *Democratic Free Press*, took up the cause. There are probably more examples of journalists' support for education.

Kaestle insists that the common school in the midwest was not an import from Massachusetts but a simultaneous development. In the same year in which Horace Mann took office as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Samuel Lewis took an analogous position in Ohio.[34] All of the states involved, he argues, were responding to new economic and social pressures. If this view is correct, to what can we tie the slow but inevitable development of common schools in the Old Northwest? Historian Ray Billington divides the life of a frontier into phases: There is a phase of early settlement, in which the wilderness is being cleared, a general poverty and isolation prevails, and the cultural needs of the populace are minimal. In this phase, the log cabin schoolhouse, we may surmise, is adequate. Ten or twenty years later, the "settled frontier" comes into being, whose inhabitants have brought with them the cultural and technical artifacts of the more developed area whence they came. At Charleston, Illinois, two farms stand side by side in a state park; one is a log-cabin affair constructed by Abe Lincoln's father before 1820; the other is a neat clapboard house and planked barn built by newcomers from New England in the 1840's. The difference in sophistication is obvious.

One might justifiably tie the common schools in the Northwest to the arrival of roads, railroads, canals, and other amenities. The schools of Defiance, Ohio, first appeared in the 1820's, but the public schools that

opened in the 1840's followed the arrival of the Wabash and Erie Canal and were roughly contemporary with the town's industries and first newspaper.[35] Indianapolis, Indiana, did not prosper until after 1834, when the National Road crossed the state;[36] its citizens first paved its main street and installed gutters. It was not until 1853 that Indianapolis opened its first free school. In that same year, the Monon Railroad extended to Bloomington, when for the first time, the finances of Indiana College became healthy.[37] Stephen Douglas persuaded Congress to make a land grant for the Illinois Central Railroad in 1850; the *Prairie Farmer* urged residents along the right of way to buy shares; and the state passed its first viable Common Schools law in 1855. One surmises that these events are related. In 1830, turnpikes from Detroit were under construction to Chicago, Saginaw, and other places; steamboats from the east arrived daily in Detroit; and new towns such as Ann Arbor and Pontiac were being settled. In that same year, Pontiac started a common school, Governor Cass was campaigning for revisions to the schools law, and editor Ward was founding a Lyceum and encouraging a group of entrepreneurs who wished to open a female seminary in Detroit.[38] There are too many coincidences such as these to record thoroughly; a few must suffice.

In fact, the pressures of increasing settlement and the coincidences of culture and technology seemed to produce a "public works" mentality in some of the midwestern leaders.[39] Governor Cass wanted turnpikes to be built in Michigan, and he wished to attract commerce to the territory, as well as to create such amenities as newspapers, schools, Lyceums, and libraries. In a political speech in 1832, the young Abraham Lincoln spoke in favor of good roads, a railroad from Springfield to the Illinois River, a limit on usury, and public education so that ". . . every man may receive at least a moderate education."[40] Again, there are probably many more examples.

Concluding Reflection

The materials available on the life of the Old Northwest in the early years are not exhausted by this brief discussion. The picture presented here is sketchy at best, but something of the dynamism and optimism of the frontier may have emerged, along with the difficulties of early settlement. The needs of an advancing, modernizing society are also suggested. The Northwest Territory and the states that emerged from it were building themselves culturally, socially, and economically both before and during the Common Schools era.

Notes

[1] A recent visit to the Illinois State Archives at Springfield revealed a dismaying lack of materials on education in the state's early years. Superintendent's reports from 1860 were the earliest documents on file; however, earlier documents from some counties were listed at regional centers.

[2] Ohio Constitution, Article VIII, cited in *A History of Education in the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1876), p. 10.

[3] *A History of Education in the State of Ohio*, p. 263.

[4] Article IX, Indiana Constitution of 1816, reprinted in Wilson, William E., *Indiana: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 94-95.

[5] John Williston Cook, *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago: The Henry O. Shepard Company, 1912), pp. 28-29.

[6] "An Act Providing for the Establishment of Free Schools," reprinted in Cook, pp. 32-35. Evidently, the "white citizens" clause was a concession to strong pro-slavery elements in the state.

[7] Floyd R. Dain, *Education in the Wilderness* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1968), p. 18.

[8] Dain, p. 41.

[9] Dain, pp. 65-66.

[10] Dain, p. 80.

[11] Dain, pp. 131-153.

[12] Cited in Dain, p. 133.

[13] Quoted in Dain, p. 142.

[14] Lloyd P. Jorgenson, *The Founding of Public Education in Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Publications Service, 1956), p. 37.

[15] *A History of Education in the State of Ohio*, p. 21.

[16] Dain, p. 134.

[17] *A History of Education in the State of Ohio*, p. 35.

[18] Cook, p. 35.

[19] Fr. Richard was in many ways a remarkable man in his time. See Dain, pp. 48-50.

[20] Dain, p. 145.

[21] Jorgenson, pp. 17 ff.

[22] Carl Kaestle, "The Development of Common School Systems in the States of the Old Northwest," in Paul H. Mattingly and Edward W. Stevens, Jr., Eds. *". . . Schools and the Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged."* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Libraries, 1987), p. 41.

[23] *A History . . . Ohio*, p. 86.

[24] W.L. Pillsbury, quoted in Cook p. 35.

[25] Dain, p. 115.

[26] Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), pp. 175-176.

[27] Cremin, p. 176.

[28] Moores, pp. 365-380.

[29] Robert P. Howard, *Illinois: A History of the Prairie State* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdman Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 174-175.

[30] Howard, pp. 177-180.

[31] Dain, passim.

[32] Howard, p. 274.

[33] Dain, pp. 150-164.

[34] Kaestle, p. 33.

[35] *History of Defiance County* (Defiance, Ohio: 1876), p. 171 ff.

[36] Lee Burns, *The National Road in Indiana* (reprinted, Fort Wayne: Public Library, 1955), p. 16.

[37] Wilson, p. 198.

[38] Dain, pp. 161-163.

[39] This mentality, by the way, was not unique to the American scene. It was quite evident in Napoleon's Europe, where road building and school building were of roughly equal importance.

[40] Lincoln, quoted in Cook, p. 43.

The Passage of Compulsory Attendance Laws, 1870-1915

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In the late nineteenth century, Americans feared strong government. Increasingly, citizens discovered that the benefits of legislation financed by the public treasury were concentrated in private hands. In response to growing public debt, states placed constitutional constraints on state legislatures. State constitutions were rewritten to grant governors veto power. Annual sessions of the legislature became biennial sessions with strict restrictions on the number of days the legislature could meet. The underlying philosophy was small government was good government, and if the legislature met less frequently, the government would be smaller.[1]

Despite efforts to restrict the size of government and legislative enactments, legislators passed compulsory attendance laws, laws that compelled the state's youth to attend school, with increasing frequency. In the 1870s, 16 compulsory attendance laws were enacted, 22 in the 1880s, 43 in the 1890s, and 83 in the 1900s.[2] Another 45 laws were enacted between 1910 and 1915.

The likelihood that a meeting of the state legislature resulted in a new compulsory attendance law or an amendment to an existing law also increased. By the first decade of the century, nearly one of out of every three sessions resulted in a law while only one out of 10 sessions in the 1880s had resulted in a law.

As early as the 1870s and definitely by the 1890s, legislators and presumably their constituencies felt compulsory attendance legislation warranted consideration. David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot argue public education led to legislative debate over the role of government[3]:

> While some Americans were concerned about how to protect the government from the people, others worried about how to protect citizens from their government.

By weighing societal benefits of compulsory school attendance against intrusions on personal liberty, the public debate over compulsion mirrored the general debate over the role of government in society.

Advocates of compulsion feared the fate of a democracy with universal suffrage and high illiteracy rates. Horace Mann in the 1830s believed there was a connection between education and democracy.[4] Writing before the Civil War, Mann argued for stricter truancy laws not compulsory attendance laws.

After the Civil War, Mann's discussion of the relationship between education and democracy was used to justify compulsory education. Typical of the argument was an 1867 editorial by the *New York Sun*. Echoing the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Beecher, an advocate of compulsion, the *Sun* editorialized[5]:

> One of the essential requisites of good citizenship is a fair elementary education . . . It would be well, therefore, if parents and guardians were compelled by law to send their children between certain ages to public or other schools.

In his defense of his state's controversial schooling law, State Superintendent of Public Schools in Illinois, Richard Edwards, restated the argument[6]:

> The compulsory law is right in principle. The state taxes the citizen for the support of the public schools because Universal Education is necessary to the preservation of the state and of the institutions of civilization.

The civics argument would be heard in most nineteenth century debates over compulsion.[7]

An alleged relationship between crime and education was another argument in favor of compulsion. Proponents observed a relationship between crime and illiteracy. The number of illiterates in the nation's prisons was out of proportion to the number of illiterates in the population.[8] Failure to attend school was the source of illiteracy and consequently the source of crime. Despite the fact compulsory attendance laws create a new crime, advocates such as Birdsey B. Northrup, a member of the New York State Board of Education, argued compulsion prevents more serious crimes in the future.[9]:

> Would you have policemen drag your children to school? I answer, 'yes if it will prevent his dragging them to jail a few years hence.'

Northrup's plea was not a solitary voice, Henry Wilson, a future Vice-President, and the Honorable C.C. Randall, a Michigan State Senator, both made the same argument.[10]

Opponents of compulsion worried about the inconsistency of compelling students to learn the virtues of freedom. How could a society force individuals to sacrifice their freedom in order to learn the virtues of freedom? The laws, opponents reasoned, intruded on the rights of parents. In an indirect rejection of compulsory attendance, the Democratic Party's 1892 National Platform stated freedom was the cornerstone of democracy[11]:

> Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to state interference with parental rights

> and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the Fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others ensures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

Governor John Pattison of Pennsylvania vetoed two compulsory attendance bills because they interfered with parental rights and American notions of liberty.

But, do public speeches cast in terms of preserving democracy and liberty tell the whole story or was there a hidden agenda lurking beneath the rhetoric? Written and publicly expressed justifications and explanations for compulsory attendance laws cloaked more selfish motives.

In his 1871 directive for the Republican Party, Henry Wilson not only argued education would prevent crime and save Republican institutions, but he revealed his anti-foreign sentiments as well. Although he had renounced his ties to the Know Nothing Party, his essay identifies Wilson as an Americanist. The immigrant, according to Wilson, required education to preserve democratic institutions. The uneducated immigrant provided Tammany Hall and other political machines with votes to stay in office[12]:

> There is little progress towards that completeness of culture which American citizenship requires. Even if the petty and grosser vices are wanting, as too often they are not, there is such an absence of thoughtfulness and considerate purpose, as to render the prospect of intelligent and virtuous manhood very faint. Instead of becoming men who know their duties, and knowing dare fulfill, the danger is great of their becoming mere Hessians in the political market, to be bought, if not with money, at least with craft and party management.

Education would not or ericanize the immigrant but would destroy the political machine as

As expressed in efforts to restrict immigration, nativism does not explain compulsory schooling legislation. According to John Higham, nativist expression was loudest in the 1880s and 1890s. After the election of McKinley in 1896, expression of anti-foreign sentiment declined.[13] Of the 230 laws enacted between 1870 and 1915, 153, 67%, were enacted after McKinley took office in 1897. During the two terms following his election, 80 of the 153 laws were enacted. Anti-foreign feelings tended to ebb and flow across decades but the number of compulsory attendance laws passed each decade increased.

While compulsory attendance laws were not a reaction to the presence of foreign born as un-American, the laws may have been a response to immigration. America had been built by immigrants and business leaders pointed to the importance of immigration. After the Civil War, states reated agencies to promote immigration.[14] Economists of the period

estimated the capital value of immigrants at approximately $1500 and the US Treasury estimated the value as $800.[15] Despite an awareness of the immigrant's economic value, there was concern over assimilation. As Josiah Strong reasoned in *Our Country*, Schools were crucial to the assimilation process[16]:

> Democracy necessitates the public school. Important as is the school to any civilized people, it is exceptionally so to us, for in the United States the common school has a function which is peculiar, viz., to Americanize the children of immigrants.

The number of laws requiring instruction in English also suggests an effort to accelerate assimilation.[17] As the number of foreign born in the United States increased, assimilation became a more pressing social issue and correspondingly the demand for compulsory attendance laws rose.

Many of the foreign born were Catholics, not Protestants, and nativists in the United States responded with anti-Catholicism. Catholics in the late nineteenth century were upset over the Protestant tinge that bible reading gave the public schools. As efforts to remove Protestant influences failed, Catholics developed the parochial school system. The Third Plenary Council in 1884 urged parishes to build and support parochial schools.[18] Distressed by the trend, Josiah Strong believed parochial schools were a source of evil and threat to American democracy[19]:

> In the public schools they [Catholics] learned to think and were largely Americanized by associating with American children. But their children are being subjected to very different influences in the parochial schools. They are there given a training calculated to make them narrow and bigoted; and being separated as much as possible from all Protestant children, they grow up suspicious of Protestants, and so thoroughly sectarianized and Romanized as to be well protected against the broadening and Americanizing influences of our civilization.

Compelling attendance at public schools would indoctrinate Catholic youth to Protestant values.

Compulsory attendance laws which allowed private schools did not eliminate parochial schools. Compulsory laws did, however, try to limit parochial schools or give public officials power to regulate them. Both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts debated legislation granting school officers the power to regulate parochial schools. Michigan voters by two-thirds majorities rejected compulsory public school attendance in 1920 and 1924.[20] In a referendum in 1922, Oregon voters, however, passed a compulsory attendance law mandating public school attendance, but the law was struck down as unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in Pierce versus Society of Sisters.

Compulsory attendance laws allowed private school attendance which

suggests they were not an attempt to restrict private religious schools. Laws, however, are not passed by individual constituencies but emerge from political compromises. Liberty was highly valued in the nineteenth century and the laws were interpreted as intrusions on personal liberty. A law compelling public school attendance was too great an intrusion on liberty and separation of church and state so mandatory public school attendance was rejected.

Historians of late nineteenth century midwestern politics argue the religious differences which may underlie efforts to compel attendance translated into political differences.[21] Religious groups are most commonly divided into pietists and liturgicals. Vandermeer argues religious differences were "the result of different perspectives about salvation and the relationship between God and man" which led to conflicting concepts of the proper role of the state. The pietists' goal[22]:

> was to bring the Kingdom of God to earth. Therefore, they were concerned about evil not only as a temptation to church members, but also a corruption of the society in which they and non-church members lived . . . Because of the emphasis on human interdependence, and because they did not perceive separate spheres or different rules for church and society, they had no qualms about using government to enforce their moral views.

Liturgicals, in opposition to pietists, believed the government's role in a society comprised of separate and conflicting groups was to protect each group from the others. Tyack cautions that religious distinctions cut across ethnic lines with old-stock Americans tending to be pietistic, Irish Catholics liturgical, and Germans splitting into both camps.[23] Pietists, thus, saw compulsory schooling as a means to indoctrinate liturgical youth to pietistic values.

Cultural differences and crusading moralism are not the only explanations for the passage of compulsory attendance laws. In conjunction with child labor restrictions, compulsory attendance laws benefited adults by reducing child labor opportunities. Nationally, labor unions endorsed efforts to compel children to attend school. At state conventions between 1884 and 1893 the Illinois State Labor Federation called for compulsory education.[24] But, the political influence of unions in the late nineteenth century was minimal.

Paul Osterman suggests that in the late nineteenth century employer and parental opposition to the idea of compulsion was waning.[25] According to Osterman, the number of employers using child labor and the number of parents relying on child wages was shrinking, and thus, opposition to the laws was weakening. He argues technological change and adult immigration lowered the value of child labor. According to census figures, reproduced in Table 1, child labor force participation rates did not decline until after 1910. Between 1890 and 1910, 18% of the children between the ages of 10 and 15 were gainfully employed. The

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OLD GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, 1880-1930

Year	Total Number	Gainfully Occupied	
		Number	Percent
1880	6,649,483	1,118,356	16.8
1890	8,322,373	1,503,771	18.1
1900	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
1910	10,828,365	1,990,225	18.4
1920	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5
1930	14,300,576	667,118	4.7

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. (1930) Census of Population: Occupations. Volume IV. Table 39. p. 84.

percentage of state legislatures passing compulsory attendance laws increased during the period when child employment did not decline. The passage of compulsory attendance laws, thus, predates the decline in child employment so the Osterman conjecture is inconsistent with the evidence.

Higher attendance levels, as Landes and Solmon suggest, may have also lowered sentiment against compulsion.[26] Citizens, Landes and Solmon reason, derived utility from a law which gave "formal recognition to the community's achievement in committing more resources to schooling."[27] Higher attendance levels also decreased the potential number of violators, and as a consequence, lessened the total costs of enforcing the law. In general, regions with higher attendance levels had more educators, teachers, and school officials who lobbied for legislation to increase the demand for their services. As a consequence, Landes and Solmon reason that regions with higher attendance levels were more likely to support compulsory attendance laws.

Landes and Solmon present no evidence of lobbying or calls for compulsory schooling laws by education associations, but there is literary evidence to support their contention. In 1879, the President of the National Education Association, John Hancock, in his opening remarks to the association's annual meeting endorsed compulsion, and at its 1897 meeting the association passed a resolution endorsing compulsory attendance laws.[28] State Education Associations in Wisconsin, California, Iowa, and Missouri all pointed to their states' laws as examples of their legislative influence.[29]

John Richardson found that the formation of state teacher associations was instrumental in the passage of compulsory attendance laws.[30] Richardson asked whether a state's characteristics in 1870 could predict the year in which a state would pass an initial compulsory attendance law. He found that the date at which a state teacher association was founded and the school aged population interacted with the percentage of manufacturing employment were the best predictors of the date of enactment. He interacted the school aged population with the manufacturing labor force to suggest that urban areas were more likely to compel attendance, but they also required more resources to provide school seats.

The major problem with the Richardson study is its failure to take into account different growth rates in the independent variables. The school aged population in 1870 is a poor predictor of the school aged population in 1900 because states had different fertility rates. The study does suggest, however, that there is a relationship between a state's socio-economic composition and the probability of passing a compulsory attendance law.

Overall, discussion of the unstated selfish motives for compulsory attendance laws suggests a relationship between a state's socio-economic characteristics and the probability that the state passed a law. If compul-

sion were a means of assimilating foreign elements into American society, then states with larger foreign and non-White populations should have been more likely to pass laws. If religious disputes underlie compulsion, then states with greater numbers of pietists should have been more likely to pass laws. If Landes and Solmon are correct that the laws came after attendance rose, then states with higher attendance rates should have been first to pass laws.

To examine which conjectures explain the passage of schooling laws, I estimate the probability of passing a compulsory attendance law. While Richardson's dependent variable was the date of passage of a state's first compulsory attendance law, my dependent variable is whether a state passed or amended a compulsory attendance law.[31] Each session of a state legislature is treated as an independent observation which implicitly assumes the state's past history has no impact on passage. Given the high turnover rates in nineteenth century legislatures, the assumption is reasonable. David Ray examines legislative turnover for 9 state legislatures in the 1890s and finds that 70% of the legislators were serving their first term in the state legislature.[32]

The probability of passing a schooling law is estimated as a function of political variables, average daily attendance, the amount spent on education per school aged child, the percentage of the population foreign born, the percentage of the population white, the percentage of the population living in rural areas with fewer than 2500 people, and regional variables (in dummy form). If states passed laws to speed up the assimilation process, the percent foreign born should have a positive effect on passage.

States with larger rural populations are expected to be slower to pass compulsory attendance laws. Rural areas generally had lower attendance rates and would find the laws more costly to enforce. As can be seen in legislative attempts to restrict compulsion to urban areas, rural areas saw irregular attendance as an urban problem.[33] Assimilation and crime prevention were also seen as urban problems.

States with higher attendance rates, according to Landes and Solmon should be more likely to pass schooling laws. Landes and Solmon reasoned higher attendance meant a larger education lobby. States with higher attendance ratios also spent more money on education. The greater spending reflects the influence of the education lobby, but may also reveal general public support for compulsion. Many educators who initially objected to compulsion argued the schools had to be improved first. After public resources devoted to the public schools increased, they supported compulsion. States spending more on education, thus, should have been more likely to pass a schooling law.

The hardest conjecture to evaluate is whether religious differences led

to compulsory attendance laws. The conjecture could be tested if the religious composition of states were known. While the United States Census Bureau conducted censuses of churches in 1890 and 1906, the data are of little use. The data provide church membership statistics and each religious group defined membership differently. The figures can be used to observe relative changes in a particular church's popularity, but they cannot be aggregated across groups. The relative number of pietists to liturgicals in the population cannot be determined because of the inconsistent definitions of membership.[34]

While religious divisions are difficult to quantify, political variables capture many of the religious divisions. Kleppner, among others, suggests party affiliation for late nineteenth century Midwestern states can best be explained along religious lines.[35] Republicans, he finds, tended to be elected from districts with large number of pietists while Democrats were elected from districts with large numbers of liturgical voters. Walter Burnham finds that the same voting patterns occurred in Pennsylvania, a Northeastern state.[36] Assuming that legislators in the nineteenth century represented their constituencies' interests, then Republican domination of a legislature reflects the religious differences.

Political divisions also underlied the debate over compulsory attendance laws.[37] The Republican party repeatedly called for federal aid to education and expansion of the public schools system. Henry Wilson in the 1870s argued education should be a cornerstone of Republican policy. The California vote on compulsion in 1874 and the Pennsylvania vote in 1895 were straight party votes with the Democrats opposing the measures. Missouri and Iowa votes, however, were not strictly along party lines.[38] Republican dominated legislatures between 1874 and 1892 passed five times as many laws as Democratic dominated legislatures and Republican governors signed twice as many laws as their Democratic counterparts.[39]

The Republican philosophy of active government regulation of school curriculum and state supervision of local school boards reflects the crusading moralism of pietists. If crusading moralism underlies compulsion, Republican legislators were more likely to pass laws. As a consequence, Republican domination of a state legislature should increase the probability of passing schooling laws.

Using political variables in the analysis of the likelihood of passing a schooling law means the South must be treated separately. In response to Republican Reconstruction, political debates in the South were conducted within the Democratic Party. The Southern states are, thus, eliminated from the sample and attention is focused on the non-Southern states.

The dependent variable, whether a state has passed a compulsory attendance law or not, has only two values so the probability of passing a

law is estimated as a logit. Probability estimates and variable means are presented in Table 2. Coefficient estimates reveal the marginal effect of increasing an independent variable holding all other variables constant.[40] Using the values in column 3, holding all other variables at their mean values, a one percent increase in the percentage of Republicans in the state legislature increases the probability that a meeting of the state legislature results in a compulsory attendance law by 0.15 percentage points. A one percentage point rise in average daily attendance holding all other variables constant results in a 0.20 percentage point increase in the probability of passage.

Attendance levels, expenditure per school aged child, and Republican domination of the legislature are the most important variables in explaining schooling laws. The laws were not a response to the presence of nonwhites and foreigners in the population.[41] Nor was the probability of passage higher in states with large rural populations. Nor was there a regional bias in the probability of passing schooling laws among the non-Southern states.

Instead, schooling laws in the late nineteenth century were a response to higher attendance, greater per pupil school expenditures, and Republican control of the legislature. Aware of growing numbers of liturgicals, pietists wanted to use the schools to preserve the moral order, but states were reluctant to pass compulsory attendance laws until attendance had risen. Prior to compelling attendance states tried to lure children into schools by increasing the resources devoted to education.

Legislators wanted to preserve the moral order with public schooling after the Civil War. The first step in the process was to establish free public schools. After the school system had been expanded and the state discovered that all children were not attending, the state devoted more resources to improve the schools. Frustrated with persistent irregular attendance, states turned to compulsion.

TABLE 2

THE PROBABILITY OF PASSING A COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAW
1870-1915

Variable	Mean	(1)	(2)	(3)
Estimated Probability		0.22	0.23	0.24
Percentage of Republicans in General Assembly	63.46	0.12* (2.10)	0.17* (2.83)	0.15* (2.43)
Average Daily Attendance	53.43	0.49* (3.70)	- -	0.20 (1.14)
Expenditure Per School Aged Child on Education	1.59	- -	0.18* (4.64)	0.14* (2.93)
Percentage of Population Foreign born	20.71	0.03 (0.55)	-0.04 (-0.68)	-0.01 (-0.11)
Percentage of Population White	96.12	-0.02 (-0.11)	0.10 (0.46)	0.09 (0.42)
Percentage of Population in Rural Areas	56.65	-0.07 (-1.09)	0.03 (0.41)	0.02 (0.30)
Western State	0.21	-0.00 (-0.40)	-0.02 (-1.49)	-0.02 (-1.51)
North Central State	0.36	0.01 (0.71)	0.00 (0.06)	0.02 (0.09)
Chi-Squared		26.67*	32.97*	34.28*
Number of Observations		628	616	616

TABLE 2
THE PROBABILITY OF PASSING A COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAW
1870-1915

Notes: The probabilities are the marginal effect of a one percent increase in the variable on the probability of passing a compulsory attendance law. The probabiiities are calculated for the sample means and are based on logit analysis. The dependent variable is coded as a 1 if the state passed or amended a compulsory attendance law at its meeting of the legislature. T-statistics from the estimated logit are provided in parentheses below the marginal probability estimate. Estimates significantly different from zero at the five percent level are denoted with an asterisk. The Chi-squared statistic is provided for the logit equation. The North Central States are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. The Western States are Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California.

Sources: Martin J. Eisenberg. (1988) "Compulsory Attendance Legislation in America, 1870-1914." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania. Table 3.4.

Notes

[1] David Tyack, Thomas James and Aaron Benavot. (1987) *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785-1954.* University of Wisconsin Press. Madison, Wisconsin. pp. 46-47. Appendix B provides session dates of all legislatures meeting between 1870 and 1915 and confirms the decline in the number of sessions.

[2] The list includes amendments to existing laws. By amending an existing law, the legislature reaffirmed its belief in compulsion.

[3] Tyack, Benavot and James. (1987) p. 15.

[4] Horace Mann. "The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government." *Lectures on Education.* Arno Press. New York. pp. 117-164.

[5] As reprinted in Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall. (1951) *Readings in American Educational History.* Appelton-Century-Crofts, Inc. New York. p. 367.

[6] United States. Bureau of Education. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1889.* p. 505.

[7] See also William H. Hand. (1914). "The Need of Compulsory Education in the South." in U.S. Bureau of Education. *Bulletin Number 2.*

[8] For a typical argument along these lines see Pennsylvania. Board of Public Charities. (1871) "Compulsory Education," *Second Annual Report Board of Public Charities.*; "Education and Crime." U.S. Commissioner of Education. *Annual Report, 1898-99.* Chapter XXVIII; U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Circular of Information: Abnormal Man: Beings Essays on Education and Crime and Related Subjects, No. 4.*; J.B. Bittinger. (1871) "Ignorance as a Source of Crime." *Pennsylvania School Journal.* 20. p. 7; "The Relations of Crime and Ignorance." (1874) *Pennsylvania School Journal.* 23. pp. 51-52; J.P. Wickersham. (1881) "Education and Crime." *Pennsylvania School Journal.* 30. pp. 39-46.

[9] United States. Bureau of Education. *Annual Report, 1889,* p. 493.

[10] United States. Bureau of Education. (1880) *Circular of Information, Number 2.* pp. 20-25 and Henry Wilson. (1871) "New Departure of the Republican Party." *Atlantic Monthly.* 27. pp. 104-120.

[11] Democratic Party. (1892) *National Party Platform.*

[12] Wilson. (1871). p. 114.

[13] John Higham. (1971) *Stranger in the Land:* Patterns of American Nativism. 1860-1925. Atheneum. New York.

[14] For a digest of state immigration and alien laws see *Reports of the Immigration Commission.* 61 Congress. 3 Session. Senate Document Number 758.

[15] Higham. (1971) p. 17.

[16] Josiah Strong. (1963) *Our Country*. reprint. ed. Jorges Herbst. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Boston.

[17] For a list of English instruction clauses see Martin J. Eisenberg. (1988) "Compulsory Attendance Legislation in America, 1870 to 1915." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania. Chapter 2.

[18] Higham. (1971) p. 59.

[19] Strong. (1963) p. 80.

[20] Thomas E. Brown. (1980) "Compulsory Public Education and Michigan's Roman Catholic Church, 1920-24." *Michigan History*. 64. pp. 36-42.

[21] Paul Kleppner. (1970) *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900*. The Free Press. New York; Richard Jensen. (1971) *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Illinois; Ballard C. Campbell. (1980) *Representative Democracy: Public Policy and Midwestern Legislatures in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts; Philip R. Vandermeer (1985) *The Hoosier Politician: Officeholding and Political Culture in Indiana, 1896-1920*. University of Illinois Press. Chicago, Illinois.

[22] Vandermeer. (1985). p. 105.

[23] David B. Tyack. (1974) "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling." *Harvard Educational Review*. 46. pp. 369-373.

[24] Paul E. Peterson. (1985) *The Politics of School Reform, 1870-1940*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Illinois. p. 37.

[25] Paul Osterman. (1979) "Education and Labor Markets at the Turn of the Century." *Politics and Society*. 9. pp. 89-102.

[26] William M. Landes and Lewis C. Solmon. (1972) "Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis of Law and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Economic History*. 32. pp. 45-91.

[27] *Ibid.* p. 87.

[28] United States. Bureau of Education. *Annual Report of the Commissioner, 1879*. p. 292 and Knight and Hall (1951) p. 373.

[29] United States. Bureau of Education. "State Educational Associations." *Annual Report, 1909*. pp. 252-273. For activities in Missouri see Richard Ives. (1977) "Compulsory Education and the St. Louis Public School System, 1905-07." *Missouri Historical Review*. 71. pp. 315-329.

[30] John G. Richardson. (1980) "Variation in Date of Enactment of Compulsory School Attendance Laws: An Empirical Inquiry." *Sociology of Education* 53. pp. 153-163.

[31] Included in the sample are revisions of compiled school codes which contain compulsory attendance provisions that were not changed. The legislature voted on these provisions and reaffirmed them so they can be thought of as a new law.

[32] The states in his study are Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. With the exception of West Virginia, all of the states are in my sample. David Ray. (1978) "Membership Stability in Nine State Legislature, 1891-1978." Ph.D. Dissertation. Stanford University. p. 11.

[33] Eisenberg. (1988) Chapter 2.

[34] The census also reports the value of church property which can be aggregated across groups, but religious beliefs translate into asset holdings as well as membership criteria. For a discussion of the problems of the data see *Historical Statistics*. (1975) pp. 389-90.

[35] See references in Note 18.

[36] Walter Dean Burnham (1970) *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. New York. pp. 35-70.

[37] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot (1982). *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980*. Basic Books. New York. pp. 101-103.

[38] Ives. (1977) p. 325-326. and Eisenberg. (1988) Chapter 4.

[39] Tyack and Hansot (1982) pp. 101-103.

[40] Technically, the probabilities are evaluated at sample means.

[41] Not only are the probabilities of insufficient magnitude to be important, but sampling theory suggests the standard errors of the estimated coefficient is so large, the magnitudes may actually be zero.

PART VI
PROGRAMS AND PROCEEDINGS

Midwest History of Educational Society
1988 Annual Meeting
Loyola University
Water Tower
Campus
October 28-29, 1988

Friday, October 28

12:30 p.m. - 1:45 p.m. Chairperson: Sister Irenaeus Chekouras, R.S.M.
St. Xavier College

John L. Rury (De Paul University)
"Imagining Gender in Educational History: themes from the experience of colonial women."

K.C. Thottopuram (Malcolm X College)
"Pre-British European Educational Activities in India."

Kevin A. Work (Bowling Green State University) and
Donald L. Shaver (Bowling Green State University)
"The Career of Edward Orton, the first President of the Ohio State University."

2:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. Chairperson: Ralph Meyer, Saint Xavier College

Timothy Reagan (Central Connecticut State University)
"Education for the Subjugation and Liberation: the historical context of people's education in South Africa."

Grete Roland
"An Historical Overview: Educational assimilation of the Saami in Norway."

Erwin H. Goldenstein (University of Nebraska, Lincoln)
"Booker T. Washington and the Movable School."

3:30 p.m. - 4:45 p.m. Chairperson: Jeff Mirel, Northern Illinois University

Mary C. Schiltz (Loyola University, Chicago)
"Frederick Siedenberg, S.J.: Catholic Priest, and Progressive, a Contradiction in Terms."

Micheal T. Colky (College of Saint Francis, Joliet)
"Addams's Pragmatic Impact on Adult Education."

Edward E. Gordon (De Paul University)
"Charles Deneen and Illinois Education Reform During the Progressive Era."

5:00 p.m. - 6:15 p.m. Chairperson: Mary Pold, Saint Xavier College

Donna Nelson
"Progressive Education and School Architecture."

Gerald Gutek (Loyola University, Chicago)
"Robert Owen's New Lanark Educational Experiment, 1800-1824."

Katherine M. Campbell (University of Lowell)
"Social Reconstructionism in Practice? Politics and Education at the Hessian Hills School, 1930-1940."

Saturday, October 29

8:30 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. Chairperson: Barry Westphall, Bradley University

Charles R. Wolf (College of Saint Francis, Joliet)
"School Laws and Educational Efforts in the Old Northwest Before the Common Schools Movement."

Martin J. Eisenberg (Knox College)
"The Passage of Compulsory Attendance Laws, 1870-1915."

John Van Cleve (Gallaudet University)
"Nineteenth Century Mainstreaming: Alexander Graham Bell and the Wisconsin Day School Experiment."

10:00 a.m. - 11:15 a.m. Chairperson: Joan Smith, Loyola University

J.J. Chambliss (Rutgers University)
"John Dewey: 'Philosophy and Education in their Historic Relations."

Erwin V. Johanningmeier (University of South Florida)
"Dunkels Herbart Revisited: the Milieu in which he worked."

Gregory P. Wegner (Hofstra University)
"History from the Outside: the Allied Kommandatura in Berlin and the Dialogue over History Curriculum Reform, 1945-1948."

11:30 - 12:15 a.m. Chairperson: Edward Rutkowski, University of Northern Iowa

Lucy F. Townsend (Northern Illinois University)
"Isabella Graham and Johanna Bethune's Early American Experiments in Educating Illiterates."

Amy D. Rose (Northern Illinois University)
"The Dilemma of Equivalency: American Colleges and the Evaluation of Armed Services Training in the 1940's."

Karen Hanus (University of Northern Iowa)
"An Analysis of Historical Studies of Literacy Standards from Three Epochs in American Education."

Minutes

Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting
Midwest History of Education Society
Loyola University, Water Tower Campus
October 28, 1988

President Mirel called the annual business meeting of the Society to order. Dr. Reagan moved to approve the minutes of the 1987 meeting, and Dr. Rutkowski seconded the motion. The motion then passed unanimously. Thanks were also extended to Loyola University, and especially to Dr. Gutek, for the ongoing hospitality shown to the Society.

Dr. Leonard was elected president for the next year. Dr. Reagan was elected vice president, and Dr. Rury was elected secretary. The elections were unanimous.

The date for the 1989 meeting of the Society was set for October 27 and 28. There was some discussion about the possibility of scheduling future meetings over a slightly longer period (beginning, for example, on Friday morning); Dr. Leonard agreed to consider such a change, but also pointed out that given the number of papers submitted for the program, this was not really necessary.

Dr. Rutkowski then reported on the status of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*. Dr. Rutkowski pointed out that there are now 38 institutional subscribers to the *Journal*, including the ERIC Clearing House for Social Studies/Social Science Education. ERIC has been provided with a complete set of back issues of the *Journal*. Dr. Rutkowski also announced that this would be his last year as editor of the *Journal*. Dr. Gutek spoke on behalf of the membership of the Society, thanking Dr. Rutkowski for seventeen years of outstanding service to the Society and the *Journal*.

President Mirel raised the need for locating a new editor and a home for the *Journal*. Dr. Glenn Smith announced that Northern Illinois University was willing and able to take on the housing and production of the *Journal*, if a faculty member there could be found to serve as editor. The NIU offer was accepted by the members of the Society, and an *ad hoc* committee composed of the current executive board and Drs. Rutkowski, Glenn Smith and Mirel was established to locate an editor and act on the Society's behalf in this matter.

It was also announced that the Council of Learned Societies in Education has purchased a seat on the NCATE Board, and that the Society will meet its obligation with the monies collected from the $5.00 registration fee.

The meeting was amicably adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Timothy Reagan, Secretary

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